



Towards Recognition and University-Tribal Healing

Oshkigin Noojimo'iwe,

**Nagi Wan Petu Un Ihduwas'ake He Oyate Kin
Zaniwicaye Kte**

**Renewing Systems Landscapes Through Traditional
Indigenous Management Practices**

March 2023 // Prepared by The TRUTH Project



The TRUTH Project
**Oshkigin Noojimo'iwe,
Naḡi Waḡ Petu Uḡ Ihduwaš'ake He
Oyate Kiḡ Zaniwiçaye Kte**
Executive Summary

Oshkigin Noojimo'iwe, Naḡi Waḡ Petu Uḡ Ihduwaš'ake He Oyate Kiḡ Zaniwiçaye Kte, which roughly translates to the spirit that renews through fire heals the people in Ojibwe and Dakota languages, is the final report of the Towards Recognition and University-Tribal Healing (TRUTH) Project, funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation to research University-Tribal relations from an Indigenous perspective. Moving at a speed that fosters trust-building in the wake of irreparable harms, the TRUTH Project centers relationality and Indigeneity.

In partnership with the 11 recognized Tribes in Minnesota, TRUTH meets one of the calls in the June 2020 executive orders released by the Minnesota Indian Affairs Council ([06262020-02](#) and [06262020-03](#))

Drawing on academic literature, financial, legislative and archival records, as well as Indigenous oral histories, this report highlights the ongoing struggle for recognition of Indigenous rights and sovereignty, focusing on persistent, systemic mistreatment of Indigenous peoples by the University of Minnesota.

Findings indicate that institutional harm has taken many forms since 1851, including:

Genocide

The Founding Board of Regents committed genocide and ethnic cleansing of Indigenous peoples for financial gain, using the institution as a shell corporation through which to launder lands and resources.

Forced removal

Members of the Founding Board of Regents used their positions in government to pass anti-Indigenous legislation that benefited them and the institution financially.

Land expropriation

The University of Minnesota has benefited from multiple land grabs. To date, TRUTH has [mapped](#) 186,791 acres of land that Congress granted Minnesota between 1851 and 1868.

Wealth transfer and accumulation

In addition, many resources have been extracted from land grab lands retained by the UMN, notably the timber and mining industries.

- The 2020 Permanent University Fund (PUF), which includes mineral leasing, timber, land sales, royalties on iron, etc. totaled: \$591,119,846.
 - The PUF was investing in colonial municipalities from very early on in Minnesota's history as a state. Those municipalities were able to use PUF money for capital projects, and they paid interest back into the PUF. This circulation of wealth did not benefit any of the Tribal Nations whose land those municipalities occupy today.
 - Without adjusting for inflation, the revenue created by iron and taconite mineral leases between 1890 and 2022 totaled \$191,875,315.
 - Exploitation and commodification. Indigenous knowledge, culture and practices have been usurped without adequate acknowledgement. In addition, harmful research practices have been perpetrated by UMN faculty and researchers for nearly two centuries.

Revisionist history

The term "land grant" is a revisionist narrative that attempts to cover up the harm perpetrated against Indigenous peoples.

Indigenous erasure

The University of Minnesota has failed to adequately teach the correct history of this land, resulting in the perpetuation of a lack of knowledge of Tribal sovereignty, Indigenous rights, and benefits of diverse environments among UMN graduates and [Regents](#) alike.

In light of these findings, the institution must formally recognize the harm and genocide committed against Native American peoples, including the theft of language, culture, community, and land that has led to the depressed social determinants of well-being among Indigenous peoples including education, healthcare, and housing.

We call on the Board of Regents and University of Minnesota leadership to take concrete, meaningful, and measurable steps toward healing through a comprehensive approach that combines reparations, truth-telling, policy change, and transformative justice processes. This includes centering the perspectives and voices of Indigenous peoples, recognizing and respecting Indigenous sovereignty, providing resources and support for language and cultural revitalization, and ensuring access to healthcare and education.

The report concludes with detailed recommendations for university leadership in the following areas:

Land Back

The Board of Regents must commit to annual review and rematriation of Indigenous lands.

Reparations in Perpetuity

The Morrill Act stipulates that the Permanent University Fund must be held in perpetuity, as the beneficiary of perpetual wealth made from Indigenous genocide, UMN must commit to perpetual reparations to Indigenous peoples.

Diverting PUF Streams

Engage in economic justice, including committing part of the annual investment returns of the Permanent University Fund in a way that gives back to Native Americans, in perpetuity.

Representation

The Board of Regents must adopt measurable policies that remedy the lack of Indigenous representation in administration, tenure-track faculty, staff and students on all UMN campuses.

Commitment to Education as Individual and Tribal Self-Determination

Full cost of attendance waiver for all Indigenous peoples and descendants regardless of state of residence.

Enact Policies that Respect Tribal Sovereignty and Cultural Heritage

Board of Regents must enact new Indigenous Research policies that respect the sovereignty and treaty rights of Indigenous peoples. The Board must also call for Indigenous curriculum requirements for all degree programs so future graduates are prepared with this knowledge. UMN must also conduct a systemwide inventory of human remains and items related to Native American Cultural Heritage.

Sites for Future Research

Institutional commitments to fully funding research that continues to explore TRUTH and ways that UMN can be in better relation with Indigenous peoples.

Meet Trust Obligations

As a federal land grant institution, UMN has trust responsibilities to Indigenous peoples codified by law and upheld by the Supreme Court.

“

This report's name, Oshkigin Noojimo'iwe, Naḡi Waḡ Petu Uḡ Ihduwaš'ake He Oyate Kiḡ Zaniwiçaye Kte, is a call for a metaphorical burning of policies and practices that have been harming people and the land, a series of controlled burns that promote the transformation and renewal of the institutional landscape.

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This report on the TRUTH Project is the product of many, for that we are humbly grateful.

We would like to first acknowledge our ancestors for sharing and passing down the stories of our creation and the teachings that have guided us for generations. We begin with their progress. We would like to acknowledge the land / Mother Earth for all that she has given and continues to give, and for all that has been forcibly taken from her. We wish to create space for further research that honors the Tribes who have been forcibly removed from this place now known as Minnesota.

This project would not have begun if it were not for Professor Emeritus and now Regent, Tadd Johnson. His vision, wisdom, guidance, and support have been the lifeblood of this project. Chi miigwech to Regent Johnson for his lifelong leadership in Indian Country. He has battled relentlessly for the rights of Native Americans.

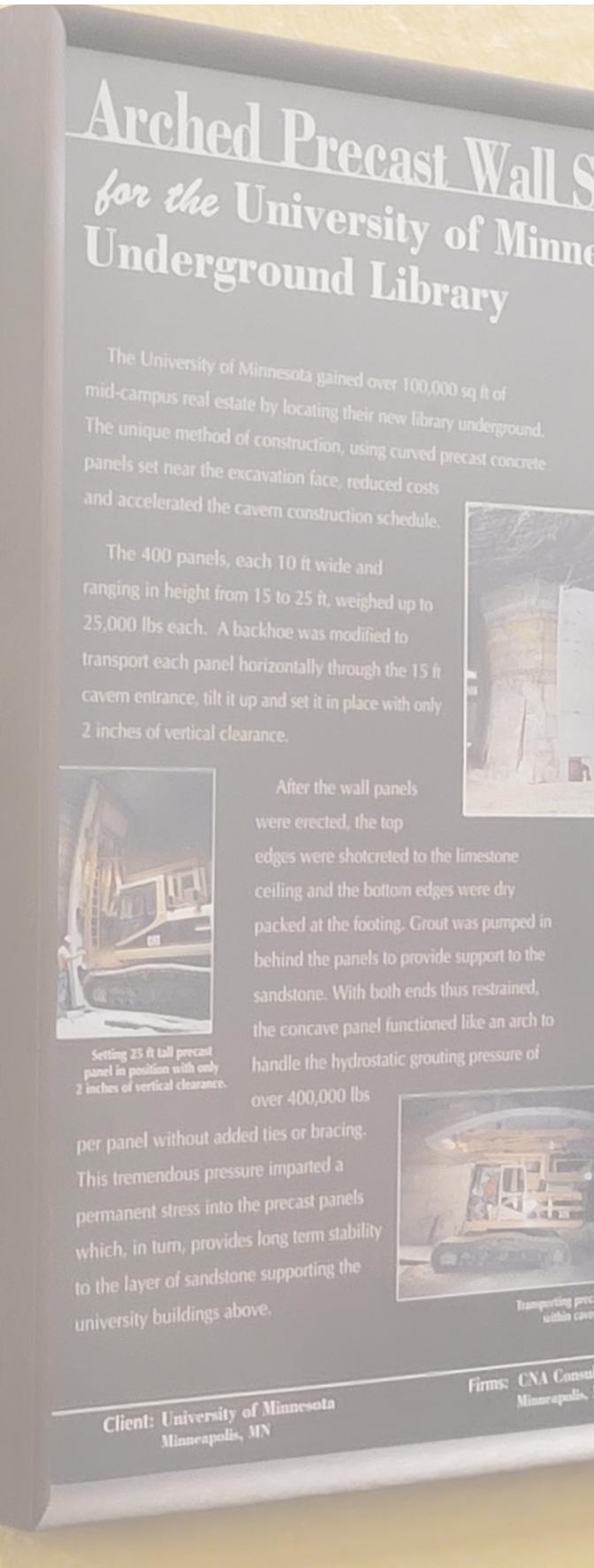
Miigwech and Wopida Tanka to the Tribal Nations and their appointed Tribal Research Fellows who have contributed to this research project. We would like to thank all the Research Assistants who made countless contributions to the project. The pain endured by the researchers immersed in this project has been acute; may these pages begin to heal the wounds caused by the many cuts of colonialism.

Gichi Miigwech to the Minnesota Indian Affairs Council (MIAC), their Executive Director, Shannon Geshick, for all of her coordination efforts on behalf of the Tribes. We are incredibly grateful for the time and space Shannon created amid all she does for Minnesota's Tribal Nations.

Thank you to the faculty members at the University of Minnesota for their contributions and advice throughout the entirety of this process. We would like to thank all those who contributed to our Tribal Research Fellow Training Week and to our Tribal Research Fellow Symposium.



Gratitude
Wopida
Miigwech



We are incredibly grateful to Minnesota Transform: Tracey Deutsch, Jigna Desai, Kevin Murphy, and Denise Pike for their endless support, encouragement, and access to the resources that kept us on our path toward recognition and healing.

Thank you to the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation for providing our project with the seed grant that was needed to get this project started.

We are thankful for the radical work of librarians. Chi miigwech to the Minnesota Historical Society's Gale Family Library staff and archivists, and collections specialists as well as the University of Minnesota Libraries and Archives on both the Twin Cities and Duluth Campuses, especially Ellen Holte-Werle and Eric Moore who have been critical to this project.

We would like to thank all of those who have given space to and protect space for this project, especially everyone at the Institute for Advanced Study.

With this truth-telling, we offer places within the institution for prescribed burns, a metaphorical use of healing fire that brings about institutional policy shifts. Through the spirit of fire, we seek reinstitution of other Indigenous practices that will create space for renewal. In the fertility that comes in the wake of fire, may the system become an ecosystem that will support the generations of people who come after us.

The TRUTH Project

THE TRUTH PROJECT

Introduction

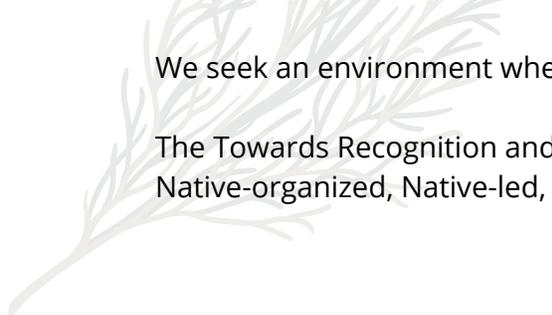


The University of Minnesota recently began taking the initial steps of a long journey towards healing through a commitment to creating mutualistic relationships with the 11 federally recognized Tribal Nations who share geography with Minnesota. One of these steps was restoring the traditional Indigenous land management practice of controlled burns on unceded Fond du Lac lands.[1] Beginning with the founding Regents' formation of colonial political and education systems in Minnesota, traditional Indigenous practices were outlawed. Institutions like UMN replaced traditional knowledge with Western systems that continue to benefit the lumber industry to the detriment of both the land and Native populations.

Prescribed burns, decisions made collectively about when and where to use controlled fire as a mechanism of renewal, have been used by Indigenous peoples of this region to steward the land and offer rich, fertile grounds that support ecological biodiversity.[2] In the reclamation of this practice, there is a resurgence of species that have nourished and sustained populations since time immemorial.

It is in this spirit of fire that we also seek systems renewal. For seven generations, the University of Minnesota has undermined Tribal sovereignty and Indigenous self-determination, using genocide and land expropriation to transfer and accumulate the wealth of Tribal Nations. UMN has participated in the exploitation and commodification of Indigenous knowledge systems. UMN developed and taught revisionist narratives that attempt to conceal the systemic harms perpetuated against Indigenous peoples to the financial benefit of the institution. In its actions, UMN created an environment that centers Western values of capital gain over the health of the land and the people. It has created a system that lacks the elements necessary to sustain diversity. It has created an environment where Indigenous peoples have the lowest social determinants of well-being.

We seek an environment where Indigenous peoples can thrive.



The Towards Recognition and University-Tribal Healing—TRUTH—project is a grassroots, Native-organized, Native-led, community-driven research project that offers multiple

[1] Boerigter, "Ojibwe Firefighters Restore Fire to the Cloquet Forestry Center."

[2] Northrup and Panek, "Understanding Oshkigin Spirit of Fire (Panel Discussion)."

recommendations on how the University community can be in better relation with Indigenous peoples.³ Few universities had ever considered the contemporary impacts of the land dispossession that created the Morrill Act of 1862 until Robert Lee and Tristan Ahtone published, “Land Grab Universities” and Minnesota Indian Affairs Council (MIAC) called for such an accounting of Mni Sóta Maḵoḱe’s land grab.⁴

In March 2020, *High Country News* published an exposé about land-grab universities (referred to as such throughout this document) that touched a deep nerve and catapulted this issue to mainstream attention, nationally. In Mni Sóta Maḵoḱe, Indigenous people are bringing this conversation to the forefront and situating this issue within the ancestral homelands of the Oceti Sakowin, and later the Anishinaabeg people. As the original people, we are from and of this land. The land has a relationship with us that is characterized by balance, longevity, and care. This relationship was ruptured, in large part, by the state of Minnesota and its institutions, like the University of Minnesota, which existed prior to statehood, and was created to encourage white settlement using genocide and ethnic cleansing in pursuit of Indigenous land dispossession.

In June 2020, two executive orders were released by MIAC which brought Tribal-University relations to the local level. The first order is concerned with the Repatriation of American Indian human remains and funerary objects ([06262020-02](#)) and the second order is concerned with fulfilling the University’s obligations to Minnesota’s 11 tribal governments ([06262020-03](#)). Both orders detail a painful history and current harm to be redressed by the institution. In summary, the “[Minnesota Indian Affairs Council Seeks Immediate Action from University of Minnesota to Address Exploitation of American Indian Nations and People](#)” where the goal is to build a “long-term relationship based on trust and mutual respect.”

Shortly thereafter, the University of Minnesota received a Just Futures grant from The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, a portion of which was used to fund TRUTH. The TRUTH Project seeks to highlight the governmental, community, and individual experiences that Indigenous peoples have been exposed to through their relationship, or lack thereof, with the University of Minnesota.⁵

TRUTH is just one of many recent studies that examine how land expropriation and the commodification of humans and more-than-human relatives is the basis of western wealth

³ See 2020 MIAC resolutions, in Appendix and online at <https://mn.gov/indianaffairs/miacresolutions.html>.

⁴ Lee and Ahtone, “Land-Grab Universities.”

⁵CURA and Resilient Communities Project. “TRUTH: Project History.”

and the wealth of many universities.⁶ In the months following the HCN article, scholars began looking into their own institution's past.⁷ Native American and Indigenous Studies' Spring 2021 volume was centered on articles relating to land grab universities' pasts, presents, and futurisms.⁸

Locating this Space

The University of Minnesota Twin Cities campus sits in the urbanization of what was once a lush river valley, approximately midway between two places central to Dakota cosmology: Owamni (colonially known as St. Anthony Falls) and Bdote, the place of Dakota creation (near the spot occupied by Fort Snelling). Many university buildings overlook the Mississippi River. Haha Wakpa (The Mississippi River) is the earthly manifestation of the Milky Way, where this world and the spirit world intersect. It is why Dakota burial mounds are located along riverways, so the people can return to the stars.⁹

Bdote, the confluence of the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers, was a place Dakota women traveled to, to give birth. The water, herbs and plants found near the islands here aid in birthing and healing processes, and with the help of these medicines, they brought their children into the world at their place of genesis: Bdote. Dakota people emerged from the earth at Bdote. Unci Maka gave birth to them here. Dakota people were created by and from this land.¹⁰

The sacredness of Dakota birth, life, and death was violently interrupted with the arrival of European settlers, who used domination and dispossession to feed their insatiable desire

⁶ Baldwin, "When Universities Swallow Cities;" Yang, *A Third University*; Stein, "A Colonial History;" Nash, "Entangled Pasts;" Lee and Ahtone, "Land-grab Universities".

⁷ For example: MIT, "Indigeneity at MIT"; Public History Project, "On Listening"; Cornell University, "Assessing Cornell University's Response"; The Ohio State University, "Grappling Land Grant Truth"; The University of California System, "Indigenous People's Day Resolution"; Fanshel, "The Land in Land-Grant: Unearthing Indigenous Dispossession in the Founding of the University of California."

⁸ Lomawaima et al, "Editor's Introduction;" Harvey, "The Wealth of Knowledge;" Roediger, "Morrill Issues;" Palmer, "Drawing a Line;" Brousseau, "'Unrefutable Responsibility': Mapping the Seeds of Settler Futurity and Seeding the Maps of Indigenous Futurity.;" Akee, "Stolen Lands"; Feir and Jones, "Repaying a debt? The performance of Morrill Act university beneficiaries as measured by Native enrollment and graduation rates.;" Brayboy and Tachine, Myths, erasure, and violence: The immoral triad of the Morrill Act.;" Kertész and Gonzales, "'We Grow the Ivy': Cornell's Claim to Indigenous Dispossession.;" Gavezzi, "Reckoning with the Original Sin"; Stewart-Ambo, "The Future Is in the Past"; Pleasant and Kantrowitz, "Campuses, Colonialism, and Land Grabs before Morrill"; McCoy et al, "The Future of Land-grab Universities.;" Ahtone and Lee, "Looking Forward."

⁹ Rock "We Come from the Stars."

¹⁰ Stately, "Pazahiyewin's Story of Bdote."

for land acquisition. By 1858, the United States made 12 treaties with the Tribes in Mni Sóta, often through coercive and violent means, seizing more and more land with each negotiation.¹¹ All of these treaties were broken by the United States.¹²

In late summer of 1862, the U.S. still had not upheld their treaty obligations, resulting in famine. Tensions between settlers and Natives flared. War broke out. More than 500 settlers and countless Dakota lives were lost.¹³ At the war's end, more than 300 Dakota were tried and convicted of war crimes. Abraham Lincoln ordered the hanging of 38 Dakota men in the largest mass execution in U.S. history. Governor Ramsey initiated settler citizen bounty payments of up to \$200 to those with proof of the murder of a Dakota person.¹⁴

On November 7, 1862, the U.S. Army forcibly marched Dakota, mostly women, children, and elderly people, 150 miles from the Cansa'yapi, or the Lower Sioux Agency in Morton, Minnesota, to the concentration camp, Ft. Snelling, located near Bdote. It was winter. They were not allowed to take any belongings, such as suitable clothing or provisions. Along the way, settlers attacked and threw rocks and boiling liquids, murdered Dakota babies, and raped Dakota women.¹⁵ Bdote, the place of Dakota genesis, became a place of genocide.¹⁶

The Dakota Removal Act of 1863, a law still on the books today, was signed into law by President Lincoln and enforced by Minnesota Governor Alexander Ramsey and Senator Henry Sibley, both founding regents of the University of Minnesota (UMN).¹⁷ This law resulted in the exile of most Dakota people from Mni Sóta Maḵoḱe. Many Dakota survivors were put on ships and sent to reservations far from their homelands, separated from their source of food, their economy, and their sacred cultural spaces. Families were torn apart.¹⁸

Anishinaabeg (Ojibwe, Chippewa) also call this land home. Anishinaabeg trace their roots to the East Coast, near the mouth of the Saint Lawrence River. The many bands of Anishinaabeg peoples began to move westward due to a prophecy telling them to travel until they came upon lands where food grew from the water. The migration inland took place over many centuries, causing bands to separate, reconnect, and settle in various locations along the way, including what is now known as northern Minnesota. Other UMN

¹¹ MNHS, "Minnesota Treaty Interactive Map."

¹² See MNHS, "Broken Promises," and MNHS, "The US-Dakota War."

¹³ See Holocaust and Genocide Studies, "US-Dakota War."

¹⁴ Routel, "Minnesota Bounties On Dakota Men."

¹⁵ MNHS, "Forced Marches and Imprisonment."

¹⁶ Garagiola and Bernier, "#LandBack."

¹⁷ Minnesota Legal History Project, "1863 Indian Removal Acts."

¹⁸ Minnesota Legal History Project, "1863 Indian Removal Acts."

campuses (Crookston, Duluth, Morris) are situated on lands taken through coercive treaties with Anishinaabeg peoples.¹⁹

The Northern Cheyenne once controlled territory that extended from Minnesota to the Rocky Mountains. Then, the Northern Cheyenne began to migrate west in the 1680s before finally being relocated to the Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation in 1884.

The Winnebago trace their ancestral roots to central Wisconsin and northern Illinois. The tribe signed their first treaty with the United States government in 1816 and successive cession treaties that placed the Winnebago in Minnesota by 1832. Fervor and public sentiment to remove Indians from the exterior boundaries of the State of Minnesota hit an all-time high after the Dakota Conflict. Due to this, and in spite of the fact that the Winnebago had remained neutral in the conflict, the Treaty with the Winnebago, 1837 was nullified by the U.S government and the Winnebago were forced from Minnesota, forever.

Throughout this document, the terms American Indian, Native American, and Indigenous Peoples are used interchangeably to refer collectively to the peoples whose nations share geographical proximity to the United States and/or experiences with U.S. imperialism, and whom settler-colonial institutions persistently under-resource. While this can result in similar resource gaps, it is important to recognize each Tribal Nation's unique context when helping students access resources.

In addition, intentional acknowledgement of cultural and political distinctions must be consistently centered when creating a list of programs for American Indian students across the University of Minnesota system. There are different acronyms that are used now to describe historically underrepresented groups; such as Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC), or People of Color and Indigenous (POCI); however, American Indians have a political status that is significantly different from Blacks or African Americans, Asians, Native Hawaiians or any other Pacific Islanders, or any other racial classification. The political status of American Indians, particularly of federally recognized Tribal Nations and their Tribal members, including in Minnesota, is recognized and affirmed by the U.S. Constitution's Supremacy Clause, treaties, U.S. & Minnesota statute, federal & state executive order, federal court decisions, and administrative regulations. The political status recognizes inherent rights of American Indians that are distinct from other racial demographics. The history of the formation of the University of Minnesota as a land grab institution with the consequence of genocide, exile, and subjugation of the Dakota,

¹⁹ See Minnesota Humanities Center, "Relations: Dakota & Ojibwe Treaties."

Anishinaabe, Cheyenne, and Winnebago (Ho-Chunk), and other Indigenous Nations also brings more to bear on this distinction of identification and circumstance.

172 Years of Silence and Erasure

The people responsible for Dakota genocide and exile were the men who created this institution, through a series of violence-backed land cessions, treaties, and war. Every single person at the University of Minnesota is a benefactor of these policies written more than 150 years ago. Indigenous peoples had thriving communities before European settlement. It was an intentional action by the early Regents to build the University in these places. The Dakota are the original peoples of this land where the Twin Cities campus has settled. This research shows that the choice to locate UMN so close to the Dakota people's place of creation and other sacred sites was just one of several strategic political maneuvers taken by members of the founding Board of Regents that together equate to ethnocide and genocide.

In acknowledging the ethnocide and genocide of Indigenous peoples, we also must acknowledge that universities also have roots in the enslavement of Black and brown people. The infrastructure of the United States was founded through the abuse of enslaved Black and Brown People to construct and maintain the development of colonial structures procured through the ethnic cleansing and genocide land dispossession of Indigenous peoples. The University of Minnesota is no different, and founders have roots in pro-slavery groups.²⁰ Though this report centers the founding of the University through the ethnic cleansing of Indigenous peoples in Mni Sóta Maḵoḥe, we implore the University of Minnesota to also publicly examine and redress instances of injustices perpetrated against other peoples.

At a University of Minnesota Board of Regents meeting in October 2022, two years into the TRUTH Project, Vice Chair Steve Sviggum made comments about the University of Minnesota Morris campus asking if UMN Morris had become "too diverse."²¹ Regent Sviggum had received correspondence from white people saying they were uncomfortable with that level of diversity. These letters have never been made public.

²⁰ Lehman, *Slavery's Reach*.

²¹ See video at UMN, "October 22 Board of Regents."

According to statistics from the University's Institutional Data and Research (IDR), the Morris campus is predominantly white (54%). The Morris campus was once an Indian residential school, and recently bodies of Native American children taken from their families and forced to attend were discovered in unmarked graves.²² If anyone should feel discomfort, it is the descendants of boarding school survivors attending UMN Morris. More details on the Morris campus are available on page 44.

Sviggum's anti-Indigenous ideologies are nothing new to the UMN Board of Regents. UMN was twice opened with profits from expropriated Native lands. Many of these funds continue to collect interest and will do so in perpetuity. This report includes a content analysis of Board of Regents records from 1851 to 1868. Our findings indicate a concerted effort by the founders of the University to commit acts which equate to genocide.

This history has been buried deep within the Earth, under the banks of the river Haha Wakpa in the University archives. On the surface, stories of pioneer discovery and innovation are propagated over the Indigenous narratives that have existed on this land since time immemorial. These one-sided stories have attempted to erase Indigenous culture and knowledge to benefit the settler state. Moreover, economic analyses show a perpetual transfer of wealth from Indigenous communities to Settler communities through the University of Minnesota.

Many of us are in a moment where we are resisting and reconsidering the design of the systems that have been built; they are systems in which we all participate and through which we relate to each other. As a collective, we are facing a global pandemic, climate catastrophe, racialized violence, and so on. In doing so, we are confronted with harsh truths of division and of painful histories each day. We uncover that we are not in right relation with each other, in large part due to the systems of power we've built and due to the histories we hold. What becomes clear is that systems are conducive to harm, harm to bodies and to the earth; and this harm is unevenly distributed. This is a pattern held throughout history, especially within the geo-political nation of the United States. As we seek solutions that we can all live with (we mean this quite literally), we must contextualize how we got to this place of inequity, divisiveness, and rancor.

In this pursuit, we must call into question an institution that has been quietly unexamined, but loudly touted as an entity meant to serve the greater good: the Land-grant university. Universities that have been granted land through acts like the Morrill Act or the Nelson Act have often been praised and celebrated as agents of "progress." But what has not been

²² Bui, "Native American Students Want."

publicly considered is how these revisionist narratives conceal the truth of how that land was acquired and what this means in relation to the Indigenous people who lived on and cared for this land since time immemorial. This has been privately considered by Indigenous people, but through the mechanisms of settler colonialism, the conversation and repressive history of Tribal-University Relations has been effaced.

To deepen and further this conversation, this report explores Tribal-University relations past, present, and future, and how we might fulfill this ambitious goal of getting in right relation. You will be presented with many dimensions of this issue throughout the 172-year history of the institution. Nothing here is meant to be the answer, but rather if we are asking the right questions throughout:

- How might this institution serve as a site of healing rather than harm?
- How do we redress the inequities created through genocide and repression of Indigenous people and culture?
- How do we repair where settler occupation has erased Native lives, culture, and histories by exploiting Native lands and resources while displacing Indigenous people?



We hope to remind those reading this that countless stories have been lost due to colonization and removal. Much of the history that has been preserved has been about us instead of in our words. Because of that erasure, the labor of having to recover and re-introduce these stories about our past is difficult. It will take a continuation of community discussions and research among our Tribal Nations and relatives to ensure that our stories are always given an equitable space.

-Andy Vig,
Margo Prescott,
and Javier
Avalos, SMSC
Report

TRIBAL NATIONS' PRESENTATIONS and REPORTS

Throughout the TRUTH Project, Indigenous research standards have been used to uplift Indigenous ways of knowing, learning, researching, analyzing, evaluating, and sharing information. TRUTH was designed to center and build community. This intentionality allowed the project to remain fluid, resilient, and led to the decolonization of research practices and creation of data sovereignty procedures both within and outside the circle of the project. TRUTH researchers have begun the long process of identifying methods of healing institutional harms. Our Nations are strong, our people resilient, and when we come together, we combine our strengths.

Honoring Indigenous methods of oral storytelling, on May 16th and 17th 2022, TRUTH Researchers gathered at the Humphrey School of Public Affairs for a two-day symposium. They shared their experiences, findings, and recommendations to an audience of Tribal and University leaders.

Below are links to the presentations.

[Cansa'yapi Lower Sioux Indian Community](#)
President Robert Larsen

[Gaa-waabaabiganikaag White Earth Nation](#)
Jamie Arsenault

[Gaa-zagaskwaajimekaag Leech Lake Band of Ojibwe](#)
Laurie Harper

[Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux Community](#)
Rebecca Crooks Stratton

[Misi-zaaga'iganiing Mille Lacs Band of Ojibwe](#)
Mike Wilson

[Miskwaagamiwi-Zaagaiganing Red Lake Nation](#)
Audrianna Goodwin

[Nah-gah-chi-wa-nong Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Chippewa](#)
Kami Diver

[Pezihutazizi / Oyate Upper Sioux Community](#)
Samantha Odegard

[Tinta Wita Prairie Island Indian Community](#)
Suzelle Sandoval Bellanger

[Zagaakwaandagowiniwag Bois Forte Band of Chippewa and Gichi-Onigaming Grand Portage Band of Lake Superior Chippewa](#)
Jaylen Strong

Additionally, several Tribes chose to include a written report. These begin on the following page and are followed by the University report.



Leech Lake Band of Ojibwe

TRUTH Project Report



June 2022 // Prepared by Laurie Harper, Director of Education and TRUTH Research Fellow

**“Mewinzha iko-ingitiziimag ingii-waa-wiindamagoog
iko gaa-izhibimaadiziwaad wa’aw anishinaabeg...”**

(A long time ago, my grandparents told me how
(we)Anishinaabe lived).

This was how my grandpa began an answer to my questions regarding how he grew up.¹ He was born in 1919 and spent much of his formative years with his grandfather at Buck Lake, north of what is now known as Cass Lake. As he said this part to me in Ojibwemowin, his eyes had the faraway look and I knew he was reaching back through his memories and into his childhood. What he shared with me through that interview, and really throughout my whole life, has impacted and guided me through raising my own children and how I view the world around me, and very specifically our homelands of Leech Lake Reservation. One topic he spoke about during that interview process was the dams that are throughout Leech Lake Reservation and the impacts they’ve had on our family’s ability to thrive and survive. As a grandmother myself, I am realizing the need to share our family’s stories with my own grandchildren, in hopes that they pick up where we leave off and that they understand how truly loved they are, not only by their grandparents but also by our ancestors. I will attempt to answer the research questions that are listed later in this report, based upon research and interviews through the University of Minnesota while also upholding my ancestral teachings that, for whatever reasons, Ojibwe elders throughout Minnesota and Wisconsin chose to share with me.

When this research opportunity was presented to me, I reached out to several employees of Leech Lake Band of Ojibwe. What I thought of as a great opportunity to finally gain unfettered access to research information that had rarely, if ever considered us, let alone asked us if we wanted to contribute or participate in the University of Minnesota’s research was definitely not viewed in the same opportunistic light. I received responses such as, “Tell the U of M to leave us the hell alone and leave our manoomin alone and quit researching us and our rice without our permission and knowledge,” and, “Why does Leech Lake have to write a research report on the egregious harms the University of Minnesota has perpetuated upon us, when they already KNOW and have ignored us since before Minnesota was even a state?” As the responses came in, I realized that a lot of us carry the intergenerational traumas and pains of our ancestors and did not view the research opportunity as favorable or an opportunity to tell our story through our own lens. So, I turned inward and thought back to my own family history and the traditional knowledge as well as the traditional ecological knowledge that has been passed down intergenerationally. And I thought about the disruptions of that historical knowledge and the heart wounds that my grandfather carried with him, due to the dams placed on Leech Lake and Lake Winnibigoshish. Without stepping on any other departmental (Leech Lake Band of Ojibwe’s Division of Resource Management and Human Services Division), toes, I determined that researching the impacts of the dams at Leech Lake and Lake Winnibigoshish was the best way to begin to tell of the roles the University of Minnesota played in the harms perpetuated against the Leech Lake Reservation Ojibwe people and how impactful and harmful and disruptive their research has been.

¹ (personal interview, Alvin Staples, April, 1995).

Brief history of Leech Lake

The Mississippi Headwaters are located in northern Minnesota in the Leech Lake Nation's ceded territory of 1855. The Treaty of Washington of 1855 established the Leech Lake Reservation and also designated "chiefs" or headmen of the Ojibwe whom the federal government said had the authority to sign on behalf of the Ojibwe people. This was contested by the Mille Lacs Anishinaabeg as they had no representation in the treaty negotiations of 1855. It is worth noting here that until this time, the Ojibwe did not have a "chief" system, as known by the now contemporary history. The governance of Ojibwe people was consensus and everyone, including women, were part of the decision making and advising. Often times, the decisions were made after days of deliberation, as each clan community had to agree, which is why the "chiefs" were designated and recognized by the federal officials in the treaty of 1855. For the Anishinaabeg, balance and representation was key to being stewards to the land and each other and no voice was ever silenced.²

Brief Minnesota History

Minnesota's legal identity was created in 1849 as the Minnesota Territory and it became a State on May 11, 1858. The federal government recognized the Ojibwe, (Chippewa is a bastardized word of the colonizers language; Ojibwe/Ochipway and will be written throughout as Ojibwe rather than Chippewa) in their treaties with the Ojibwe (Treaties of 1837, 1847, 1854, 1855), long before Minnesota's legal identity was created. It should be noted that Ojibwe people, as well as other indigenous nations, were dealing with onslaught after onslaught with the Federal government as well as with the Minnesota Territory. Each land cession was not a one-time deal, but kept coming and coming. My ancestors were dealing with internal disputes amongst the Ojibwe bands, land cessions that continued to diminish their land base and access to traditional areas of sustenance AND to traditional burial places. In addition to misunderstandings created by treaty negotiations that were presented to them in the English language and had to be translated to Ojibwemowin for understanding.

Research Questions

Did the U of M play a role in the research, building, and design of the dams?

What role did the U of M play?

Did the U of M and the Army Corps consider Leech Lake needs and manoomin in research, building, design, and operation of the dams?

Research statement

The impact of dams on manoomin beds, role of the University in changing water near Leech Lake Reservation

² (personal conversation, J. Shingobe, East Lake, Minnesota, May, 2000)

Intertwined history of Minnesota and University of Minnesota

The passage of the Rivers and Harbors Acts of June 14, 1880 and August 2, 1882 authorized the construction of dams at each of the six Mississippi River Headwaters lakes for the purpose of “augmenting Mississippi River flow for navigation.” The lakes affected by the acts are Winnibigoshish, Leech, Pokegama, Sandy, Cross and Gull. All six of which are located in the ceded territory of the 1855 Treaty that established the Leech Lake Reservation and Mille Lacs Reservation. As stated previously, the Ojibwe at Mille Lacs protested this signing as they did not have representation from their bands at the negotiations. One of the signers/negotiators for the federal government was Henry M. Rice, who was served on the Board of Regents for the University of Minnesota, 1851 -1859. Henry M. Rice was a fur trader, who lobbied for the bill to establish Minnesota Territory (the Louisiana Purchase). Rice also served as a delegate in the 33rd and 34th Congress from March 4, 1853 til March 4, 1857. Rice not only signed the treaty of 1855, but also lobbied for amounts to be paid, as he said the Ojibwe owed thousands of dollars from the collapsed fur trade. The Ojibwe were “allowed credit” almost unlimited credit, as long as they maintained land.³

³ Treaties matter website at:
<https://treatiesmatter.org/relationships/business/fur-trade>

Ojibwe people found it increasingly difficult to pay down their debt and when the fur trade collapsed, due to over trapping, fur traders, including Rice, became treaty negotiators and Ojibwe people began selling their lands to get out of debt. Fur traders kept the majority of the money due to their government connections and seats held as congressional members. Rice was invested in the timber industry and profited from logging Ojibwe land. Rice maintained his political connections with Washington, DC and as a United States Commissioner during 1887 - 1888, continued to negotiate treaties with Indians.

The Dams

The Leech Lake Reservoir Dam or Federal Dam as it is known as by locals, is located in Cass County, Minnesota. It is one of six Headwaters Reservoirs dam sites that are historically significant due to navigation, commerce, tourism, the Ojibwe people and U.S. Indian policy in Minnesota in the late 19th century.³

The Library of Congress' website claims that the dam enhanced navigation and aided in the commercial development of the Upper Mississippi River. It also mentions that the dam had a devastating impact on my ancestors that lived on the shores of Leech Lake. My ancestors fought for a century with the U.S. government over the damages of flooding of our tribal lands that included traditional harvesting areas for manoomin, berries and other wild plants and our burial sites. The Library of Congress refers to this as "the inundation of tribal lands and property." This researcher had to look up the difference between the words flooding and inundation. The definition preferred by the Advancing Earth and Space Science of inundation is: the process of a dry area being permanently drowned or submerged. That is an accurate portrayal of what occurred to my ancestors that lived on the shores of Leech Lake.

What is not clearly stated is that Federal Dam did not have the continued economic success for the Ojibwe people that it had for the non-native settlers and colonizers that were further south along the Mississippi River, such as the burgeoning settlements of Minneapolis and St. Paul. The research conducted in the 1800's had more to do with saving the flour mills at Minneapolis and transporting and floating timber (stolen from the Ojibwe lands) down the Mississippi River, as it was more cost effective than taking them by horse and trailer or by rail. It really was more about the already populated metro area, than it was about wild, untamed north that was inhabited by my great- grandparents. A timeline of planning the Dams on and near the Leech Lake Reservation is as follows:

- 1869 - St. Anthony Falls (in present day metro area) nearly collapsed due to excessive water levels and excessive tunneling
- 1881 Construction on Lake Winnibigoshish begins
- 1882 Leech Lake Reservoir Dam & Pokegama Falls Dam begins
- 1884 construction of Lake Winnibigoshish & Leech Lake Reservoir Dams are complete
- 1885 Pokegama Falls Dam is completed

³ <https://www.loc.gov/item/mn0391/#:~:text=Significance%3A%20The%20Leech,lands%20and%20property>

Relationships

The University hosted the Army Corps of Engineers on its Minneapolis campus for many years at the St. Anthony Falls Laboratory. Furthermore, that same lab conducted numerous studies for the Army Corps of Engineers. Those studies show no evidence that the Laboratory ever took the interests of the Leech Lake Band of Ojibwe, nor of American Indian people into account. Leech Lake Band of Ojibwe were not raised in the reports, as if we did not exist **The impacts of the dams being built on and near our waterways of what is now Leech Lake Reservation, has been felt inter-generationally.**

The way that the University of Minnesota has continuously worked to shape Minnesota is critical to picturing the dams in the broad picture. The University has tried to shape Minnesota in a way that works against American Indian people. It is not just about the dams, it is that the dams are part of a whole process of re-imagining Minnesota into a place where Ojibwe people are just part of the past.

When we begin by looking at the dams on Leech Lake and Lake Winnibigoshish and Pokegama Dam, we can place them as one part of the bigger story of Minnesota that the University of Minnesota has strived to build.

The building of Federal dam has been destructive to the Leech Lake Band of Ojibwe, on so many levels. By inundating traditional manoomin beds, it caused starvation for my ancestors. In a time when Ojibwe were already dealing with theft of their annuity payments through timber and fur barons controlling and manipulating treaty negotiations, my ancestors were grieving the loss of sustenance of our main staple, loss of traditional berry and other wild food places and the loss of our ancestral burial grounds near the waterways. The Federal Dam completely changed the landscape, making traditional homesites and burial sites inaccessible. While none of these effects were caused by just the University, the University of Minnesota supported the work of the Army Corps of Engineers in the management of the dam.

Shifting the big picture

Failure to consider what the Leech Lake Band of Ojibwe people have to do with what the University of Minnesota's Board of Regents in the 1880's clearly thought was their larger mission: build a northern Minnesota that was focused on timber and mining. The University supported the Army Corps of Engineers, and forest products laboratories and forestry departments and so many other capitalist endeavors that profited only certain kinds of people - non-indigenous businesses and non-natives that wanted to settle in Northern Minnesota.

The University of Minnesota's silence about Leech Lake Band of Ojibwe and other indigenous tribal nations in the University's lab's reports, and in the University's Civil Engineering work about dams, the work of the University in forestry, speaks loudly. It tells Leech Lake Band of Ojibwe, that the University of Minnesota wanted to build a Minnesota with no place for Ojibwe or Dakota or any other indigenous people.

In looking at the University of Minnesota's support for the Army Corps of Engineers in managing the dams, we are able to see just a glimpse of how the Leech Lake Band of Ojibwe were damaged by the University of Minnesota's continual erasure of us.

Research Outcomes/Expectations

The work has only just begun. Tribal nations throughout Minnesota need continued access to archival materials and reports throughout the full University of Minnesota system. University of Minnesota needs to uphold its duty to educate Minnesotans about our shared tribal-state history through required undergraduate coursework that builds knowledge and understanding of tribal governments, tribal sovereignty, and our collective history. All graduate students in fields of public policy, business or law will be required to take graduate or law school courses of the same nature.

We need a minimum of two Minnesota Indigenous people on the Board of Regents. With the most recent retirement of the Regent from the 8th Congressional District, Leech Lake Band of Ojibwe recommends the appointment of Tadd Johnson, Bois Forte tribal enrolled member to this seat. In the 171-year history of the University of Minnesota, there has never been an enrolled member of a Minnesota Indian tribe on the Board of Regents. Of all of the land stolen from the Minnesota tribes, that helped build the University of Minnesota and thirty-four other Universities, this is opportunity for the University of Minnesota to begin to make right by the Ojibwe and Dakota people. Tadd Johnson will bring honor and integrity to the role of a Board Regent and we whole-heartedly support this appointment. There should always be a minimum of two Board of Regents that are filled by tribally enrolled Minnesota Ojibwe or Minnesota Dakota people.

The University should ensure that the Marvin J. Sonosky Chair of law and public policy be used to fund American Indian law and policy scholarship to honor the work of Mr. Sonosky.

Another piece that the University can improve upon: genuinely offer to work on repairing relationships with Leech Lake Band of Ojibwe and other tribes throughout the State. There were individual meetings that I had with various departments of the University throughout this research, that didn't care if they had a positive working relationship with us. I was told by three different departmental representatives/staff/professors, that they tried to contact Leech Lake, but didn't get a response. When I asked who exactly they reached out to and how, and shared with them the new email addresses (firstname.lastname@llojibwe.NET), they just shrugged it off. The attitudes from some, not all, university staff was as if they were doing me a favor by deigning to meet with me.

And finally, my ancestors had the foresight to think generationally and adhere to what their grandparents taught them, through oral histories, that have often been relegated to "story-telling," by University systems. Ojibwe history is oral history that has been handed down generationally and very intentional in the transmission of it from grandparent to grandchild. Our indigenous knowledge and ways of being and knowing are just as valuable in our tribal communities as they are in that University setting. Our traditional knowledge that we carry within us and our knowledge of the world around us is older than the State of Minnesota and the University system. It is time to welcome our ways of seeing the world into those academic settings, as our teachings go back to when the Anishinaabe were put on this earth from the stars.



Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux Community

TRUTH Project Report

May 2022 // Prepared by Andy Vig, Margo Prescott, and Javier Avalos

The Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux Community is a federally recognized, sovereign Dakota Tribe located southwest of the Minneapolis/St. Paul area. Our Community is built on seven Dakota values that guide our actions and shape who we are as a people.

Seven Dakota Values

Wócekiya - Prayer

Wóohoda - Respect

Wówauḡsidaḡ - Caring and Compassion

Wówahbadaḡ - Humility

Wóksape - Wisdom

Wóokiya - Generosity and Helping

Wówicaka-Honesty and Truth

With these values as a guide, the Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux Community believes in being a good neighbor and it is within that belief that we participate in the TRUTH project. The TRUTH project aims to provide an opportunity for Minnesota's 11 Tribal Nations to tell their stories in respect to the University of Minnesota's history with Native people in what became known as Minnesota. The University of Minnesota should recognize that many of our relatives are not within the boundaries of this state. Our Oceti Šakowin relatives should also be given the opportunity to share their stories, since their experience has also been significantly altered by the colonization that is, in part, represented by the University system. Their exclusion from this project serves as a continuation of an agenda to define who we are by non-Dakota people. Today, the tribal governments and communities of the Oceti Šakowin are located throughout the Upper Midwest of the United States, which includes Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Montana, as well as and Alberta, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan in Canada. The Oceti Šakowin consists of:

Tribal governments and communities of the Oceti Šakowin

Mdewakanḡtuḡwaḡ: Dwellers of the Spirit Lake

Waḡpetuḡwaḡ: Dwellers Among the Leaves

Sisituḡwaḡ: Dwellers of the Fish Lake

Ihaḡktuḡwaḡna: Little Dwellers at the End

Ihaḡktuḡwaḡ: Dwellers at the End

Títuḡwaḡ: Dwellers of the Prairie

Waḡpekute: Shooters Among the Leaves

The TRUTH project should not simply serve as an attempt to gather a list of experiences that Native people have endured in the University of Minnesota system. Rather, it should express how institutions like the University have consistently been built to exclude and exploit Native people. Many of those institutions that have served to oppress our people are connected outside of the University of Minnesota itself. We hope to remind those reading this that countless stories have been lost due to colonization and removal. Much of the history that has been preserved has been about us instead of in our words. Because of that erasure, the labor of having to recover and

re-introduce these stories about our past is difficult. It will take a continuation of community discussions and research among our Tribal Nations and relatives to ensure that our stories are always given an equitable space. More funding for projects will allow for healing to begin and be sustained in the long-term. However, this can not only be a place to recount our history. People have only seen us through the lens of the past for too long and we must advocate for how this system must change to be more inclusive of Native people.

In order to understand how the University of Minnesota has been inextricably linked to the people and institutions that have historically oppressed us, we need to look no further than the name of the University itself. The word Minnesota is derived from the Dakota words Mni Sóta, which translates to milky, white water and is the traditional name for the Mni Sóta Wakpa, which is today called the Minnesota River. The boundaries of Minnesota are a colonial construct created by land speculators and politicians. Dakota people would not have recognized these boundaries and the name was adopted as a way to pay homage to the Dakota people without their inclusion and in name only. The memorial in part reads:

“to show a proper regard for the memory of the great nation, whose homes and country our people are now destined soon to possess, we desire that it should be so designated.”¹

“ ———
The word Minnesota is derived from the Dakota words Mni Sóta, which translates to milky, white water and is the traditional name for the Mni Sóta Wakpa, which is today called the Minnesota River.

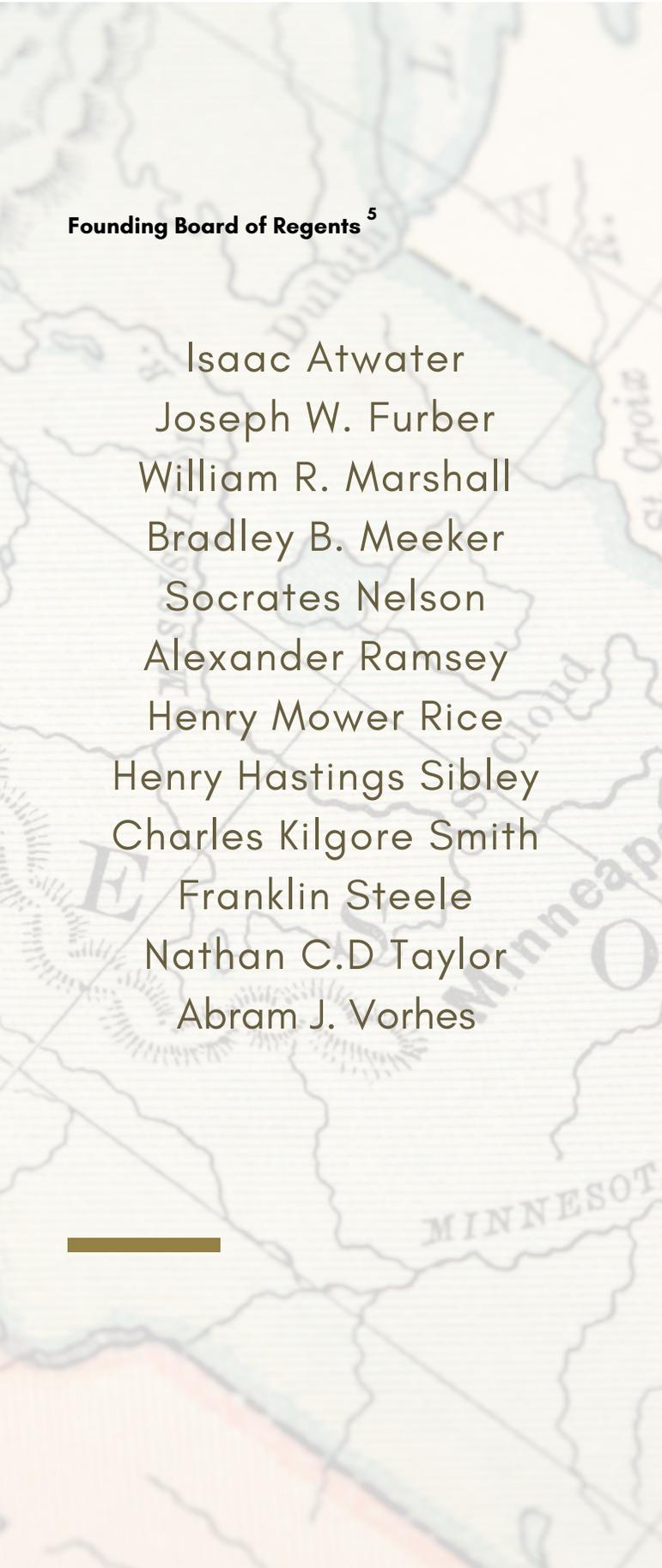
The Minnesota Territory was formed under the Organic Act of 1849 and established on March 3, 1849, cementing the name that was formed by the men who were in their words “destined to possess” our homelands and would later seek to remove us from them.² The newly formed position of Territorial Governor would be filled by Alexander Ramsey.³ Years before Minnesota would achieve statehood, the University of Minnesota was founded by the newly formed Territorial Legislature and a Board of Regents was established to articulate a vision for the University.⁴ The Board of Regents is selected by the Legislature and is therefore inherently linked to the government of Minnesota. The original Board of Regents are familiar to Dakota people for their work in the fur trade, land speculation, and their efforts to fight our people during the U.S Dakota War of 1862.

¹ On March 6, 1852, the Territorial Legislature adopted Memorial No. VI, a Memorial to President Millard Fillmore to request that the Federal government adopt the name “Minnesota River” for what was at the time called St. Peters River.

² Office of the Minnesota Secretary of State. Organic Act of 1849. <https://www.sos.state.mn.us/about-minnesota/minnesota-government/organic-act-of-1849/>.

³ Minnesota Legislative Reference Library. Minnesota Governors, 1849–Present. <https://www.lrl.mn.gov/mngov/gov>. University of Minnesota. Board of Regents: History of the Board of Regents. <https://regents.umn.edu/history-board-regents#:~:text=In%201861%2C%20the%20University%20suspended,1867%2C%20when%20the%20University%20reopened>

⁴ University of Minnesota. Board of Regents: Role of the Board. <https://regents.umn.edu/role-board>.



Founding Board of Regents⁵

Isaac Atwater
Joseph W. Furber
William R. Marshall
Bradley B. Meeker
Socrates Nelson
Alexander Ramsey
Henry Mower Rice
Henry Hastings Sibley
Charles Kilgore Smith
Franklin Steele
Nathan C.D Taylor
Abram J. Vorhes

Some of the names that made up the initial Board of Regents are memorialized throughout Minnesota. As Dakota people we named our homes and the landscape after the resources provided to us by Ina Maka (Mother Earth), such as Caŋhasaŋ Paha (The Hills with Whitish Bark), Makato (Blue Earth), or Mni la Táŋka (large or great water). Some of our homes were named for where our villages were located, such as Tiŋta Outŋwe (Prairie Village). Many of the names associated with the Regents are from one of Minnesota's 87 counties, parks, streets, statues, or other ways of honoring the "pioneers" of Minnesota. Much like the shape of Minnesota, the counties are reflective of political and economic concerns and the naming of them is mostly done out of patronage to the powerful people at the heart of the systems that were designed to oppress Native people. Some of the names do reflect the stories and traditions of Native people. These names were also put into place to "honor" those people that would one day be but a distant memory of the past. Some of the same people would also become leaders of the newly formed Minnesota Historical Society, which was formed by the Territorial Legislature on October 20, 1849.⁶ Sibley, Meeker, Ramsey, Rice, and Steele would end up serving as founding members of both the University of Minnesota and the Minnesota Historical Society.⁷

⁵ University of Minnesota. Historical List of Regents. https://regents.umn.edu/sites/regents.umn.edu/files/2021-03/BOR%20Historical%20List_Table_March_2021.pdf.

⁶ Minnesota Territorial Legislature, 1849. <https://www.revisor.mn.gov/laws/1849/0/General+Law/s/Chapter/42/pdf/>.

⁷ Ibid

Throughout the treaty years, some of the most prominent leaders of the University of Minnesota enriched themselves with the resources of our homelands. For example, the fur trade granted Henry Hastings Sibley significant wealth, while the animals that Native people depended upon were overhunted, destroying the delicate balance that is essential to care for our home. The fur trade is sometimes seen as a period of relative peace, goodwill, and mutual benefit between Native people and Europeans and later Americans. However, this period would prove disastrous as we suffered from new contagious diseases, declining animal populations, and the increasing conflict with other tribes as Native people were continuously shifted from landscape to landscape as manifest destiny became reality. Franklin Steele was involved in trading goods on credit to Native people, a practice that would continuously drive-up debts.⁸ Having less land meant that our people had to become more reliant on western ways of farming and the selling of lands to cover the costs of goods needed to survive. When the fur trade began to decline in the 1840s, the interest of the state moved towards the next extractable resource, the land.

Before Minnesota would achieve statehood, the leaders of the state, and the University of Minnesota had already begun acquiring lands from the Anishinaabe and Dakota people. For Dakota people, the first treaty was signed in 1805 for a piece of land that would be designated for a fort, which would become Fort Snelling. Only two of the seven Dakota leaders that were present signed the agreement and were misled as to the true intent of the agreement. It was not until 15 years later that the fort was built, but the push for Dakota lands would continue through the treaty process. In 1837, a treaty was signed giving up the first portion of Dakota lands within the future state boundaries. It would also be the first treaty that included lands upon which the University of Minnesota stands today. Traders would later claim they had debts built up from past interactions, so treaty payments never went as far as they should. The encroachment of settlers, strong government pressures, and an uncertainty about the future set off a chain reaction that would result in the loss of more of our homelands.⁹

Many Dakota people did not want to give up lands but the government would not take no for an answer, leading some treaty negotiations to stretch on for days. The Dakota experienced the largest loss of land in 1851 and were placed on a small strip of land along the Minnesota River, including the rest of the land where the modern-day University of Minnesota –Twin Cities sits today. Another founding regent of the University, Henry Mower Rice, was involved in the negotiations along with Ramsey and Sibley.¹⁰ Negotiators ensured that their debts and those of their friends were taken from the Dakota by signing an additional document that would come to be known as the “the Traders’ papers.”¹¹

⁸ Rodney C. Loehr. “Franklin Steele, Frontier Businessman.” Minnesota Historical Society, 1946. Pg. 311 <http://collections.mnhs.org/MNHHistoryMagazine/articles/27/v27i04p309-318.pdf>.

⁹ University of Minnesota. Radio Station KUOM. 1949. “The Sioux Treaty.” University of Minnesota Libraries, University Archives., Accessed May 03, 2022. <https://umedia.lib.umn.edu/item/p16022coll171:2025>. This radio program in part depicts the 1851 Treaty. The depiction features a racist portrayal of Little Crow and shows how generations of Minnesotans were taught about Native American history.

¹⁰ MNOPEdia. Henry Mower Rice (1816-1894). <https://www.mnopedia.org/person/rice-henry-mower-1816-1894>.

¹¹ Lucile M. Kane. “The Sioux Treaties and the Traders.” Minnesota History Vol. 32,2, 1951. <http://collections.mnhs.org/MNHHistoryMagazine/articles/32/v32i02p065-080.pdf>.

Being one of Minnesota's first U.S Senators, Rice was also involved in the formation of a program that would allow the United States government to issue land scrips in exchange for un-surveyed federal lands.¹² The 1851 Treaty also paved the way for the University to get nearly 50,000 acres of land to financially support the institution, which was deferred to ensure that the maximum benefit could be achieved for the University as laid out in an 1853 Regents report to the Legislature.¹³

“The two townships of land donated by Congress to the University, have not yet been located. It was thought advisable to defer the location till after the ratification of the Indian Treaties, in order that wider range might be afforded to make a selection most favorable to the interest of the institution. The matter is of great consequence to the interest of the University, and will receive the attention of the Regents as early as practicable.”¹⁴

Although 1858 is typically recognized as the year Minnesota achieved statehood, to the Dakota, it meant another treaty and more broken promises. Our people traveled to Washington D.C. and were pressured to negotiate against a government more concerned with the acquisition of land than the well-being of our people.

As conflict between the Dakota people and the United States government began, Alexander Ramsey, acting as governor, would appoint Henry Sibley as a commander of forces to fight the Dakota people. Throughout the conflict, Governor Ramsey encouraged the idea of removing the Dakota people from Minnesota. In a speech to the Legislature on September 9, 1862, he advocated that “The Sioux Indians of Minnesota must be exterminated or driven forever beyond our borders.” Even after the six-week conflict had ended in Minnesota, Sibley continued to pursue and fight against our people in the Dakota Territory.¹⁶ Between September 28 and November 5, 1862, a rapid and unfair series of trials were held at Camp Release and the Lower Sioux Agency with as many as 42 cases being heard in a single day. Legal representation to help the Dakota navigate the system that would decide their fate was not allowed and the evidence was lacking. When President Lincoln received the names of the condemned prisoners, he ordered “the full and complete record of their convictions” for review. Because of the manner in which the trials were conducted, Lincoln’s review lowered the number of condemned from 303 to 39 with one being reprieved. The review was not done in favor of seeking out justice for the Dakota, but rather to quiet angry settlers. After the trials concluded, the condemned were marched to Mankato, while a group of 1,658 Dakota were marched to Fort Snelling. Most of the Dakota that were marched to Fort Snelling were women, children, and elders. Many people died along the way or soon after their arrival at the camp. There is not an approximate number because the government didn’t treat the Dakota as people.

¹² Lucile M. Kane. “The Sioux Treaties and the Traders.” Minnesota History Vol. 32,2. 1951.
<https://collections.mnhs.org/MNHHistoryMagazine/articles/32/v32i02p065-080.pdf>.

¹³ Kendra Anderson, Ashlyn Behrman, Catalina Grimm & Franklin Pulkrabek. “The Legacy of a Land Grant: The University of Minnesota Reckoning with a History of Land Acquisition and Indigenous Displacement.” December 22, 2021.
<https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/68c189902c5e4997a69ccc8f4f059951>.; According to an early history of the University, Franklin Steele also donated the first piece of land that the University accepted. John Gilillan, John Bachop. Minnesota Historical Society. <https://www.loc.gov/item/18018933/>.

¹⁴ Exhibit panel D.10.b.4.a. pg. 88

¹⁵ William Millikan. “The Great Treasure of the Fort Snelling Prison Camp. Minnesota Historical Society

¹⁶ Ibid.

At Mankato, 38 Dakota men were hung on December 26, 1862, in the largest mass execution in United States history. The United States government continued to pursue the Dakota through a bounty system. The largest payout was for the Dakota *Itan̄caŋ T̄aoyate Dúta*, who was gunned down near Hutchinson, Minnesota in July of 1863, while picking berries with his son. His bounty was worth \$500. Other leaders such as *Śákpedaŋ* and *Wakan Óžaŋžaŋ* were also pursued by the government. They were drugged, kidnapped, and brought to Minnesota for their trials. Ultimately, they were hanged on November 11, 1865, at Fort Snelling. Together, the condemned men are often referred to as the 38 plus¹⁷ 2. Most of the Dakota that surrendered or were captured ended up at Reservations in Crow Creek and Santee. Proper burials were not given for the Dakota that died on the way. In cases when someone died along the river, the body was simply tossed from the boats. Some Dakota were allowed to stay in Minnesota, while others returned to our homelands throughout the late 1800s. After decades of deceit our exile was made into law in 1863. During this time, numerous business deals and laws that would benefit the University, both directly and indirectly, were put into place.

While our people were imprisoned at Fort Snelling, those who had benefited from enriching themselves at the expense of Native people continued to do just that. Franklin Steele gained the contract to provide provisions for the prisoners, which allowed him access to a list of prisoners.¹⁸ A contract that he was able to obtain from his relationship with Henry Sibley (Steele's brother-in-law). He utilized this information and opportunity to purchase land scripts at a vastly reduced price, which he later used to purchase mining and timber lands out west. Those funds were eventually joined with others to form the Northwestern National Bank in Minneapolis.¹⁹ These interconnected relationships between economic, political, and societal interest are of at least an indirect benefit to the University. The University directly benefited from the enactment of the 1862 Morrill Act, which allowed the selling of land to fund the University.²⁰ This law would serve as an important financial tool for the University because the 1860s marked a time of financial hardship resulting in the institution suspending operations.²¹ The University would eventually resume operations within the decade, but for our people, that removal can never be fully recovered.²²

Being removed from our homelands was only the beginning of our oppression. Reservations were established in such a way to sever close family ties and split up friends and families on undesirable land. The government wanted the Dakota to assimilate to Western ways of life, creating laws like the Dawes Act were set in place to strip the Dakota of their land and culture. The Dakota were not allowed to travel off reservation land unless it was for approved business, such as the purchasing of a plow horse. Request to visit families on another reservation or children in boarding schools was routinely rejected because the Indian Agents knew that breaking families apart was a proven assimilation tactic. Leaving the reservation could result in punishments or jail time.

¹⁷ Exhibit panel D.10.b.4.a. pg. 88

¹⁸ William Millikan. "The Great Treasure of the Fort Snelling Prison Camp. Minnesota Historical Society

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid

²¹ Land Grab Universities. <https://www.landgrabu.org/>. This law was enacted a little more than a month from before the outbreak of the U.S Dakota Conflict.

²² University of Minnesota. Board of Regents. <https://regents.umn.edu/history-board-regents>.

By restricting the Dakota and other tribes to small pieces of land, the United States government could separate the people and even take additional lands away from Native people and sell it to private owners or back to the government. For years, the government tried to encourage the Dakota to convert to Christianity and the ways of the Church. With settlers and missionaries moving closer to Dakota camps, the agents had more control and could force schooling, farming, and other Western ways through the support of missionaries.

Boarding schools were another tactic the government used to try and eradicate Dakota culture. Boarding schools were also referred to as residential schools and assimilation schools; however, they were essentially concentration camps for Native children. This is a system that the University of Minnesota knows well. The boarding school at Morris was administrated by the Sisters of Mercy order of the Catholic Church and later the United States government from 1887-1909.²³ Dakota children were separated from their parents and sent to boarding schools all across the United States with the mentality that school officials could "Kill the Indian and Save the Man." One of the first acts the school officials did was cut off the long hair from all of the children. Having long hair is an important part of Native culture and cutting one's hair usually only occurred when a loved one died. Children were also forced to wear uniforms and dress in western styles with all their Native clothing stripped away on their first day. The living conditions at boarding schools were horrible and authority was strict. Children were not allowed to speak Dakota and would be punished if caught doing so. Classes taught the Western ways of society and students were required to perform farming work and other manual labor. The children often suffered from disease, homesickness and for a lack of proper care. The children were traumatized for life never to be the same again. The effects of which are still being felt today through the loss of our language, cultural ways, and kinship ties. We are hesitant to embrace the Western education system that treated our children in this way. Some teachers, ministers, and nuns, abused the children and would get away with it because no one listened to the cries of abuse. Many children died at these schools and are still there. Some remains have been returned, but to this day remains are still being discovered.

Throughout the twentieth century, there have been many important changes through the legal system that have helped to expand the rights of Native people, but there have also been many challenges. In 1924, the Indian Citizenship Act allowed Natives living in the United States to finally become citizens. During this time, the University of Minnesota was building monuments to the "Pioneers" of Minnesota.²⁴ They did this by building Pioneer Hall in 1928.²⁵ Some of these "pioneers" distinguished themselves in the minds of the University by fighting against the Dakota during the U.S Dakota conflict, such as Charles Flandreau. Others such as Joseph Brown made their wealth in the fur trade that began to alter the lands and natural resources that sustained our people for generations. In 1934, the Howard-Wheeler Act or the Indian Reorganization Act was passed paving the way for Native Communities to adopt constitutions and practice their inherent right to sovereignty. We have continuously strived to not only preserve our sovereignty, but also our language.

²³[University of Minnesota: A Unique Campus History. <https://morris.umn.edu/about/unique-campus-history>.

²⁴University of Minnesota Libraries. "Letter to Weeklies, 1929-1932" <https://conservancy.umn.edu/handle/11299/50905>. Pg 145.

²⁵Ibid

The University of Minnesota has a long history of using the phrase Ski-U-Mah. In 1884, Rugby captain John W. Adams believed that he overheard Dakota canoe racers at Lake Pepin, Minnesota yell "Ski-oo." Mah was added later to complete the chant "Rah-Rah-Rah-Ski-U-Mah-Minn-So-ta."²⁶ This phrase was supposedly derived from the Dakota language meaning "victory." The Dakota word for victory is Woohiye. Ski-U-Mah has no basis in our Dakota lapi. Our words have intention and meaning that may be lost for those that do not live by our ways. We've made great strides in restoring our language, but continue to see mistranslations and misattributed words that supposedly describe who we are. The University of Minnesota has greatly benefited from the sale of merchandise featuring this phrase. Has the University of Minnesota used any of those funds to help Native students?

"Ski-U-Mah is disrespectful to our language and serves as a misrepresentation of who we are as Dakota people. Seeing a crowd of people chant this word is like hearing a verbal mascot."

-Andy Vig Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux Community Member and Director at Hočokata Ti

The University of Minnesota at this time was seeking to "study" Native people in a way that included placing us in the past, without agency, and without our voices. Classes such as those housed at the College of Pharmacy in the early 1930s sought to teach our plant knowledge as transmitted by "Indian medicine men and women." Our plant knowledge shared without our voice fuels misunderstanding about our ways and encourages people to appropriate those traditions for their own. Classes and "displays" such as these encourage the "medicine man/woman" stereotype that created a pan-Indian misrepresentation of Native ways. **Our rights to religious freedom were not equal to that of other American citizens until the passage of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978,** which was a huge victory for all Native people. This law allows Natives to freely practice their spirituality and cultural lifeways, which are supposed to be basic rights for Americans.

In 1990, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, (NAGPRA), was passed to protect burials, human remains and funerary objects from further destruction and display. These protections are necessary for the final resting places of our ancestors. The University proclaimed in the 1940s that "American Indians don't resent the white man digging into their ancestor's past" while documenting field work near Red Wing. That fieldwork was led by University of Minnesota professor Lloyd A. Wilford. This type of mentality has led to private collectors holding great pride in their collections and taking it upon themselves to care for funerary objects, remains, and other ceremonial objects that should have been left alone. The Mimbres Collection at the Weisman Art Museum and the University's inability to repatriate these items as of yet contributes to the painful legacy that archeologists have with the Native community. This is especially true as more Native students and professionals have entered the museum field in the hopes of being able to add our voices within institutions that were built to remember us as a people of the past and silence our stories.

²⁶ University of Minnesota. "Ski-U-Mah." <https://cla.umn.edu/music/ensembles/marching-band/history-traditions/ski-u-mah>.

²⁷ Ibid pgs 227-228

²⁸ 1948 July-October Press Release. <https://conservancy.umn.edu/handle/11299/50966>.

Contemporary times have seen some improvements for Native students within the University of Minnesota system. This is because Native people have led efforts to help give students opportunities that our ancestors were not given. Throughout the years, our Community has focused on several areas of collaboration with the University of Minnesota, such as language, natural resources, medical advances, legal support, and academics. **For example, in 2015, the SMSC made a \$1 million donation to the University of Minnesota as part of the tribe's \$11 million Seeds of Native Health campaign to improve Native American nutrition nationwide.** The tribe's work focused on three key components –grant-making, research, and advocacy – to support tribal food and agriculture policy, community-based nutrition programs, and research that supports the goal of improving dietary health for Native people. We're hopeful that this will help to reverse years of food scarcity for Native people that has resulted in the reliance on foods that promoted diseases like Diabetes and Heart Disease.

The Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux Community has sought to help support decolonizing efforts at the University of Minnesota wherever possible, while at the same time recognizing that the University of Minnesota is inherently colonial. The Tribal Nations Plaza was a contributed towards recognizing that the University is on Dakota land. In 2008, the tribe established the **Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux Community Endowed Scholarship with a gift of \$2.5 million** in order to recruit and retain talented Native American students with demonstrated financial need. The SMSC donated an additional \$500,000 to the scholarship program in 2017. More than 200 Native American students have received an SMSC scholarship since the program began. We recognized that all Native students should be given the chance to remove financial barriers from their education. These are barriers to opportunity that have affected Native people for generations and we encourage the University to expand their tuition program to all Native students, regardless of tribal affiliation. These students are the future of our Tribal Communities and we must increase support and resources for them. Our values and ancestors are with them.

"We were here before there was a University, before there was a state and we provide a presence to the state even today."

-Stanley Crooks, Former SMSC Chairman at the grand opening of Tribal Nations Plaza on August 17, 2009.





TRUTH Project Report
Red Lake Nation

The University of Minnesota and the Red Lake Band of Chippewa Indians: A Brief Analysis

January 2023 // Prepared by
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Brief Red Lake History

The Red Lake Band of Chippewa Indians is the sovereign body that governs the affairs of the Red Lake Anishinaabeg. The Red Lake Nation is located on aboriginal homelands in what is now known as Northern Minnesota and is currently comprised of 825,654 acres.¹The Old Crossing Treaty was our first treaty with the United States Government and was negotiated in 1863 by Alexander Ramsey.²In 1889 Tribal Leaders successfully refused the Dawes Allotment Act holding our ancestral lands in common.³ Today, there is an eleven member Tribal Council, three officers that are elected at large, and two representatives from each of the four communities: Little Rock, Red Lake, Redby, and Ponemah.⁴The Red Lake Nation is not apart of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribes (MCT).⁵ In addition, there are seven hereditary chiefs that serve in an advisory council role to the Tribal Council.⁶The Red Lake Nation is often referred to as a closed reservation, and also rejects public law 280 meaning that laws are made by the Tribal Council, and enforced by the Tribal Council, and Federal Courts.⁷It is decreed that *“the Red Lake Tribal Council will preserve, protect, and maintain our land base, natural resources, health and welfare, cultural heritage, language, and traditions to ensure our children and future generations will continue to have the resources to live as sovereign people.”*⁸

Project Background

In October 2018 Dr. William Freeman visited the Red Lake Tribal Council with information about medical research by researchers at the University of Minnesota involving young children receiving kidney biopsies from the Red Lake Indian Reservation during the 1960s.⁹ A little less than two years later High Country News ran an article about Land Grab Universities and one of them was the University of Minnesota.¹⁰ Shortly thereafter the Minnesota Indian Affairs Council passed a series of resolutions calling on the University of Minnesota to examine more closely their relationship that they have had with Tribal Nations.¹¹ In lieu of these events it sparked a regained interest in the medical research that was presented by Dr. Freeman, and this was the main research area that I had coming into the Towards Recognition of University Tribal Healing (TRUTH) Project in my role as a Tribal Research Fellow appointed by the Red Lake Tribal Council in November of 2021.

1 <https://mn.gov/indian-affairs/tribal-nations-in-minnesota/miskwaagamiwi-zaagaiganing-red-lake-nation.jsp>

2 https://www.redlakenation.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/old_crossing_treaty.pdf

3 <https://www.redlakenation.org/tribal-history-historical-photos/>

4 see reference 1

5 see reference 1

6 see reference 1

7 see reference 1

8 <https://www.redlakenation.org/>

9 <https://www.startribune.com/land-seizures-unethical-research-university-of-minnesota-confronts-troubled-history-with-tribal-nati/600041972/>

10 <https://www.hcn.org/issues/52.4/indigenous-affairs-education-land-grab-universities>

11 https://mn.gov/indian-affairs/assets/U%20Of%20M%20Tribal%20Partnership%20Resolution_tcm1193-560532.pdf

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Key Findings

Through this research there were six separate medical research studies identified that took place between 1953 and 1971, five of which had various levels of involvement by the University of Minnesota. Based on the information gathered it is unclear whether the children that were hospitalized at the University of Minnesota to undergo kidney biopsies were made aware of the risks associated with skin and renal kidney biopsies, or whether their consent was in writing. It is also unclear why the University of Minnesota would choose to continue adding children affected with acute glomerulonephritis into the research study, instead of treating the disease when the second outbreak occurred. It was also identified that there is at least 338.88 acres of land of half breed scrip from the 1863 Old Crossing Treaty that is currently owned by the University of Minnesota - Board of Regents in the area of Crookston, MN.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Chi-Miigwech (Thank You) to all those who have contributed to the TRUTH Project, and for bringing forth information and research that was critical to the interactions that the Red Lake Nation has had with the University of Minnesota. A special thank you to the Red Lake Tribal Council for supporting this project. A sincere Thank You to Dr. William Freeman for presenting this information to the Tribal Council bringing to light very serious issues that affected children of our nation. Miigwech to the anonymous person who shared their story to be included in this report. Chi-Miigwech to everyone who has dedicated time to conversate about the contents of this report, and have provided critical feedback in writing this document. This research would not have been possible without support and collaborations across systems.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research is to better understand the historical relationship between the Red Lake Nation and the University of Minnesota. The data gathered for this report was done at the University of Minnesota archives, from primary and secondary sources, through networking with Tribal Programs, and more. Throughout the report you will find materials relating to the medical research done by the University of Minnesota on young children from the Red Lake Nation. This report also includes information as it relates to half breed scrip from the Old Crossing Treaty and current land ownership by the University of Minnesota in the Crockston and Grand Forks region. This document can be used as a basis to begin future conversations in addressing the contents of this report and make further determinations as to the legitimacy of the consent procedure involved in the studies, and to assess the validity and nature of the acquisition by the University of Minnesota in acquiring what was at one time half breed scrip. In addition, there are several recommendations and considerations outlined below to keep in mind for future research studies.



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Summary of Medical Research at Red Lake

In 1953 the Red Lake Indian Reservation experienced its first outbreak of acute glomerulonephritis.¹³

Acute Glomerulonephritis is the sudden swelling of small regions of the kidney known as glomeruli and are responsible for the filtering¹⁴ of blood which prevents the body from removing excess fluid and waste products through their urine.¹⁴ In the 1950s it was generally recognized that scarlet fever and streptococcal infections of the upper respiratory tract were common precursors of acute glomerulonephritis.¹⁵ On August 14, 1953 a report was submitted to the Branch of Health, Bureau of Indian Affairs and the National Office of Vital Statistics which stated "You will notice that the monthly report for July lists five cases of scarlet fever. In the previous month, two such cases were noted on the reservation. These cases were the first seen at Red Lake in five years. There has been nothing unusual about these cases except that in two in-stances there were no pharyngeal symptoms or signs. These two cases did, however, show marked pyodermtous lesions which had been present for a week or more before the outbreak of the scarlatiniform rash."¹⁶ In the following two weeks after submitting this report there was 16 cases of scarlet fever and 24 cases of acute glomerulonephritis.¹⁷ On September 10th, 1953 there were 22 cases of scarlet fever, and 38 cases of nephritis on the Red Lake Indian Reservation.¹⁸ Over the course of the next two months this number rose, and on November 8, 1953 there were 63 confirmed cases of nephritis.¹⁹ The figure below highlights the week by week incidences of the cases:

Cases of Glomerulonephritis²⁰

WEEK BY WEEK INCIDENCES

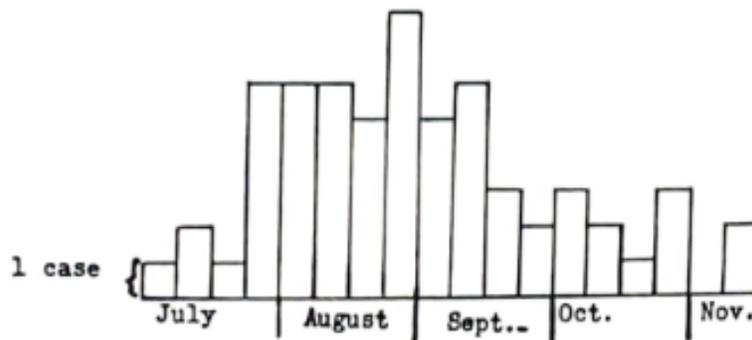


Fig. 1. Week-by-week incidence of glomerulonephritis.

¹³ (Minnesota Medicine, Volume 37, Number 7, page 479)

¹⁴ (<https://www.dovemed.com/diseases-conditions/acute-glomerulonephritis/>)

¹⁵ (Minnesota Medicine, Volume 37, Number 7, page 479)

¹⁶ (Minnesota Medicine, Volume 37, Number 7, page 480.)

¹⁷ (page 479-480)

¹⁸ (Minnesota Medicine, Volume 37, Number 7, page 480)

¹⁹ (Minnesota Medicine, Volume 37, Number 7, page 480)

²⁰ Minnesota Medicine, Volume 37, Number 7, page 480

Only children were affected in this outbreak, the youngest was fifteen months old and the oldest was thirteen.²¹ During this outbreak a two year old died on the sixth day of his illness, which was the fourth day of his hospitalization.²² It was concluded by Cecil R. Reinstem that “mass prophylaxis with benzathine penicillin aborted, within two weeks, an epidemic of nephritis apparently caused by a previously unidentified strain of the beta hemolytic streptococcus, group A, with strongly nephritogenic properties. Acute glomerulonephritis, therefore, is a preventable disease.”²³

A decade after the Red Lake Epidemic of 1953 the survivors were examined by Perlman, et al. and the researchers found the survivors to be free of chronic nephritis.²⁴ However, the prevalence of pyoderma and the occurrence of endemic acute nephritis was observed, and it presented the researchers with an opportunity to examine the epidemiology of skin infections.²⁵ From February 1964 through August 1965,

25 field trips were made in three week intervals by a team of investigators to two Minnesota Indian Reservations, the Red Lake Indian Reservation and the Leech Lake Reservation.²⁶ On every examination the nature, location, and extent of lesions were recorded and the parent, if available, or the child was specifically questioned about manifestations of acute nephritis, and acute rheumatic fever.²⁷ There were 270 children enrolled over the course of this 18 month study, in 83% of the children lesions were present and were usually covered with a thick crust which surprisingly constrained pus.²⁸ The skin lesions were then cultured by puncturing the pustules or lifting the crusts with hypodermic needles.²⁹ During the period of this study there were seven instances of acute proliferative glomerulonephritis which was proven by renal biopsy only two of these instances was nephritis clinically overt.³⁰

In continuing the research of the two previous studies, a group of healthy preschool children were initiated in July, 1966 to be studied. During the first two weeks of July, 1966, approximately 100 children between the ages of three and six attending the “Operation Headstart” programme were given an initial physical examination, including blood – pressure determination, was performed on all children.

Urine testing was conducted every week throughout the period of July through December 1966. In addition to the weekly urinalysis the children were examined and cultured on a bi-weekly basis. During the last week of July, 1966, four children were admitted to the Red Lake Hospital with clinical manifestations of Nephritis over the next five months 21 additional children developed nephritis, nine of which were from the Headstart Programme. Despite the relative mildness of hematuria in 15 of 25 cases, renal biopsies were still conducted. The frequency of pyoderma recovery of type – 49 streptococci from skin lesions of nephritis patients was striking in both outbreaks.³¹

²¹Minnesota Medicine, Volume 37, Number 7, page 480

²²Minnesota Medicine, Volume 37, Number 7, page 481

²³Cecil R. Reinstem, Epidemic nephritis at Red Lake, Minnesota, The Journal of Pediatrics, Volume 47, Issue 1, 1955, Pages 25–34, ISSN 0022-3476, [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0022-3476\(55\)80120-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0022-3476(55)80120-5). <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0022347655801205>

²⁴Perlman, L.V., Herdman, R.C., Kleinman H., and Vernie, R. L: Poststreptococcal glomerulonephritis, J.A.M.A., 194:63, 1965.

²⁵Skin Infections and Acute Nephritis in American Indian Children, Department of Pediatrics, University of MN Medical School, and the MN Dept of Health, pg. 263

²⁶ibid.

²⁷ibid. pg. 263–264.

²⁸Skin Infections and Acute Nephritis in American Indian Children, Department of Pediatrics, University of MN Medical School, and the MN Dept of Health, pg. 265.

²⁹ibid. pg. 263.

³⁰ibid. pg. 272.

³¹Epidemic Acute Nephritis with Re-Appearance of Type-49 Streptococcus, The Lancet. Saturday 14, 1967, pg 787–788.

According to Table 1 there were 31 children who were suspected of having acute nephritis and were subdivided into three groups: Group I: Biopsy – Proved Nephritis which included 21 children, Group II: Probable Nephritis (No Biopsy) which included four children, and Group III: Biopsy Negative (by Light Microscope) which included six children; all of the patients included in Group I were studied at the University of Minnesota Hospitals.³² There was one patient of special interest (case 2) because she apparently experienced a second attack of acute nephritis and upon reviewing her medical records it revealed that in December 1959 she was admitted to the hospital with edema, oliguria, and gross hematuria however there was no evidence of chronic changes in the renal biopsy exam that was obtained in 1966.³³ It is noted that most of the cases of acute nephritis during the 1966 outbreak were clinically mild,³⁴ which is in contrast to the 1953 epidemic where a majority of the patients were hospitalized.³⁴ In addition, there were follow-up biopsies in eleven patients four weeks after the initial study revealed that there was a significant reduction of the acute nephritic process.³⁵ It is noted that through this research it has been possible to study the light, immunofluorescent and electron microscopic abnormalities in an epidemic of acute glomerulonephritis.³⁶ Additionally, an analysis of the attack rate took place July through June 1967 examining 600 children, 102 of which were determined by researchers to be qualified for the study.³⁷

These 102 children were observed at three week intervals where a urinalysis was conducted; they were also grouped separately by the site where the Type 49 infection occurred which were: skin, throat, skin-throat.³⁸ There were five cases of biopsy-proven acute nephritis, however three additional children had probable acute nephritis, both were a part of the skin infection group.³⁹ This is the first prospective study to indicate that the infection of the skin may play a direct role in the pathogenesis of acute nephritis.⁴⁰ Besides the site of infection nephritis developed more significantly in children younger than 6.5 years of age, thus in the outbreak of 1966 on the Red Lake Indian Reservation skin lesions infected with Type 49 Streptococci carried a risk of renal complications.⁴¹

32Kaplan EL, Anthony BF, Chapman SS, Wannamaker LW. Epidemic acute glomerulonephritis associated with type 49 streptococcal pyoderma. I. Clinical and laboratory findings. *Am J Med.* 1970 Jan;48(1):9-27. doi: 10.1016/0002-9343(70)90094-x. PMID: 5415409, pages 10-11.

33*ibid*, 18-19

34*ibid*, 20

35Fish AJ, Herdman RC, Michael AF, Pickering RJ, Good RA. Epidemic acute glomerulonephritis associated with type 49 streptococcal pyoderma. II. Correlative study of light, immunofluorescent and electron microscopic findings. *Am J Med.* 1970 Jan;48(1):28-39. doi: 10.1016/0002-9343(70)90095-1. PMID: 4906107, page 29.

36*ibid*, 35-36.

37*J Clin Invest.* 1969;48(9):1697-1704. <https://doi.org/10.1172/JCI106135>,pg 1699.

38*ibid*, 1698-1699.

39*ibid*, 1700.

40*ibid*, 1702.

41*ibid*. 1702-1703.

Beginning in July 1969 weekly visits were made by researchers from the University of Minnesota for a nine - week period to forty - four individuals from five families that were participating in a subsequent follow up study from the epidemic of 1966. During the 9-week period of this study, it was found that 705 of the 2305 cultures taken were positive for group A streptococci, and is consistent with the view that skin acquisition was a primary predisposing factor to pyoderma.⁴²

A controlled study was initiated during the summer of 1971 at Red Lake to determine whether benzathine penicillin would decrease the incidence of streptococcal impetigo and to explore the effect of the drug on the acquisition of this on normal skin.⁴³ This study included 78 children from 18 families with a history of experiencing this problem, and found that the incidence of skin lesions were significantly reduced during a six-week follow up period after penicillin therapy.⁴⁴ The heads of families were interviewed by one or more of the authors fully explaining the study and written permission for inclusion of the children was included.⁴⁵ The present study may provide some useful information when designing programs to prevent streptococcal skin infections in civilian or military personnel.⁴⁶

Committee on the use of Human Volunteers

During the mid 20th century there were several conversations being had in the medical community about research protocols that involved human test subjects. The Tuskegee research study began in 1932 enrolling 600 African American men to track the full progression of Syphilis and researchers provided no effective care as the men died and in the mid 1960s Peter Buxton found out about the experiment and expressed to supervisors that it was unethical, and informed them that this research was funded by the Public Health Service.⁴⁷ The Nuremberg Code⁴⁸ was introduced in 1946 involving medical ethics and research protocols that used human subjects.⁴⁸ In 1964 the World Medical Association made the Declaration of Helinski that stated the mission of the physician is to safeguard the health of the people.⁴⁹

The first known instance of a committee on the use of humans in medical research at the University of Minnesota is in 1959 where the Dean of the College of Medical Sciences, Robert B. Howard established an Advisory Committee on Use of Human Volunteers in Medical Research in March, 1959.⁵⁰ According to the Alan McCoid papers the responsibilities of the committee were to formulate policies on the use of humans in medical research, and to consult with varying agencies on the appropriate boundaries to be placed on research practices.⁵¹

42 Dudding BA, Burnett JW, Chapman SS, Wannamaker LW. The role of normal skin in the spread of streptococcal pyoderma. *J Hyg (Lond)*. 1970 Mar;68(1):19-28. doi: 10.1017/s0022172400028461. PMID: 5266583; PMCID: PMC2130791. (page 19)

43 (Ferrieri, Patricia, et al. "A Controlled Study of Penicillin Prophylaxis against Streptococcal Impetigo." *The Journal of Infectious Diseases*, vol. 129, no. 4, 1974, pp. 429-38. JSTOR, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30061871>. Accessed 10 Jan. 2023.)

44 *ibid*.

45 *ibid*, 430.

46 *ibid*, 436.

47 <https://www.history.com/news/the-infamous-40-year-tuskegee-study>

48 <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/12166467/#:~:text=The%20Nuremberg%20Code%20is%20a%20foundational%20document%20in,challeng e%20and%20only%20slight%20modification%20in%20decades%20since.>

49 <https://history.nih.gov/display/history/helsinki>

50 <https://conservancy.umn.edu/handle/11299/54523>

51 <https://conservancy.umn.edu/handle/11299/54518>

In 1960 there was an item included on the agenda for a University of Minnesota Board of Regents meeting titled "Procedure for Review of Medical Data on Human Volunteers in Certain Research Projects" which broadened the responsibilities of the committee beyond just the medical sciences and stated:

The Health Service had been asked to do physical examinations on certain research subjects (human volunteers) who might incur unknown illnesses or disabilities as a result of scientific experiments. Dr. Boynton had considered one such request with Dr. Howard and his associates, since the Medical School has a committee to deal with problems growing out of medical research. It was asked if the University should make use of this committee for the purpose of obtaining advance approval for involvement of human subjects in research which might affect the health of the individuals. Since there appeared to be agreement concerning the need for this work, and on the appropriateness of the referral made, the President asked that the Medical School committee assume the responsibility, at least until there is reason to review the matter.⁵²

On February 8, 1966 a memo was sent from William H. Stewart Surgeon General of the Public Health Service to the Heads of Institutions that were conducting research with Public Health Service Grants it stated that any type of review involving human subjects should assure: the rights and welfare of the individuals involved, the appropriateness of the measures used to secure informed consent, and of the risks and potential medical benefits of the investigation.⁵³ The University of Minnesota College of Medical Sciences on March 21, 1966 then sent a memo to the Department Heads and Directors of the School of Nursing, School of Public Health, and University Hospitals informing them of the memo that was received in February by the Surgeon General and of the additional responsibilities associated as well as naming the committee that will review all projects that include human volunteers in the research.⁵⁴

At a meeting held by the Advisory Committee on Use of Human Volunteers in Medical Research on June 7, 1966 the committee responded to an application in relation to the study at Red Lake by Dr. Lewis Wannamaker that included the following "The consent procedure should be more clearly identified. The committee feels that consent to do renal and skin biopsies should be in writing and that it should include an explanation that the biopsies are for research purposes. The question of who is in charge when Dr. Wannamaker is away should be clarified."⁵⁵ On July 19, 1966 another meeting was held by the Advisory Committee on Use of Human Volunteers in Medical Research where they discussed a new directive from the Public Health Service.⁵⁶ This policy statement was sent on July 1, 1966 and was a continuation of the memo that was sent in February by the Surgeon General regarding Policy and Procedure Order 129, "Investigations Involving Human Subjects, Including Clinical Research: Requirements for Review to Insure the Rights and Welfare of Individuals."⁵⁷

⁵² <https://conservancy.umn.edu/handle/11299/54518>

⁵³ Received March 2nd, 1966 U of M

⁵⁴ Memorandum March 21 1966, University of Minnesota College of Medical Sciences from Robert B. Howard, M.D., Dean

⁵⁵ (Meeting Minutes June 7, 1966, Committee on the Use of Human Volunteers)(find additional source)

⁵⁶ (Meeting Minutes July 19, 1966, Committee on the Use of Human Volunteers, dated July 21st 1966)(find additional source)

⁵⁷ <https://history.nih.gov/download/attachments/1016866/Surgeongeneraldirective1966.pdf>

It was discussed at the July 19th meeting by the committee that they will not interpret this directive to mean that consent needs to be obtained in a written form and in some cases can consist of a statement by the investigator that consent was obtained verbally.⁵⁸ Anthony and Wannamaker presented an application which stated: This project involves taking renal biopsies, but these are required for best management of the patients and consent of the parents will be obtained. The application is approved.⁵⁹ At a meeting on October 13, 1966 Arthur R. Page presented an application to the Committee on the Use of Human Volunteers - Studies of Patients with Acute Glomerulonephritis which stated "The plan is to hospitalize children from the Red Lake Indian Reservation at University Hospitals for care of acute glomerulonephritis associated with an epidemic now in progress. The committee approved this proposal. The chairman is to write a letter to Dr. Page suggesting that the consent form state more clearly that research as well as patient care is involved. It also appeared that the form as it now stands minimizes the risk more than is actually justified. The possibility of accidents associated with renal biopsy should be stated. The radiation dosage is acceptable."⁶⁰

In September of 1966 President Meredith O. Wilson appointed an All - University Committee on the use of Human Volunteers to be chaired by Dr. Ivan Frantz.⁶¹ One of the committees first tasks was to create "an established policy and plan for surveillance to insure the protection of the welfare and rights of human subjects in research investigations"—an institutional assurance statement to "cover both the general principles of safeguarding human rights and welfare in the conduct of research and the specific points of the Surgeon General's policy" and that the University was required to submit this policy to the United States Public Health Service no later than November 1, 1966 however, the University of Minnesota received an extension to November 21, 1966.⁶² On November 18, 1966 the "Statement of Policy and Procedures at the University of Minnesota with Regard to the Use of Human Subjects in Investigation" was presented by Professor Alan H. McCoid of the Law School that it was "Voted, on the recommendation of the Vice President, Academic Administration, the Vice President, Business Administration, and the President, to approve the policy statement covering the use of human volunteers in medical and other types of research, with the understanding that the procedures which are incorporated into the policy statement will be used at the present time only as required in contracts and grants financed by the United States Public Health Service."⁶³ It is further understood that there will be additional study on the need and feasibility of expanding the use of the procedures to investigations sponsored by others."⁶⁴

58 Meeting Minutes July 19, 1966, Advisory Committee on the Use of Human Volunteers, letter dated July 21, 1966

59 Meeting Minutes July 19, 1966, Advisory Committee on the Use of Human Volunteers

60 Meeting Minutes October 13 1966, Committee on the Use of Human Volunteers, Memo dated October 19 1966

61 Letter dated 9/20/1966 from Wilson; sent to Richard Anderson, Donald Cowan, Ivan Frantz, Edward Gross, Richard Jordan, Homer Mason,

62 Alan McCoid, Maynard Reynolds, Murray Rosenberg, and Robert Wirt; Clinical Research Committee folder, Allan H. McCoid papers,

<https://archives.lib.umn.edu/repositories/14/resources/1232>

63 <https://conservancy.umn.edu/handle/11299/54521>

64 <https://conservancy.umn.edu/handle/11299/198>

The “Institutional Assurance on Investigations Involving Human Subjects, Including Clinical Research,” which included the “Statements of Policies and Procedures at the University of Minnesota with Regard to Use of Human Subjects in Investigation” were distributed along with a memo on February 2, 1967 that stated it was specifically decided to postpone an university-wide policy because federal policy to that point was specific to Public Health Service-funded research, and, "because of the seriousness of the issues involved, the committee decided to postpone any effort to establish a University-wide policy applying to projects not supported by the Public Health Service until the faculty has had an opportunity to consider the matter and make suggestions. The need for some kind of review seems to be generally recognized. Furthermore, the application of a uniform procedure, unrelated to the source of financial support, appears desirable.”⁶⁵

The information provided in this section is meant to provide a brief snapshot of history involving Human test subjects, and University of Minnesota Policy in the years around the time of the Medical Research at Red Lake. For a more detailed history of Institutional Review Boards in the United States please read *Behind closed Doors* written by Laura Stark where she explains decision making in hospitals, universities, health departments, and other institutions.⁶⁶



⁶⁵ https://archives.lib.umn.edu/repositories/14/archival_objects/268723

⁶⁶ <https://press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/book/chicago/B/bo12182576.html>

Critical Responses to the Research on Red Lake Children

In light of recent events around the use of human volunteers the medical community was reflecting on their practices and in 1974 there was multiple correspondence between Dr. Lewis Wannamaker, Dr. E.W Ziebarth, President of the University of Minnesota, Regent George Rauenhorst, and the Committee Against Racism regarding the medical research that took place on the Red Lake Reservation.⁶⁷ On August 13, 1974 Dr. Wannamaker sent a letter to the University of MN President E.W. Zeibarth which enclosed various materials relating to Red Lake including a letter stating "We were well received yesterday at Red Lake by the head of the hospital, Mr. Al Lotku and by the Chairman of the Tribal Council Mr. Roger Jourdain."⁶⁸ In a letter dated August 14, 1974 from Dr. Zeibarth to Regent George Rauenhorst it states that "We are indeed sorry that events revolving around Red Lake and two crises in the medical area made it seem unwise for us to try to meet today."⁶⁹ In a letter from Dr. Wannamaker to the Committee Against Racism on August 16, 1976 was a request to discuss the reports prepared by them titled "Exploitation on Red Lake Indian Reservation" and "Medical Research for the U.S. Military Carried out on the Red Lake Indian Reservation."⁷⁰ A letter dated August 22, 1974 to Dr. Wannamaker from the Committee Against Racism discusses that a meeting between the two is not agreeable at this time, and further states that "the intentions of the health CAR are to stop the racist research by working with the Indian Community, and to work with them to eliminate the impetigo problems from the children. This illustrates the institutionalization of the racism, because when a volunteer organization has to eliminate a problem that a professional team of investigators has been paid ½ million dollars to study, something is wrong, with the research itself, the granting institutions, or the health care institutions, etc."⁷¹

67 University Archives - 000005841, Box 157 of 449, President's Office

68 *ibid.*

69 *ibid.*

70 *ibid.*

71 *ibid.*



Story of a Survivor

On August 16, 2022 an interview took place with a survivor from the first outbreak of nephritis in 1953. Verbal consent was obtained, and the contents of this paragraph are authorized by the interviewee to be included in this report. The conversation began with asking her to share a little bit about herself. She expressed that she is a mother, a grandmother, and a great grandmother. As a young girl she recalls her mother not working until they were older and when she did start working she was an aide at the Head Start. She recalls that her father wasn't around that much, but that he worked at the Mill. She also shared that they lived next to her grandpa in a two bedroom home, that they didn't have running water, and they had an outdoor toilet. She shared that her mom always had a garden with lots of potatoes, carrots, radishes, and they ate mostly fish, and game growing up.

She expressed that most children on the reservation would swim a lot during the summer months, and she was no exception. That summer she recalls getting sores from the lake, but expressed that it may have also been from bites from insects. These were open sores, and there were at least three of them. She shared that she was hospitalized in Bemidji for two nights in 1953 and remembers being sent from the Red Lake Hospital. Reflecting on her childhood she knew that she had nephritis, and shared that her two younger brothers also had it and recalls other Red Lake children being hospitalized there as well. She remembers that her parents were not able to be there with her as they had no vehicle to travel to Bemidji.

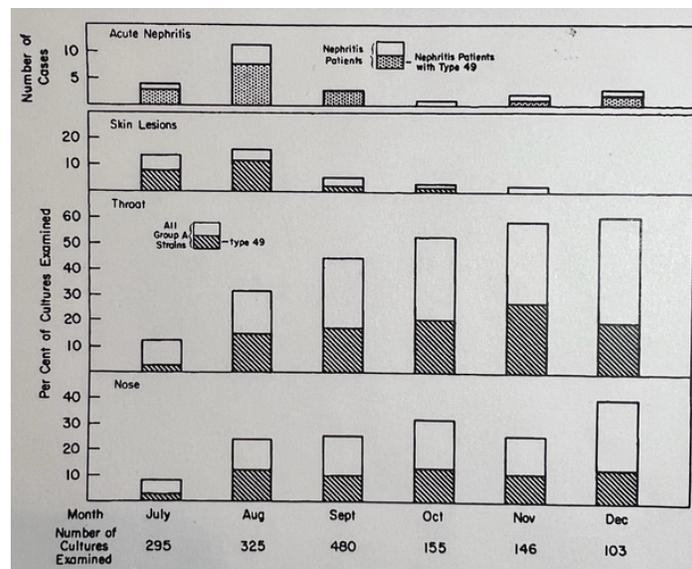
As a family she expressed that they didn't talk about the outbreak much, and only mentioned it on one occasion, and also that the outbreak had been termed Red Lake Nephritis in later years. She explained that she had at least 30 years of chronic problems with Urinary Tract Infections, and the presence of blood in her urine. On December 2, 2021 she recalls passing a very large kidney stone, and about a week later urinating blood. After further consultation with a urologist they discovered a mass on her right kidney and a biopsy was conducted on December 27, 2021. On January 4, 2022 the doctors informed her that the mass on her right kidney was cancerous and that it would have to be removed. On March 21 they removed the kidney, and upon removal found that the mass had been on the outside. At the time of the interview on August 16, 2022 she expressed that she is doing good now, and wants her story to be shared.⁷²

⁷² Phone Interview. August 16, 2022.

Key Finding from the Medical Research

The University of Minnesota Committee on the Use of Human Volunteers received three applications involving the researchers conducting skin and kidney biopsies on young children from the Red Lake Indian Reservation. On two separate occasions the committee made similar recommendations regarding the consent procedure. The first occasion occurred June 7, 1966 in which the committee responded to Dr. Wannamaker that the consent procedure should be more clearly indicated, that the consent to do renal and skin biopsies should be in writing, and that the purpose of the biopsy is for research purposes.⁷³ The second occasion occurred October 13, 1966 in which the committee responded to an application from Dr. Page titled *Studies of Patients with Acute Glomerulonephritis* in which the committee approved the proposal to hospitalize young children from the Red Lake Indian Reservation but the chairman was to write a letter suggesting that the consent form states more clearly the research and that patient care is included, and that it also appeared the form as it currently is minimizes the risk more than is actually justified, and that the potential of accidents associated with renal biopsies should be stated.⁷⁴ As shown in the graph below by October 13, 1966 several kidney biopsies at the University of Minnesota had already taken place based on when the confirmed cases of nephritis happened as shown. However, based on the three examples of the meeting minutes provided from the Committee on the use of Human Volunteers, and the simultaneous occurrence of children having positive cases of nephritis and being hospitalized at University of Minnesota hospitals to undergo kidney biopsies it is unclear whether patients, or their families were made aware of the risks associated with skin and renal kidney biopsies, or whether their consent was in writing. It is evident that more documentation needs to be gathered to make that determination.

Cases of Glomerulonephritis⁷⁵
MONTH BY MONTH INCIDENCES



⁷³ Meeting Minutes June 7, 1966, Committee on the Use of Human Volunteers. Memo dated June 15, 1966

⁷⁴ Meeting Minutes October 13 1966, Committee on the Use of Human Volunteers, Memo dated October 19, 1966)

⁷⁵ Epidemic Acute Nephritis with Re-Appearance of Type-49 Streptococcus, The Lancet. Saturday 14, 1967, pg 788

University of Minnesota - Crookston

Prior to the TRUTH Project, Kade Ferris was investigating the 1863 Old Crossing Treaty.⁷⁶ More specifically, the half breed scrip and the 160 acre parcels of land that were associated with them. Some of these parcels are located in the area of Crookston, Minnesota and Grand Forks, North Dakota. Upon further research it was identified that at least 338.88 acres of land of half breed scrip from the 1863 Old Crossing Treaty is currently owned by the University of Minnesota - Board of Regents and images from the KMZ file created by Kade Ferris are pictured below.⁷⁷ ⁷⁸The half breed scrip patent numbers are 90, 211, and 385 and the University of Minnesota Board of Regents Polk County Land holding parcels are 49.00102.00 (77.94 acres), 49.00109.00 (9.66 acres), and 49.00096.00 (251.28 acres). It is unclear at what point in history the University of Minnesota acquired these parcels of land, but according to a document obtained from the BIA dated 1970 it states that "In such instances, a matter of Chippewa Half-Breed scrip could be a key legal issue. For example, under the provisions of treaties signed in 1863, mixed blood Red Lake and Pembina Chippewa Indians were entitled to scrip, which could then be exchanged for 160-acre allotments of land in North Dakota and Minnesota which had been ceded to the tribes. Scrip was issued between 1867 and 1882. Descendants of those mixed-blood Red Lake and Pembina Chippewas are dependent upon the archives for proof of their right to inherited ownership of such Indian homestead lands."⁷⁹ More information needs to be gathered to determine the validity of these land acquisitions by the University of Minnesota Board of Regents.

HALF BREED SCRIP & CURRENT LAND OWNERSHIP⁸⁰ ⁸¹

Id 385
 First_Name Narcisse
 Last_Name Roy
 Patent_Num 385
 Document CT-0379-141

Patent Number:
385

Id 384
 First_Name Joseph
 Last_Name Vallie
 Patent_Num 211
 Document CT-0379-102

Patent Number:
384

Id 383
 First_Name Joseph
 Last_Name Neadeau
 Patent_Num 90
 Document CT-0379-004

Patent Number:
383

Parcel_ID 49.00102.00
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 Document_3
 Document_4
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 TaxAddr 319 15TH AVE SE 424
 TaxCity MINNEAPOLIS
 TaxState MN
 TaxZip 55455-0199
 Section 24
 Township 150
 Range 047
 Lot
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 Acres 77.94

Parcel ID:
49.00102.00
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77.94

Parcel_ID 49.00096.00
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 Document_1 QCD
 Document_2 A000358594
 Document_3 DEED
 Document_4 A000256263
 Book_Numbe
 Page_Numbe
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 Comments 256262, 256397
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 TaxName REGENTS OF THE U OF M
 TaxAddr 424 DON HOWE BLDG 311
 TaxCity MINNEAPOLIS
 TaxState MN
 TaxZip 55455-0199
 Section 24
 Township 150
 Range 047
 Lot
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 Subdivis_1
 Acres 251.28

Parcel ID:
49.00096.00
 Acres:
251.28

Parcel_ID 49.00109.00
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 Document_N A000394784
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 Document_2
 Document_3
 Document_4
 Book_Numbe
 Page_Numbe
 GIS_Acres 0
 Comments
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 VXCount 0
 TaxYear 2023
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 PropCity
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 REAL ESTATE COORDINATOR
 TaxAddr 319 15TH AVE SE 424 DON HOWE
 TaxCity MINNEAPOLIS
 TaxState MN
 TaxZip 55455-0199
 Section 24
 Township 150
 Range 047
 Lot
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 Acres 9.66

Parcel ID:
49.00109.00
 Acres:
9.66

76 <http://collections.mnhs.org/MNHHistoryMagazine/articles/15/v15i03p282-300.pdf>
 77 Ferris, Kade (2023) *halfbreed.shp and Crookston_Ownership.shp*. Unpublished KMZ files.
 78 <https://gis.co.polk.mn.us/Link/jsfe/index.aspx>
 79 <https://www.bia.gov/as-ia/opa/online-press-release/indian-records-never-out-date>
 80 see reference 77
 81 see reference 78

Other areas of research that were identified

In the 1950s Helen Parker Mudgett conducted a series of interviews with people from our community and included recordings from individuals such as Louis Stately, and Dan Raincloud which discussed various historical events and topics pertaining to the history of Red Lake.⁸² In addition, various people across the country had contacted her for advice on history related to treaties. In continuing this area of research her finding aid at the University of MN will be revised to reflect the abundance of information in her collection.

Considerations for future research

From the limited time and funding for this project and the amount of information that has been gathered in such a short period of time; there is a need to continue gathering research particularly as it pertains to the medical research that was conducted by the University of Minnesota, and the half breed scrip from the 1863 Old Crossing Treaty in which the University of Minnesota retains ownership of several hundred acres of land. When continuing this research it should consider:

- The interplay of the various historical events between the Red Lake Nation and the United States, the state of Minnesota, and other political entities that formed the foundations of the interactions between Red Lake and the other governments
- The implications of the Citizenship Act of 1924, which formally made Native Americans citizens of the United States
- Political Climate of the Time
- The implications of the state of Minnesota's historical actions toward the Red Lake Nation and the University of Minnesota's varied involvement throughout history
- Intent and motivation of the entities who funded the studies
- The basis of the apparent double standard when University of Minnesota researchers conducted research on Native American children, versus the standards employed when studying non-Native subjects

82 <https://umedia.lib.umn.edu/search?facets%5Btypes%5D%5B%5D=Sound&q=mudgett>

Conclusion

In 1953 the first outbreak of acute glomerulonephritis occurred on the Red Lake Indian Reservation, during this epidemic a child the age of two died.⁸³ A little over 10 years later medical researchers from the University of Minnesota had planned to conduct biopsies on young children from Red Lake.⁸⁴ They enrolled approximately 100 children into the "Headstart Programme" for this study.⁸⁵ During this follow up study an outbreak of acute glomerulonephritis occurred when four children were hospitalized at the Red Lake Hospital. The week by week incidences of the disease were similar in both epidemics.⁸⁶ Based on the information gathered in this report it is unclear whether the parents of the children that were hospitalized at the University of Minnesota to undergo kidney biopsies were made aware of the risks associated with skin and renal kidney biopsies, or whether all those that underwent biopsies had given their consent in writing. In addition, researchers that were involved in the epidemics of 1953 and 1966 of acute glomerulonephritis on the Red Lake Indian Reservation eventually came to similar conclusions as a result of a study that was conducted in 1971 by University of Minnesota researchers that found an injection of penicillin is a viable treatment to prevent acute glomerulonephritis especially when considering the role that pyodermtous lesions have in the disease.^{87 88} When medical researchers drew that conclusion during the first outbreak in 1953 it is unclear why the University of Minnesota would choose to continue adding children into the research study, instead of treating the disease when the second outbreak occurred. In addition, the critical responses to the research should be more thoroughly investigated, and discussed.

The Medical Research was a starting point for the project, and it was later identified that at least 388.88 acres of land of half breed scrip from the 1863 Old Crossing Treaty is currently owned by the University of Minnesota - Board of Regents.^{89 90} More information needs to be gathered to determine the validity of these land acquisitions by the University of Minnesota Board of Regents.

There are various recommendations and areas of further research that have been outlined in this report and each should be considered. In addition, the University of Minnesota should have responsibility in providing the financial support that is needed to undertake additional research projects to gather more information to draw further conclusions about these interactions. It is imperative the Red Lake Nation leads these efforts, and is provided with the necessary resources that uplifts the voices of those that have been directly affected by the University of Minnesota.

83 see reference 22

84 Meeting Minutes June 7, 1966, Committee on the Use of Human Volunteers

85 Epidemic Acute Nephritis with Re-Appearance of Type-49 Streptococcus, The Lancet. Saturday 14, 1967, pg 787

86 Epidemic Acute Nephritis with Re-Appearance of Type-49 Streptococcus, The Lancet. Saturday 14, 1967, pg 788

87 Epidemic nephritis at Red Lake, Minnesota, The Journal of Pediatrics, Ferrieri, Patricia, et al. "A Controlled Study of Penicillin Prophylaxis against Streptococcal Impetigo."

88 Cecil R. Reinstein, Epidemic nephritis at Red Lake, Minnesota, The Journal of Pediatrics, Volume 47, Issue 1,

89 <https://gis.co.polk.mn.us/Link/jsfe/index.aspx>

90 see reference 77



Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Chippewa

TRUTH Project Report



May 16th, 2022 // Prepared by Kami Diver

University of Minnesota Land

Before the 1850's Minnesota was an area made of primarily Dakota, Ojibwe and Metis people. Colonists who settled within this area were fur traders and government agents with a few logging towns of Stillwater. Once Minnesota officially became a territory of the United States on March 3, 1849 the surrounding forests and land rapidly changed. Through the **treaties of Traverse des Sioux and Mendota** the federal government acquired millions of acres of land from the Indigenous people. It has been said "Land lying East of the Mississippi River first came under the jurisdiction of the United States by the treaty of peace with England in 1773. Land lying West of the Mississippi River was acquired from France in the Louisiana Purchase in 1803. Both treaty and purchases were subject to Indian Rights. The rights of the Indian Tribes were ceded to the United States by various treaties between 1805-1889." In 1857 the Act of Minnesota passed by Congress authorized the first Federal Land Grants to the State which estimated to be 16,400 acres of land. The University of Minnesota was founded in 1851 by Minnesota Territorial Legislature and Governor Alexander Ramsey. Once established Boards of Regents were elected. However, by 1857 the University was forced to close due to financial hardships. It wasn't until President Abraham Lincoln signed the Morrill Act of 1862 in which made it possible for the University to reopen and obtain federal designation as the state's official land grant institution in 1868. Throughout this process 94,439 acres of Tribal Land were taken from eleven (11) Minnesota Tribes. The Morrill Act of 1862 allowed Tribal Lands in Minnesota to be wrongfully taken to build Universities throughout the state. In 1873 the University reported receiving 202,000 acres of land from several congressional grants which included 120,000 acres from the Morrill Act.



By 1857 the University was forced to close due to financial hardships. It wasn't until President Abraham Lincoln signed the Morrill Act of 1862 in which made it possible for the University to reopen and obtain federal designation as the state's official land grant institution in 1868.

The University of Minnesota Cloquet Forestry Center

The General Government granted the State of Minnesota 120,000 acres of land to provide a State College or Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. In 1868 the Board of Regents approved the Agriculture College and land was purchased southeast of Minneapolis to establish an Experimental Farm. From 1868-1881 there was little to no interest in provided field. In 1869, Dr. Watts Folwell addressed that "Agriculture Education must follow the same general pattern as the Mechanic Arts, it should be on the same level as other branches of University." In 1882, 155 acres of land were purchased in St. Anthony Park to build J.W. Bass Farm as it served as the Universities Experiment Station also known as the University Farm. University Farm (Experimental Station) was open in 1889 and burned down in 1890.

Cloquet Forest 1907

The Cloquet Forest was originally part of the Fond du Lac Indian Reservation until 1907, (Figure 1.) Government allotted a part of this reservation to members of the tribe then opened the remaining allotments for homesteaders with timber and stone claims. Professor Samuel B. Green, began as the Dean of the University of Minnesota School of Forestry 1888-1910. **In 1896 Green persuaded the St. Louis River Mercantile Company to purchase 2,215 acres of land for the University.** This land was unallotted Indian Land with the exception of 80 acres in which was owned by the Northern Lumber Company.

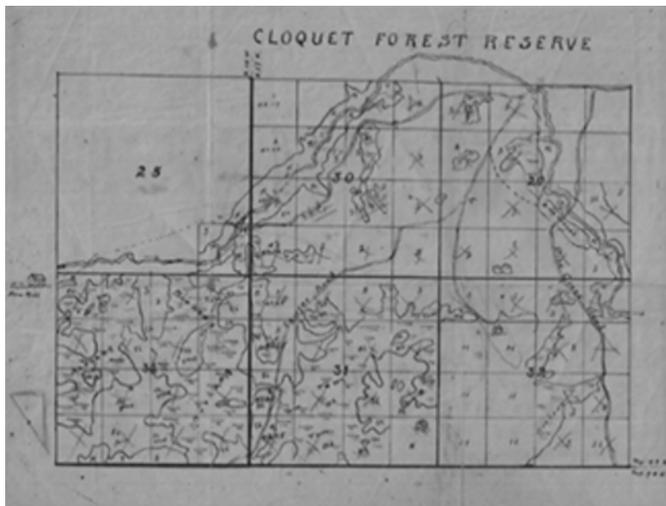


Figure 1 Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Reservation boundaries prior to Land Grant and Experimental Station. ¹

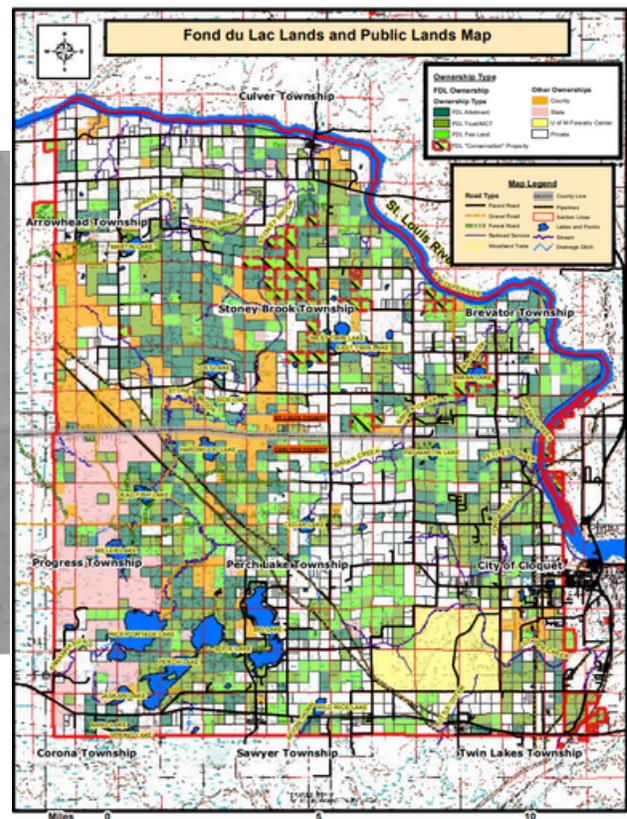


Figure 2 Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Reservation boundaries prior to Land Grant and Experimental Station.

¹ Cloquet Forest Reserve. 1904. University of Minnesota Libraries, University Archives., umedia.lib.umn.edu/item/p16022coll405:458 Accessed 17 May 2022.

In a special act of congress, this land was deeded directly to the University by the Federal Government upon the payment by the Mercantile Company for \$1.25 per acre to the tribal funds (Figure 2.). Professor Green notified Henry C. Horby that a bill in Congress will allow them to acquire a tract on the Fond du Lac Reservation which was then passed by Legislation on May 29, 1908.

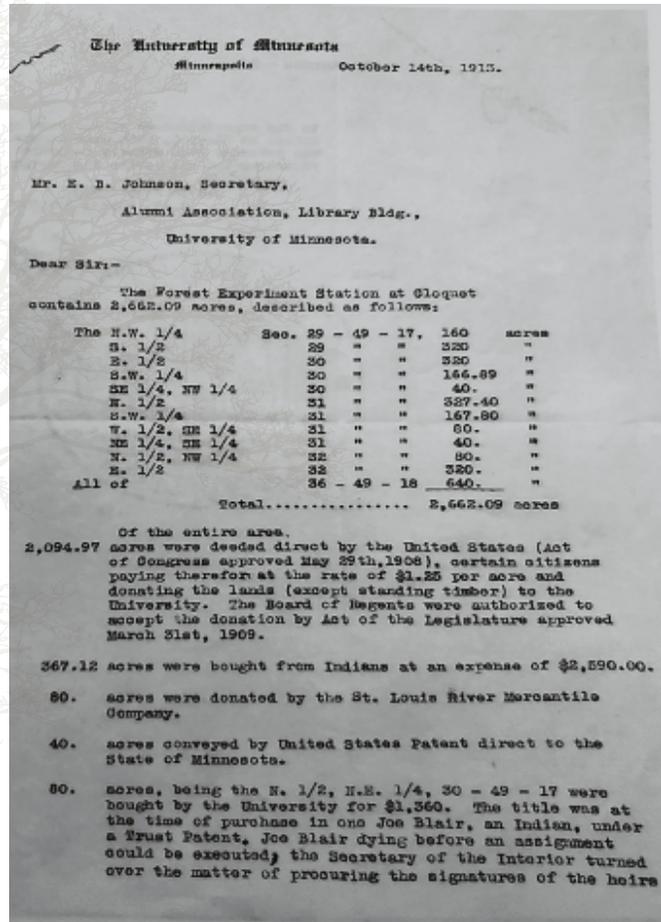


Figure 3 Report to Secretary, Johnson, E.B. of University of Minnesota, acres deeded directly by the United State.²

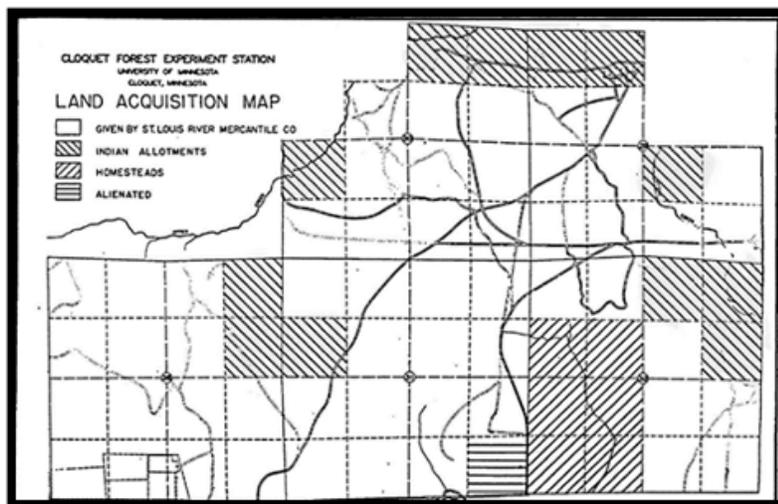


Figure 4 This map includes the eight Indian Allotments that were sold directly to the University by the State.³

In order to round the boundaries to make the tract convenient and sizeable unit for forestry practices the University secured congressional authority to purchase eight (8) Indian allotments which added to the adjoining 2,215 acres donated by the Mercantile Company. The Cloquet Forest consists of 2,953.3 acres of land. (Figure 3.)

² Hayes, G. (1913, October 14). Alumni Association University of Minnesota. University of Minnesota.

³ Hansen, T.S.; Allison, J.H.; Brown, R.M.; Cheyney, E.G.; Schmitz, Henry. (1936). The Cloquet Forest.

Cloquet Forest Experiment Station 1909

January 26, 1909 the forestry faculty invited State Legislators to join them at the University Farm, this occasion was to enlist support for the proposed Experiment Station in Cloquet. April 30, 1909 Professor Green corresponded with Mr. Horby "you will be pleased to know that the general appropriations for the Forestry Department of the University were taken care of in a fairly satisfactory manner by the last legislature, we received the following appropriations:

- For support of the Forestry School \$4,000.00 per year
- For Student Labor \$5,000.00 per year
- For Creosoting wood \$1,500.00 per year
- For Maintenance of Itasca Park \$5,000.00 per year
- For Extraordinary repairs and cleaning land in Itasca Park \$4,500.00 per year
- For a State Road from Park Rapids to Bagley through Itasca Park \$10,000.00 per year

"This is an addition to the Cloquet Research, so I think the campaign of education in the legislature gave us a fairly satisfactory results; but I hope for more next time." The legislature provided \$5,000.00 for the purchases of 4880 acres of Indian Allotments in January 1909.

June 26, 1909 Mr. Fred D. Vibert State Senator and Cloquet Pine Knot Publisher wrote Professor Green "I enclosed map and data."

- 2,134.97 acres at \$1.25 per acre = \$2,668.72
- 80 acres owned by the Northern Lumber Company
- 2,214.97 acres gifted by the lumber companies to State

No estimate was given on the timber on the 487.12 acres of Indian Allotment which were to be acquired.

August 26, 1909 Professor Green wrote Mr. Vibert pushing for the acquisition on the Indian Allotments by saying "The Board of Regents have taken hold of this matter and there is a very kindly feeling towards it they will have abundance of means to carry it out, while looking to put up buildings needed and expend at least \$5,000.00 in improvements by next season."

October 8, 1909 the Indian Allotments were not taken care of which pushed further into November 30, 1909. Come December 2, 1909, Professor Green writes Mr. Vibert the he was expected to be in Cloquet December 2, 1909 to meet with Mr. Farr regarding the Indian Allotments "Deed has been received to 3,097 acres of timber land, this leaves now to be fixed up the deed from Northern Lumber Company and the relinquishment of Joseph Petite in all Section 36."

December 15, 1909 Professor Green wrote Mr. Henry Oldenburg of Carlton “I enclose you herewith a copy of the law providing certain land for forestry experiment ground in Fond du Lac Indian Reservation. I have succeeded in getting the Indian Allotments appraised as follows.” (Figure 4.). The University Camp Headquarters began at the Blair Field (parcels 3&4) then relocated due to the fires that spread throughout the area. Mr. Tierney wrote Professor Green stating that he would like to relocate the camp off the Blair Field and establish a location on higher ground located across the swamp as it is a mile closer to town and is at the main entrance of the forest filled with rich soil and large Red Pines. He suggested they use the surrounding Jack Pines for building material and remove some Red Pines to open stands for regeneration. The year 1910 started the organization, boundaries of the tract were located, fire lines were established and a few roads surrounded the area.



Figure 5 Map includes shading to identify areas given by St. Louis R. Merc Co., Homesteads, Indian allotments, and Alienated.⁴

#2. Lucy DuFold – 40 Acres of Land - \$480.00
 #3/4. Joe Blair – 80 Acres of Land - \$1,360.00
 #11. J. Smith – 40 Acres of Land - \$880.00
 #17. W.O. Coffey – 40 Acres of Land - \$512.00
 #26/27. Henry Martin – 80 Acres of Land - \$320.00
 #34/41. S. Nagonabe – 80 Acres of Land - \$580.00
 #42. Margaret Winter – 40 Acres of Land - \$340.00
 #49. Mary Clark- 40 Acres of Land - \$480.00

- NW – SE 29-49-17 = \$880
 - NW – NW 29-49-17 = \$480
 - N ½ - NE 30-49-17 = \$1,360
 - NW – SW 30-49-17 = \$512
 - SW – NW 31-49-17 = \$340
 - N/2 – NE 32-49-17 = \$320
 - SE – NE 32-49-17 = \$480
 - SE – SE 25-49-18 = \$350
 - E/2 – NE 36-49-18 = \$580

April 18, 1911 Professor Green wrote Mr. Tierney to leave a considerable number of pines in groups along the traveled roads and a good size grove on the road to Vibert’s shack. Doing so he wanted to leave the bunches for an estimate and pay the Government then the bunches would become property of the State. The State would give a contract to the timber so it would be there’s and be turned over later to be reimbursed for the timber involved. The Board of Regents approved this arrangement. Mr. Tierney marked 109,310 ft of White Pine and 1,188,110 ft of Red Pine in the form of stands and scattered seed trees. For this timber the companies agreed to accept the same price

⁴ Cloquet Forest Experiment Station. University of Minnesota Libraries, University Archives., (1910). umedia.lib.umn.edu/item/p16022coll405:384.

which they had paid the Government ten years before. The money was not processed until legislature in 1913.

Having been approved by the Board of Regents, Mr. Tierney steered loggers off to random portions of land that looked good to him to until the arrangement were made for Mr. Frederick E. Weyerhaeuser to come up to the reservation and see for himself what could be done.

On May 12, Professor Green wrote Mr. Tierney that he wanted to avoid any trees that hold no value and it would be in the best interest if the entire section 36 be cleaned up entirely and to mark trees near the camp.

In April of 1911, Mr. Tierney resigned and became the Assistant State Forester and Mr. S.B. Detwiler was put in charge temporarily until he moved to Pennsylvania to manage the Chestnut Blight Commission. Thereafter, the appointed Mr. Walter McDonald of Cloquet in charge moving forward.

On April 4, 1912 an agreement was finalized stating the U.S. Forest Service would become an existing chain of Experiment Stations operated by the U.S. Forest Service throughout the country. With this collaboration came financial contributions. Raphael Zon, investigated the Cloquet Forest Experiment Station stating it did not offer the most favorable conditions for investigating work, there is one building in which the foreman and his family occupy there's a small office but no laboratory, no greenhouse, cases, files, equipment except that furnished by the Federal Government. Raphael recommended an expansion which included; another building for the director of the station and office, laboratory, files, cases, library, instruments, and a small greenhouse. All in which, were approved and listed on the Forest Service Investigative Program in 1913. Many experiments were designed and planned for this project one in particular was a project designated "to determine the possibilities of using some of the land, unfit for agriculture in the State of Minnesota for raising basket willows and to find out which species are best adapted to this region." This project site was the Otter Creek meadow adjacent to the Blair Field clearing.

Between 1914 - 1917 five experiments were designed regarding temperature and drying time however the war in 1917 slowed down production because of the lack of manpower. On October 12, 1918 one of Minnesota's catastrophic fires burned areas surrounding the station and destroyed the city of Cloquet.

Between 1917 - 1919 the cooperative agreement with the U.S. Forest Service was discontinued and the station became entirely a University Responsibility.

Between 1918-1924 logging came obsolete with the exemption of cutting for fuelwood. The first type map was completed in 1914 the another was finished in 1919.

In 1924 students transferred to Cloquet to standardized field work. Within that time cutting resumed and reserved 11 of about 70,000 bd ft of Jack Pine, 1,500 ft of Norway Pine and 5,000 ft of Jack Pine Pulpwood was cut and delivered to the mills of Cloquet Lumber Company. At the time Norway Pine sold for \$25.00 per thousand, Jack Pine sold for \$22.00 per thousand and Jack Pine Pulpwood sold for \$7.50 per cord.

- 1927 surveys of area were complete and found unsatisfactory
- 1929 complete survey using staff school of forestry was made
- 1930 plan management was complete resurveys were made in 1939 when plot systems were preferred over strips.
- 1939 University added an additional 160 acres of land on reservation.
- 1943 University added an additional 120 acres of land.
- 1949 University added an additional 120 acres of land.
- 1949 surveyed continued on the same plots it wasn't until 1959 a continuous forest inventory was started.
- 1952 Dr. Schantz-Hansen the Director of the Cloquet Forestry Center wrote that the University hoped to establish another 640 acres of land to the Forestry Center through the purchase of "tax delinquent areas."
- 1952 Forestry Center operated process plant to treat posts and lumber with pentachlorophenol (Penta) to preserve the wood.

Cloquet Forestry Center has changed its collective name throughout history.

Cloquet Forest Experiment Station (1909)

Cloquet School of Forestry (1949)

Cloquet Experimental Forest (1951)

Cloquet Forest Research Center (1957)

Cloquet Forestry Center (1970)

Cloquet Forestry Center of Food, Agriculture and Natural Resource Science (2006-Present)

Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Chippewa

April 15, 2009: Fond du Lac Band Business Committee wrote Senator Tony Lourey, Representative Mary Murphy and Representative Bill Hilty. "Opposition of the Fond du Lac Band to the expansion of the Cloquet Forestry Center on the Fond du Lac Reservation" "Dear Senator Lourey: As you know, the Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Chippewa has in recent years pursued a policy of reacquiring its Reservation lands, which is critical to our effort to restore the original land base reserved to the Band under the Treaty of LaPointe in 1854. As part of this effort, we have negotiated a long-term arrangement with the Potlatch Corporation under which Potlatch is providing the Band with the right of first refusal of any land offered for sale on the Reservation. The Cloquet Forestry Center is operated on land which was transferred to the State of Minnesota in 1908 without the Band's consent, and represents one of the most severe historical injustices committed against the Band. WE have now been informed by Potlatch that the State seeks to purchase certain parcels adjacent to the Forestry Center on the Reservation in order to expand the Forestry Center along Otter Creek. These parcels would otherwise be sold to the Band under our umbrella agreement with Potlatch. The expansion of the Forestry Center on the Reservation by the State of Minnesota would constitute a serious threat to the sovereign interests of the Fond du Lac Band by interfering with the Band's political and territorial integrity. We accordingly implore you to assist the Band in avoiding this conflict with the State.

"November 19, 2009: Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Business Committee wrote University of Minnesota Board of Regents. "Opposition of the Fond du Lac Band to the expansion of the Cloquet Forestry Center on the Fond du Lac Reservation." "Dear Regents: Following is the position of the Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Chippewa regarding the possession and operation of the Cloquet Forestry Center by the University of Minnesota on the Fond du Lac Indian Reservation. The Fond du Lac Band reserved the Fond du Lac Reservation under the Treaty of LaPointe with the United States on September 30, 1854 (10 Stat. 1109). In 1908, the U.S. transferred 2083 acres of prime Reservation Land to the State of Minnesota, at a nominal price of \$1.25 an acre, the proceeds of which were deposited in a general fund for the Chippewa Indians in Minnesota. See Act of May 28, 1908, Ch. 216, 35 Stat. 444, 455-56. This land became the UM Cloquet Forestry Center, and the University subsequently added several hundred more acres to the Forestry Center, never with the Band's consent. The most recent acquisition was several years ago and, as we understand it, was financed through timber sales and U of M excess land sales. The strategy for raising revenue removes the purchases from the public domain by bypassing the legislative appropriation process. From the perspective of the Fond du Lac Band, the Forestry Center was stolen from us. Although the Forestry Center remains a part of the Reservation, and the Band still retains treaty harvest rights and regulatory authority over the lands, the Band has been deprived of the benefit of the land without due process. In recent years, the band has pursued a land reacquisition poly to reclaim its treaty land base, and the University undermines our efforts by continuing to exercise and aggressive land grab within the Reservation. Most recently, the Band negotiated with Potlatch whereby Potlatch is providing the Band with the right of first refusal of any lands offered for sale on the Reservation. The Forestry Center Director has publicly announced his intention to compete with the Band for those parcels which are adjacent to the Forestry Center in order to create a "buffer zone" for the Center. A "buffer zone" from the Indians! At the request of Representative Bill Hilty, I spoke with two representatives of the U of M system regarding the Band's thoughts on these purchases. I spoke first with Mr. Iverson from the governmental relations office.

Mr. Iverson opening comment was to the effect that the U of M would only consider not purchasing the property if the Band would agree to offer a 99-year lease to the Forestry Center, but if we wouldn't agree to a lease, the U of M would move ahead with its purchase. By the end of the phone call Mr. Iverson did understand better the position of the Band, and agreed that some conversation between the Band and the Forestry Center would be in order. The second phone call I had was with Mr. Severs, Director of the Forestry Center. He stated that I "needed to assure him that the Band's use of the land would not conflict with the mission of the Forestry Center." The remaining conversation assured me that Mr. Severs has no knowledge of tribal history or sovereignty. Despite that, a meeting has been set for Monday, November 30th at 10:00 in the Fond du Lac Tribal Center Chambers. The posture of the University, through its Forestry Center, towards the interests of the Fond du Lac Band on the Fond du Lac Reservation, constitutes a serious threat to the sovereign interests of the Band by interfering with the Band's political and territorial integrity. We oppose vehemently any expansion of the Cloquet Forestry Center within the boundaries of the Fond du Lac Reservation. We accordingly implore you to reconsider your policies as they affect our tribal interests on our own Reservation. We would be very interested in discussing a transfer of the property back to the Fond du Lac Band."

December 30, 2009: University of Minnesota Responds. "Dear Ms. Diver: Dean Allen Levine spoke with me about your recent meeting discussing land issues related to the Cloquet Forestry Center and the Fond du Lac Reservation. He found the meeting to be helpful and appreciated your time to better understand the views of the tribe and communicate the needs of the research station. Dean Levine indicated that over the next month he would review the information he learned and seek a solution that is mutually acceptable. He believes that it is possible to address the tribe's concerns and protect the important research that is carried on at the Forestry Center. You can expect to hear from Dean Levine early in the year." Ann D. Cieslak, Executive Director.

Collaboration

The University has benefited greatly on land belonging to the Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Tribe. As they have accumulated revenue from timber sales, funding from the State and Government, tuitions from Forestry School students and receive recognition for experiments done on stolen land. As a sovereign nation Fond du Lac Band has been denied access to the hunt, fish and gather within the boundaries of the Cloquet Forestry Center which is part of the Fond du Lac Reservation.

The University of Minnesota recently stated on the campus website and brochures the acknowledgement of the Fond du Lac Band and the history in which the land was taken by the Morrill Act of 1862. The brochure provided states "The CFC is located within the reservation of the Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Chippewa (FDL) on *the traditional, ancestral and contemporary lands of indigenous people*. We are building upon this acknowledgement with an open access lands policy,

active support of the developing projects with FDL collaborators, and incorporating Ojibwe perspectives into land stewardship decisions.” The University of Minnesota has also stated on its website “The CFC sits on Fond du Lac Reservation, along with many other reservations in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan was created by the 1854 Treaty of La Pointe. In this treaty a number of Ojibwe bands- the Fond du Lac, Lac du Flambeau, La Pointe, Ontonagon, L’Anse, Lac Vieux Desert, Grand Portage, Lac Courte Oreilles, Bois Forte and Mississippi Bands- agreed under duress to allow Euro-Americans use of land and resources within their ancestral territories while reserving specific lands for sole use be their band members. Over the course of the next 80 years, however, land under tribal ownership were continually reduced as Euro-Americans sought to access and exploit the natural resources in these areas. Further abuse occurred across the United States with the passing of the Dawes Act of 1887. The Dawes Act allowed the U.S. President to divide communally owned reservations into private allotments, selling off the “excess” land to Euro-American colonizers and resulting in the eventual loss of 100 million acres of reservation land across America. In Minnesota just two years later, the Nelson Act of 1889 attempted to pressure all Ojibwe lands in the state to relinquish their reserved lands and move to the newly establish White Earth Reservation. In 1909 Samuel Green- the Head of the University of Minnesota Forestry School who had been advocating for an experimental forest from as early as 1886 was finally able to convince the St. Louis Mercantile Company to purchase and donate roughly 2,000 acres of land to the University, the land had once belonged to the Fond du Lac Band before the Dawes and Nelson Act. Over the next few years the University of Minnesota purchased additional acres as well as receiving another land donation from the Northern Lumber Company. The trees on these donated lands, however, were not included, and both timer companies actively clear-cut much of the red and white pine on them. In 1911, Samuel Green asked the University to help him reserve certain stands by paying the timber companies the value of the stands tree, thereby assuring their protection. One hundred and nine years ago, a young camp 8 was selected to be one of these reserve stands, many of its red pines not even 100-years old at the time it was reserved.” The University of Minnesota proclaims their collaboration, acknowledgement and understanding of Fond du Lac Bands ancestral and traditional history.



However, September 9, 2021 Fond du Lac received notification from Cloquet Forestry Center regarding an artifact that was discovered on campus. (Figure 5.) The artifact recovered is an arborglyph belonging to the Ojibwe people. Dating back early as 1868, specialists at the Cloquet Forestry Center verified that this tree was cut in between 1960-1965 within the confines of Fond du Lac Band Reservation Boundaries. The University of Minnesota responded January 28, 2022 from Researcher Lane Johnson stating "The arborglyph was probable cultural connections to the Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Chippewa based on the character of the modification, its provenance, and the estimated creation date of the arborglyph based on local knowledge and tree-ring counts." Professor Emeritus Al Alm, of Cloquet spent much of his career with the Cloquet Forestry Center (1960-1992). He recalled clearly to the CFC forest management staff on October 12, 2021 that the arborglyph tree came from the CFC property and was cut down by students between 1960-1965. He claims that Professor Bruce Brown, CFC Director at the time being upset. Professor Alm recollected that the arborglyph was originally found near SE corner of Section 29, Township 49N, Range 17W and the NE corner of Section 32, Township 49N, Range 17W, North and East of the Otter Creek corridor and just west of Cartwright Road. He also recalls the bole of the arborglyph tree being brought to the CFC sawmill and the arborglyph being cut out and save following the removal of the tree. Melonee Montano, Traditional Ecological Knowledge specialist with Great Lakes Indian Fish and Wildlife Commission examined the arborglyph January 2020. She interpreted the arborglyph to be consistent with Anishinaabe iconography and recommended inquiring the FDL representatives. The artifact is associated with traditional cultural use of the FDL Reservation prior to University acquisition of the property.

"It is one of the largest artifacts repatriated by Ojibwe people, it is a depiction of a spirit, completely unique to our people. This ancestral artifact is rare. As this artifact is studied and continues to get older- its cultural significance will grow" - Charles Smith, Fond du Lac Band's Culture Specialist.

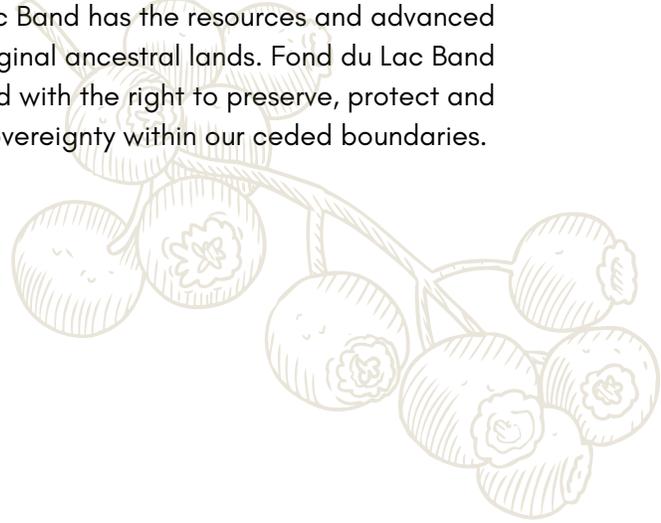
This unique and significant arbor glyph belonging to Fond du Lac Band has been in possession of the University of Minnesota for over 60 years with no collaboration with Fond du Lac Band's Tribal Historic Preservation Officers and or Tribal Leaders.



Figure 5 Anishinaabe arborglyph located on Fond du Lac Reservation prior to University acquisition. The artifact dates 1883 which has been in Cloquet Forestry Center possession since 1960-1965. Was not recovered by Fond du Lac Band until September 9, 2021.

Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Tribe Objective

All land owned by the University of Minnesota within the past and present-day boundaries of the Fond du Lac Band be returned immediately to the tribe. Fond du Lac Band has the resources and advanced Forestry Departments that are capable of managing our original ancestral lands. Fond du Lac Band shall exercise the Treaty of 1854 and establish the land promised with the right to preserve, protect and exercise our sovereignty within our ceded boundaries.



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Prairie Island Indian Community

TRUTH Project Report

May 2022 // Prepared by Suzelle (Bellanger) Sandoval

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Recovering Burial Grounds: *Honoring Our Ancestors*

Summary: The topic of recovering burial grounds is at the heart of some of the toughest issues we have to face as tribes, Tribal Research Fellows and Tribal Historic Preservation Officers for our tribes; with regards to burial mounds and also with regards to how archaeology was done by the University of Minnesota in the past. In this report we are going to take a look at how that past work impacts tribes today, and we're going to take a look at some of the truth-telling work that's being done by tribes today to correct some of these injustices.

Objectives: The conversation of burial mound reclamation and what that looks like for many tribes today. It's important to understand how the University of Minnesota has conducted archaeology and continues to conduct archaeology, specifically when it comes to burial mounds.

Digging up sacred native cultural sites would be the same as digging up Arlington National Cemetery.

In the late 1980's the University of Minnesota was actively participating in the excavation of burial mounds throughout the state of Minnesota, through its archaeological classes and through its field classes that it would conduct, all in the name of education, and promoting education. How does this impact us today as tribes? In the late 1980's and part of the early 1990's, the university transferred its entire archaeological collection over to the Minnesota Historical Society. In doing so they transferred over an extensive collection of all these cultural materials they had assembled over decades of excavation work and through donations. When we are assessing burial mounds and doing research on burial mounds, we find the connection we have to burial mounds is that we have to help put together a burial management plan. When we start looking at the cultural material that was separated from human remains and that is now part of this collection, we have a big, big issue. How do we reconnect and reconcile some of these items in this collection?

NAGPRA and beyond

The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (1990), was established to protect cultural and biological remains of our native people, this includes human remains, associated/unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects and items of cultural patrimony. It also outlines a requirement and process for museums and federal agencies to return cultural items, including human remains, back to lineal descendants or culturally affiliated Indian Tribes. The problem with this process is that the laws are weak and so are the penalties, the institutions are regarding it as a property issue instead of a human rights issue.

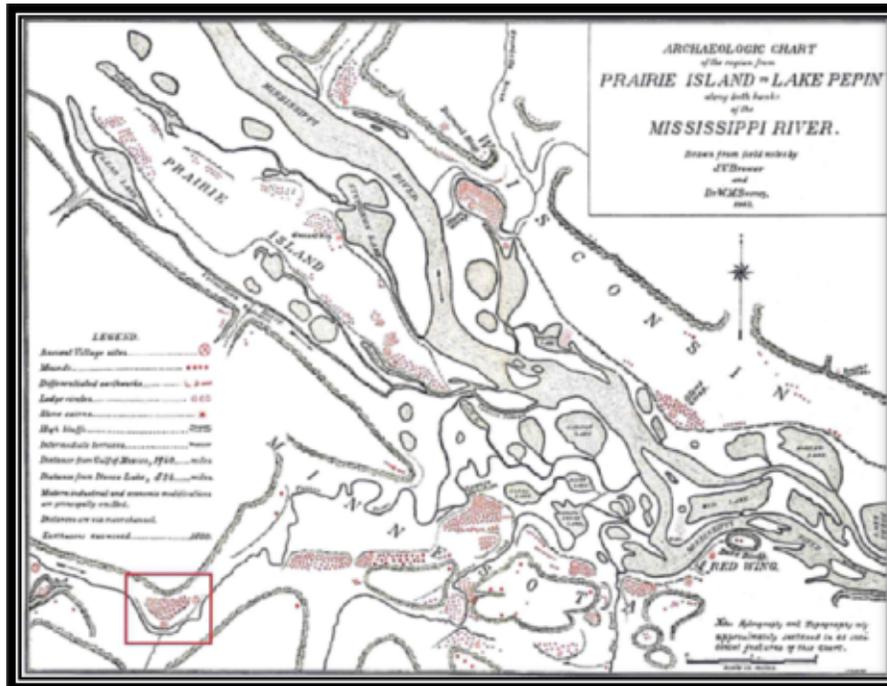
Of the 200,000 ancestors reported in the U.S., 60% are incomplete in being returned back to their people, and those that have been returned are unable to be laid to rest, due to another problem. Most of the funerary objects have been split up into collections and are scattered across many institutions, so instead of just dealing with one entity, you are faced in starting the process many times with various places, yielding no results of return or a delayed return, there is no uniformity and no consistency because of the lack of standards when burial sites are assessed

“ ———
 The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (1990), was established to protect cultural and biological remains of our native people, this includes human remains, associated/unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects and items of cultural patrimony.



1

¹ **Photo:** Leather beaded moccasins originally owned by John Other Day (Wahpeton Dakota) and given to Stephen Return Riggs, a missionary and government interpreter among the Dakota in southwestern Minnesota, ca. 1860.
 Holding Location: Minnesota Historical Society



Some issues we face at Prairie Island, a majority of them are protecting burial mounds. This map from 1903, shows over 500 burial mounds in the Red Wing area alone. The attitude a lot of settlers had when it came to burial mounds was an attitude of ignorance for the importance of these burial sites of our people. To give you an idea of this attitude and provide some insight, here is an excerpt from a diary entry of a Private stationed in Red Wing in 1869.

"Red Wing an Indian Chief is buried on one of the bluffs here the city was named after him there is as much as a hundred of their graves up here on a bluff and I have been up there and found and ribs of Indians and all sorts of bones last spring the red wing boys dug into the chiefs grave and found a silver medal given by Harrison to the chief and they sold it for \$75 and then they dug them most all up for things and took their skulls and (put) but them on bushes and played ball with them till the city Authorities ordered them to put the bones all back and cover them up they found beads and scalps and lots of trinkets buried with them but I could cover a dozen sheets with such stuff..."

- Edward A Henderson Letter: Red Wing, Minnesota. November 3, 1869. Native American History Collection.

Edward Henderson's letter provides an unpleasant account of the desecration of a burial ground and the theft of valuable objects.

When we started examining the archaeological record that is now at the Minnesota Historical Society we uncovered a couple of different things. There's some really good work being done by staff at the Minnesota Historical Society to reconcile some of these archaeological collections. This is something that faces all tribes today, and so, **our suggestion we offer is that the University of Minnesota should consider funding a position, and we would hope that it could be a fellowship position for a Native American to work with staff at the Minnesota Historical Society to go through these collections and to make them a priority.**

As Tribal Research Fellows, going through this type of research we have to remember to take care of ourselves, it can invoke emotions and bring out feelings that are challenging to control. As we honor some of these injustices we must carry these burdens as researchers until there is resolution brought to these issues and make people aware of them.

Red Wing, Minnesota. November
3, 1869. From the Native American
History Collection

Letter from Edward A. Henderson



Private, Private Red, W.

Private

Carroll

*Letter to day and was very
from you. for you dont
good it does me to receive
you will write again if
trouble, perhaps you have
& had heard of the wed
myself it is rather da
there, We have not any s
here but we have some s
it*

Introduction to the Dakota Traditional Homelands Mapping Project Merging Technology, Oral History And Literature

The Dakota Traditional Homelands Mapping Project, started in 2020, is a 10-year project in partnership with the Prairie Island Indian Community Tribal Preservation Office and EARTH Systems Research Lab, Minnesota State University - Mankato. Our project vision is to take a new look at an ancient land; Dakota people and historical records agree that the Dakota traditional homelands expand far beyond today's boundaries. Various kinds of records exist, but have never been collected, compared and assembled into a comprehensive geographic information system. Utilizing five methodologies to assess burial sites and burial mounds that are non-intrusive, the resulting GIS will be ground truth and the results formalized in state record systems.

The typical way in which we assess burial mounds in Minnesota poses a lot of problems. If an archeologist applies for a state license to assess a burial mound they just have to go through a licensing process, there is absolutely no standards that person who receives that permit has to follow. Through the Dakota Traditional Homelands Mapping Project research, we are truth-telling and ground proving these five methodologies, our end goal is to force the state to develop standards for archeologists to follow when assessing burial mounds. We also hope to contribute by helping develop a field guide for tribes for when they want to assess burial sites.

The Dakota Traditional Homeland Mapping Project focuses on the archaeological site known as the Belle Creek Site, located along the Cannon River in the Cannon Valley in southeast Minnesota. We are hoping to collect data in a five-year period, which justifies why noninvasive techniques should be the first method used when evaluating burial mounds.

LiDAR

The first method that we always utilize, LiDAR, also known as Light Detection and Ranging, uses lasers to measure the distance, shape, and orientation of 3D objects. LiDAR is becoming increasingly common and within the last two years this technology has really improved in Minnesota, allowing us to visually see the landscape in ways that we couldn't do previously. LiDAR is used to compare the surveyed locations of the mounds with the actual locations. Mounds in an open field are not visible to the naked eye, but using our noninvasive techniques we were able to relocate these burial mounds with precision.

Drones and Photogrammetry

The second technique that we utilize is drones and photography. Drones are used to create high-resolution aerial photographs of our work area, as well as high resolution Digital Elevation Models. Also known as DEMs, instead of depicting how a site actually appears in person, DEMs generally use color to indicate differences in elevation and are a visual representation of the elevation data for every point captured in a site. We also do fly overs in the summer, as well as in the fall.

Ground Penetrating Radar

The third technique that we use, and is a more well known technique, is ground penetrating radar. And again, this is a noninvasive geophysical technique that sends radio waves into the ground between 50MHz (megahertz) to 1GHz (gigahertz) and allows us to understand some of the anomalies that are underground. The transmitter and receiver antenna are drug across the ground either along a single line or in a grid format. When our data is collected in a grid format, readings can be interpolated to generate depth slices four to six meters below the surface depending on the frequency used. 200MHz to 500MHz is primarily used in archeological investigations. The data displays boundaries between subsurface materials as well as possible buried objects.

Magnetometry

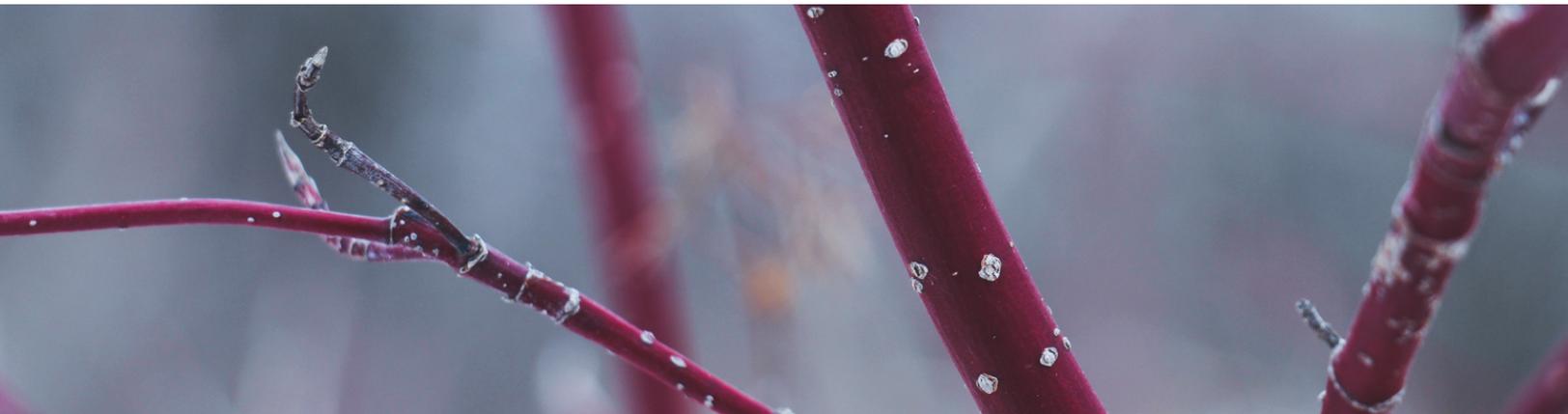
This is another noninvasive geophysical technique that measures the influence subsurface materials have on the local magnetic field of the Earth. Ferrous soils or sediments as well as metallic objects will distort the local magnetic field, it allows us to “see” into the ground and identify what lies beneath without having to excavate and helps us interpret and preserve sights. Data collected can be interpolated along transects to produce a depth slice of subsurface anomalies about one meter below the surface. Identifiable anomalies include, geology – clearly maps transition from silt to sand; agricultural remnants – plow furrows, field edge push, and metal objects found on the surface; archeological components – mounds, probable earthen effigy as well as subtle but similar magnitude as mounds which highlights the importance of using multiple methods and being aware that the unexpected can occur.

Electrical Resistance

The fifth methodology that we use is electrical resistance. Again, electrical resistance is a noninvasive way of measuring soil types and transitions, as well as allowing us to understand again some of the anomalies that we're seeing below ground and truth-telling them with actual maps. Archeological features can be mapped when they are of high or lower resistivity than their surroundings. Differences in soil porosity, saturation, and organic contents can increase or inhibit electrical conduction. For example, a stone foundation might impede the flow of electricity, while organic contents might conduct electricity more easily than surrounding soils. Resistivity results from each of the grids collected at Belle Creek show identifiable anomalies such as field edge push; Large round, highly resistive zones that are mound remnants; Small, round low resistant areas that correlate with mapped tree locations. Resistance confirms that mounds are present even if not visible on the surface.

We are hoping to collect enough data at the end of Year 5 to make us a strong bid to the state to put in place standards on how burial mounds are assessed, and we hope that the University of Minnesota would support the good work that's coming from all of these tribal communities when it comes to this. It is a pressing issue that we all face today and by our research and utilizing these techniques, we hope to set standards that will pave the way for better stewardship of these areas. The way things have been done in the past is not the way they need to be, or should be done in the future.

Technological capacity of research institutions can and should be helping refine available toolboxes and standard practices. This must be paired with what communities know, want, and need. Collaboration is the way we move forward.





Bois Forte and Grand Portage

TRUTH Project Report



Spring 2022 // Prepared by Jaylen Strong

Waa-gwewayako'iyang

Making it right with us

Introduction

This paper is mostly written based on how our tribal governments feel like the university could best grow our relationships in the future. A lot of these topics stem from band members who are students, faculty, staff as well as alumni or of high importance in the education or tribal government sectors. Of all the topics that have come up from these discussions, there were four main categories that all of these fit well into.

Representation

The largest needs that was stated for building relationships with tribes is to also build them with our citizens. To do that, it would be to increase the representation of indigenous people within the system. This would include higher amounts of students, faculty, and staff, as well as classes being taught. We would like the University to expand its native recruitment practices for both students and staff across all campuses. Include native issues as common classes outside of American Indian Studies. Topics like tribal gaming, tribal law, ICWA, and tribal finance/economics should be taught in spaces like business schools, law school, public affairs schools, and continuing education. That way, the applicability of the topics learned in schools can translate better to practice, not only for tribal citizens but also for non-indigenous students who will go into fields of work that interact within tribes.

The university needs to help bridge the achievement gap within our high schools. Our students around the state are not able to complete high school at nearly the same level as other students. This issue is large and complex in itself and would require more studies but with the history that the university has with the federal government and with federal funding, it falls on a portion of the trust responsibility to assist indigenous communities. This would include working with high schools designated by tribal governments for university admissions to visit to meet students in person.

Increasing representation for the university could also include acts and displays such as displaying tribal nation flags in common locations where other flags are flown, and in common areas where indigenous people are at. Having local drum groups provide an honor song for students at graduation ceremonies. Smudging or tobacco offering locations can also be a step towards having representation and respect for our students. In many universities now, there are designated spots for gender-neutral restrooms and places for Muslim people to pray.

Cultural Respect

Museum Respect for ancestors. If there are going to be any of our ancestors housed or any items of cultural importance, they should be helped in the same respect that they would if they were held at our museums or with our family. In order to determine what this would look like; it would require consultations with tribal nations to make those determinations. These items whether they seem like it or not, all have cultural significance to Tribes, and we understand that they are allowing us to showcase them. In return we have a duty to take care of them. Being able to feast these objects and knowing

what can and cannot have pictures or be on display should be a minimum for anything that are held at the University.

Family Dynamics is something that can oftentimes be washed out from our identity in an effort to conform to a westernized space that's not designed for people of different values. This would include during times of grieving. In Anishinaabe traditions there are whenever someone passes, the ceremony for burial takes places at that person's home over the course of 4 days. Then, if they are close enough relations, they may not participate in ceremonies or traditional values for up to a year. Professors should be more cognizant and aware of some of these practices for students who undergo ceremonies such as this.

Traditional Knowledge being accepted is another large issue that the university doesn't acknowledge as acceptable forms of sources. When we talk about traditional stories, knowledge, or values. Understanding that these stories don't just come from a random person but rather are passed down from generation to generation and can be hundreds if not thousands of years old. To us, these sources are peer-reviewed, fact-checked, and undergone necessary changes to be permissible to be shared, oftentimes heard, studied, and revised multiple times prior. There isn't anything different in this process as it is quoting a book or journal.

Along with this knowledge, also comes the knowledge that not all data and information should be written down. When the university has non-native, non-community members come into our communities to study for a project, how can they possibly understand the nuances and complexities that those knowledges have. Even after the process of building trust and a base of knowledge, they're still a level of trust and care that the knowledge holds. Often times, writing or recording of this information can ruin the trust and relationship of our knowledge holders and those Aadizookan. With future studies, it should be the University's mission to hold their researchers to the level of each knowledge holder that they work with to respect the information they receive.

Recognition of traditional ecological knowledge is a valued scientific knowledge and process of record keeping in our communities. Tribal Environmental Staff work with our Elders to protect areas of significance and our natural resources. Often the state agencies disregard our tribal scientists and their scientific data in the states work for environmental protections of Nibi (water) quality or Manoomin (wild rice). Tribal Environmental Staff are scientists equal to that of the State, often possessing the same degrees from the institutions such as UMN.



**Representation
Cultural Respect
Support
Knowledge and
Training**



Support



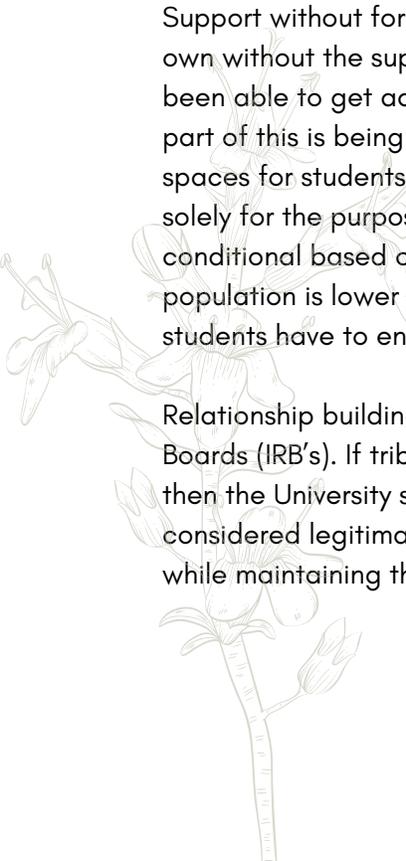
Getting to university is one adventure on its own, while being able to remain, let alone excel in an environment that is entirely new environment is a different experience. Advisors and staff have so much on their plate, that we should work towards creating retention centers or divisions for each campus. Having not only a space that students can feel comfortable in but also a spot that will assist them to provide the best opportunity to succeed. There may need additional surveys and studies to get an understanding of what this would look like to help with retention but if it meant having to coordinate rides or working with urban offices to provide additional connections or services. Once our students get on to campus, being able to create an open and welcoming environment is something that is important to help people stay throughout their careers. One such program might include a Learning Living Community on each campus. This is like one on the Twin-Cities campus that allows for native students to not only meet one another but form early bonds with each other through different types of programming throughout the year.

We do appreciate the effort of starting on the path towards offering free tuition for all federally enrolled students. It would help extend the tribes extend their support if this tuition waiver doesn't take into account scholarships from their tribes. Tribes do a variety of things to help support our students from scholarships to having additional funds for living expenses. If the tuition waiver/scholarship

is going to adjust and lower according to the amount of support, we are able to provide. Then it makes the additional funding and support obsolete.

Support without forcing staff to fit underneath other multicultural centers or leaving them all on their own without the support to help them succeed. We have had high school student visits and haven't been able to get access or view all of the places we would like to highlight for our students. A major part of this is being understaffed in those spaces. Then while at school, there isn't always permanent spaces for students and faculty, on all campuses. At each university outlet there are spaces that are solely for the purpose of native students. Some of these spaces, like in the twin cities campus are conditional based on set requirements that aren't as easily attainable given that the native student population is lower than other groups who attend the University. It can be an additional stress that our students have to endure over the course of the school year.

Relationship building with tribes in this area could include helping tribes creating Internal Review Boards (IRB's). If tribal knowledge is viewed as "inadequate", such is the case of tribal judicial systems, then the University should bring it upon themselves to help bring it to a place where it can be considered legitimate. An IRB can help scholars incorporate the holistic viewpoint talked about next while maintaining the respect for our people and culture that we hold it in.



Knowledge and Training

A holistic approach to studies done involving tribal nations. This could include incorporating traditional knowledge into reports. Of the various studies and reports that I read throughout the semester, a lack the opportunity to bring it all together. An example could be a report on the Nett Lake¹³ dam. It debated on whether it was a success and how they would be able to tell. It talked about water levels, optimal growth environments of wild rice, chemical levels in the water that is harmful to healthy wild rice stocks and whether the dam helped it. The mentioned that Bois Forte denied having a “wild rice expert” come up to help with the study on the lake and that the band would use traditional knowledge holders for this. This paper did not include those values and knowledge in their study. That led to a lack of a complete understanding of the environment that the wild rice has with the different beings around the lake. It could have talked about how the cattails, grass, muskrat, doctor ducks, rice worms, fish all play apart in the rice crops throughout the year. That if there were a decline and/or drastic change in any of these populations that it could lead to irregular wild rice crops. When there is a change in these beings there is also a change in the optimal grown environment for rice. In Grand Portage, there were studies talking about doing land surveys around the village to study where development could happen in the future. In this paper, they only focused on areas that were written in books or records kept by the state or historical societies. Not asking for traditional stories about where families used to live, hunt or utilize the land and not knowing some if not most of these stories are not written down.

Any staff, departments, or students that work with indigenous people or nations should take Tribal-State Relations Classes whether in-person or online. This hopefully can reaffirm that each tribe is different and that when talking about or working with this is kept in mind. Talking about indigenous people in¹⁶ modern times without dissociative words such as “pre-history”, in the museums and other public locations that talk about tribal nations. Tour guides should be knowledgeable about these issues as well so that they can accurately and fairly talk about the history of the University. For students, this could be something like videos lead by current students or staff from different indigenous communities, taking a class or training prior to going to the university. This is done in prevention and teaching for the inevitable questions, harassment, and complaints that stem from ignorance and racism that will come from the tuition waivers, departments and programs that are available for native students.

Tribal communities and government employees have so many people who have to wear many different hats for their tribe and are asked to be a master or experts in these issues. For this, it would be great to be able to get different trainings or certifications in topics decided by someplace like MIAC or MCT for tribal nations. This could include things like tribal history, tribal law, linguistics, Ojibwe and Dakota.

Conclusions

For many of our tribal youth, it's a big task to leave a community of 500-700 people. Being able to have the access that other schools get can put us at a disadvantage, then being able to understand some obstacles that may prevent them from pursuing their goals. This is before even applying to colleges, once they are there, they have to face a different set of challenges to keep them on their paths. These are some of the ways that the University of Minnesota system can help building the relationship with tribes is to help build their relationship with tribal members.

<p>Respect</p>	<p>Understanding or respect for family dynamics Acknowledge/accept Traditional Knowledge as sources Ancestors or Items of Cultural Patrimony</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feasted seasonally, cedar/tobacco near • Not taking pictures of sacred items <p>Understanding that not all data collected should be publicly available Smudging/Tobacco offering spaces in all buildings</p>
<p>Representation</p>	<p>Indigenous Staff that's not in American Indian Studies Classes in places like business schools, law schools, public affairs, CEHD Gaming, Fed Indian Law, Tribal government, ICWA, Tribal Businesses/Finance Drum Groups to open/close graduation Tribal Flags on campus Recruitment of native students, staff and faculty Admissions reps to Schools designated by tribes Help closing the achievement gap HS School visits/camps to UMN schools for each place</p>



Conclusions (cont.)

Support	<p>Permanent Spaces for students</p> <p>Retention Centers/Division</p> <p>Learning Living Communities on other campuses</p> <p>Free tuition that doesn't take into account tribal scholarships</p> <p>Either Isolation of AIS and students or trying to force them under another multicultural umbrella</p> <p>Helping Tribes set up IRBs</p>
Knowledge and Training	<p>Holistic approach to studies done on or with tribal nations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incorporating traditional knowledge <p>Any staff/Faculty who works with indigenous people or nations to take Tribal-State Relations Classes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Including Tour Guides or students who want to learn more <p>Talking about Indigenous people in modern times, especially in public spaces</p> <p>Tracking Native Students by tribal affiliation</p> <p>Offering a free certification in areas of study for tribes</p>





UMN - TRIBAL RELATIONS

Past, Present, Future

March 2023 // Prepared by the TRUTH University Team

IN THE SILENCE OF IRREPARABLE HARM THERE IS TRUTH

Context of the TRUTH Project –Methodology, Methods, and Supports

The taking of Indigenous lands to fund colonial institutions of higher learning in what is now the United States can trace its design back to a 10,000-acre British land grab to fund Henrico College, founded in Virginia in 1619.[1] The field of Critical University Studies (CUS) examines such events as it studies the role of higher education in contemporary society and its relation to culture, politics, and labor. For example, CUS theorist Davarian Baldwin interrogates how urban development has become higher education's latest economic growth strategy.[2] However, this is nothing new. Institutions like UMN were founded to drive white settlement so they could profit from “development” of Indigenous lands.

TRUTH's research shows that the University of Minnesota was established as a shell corporation, one method among many used by colonial politicians and speculators to funnel and launder monies made from the dispossession and genocide of Mni Sóta Maḵoḵe's Indigenous peoples. Land grabs were not solely to fund the establishment of universities for the common good.[3]

Since its founding in 1851, the University of Minnesota has been the beneficiary of multiple land grabs which have ultimately provided the University with 186,791 acres through the dispossession of Indigenous nations.[4] University founders knew, from previous experience, that they, their businesses, acquaintances—and the institution, of course—could wipe out their debts and build an empire from the wealth generated from genocide of Native Americans. But these lands did not stay with the University. The Board of Regents chose lands based on their personal, political, and industry knowledge of the region, then sold them for profit, often to their associates in timber and rail.[5] This example extends Baldwin's statement into both the past and future, showing that institutions like UMN were created upon urban development, and inherently depend upon it as a financial stream.

[1] Harvey, “The Wealth of Knowledge.”

[2] Baldwin, “When Universities Swallow Cities.”

[3] UMN Libraries, “For the Common Good.”

[4] Fuecker et al., “CURA TRUTH Capstone: Permanent University Fund.”

[5] Roberts, “An Early Political and Administrative History.”

Project Funding and Rationale

Minnesota Transform (MNT) is a higher education initiative funded by a Mellon Foundation Just Futures grant, which began on the heels of a national outcry for transformational decolonization and racial justice due to the continued police brutality against Indigenous, Black, and Brown communities after the murder of George Floyd by Minneapolis police officers.⁶

Indigenous, Black, and Brown communities across Minnesota have always been targets of state-inflicted violence. The establishment of Minnesota as a Territory, and subsequently a State, happened through processes of sustained ethnocide, genocide, murder, violence, starvation, illegal land dispossession, false promises, and expulsion of Indigenous peoples from the very land that had cared for them since time immemorial. The American Indian Movement was founded in 1968 in Minneapolis for Native American residents to protect their communities from government brutality.

This history has foundations in not only the U.S. federal government and the State of Minnesota, but also the University of Minnesota. As a quasi-governmental body and land-grant institution, the University of Minnesota has been the beneficiary of acts of genocide and land dispossession by the United States' federal, territorial, and state actors, many of whom simultaneously sat on the Board of Regents.

It is because of these histories that we must note that while aspects of the Tribes' work received minimal financial support from UMN, the TRUTH project was funded by the Mellon Foundation through Minnesota Transform, not the University, although the University administered the grant. In addition, the limited funding to tribes was not enough to allow for a full review of the University's past, present, and future. Work must continue in full consultation with Indigenous peoples leading the discussions and planning.

Methodologies

Each researcher brought their own epistemological and methodological worldviews formed in relation with their community knowledge systems into their respective research and reporting. Our collective work is seeded in Indigenous methodologies⁷ using grounded

⁶ Minnesota Transform, "A Just University"; The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, "Just Futures Initiative."

⁷ Weber-Pillwax, "Indigenous Research Methodology"; Wilson, "What is an Indigenous Research Methodology?"

theory as an Indigenous paradigm to explain deep relationships between the land and our more-than-human relatives.⁸ Research done on and to our communities has persistently been a tool of coloniality.⁹ Coloniality is a framework based on Indigenous knowledges kept over the last 500 years of settler contact in the Americas.¹⁰ With this recognition, we find the ground on which to reclaim sovereignty over research and data in our communities.¹¹

The research in the TRUTH Project fills gaps in academic knowledge caused by colonialism and brings into question the Land-grant university system from an Indigenous paradigm,¹² more specifically, through Dakota and Anishinaabeg worldviews. This relationship-based paradigm considers humans and more than humans equally; it is steeped in the Seven Grandfather Teachings and The Seven Generation philosophy, an ontological orientation of relational accountability, takes into consideration the next seven generations past and future in all of our actions. It honors connections to ancestors, Unci Maka/Aki, the earth, all who reside on her, and all who will come to reside on her. Research is a ceremony that celebrates the connections between us all.

Rather than centering Western research practices like validity, reliability, and statistical significance, TRUTH demands the University ask itself: “What are our obligations to Indigenous peoples? To whom are we accountable?” The response is all our relations, human and human+.

Theory

There are two grounding theories from which this research sprouts: Indigenous Standpoint Theory and Transformative Indigenous Theory. Academia is a particularly challenging place that does not nurture the success of Indigenous students. There exist many reasons why, one of which is that there is an inherent tension between Western and Indigenous epistemologies.

⁸Kerr and Andreotti, “Recognizing more-than Human Relations.”

⁹ Suárez-Krabbe, “Race, Social Struggles, and ‘Human Rights’”; Deloria, Jr., “Research, Redskins and Reality”; Laenui, “Processes of Decolonization”; Sumida Huaman and Martin, “Indigenous Knowledge Systems.”

¹⁰ Tlostanova and Mignolo, “On Plural Epistemologies.”

¹¹ Smith, “Indigenous Struggle for the Transformation of Education”; Quijano, “Coloniality and modernity/rationality.”; Sumida Huaman and Martin, “Indigenous Knowledge Systems”; Smith et al., “Indigenous Knowledge, Methodology and Mayhem”; Meyer, M., “Ekolu mea nui: Three ways to experience the world.”

¹² Wilson, “What is an Indigenous Research Methodology?”

There are four requirements of Indigenous Standpoint Theory. Research must be done by an Indigenous person. That person should be trained in intersectional critical theories. There must be a benefit to Indigenous communities. Indigenous languages should be used whenever possible.¹³

Along with Indigenous standpoint theory, transformative Indigenous theory is based on accountability. Smith defines five ways in which utility holds research/ers accountable. It must have the potential for positive transformation. It is merely a tool; intent and impact are the researcher's responsibility. It must be useful because the status quo is not. It must be fluid to avoid monolithic assumptions or "one size fits all" strategies. And finally, it must be accountable to the community.¹⁴

This project meets the objectives set by these theories and is done with the intention of reshaping policies through Indigenous analysis. The language of reconciliation uses never-ending performances of Indigenous pain. This begs the question of what is justice when one must take the shape of a wound? This focus is critical as we move "towards healing" in the TRUTH project and allows a continued focus on healing. Moving towards healing also holds the implication that we have not arrived yet, that there is still work to do. TRUTH is the first step in a long journey towards justice. Utility and the possibility of radical systems change is central to our processes. Throughout the TRUTH Project, our guiding question has been, how does this benefit the Tribes? TRUTH is Indigenous driven to impact Indigenous realities and futures.

To understand the root of the issues Indigenous peoples face, we must also know the various tactics the United States government used in suppressing our people: forced internment and attempted assimilation to Western ways of being/thinking/knowing via the boarding school system, genocide, dispossession, war, murder. Historical and intergenerational trauma may be woven in our DNA, but so is resilience and love.

Indigenous narratives and connections to this land have been unrecognized, untaught in Western educational settings. What is the Indigenous perspective on the past, present, and future of University-Tribal relations? TRUTH is the first ever Indigenous-led community-led research to tell this history using Indigenous narratives.

¹³ Foley, "Indigenous Epistemology and Indigenous Standpoint Theory."

¹⁴ Smith, "Indigenous Struggle for the Transformation of Education."

Culturally Responsive Supports

Limited research has been conducted on the occurrence of secondary trauma among researchers studying traumatized populations.¹⁵ Almost immediately in the project, TRUTH researchers encountered documents and stories that were particularly traumatic.

Intentional supports were conceived. Eriksen and Ditrich posit that spiritual practices and beliefs can help researchers cope with the exposure to traumatic data and experiences.¹⁶

At the very least, having access to culturally-relevant spiritual and emotional support from Native professionals allows for a certain familiarity with the topics. This was done with the intention of avoiding the embodiment of trauma for our researchers.

The project managers requested additional resources from Minnesota Transform. A team of Native counselors, psychologists, and spiritual advisors was formed. This support network was open to any researcher on the TRUTH Project and billed directly to Minnesota Transform. Researchers were able to access these services on a biweekly basis, for their own self care.¹⁷ We had no idea at the time of research design that this work was going to be a sadness that we continue to carry. It is in that sadness that healing is happening.

Commitment to Data Sovereignty

At the beginning of the TRUTH Project, MIAC and the Tribal Nations negotiated contracts specifically designed to protect Tribal Nations' rights to data sovereignty. We were very intentional in the wording of these contracts, wanting to ensure there was nothing in them that would require a Tribal Research Fellow to work with the University, to share data with the University, to attend meetings with the University (or its external partners), or in any other way make known to the University the scope and contents of their research.¹⁸

¹⁵ Whitt-Woosley and Sprang, Secondary traumatic stress in social science researchers of trauma-exposed populations.

¹⁶ Eriksen and Ditrich, The relevance of mindfulness practice for trauma-exposed disaster researchers.

¹⁷ Berger, Studying trauma: Indirect effects on researchers and self-and strategies for addressing them.

¹⁸ For example, Section 10.2 grants full intellectual property rights to the grantee (MIAC and the Tribal Nations), and Section 2 states that the grantee will make materials available to the joint task force "as appropriate." These contractual statements protect the data sovereignty rights of the Tribes and protect the Tribal Research Fellows from being forced to disclose their knowledge to the University.

Methods

The geospatial scale of this research is enormous. It encompasses eleven Tribal Nations; two Urban Indigenous communities; five University campuses; institutional, state, and national archival depositories; and it seeks knowledge about the past, present, and future. Despite its range, this research is not without its limitations. Scale is one of them. TRUTH only looked at relationships between UMN and Indigenous peoples residing in Mni Sóta Maḵoḵe. Tribes outside of Mni Sóta were beyond the scope and scale of this research. This is something that work going forward must center.

TRUTH uses a braided, mixed-methods approach that tells stories of the past, present, and future of University-Tribal relations both quantitatively and qualitatively. We chose to blend research styles because academia does not value Indigenous voices and ways of thinking/researching as highly as it does quantitative approaches. There is an inherent violence in the epistemological hierarchy of Western knowledge, especially when it comes to who gets to access, learn, know, write about, and hold knowledge.¹⁹ Throughout the TRUTH Project, while still striving to center Indigenous epistemologies, we have had to code switch, or balance multiple different modes of knowing, to protect our research. We have had to be very cognizant of how the academic institution simultaneously covets Indigenous knowledges, while also undervaluing Indigenous ways of being, knowing, and doing.

Using the data collected from multiple streams of inquest, the TRUTH report, for the first time, tells the story of University-Tribal relations from Indigenous perspectives. Each of the 11 Recognized Tribes who share geography with Minnesota appointed a Research Fellow. These Tribal Research Fellows (TRFs) were organized by Misty Blue, the MIAC coordinator for this project. Each fellow pursued a research topic important to their Tribal Nation.

Qualitative Approaches

TRUTH is centered on Indigenous research methods, including oral histories, storytelling, ripple mapping, community-led participation and design, in-depth interviews with individuals at eight other Land-grant universities, and inductive archival research. Archival work took place over six months, beginning at the Minnesota Historical Society looking for

¹⁹ Pillwax, "Indigenous Research Methodology"; Smith, "Indigenous Struggle for the Transformation of Education."

the scrip receipt from the first parcel sold by UMN with the idea that it is important to honor that land. Researchers catalogued many land office boxes. Land claim disputes led back to UMN, where inductive research continued in the University Archives located deep underground the University of Minnesota's Elmer L. Andersen Library. Between September 2021 and June 2022, more than 5,000 pages relating to the founding of the University, the Morrill Act, Board of Regents minutes, land titles, surveys, bonds, financial records, journals, and reports were cataloged, photographed, and studied. Content analysis of these documents was done through an Anishinaabeg worldview that considers members of the natural world to be relatives and centers the wellbeing of future generations.

Quantitative Approaches

In addition to using qualitative methods, TRUTH partnered with the Center for Urban and Regional Affairs to conduct several analyses of the institutional gain from the sale of Indigenous lands. Using historical data sets, Economics Fellows coded an R file using publicly available investment data of the PUF. They modeled several scenarios to estimate discretionary spending and the current book value of Morrill Act profits, as well as to simulate an estimate and bounds for potential values and spending since 1862.²⁰ Centering the land, researchers traced the revenue generated from the commodification of more than human inhabitants on permanent university fund lands from the sale, leasing, investments in the land or natural resources, and continued revenue from mining leases.²¹ Using datasets from the Land Grab U database,²² as well as Bozich and Wang's findings, they developed a story map in ARCGIS.²³

Building on these preliminary findings, a team of researchers from the Humphrey School of Public Affairs used forensic financial accounting and auditing techniques to trace these funds over the last 17 years and identify assets for recovery.

²⁰ Bozich, TRUTH: A Strategic Analysis of the Morrill Land Grab in Minnesota.

²¹ Wang, Lands of the University of Minnesota.

²² HCN-Digital-Projects. "Land-Grab Universities."

²³ CURA and Malone. "Towards Recognition and University-Tribal Healing (TRUTH): A Strategic Analysis of the Morrill Land Grab in Minnesota." ARCGIS story maps.

Researchers

The TRUTH Project is the first time UMN researchers have engaged in community-based research with all of the recognized Tribes. Many people have contributed to the work. Below is a list of the primary group of researchers.

Tribal Researchers

Tribal Nation	Name	Role/Area of Research
(White Earth Band of Ojibwe, Lower Sioux Indian Community)	Misty Blue	MIAC Project Coordinator
Zagaakwaandagowininiwag (Bois Forte Band of Chippewa)	Jaylen Strong	Student experiences at UMN and how to create lasting structural change.
Fond du Lac	Kami Diver	The Cloquet Forestry Center.
Gichi-Onigaming (Grand Portage Band of Lake Superior Chippewa)	Jaylen Strong	Student experiences at UMN and how to create lasting structural change.
Gaa-zagaskwaabiganikaag (Leech Lake Band of Ojibwe)	Laurie Harper	Impacts of dams, research on water and people of Leech Lake.
Cansa'yapi (Lower Sioux)	Cheyenne St. John	Impacts on the Lower Sioux Community.
Tinta Wita (Prairie Island Indian Community)	Suzelle Sandoval Bellanger	UMN's responsibility to protect sacred sites.
Miskwaagamiwi - Zaagaiganing (Red Lake Nation)	Audrianna Goodwin	Medical research conducted on children of Red Lake in the mid-20th century.
Mdewakanton (Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux Community)	Andrew Vig et al.	History of relations between UMN and Dakota peoples.
Pezihutazizi Oyate (Upper Sioux Community)	Samantha Odegard	Lack of individualized consultation processes between UMN & Tribes.

Gaa-waabaabiganikaag (White Earth Band of Ojibwe)	Jamie Arsenault	Access to, digitization, and repatriation of archival materials.
Misi-zaaga'iganiing (Mille Lacs Band of Ojibwe)	Michael Wilson	Documenting UMN incursions of burial mounds. Locating and repatriating excavated materials.

University of Minnesota Researchers

In addition to the Tribal Research Fellows (TRFs), a core university team was led by Tadd Johnson, then Senior Director of the Office of American Indian Tribal Nations Relations. Five Native American graduate research assistants (RAs) were hired, each organizing and researching specific issues. These RAs worked under the American Indian and Tribal Nations Relations (AITNR) office, coordinated by Sophie Hunt, and were funded by Minnesota Transform. A task force was created through a memorandum from President Joan Gabel. Task force members included AIS from across the UMN system. The faculty trained the TRFs during a week-long seminar organized by the core team.

Core Team	
Tadd Johnson, Esq. (Bois Forte Band of Chippewa)	Senior Director of the Office of American Indian Tribal Nations Relations, PI, Co-Chair of Task Force
An Garagiola (Bois Forte Band of Chippewa)	University Project Coordinator, Research Assistant
Audrianna Goodwin (Red Lake Nation)	Research Assistant
Angel Swann (White Earth Band of Ojibwe)	Research Assistant
Sean Dorr (Mille Lacs Band of Ojibwe)	Research Assistant
Benjamin Yawakie (Pueblo of Zuni, Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa, Fort Peck Assiniboine & Sioux, & Whitebear First Nation)	Research Assistant

Lemoine LaPointe (Sicangu Lakota)	Spiritual Advisor and Mentor
Carol Ladd	Trauma and Grief Counselor
Sophie Hunt	Minnesota Transform Internship Coordinator
Phyllis Messenger	Editor
TRUTH Faculty Task Force	
Jean O'Brien (White Earth Band of Ojibwe)	Professor, Co-Chair of Task Force
Christopher Pexa (Spirit Lake Nation)	Assistant Professor, Co-Chair of Task Force
Joseph Bauerkemper	Associate Professor
Kat Hayes	Associate Professor
Katie Johnston-Goodstar (Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate)	Associate Professor
Vicente Diaz (Filipino and Pohnpeian from Guam)	Associate Professor
Michael Dockry (Citizen Potawatomi)	Assistant Professor
Çaŋte Máza (Spirit Lake Nation)	Senior Teaching Specialist, Director of Dakota Language Program
David Chang (Kanaka Maoli)	Professor
Kevin Whalen	Associate Professor
Center for Urban and Regional Affairs	
Madison Bozich (Sault St. Marie Ojibwe)	Fellow, Resilient Communities Project
Shuping Wang	Fellow, Resilient Communities Project
Kyle Malone	Fellow, Resilient Communities Project

Sarah Tschida	Coordinator, Resilient Communities Project, Center for Urban and Regional Affairs
The Humphrey School of Public Affairs Capstone Team	
Audrianna Goodwin (Red Lake Nation)	Researcher
Danielle Fuecker	Researcher
Henry Paddock	Researcher
Madeline Titus	Researcher
Greg Lindsey	Faculty Advisor
Additional Contributors	
Mitchell Berg	Associate Director Veden Center for Rural Development University of Minnesota Crookston
Seanna R. Stinnett Nishnaabe (Walpole Island First Nation)	Student Contributor, University of Minnesota Duluth
Christopher Rico	Student Contributor, University of Minnesota Twin Cities
Maddy Nyblade	Student Contributor, University of Minnesota Twin Cities

Center for Urban and Regional Affairs

Early in the project, before funding through Minnesota Transform was secured, AITNR was approached by the Center for Urban and Regional Affairs (CURA) about a partnership. CURA offered to resource share with TRUTH. Organized by Sarah Tschida, CURA sponsored both Fall 2021 and Spring 2022 TRUTH sub-projects. A summary of their findings begins on page 54 and their full reports are in the Appendix.

Limitations

This project was impacted by several factors that influenced the time and depth of this report. They included the following:

1) Resources and partnerships were based on Federally Recognized Tribal Nations who currently share geography with Minnesota. This means the voices of those most impacted by the actions of the University of Minnesota—the Oceti Sakowin who were forcibly displaced—were not heard. We hope the University begins consultation and partnerships with these Tribes immediately.

2) Covid. Much of this project was remote. While this offered the opportunity for people further away from campus to participate in weekly meetings, it meant that there was limited access to archival materials. We attempted to overcome this by having graduate RAs dedicated to photocopying archival materials.

3) Short Timeline. Institutional calendars and State bureaucracy shortened the amount of time this project had to be completed. Work was designed to be completed during the 2020/2021 academic year; however, there was a delay in hiring a Tribal coordinator for the project. Without this crucial role filled, several months were lost due to the State of Minnesota's hiring processes.

4) Lack of Institutional Support. One can assess an institution's values by where they place their resources. No significant support came from the institution itself. TRUTH researchers repeatedly asked for funding to do a thorough accounting of Tribal-University relations and were given nothing. On multiple occasions, TRUTH approached senior leadership for support, only to receive "no" or ghosting. Due to limited resources and support, this project took an additional six months to complete, and far less research was completed. At the end of this report is a list of areas for further research that we believe the University should fund. The University wants to say UMN is doing the work but has not shown it values the project by placing its resources behind it. This project was completed by Indigenous graduate students, faculty, and Tribal Nations. Faculty were not given course release to oversee a project of this magnitude.

5) Lack of Institutional Knowledge. There is an alarming lack of institutional knowledge about Native Americans, Tribal sovereignty, Treaty rights, and data sovereignty. At times, we were spending more energy defending research contracts and data sovereignty against the University than we did researching.

6) Recognition vs. Reconciliation. At the first meeting of the University Task Force, members were unanimous in that this would not be another reconciliation project. There are often discussions about reconciliation whenever proof of institutional racism comes to light. However, when an entire institution is built on stolen wealth, land dispossession, and genocide, how can it truly serve as a site of reconciliation? We must begin to have hard conversations. For example, what if some actions are irreconcilable? Then what? Before we can begin to contemplate the movement necessary for systemic change, we first need a paradigm shift. How do we even get to a shifting point, when we've yet to come to a place of shared truths?

TRUTH was never meant as a reconciliation project. That would infer there is something to reconcile. Rather, TRUTH seeks to challenge the historical narrative. It should be just one of a series of investigations, with subsequent studies to be coordinated and paid for by the University, followed by intentional initiatives centered on justice, healing, self-determination, and revitalization.

Where possible, the term "land grab" was used in place of "land grant." We have concluded the term and narrative around "Land Grant University" is revisionist history. In its use, prior claims to place and to land are erased. It has also offered special privileges and space for the University to act in ways that are unchecked and boundaryless. As a result, the institution holds a concentration of power and frequently transgresses and enacts harm on tribes. Considerations need to be made to break up concentrations of power, to repair the harm, to offer reparations and to impose limits and boundaries on this institution.

This project has been carried out with the intention of reshaping policies through a critical analysis. The language of reconciliation uses never-ending performances of Indigenous pain. This begs the question of what is justice when one must take the shape of a wound?²⁴ This focus is critical as we move "towards healing" in the TRUTH project and allows a continued focus on healing. Moving towards healing also holds the implication that we have not arrived yet, that there is still work to do. TRUTH is the first step in a long journey towards justice.

²⁴ See Simpson, "Reconciliation and its Discontents."

THE PAST

Debwewin Nimbagidendaan: The Truth is Buried

Treaties and Transgressions

This story begins on the cliffs above Mizi-ziibi, Haha Wakpa as the Dakota call it, though parts of it begin away from here and are still occurring. Many tribes have called this land home long before the arrival of European settlers. They had their own systems of governance, education, finance, and land management. Tribes are sovereign governments with rights codified by the U.S. Constitution, treaties, legislation, and court decisions. Tribal power is inherent and comes from the people. Indigenous sovereignty existed before Europeans settled on this continent, and it is extra-constitutional, meaning that Indigenous sovereignty does not need the constitution to exist like the United States does. This inherent authority was upheld by the Supreme Court in *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832) when it was declared that the State of Georgia had no authority over Indian Country, as Tribes are “distinct independent political communities”[1] whose right to self-governance pre-dates the United States. The most critical of these powers are Tribes’ right to determine membership; to regulate tribal and individually owned land; jurisdictional rights; regulation of domestic relations; and the maintenance of usufructuary, commerce, and trade rights.[2]

Beginning in the early seventeenth century, white settlers began arriving on the banks of Hahawakpa, seeking control of this land. They often promised sovereign-to-sovereign contracts between the United States and Tribal Nations. These contracts, or treaties, are living agreements granting certain land use privileges from Tribes to settlers. Treaties do not grant rights from the U.S. to Tribes because Tribes were here first. Everyone is impacted by treaties, both Native and non-natives. Tribes have had sovereign rights inherently, from time immemorial, and treaties recognize this. In exchange for ceded lands, the United States government agreed to give money, supplies, or other stipulations. The United States, however, has not upheld any of its promises to Native Americans. This is in direct violation of the U.S. Constitution, which names treaties the supreme law of the land.

[1] Pevar, *The Rights of Indians and Tribes*, 81.

[2] Pevar, *The Rights of Indians and Tribes*, 84.

Article IV of the Constitution of the United States:

This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

Despite ratifying 374 treaties with Tribal Nations, the United States has not fully honored any of them.²⁷ Non-Indigenous treaty signatories entered into treaties under false pretenses as a means of taking land that belonged to American Indians. Oftentimes, as happened in Mni Sóta Maḵoḱe on the very land that UMN Twin Cities occupies, treaty lines and terms were changed and ratified by Congress without letting Tribes know. In other circumstances, failure by a party to uphold their terms of agreement would nullify a contract. Thus, this land is unceded.

Treaties in Mni Sóta Maḵoḱe

Treaties were made with the Tribes who call this land home. None of these treaties were upheld by the United States. The University has a direct role in treaties: many regional treaties were negotiated and signed by members of the Board of Regents to steal Indigenous wealth. The University is one of many business schemes the Regents used to generate cash from the expropriation of Indigenous lands.

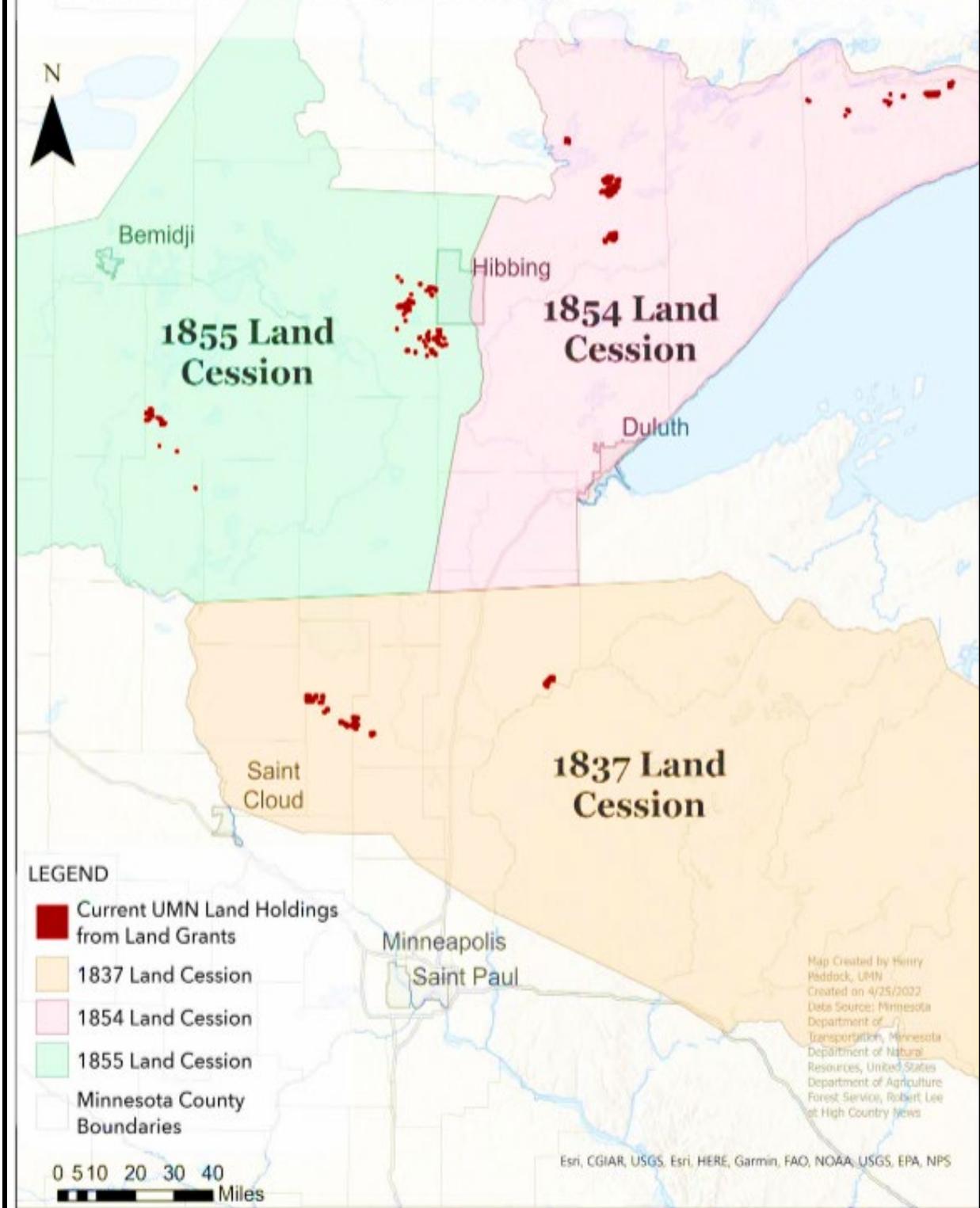
The map below shows the land cessions made by Tribes in major treaties to 1858.²⁸ The subsequent chart lists all of the treaties, their impact, and the signatories related to the University. Using maps and land surveys, agents of the University also acted as brokers, or negotiators in treaties, even when they did not sign them. In this way they were able to influence which lands were expropriated based on their personal desires to accumulate certain tracks of land and the wealth they saw in the resources.

²⁷ NMAI, "Nation to Nation."

²⁸ Ominsky, "Map of the Lands within Minnesota Territory."

UMN Land-Grant Lands vs Lands Ceded by Tribes

Current University of Minnesota land holdings from the 1851 and 1857 Land Grants, compared to the lands ceded by Tribes not long before the land grants occurred.



Treaty	Impact	Connection to UMN
1805	Treaty with the Sioux—a.k.a. Treaty of St. Peters—a.k.a. Pike's Purchase ²⁹	Unratified treaty of lands occupied by UMN Twin Cities
1816	Treaty with the Winnebego	
1825/6	First Treaty of Prairie du Chien	
1826	The first treaty of Fond du Lac	
1832	Treaty with the Winnebego	
1837	Dakota and Pine Treaties	Henry Sibley
1847	Treaty with the Chippewa Indians of the Mississippi and Lake Superior	Henry Rice
1848	Winnebego	
1848	Menominee	
1851	Treaty with the Sioux—a.k.a. Treaty of Traverse des Sioux Treaty with the Sioux—a.k.a. Treaty of Mendota	Alexander Ramsey Henry Sibley
1854	Treaty with the Chippewa—a.k.a. Treaty of La Pointe	Henry Rice
1855	Treaty with the Chippewa—a.k.a. Treaty of Washington	Henry Rice
1858	Treaty with the Mdewakanton and Wahpekute and Treaty with the Sisseton and Wahpeton	
1863/64	1863 & 1864: Treaties with the Chippewa of the Mississippi, Pillager and the Lake Winnibigoshish Bands 1863 & 1864: Treaties with the Chippewa of Red Lake & Pembina Bands—a.k.a. Treaty of Old Crossing	Alexander Ramsey Henry Rice

²⁹ The 1805 treaty was never ratified, and a Military Affairs Committee to the United States Senate in 1856 determined that, “there is no evidence that this agreement, to which there is not even a witness, and in which no consideration was named, was ever considered binding upon the Indians, or that they ever yielded up the possession of their lands under it” (Minnesota Humanities Center, “Treaty with the Sioux”).

History of the University of Minnesota

The University of Minnesota's past, present, and future is inextricably linked to the actions of these men. They made sure public and private investments ran parallel, often involving land speculation, and the building of infrastructure, such as bridges, roads, railroads, and schools, to benefit their business interests, such as timber, mining, and development. Their land speculation and insatiable desire for more wealth resulted in the genocide and ethnocide of Indigenous peoples. This genocide funded the University of Minnesota, multiple times over. The University of Minnesota would not exist if it were not for the actions of men including Henry Sibley, Alexander Ramsey, Henry Rice, Franklin Steele, John Sargent Pillsbury, and other individuals who ensured that the "public good" was also good for their personal economic interests.

Who Were the Founding Regents? Where Did They Come From?

The Board of Regents is the governing body of the University of Minnesota. They hold the power of decision making over the University's vast land holdings and financial affairs. This section of the TRUTH Report investigates the roles of the founding Boards of Regents of the University of Minnesota from 1851 to 1868. This period of time includes the shift from a Federal Territorial institution to a State University, when the Regents of the State University accepted the "full legal indebtedness" of the Territorial University.³⁰ This indebtedness extends to the Federal Trust Responsibility. These men played in territorial, state, regional, and federal anti-Indigenous policies, treaties, and ethnic cleansing, using the University as a shell corporation through which to process stolen lands and launder the proceeds through various industries through the development of what is now the State of Minnesota.

According to the Board of Regents' website:

The first Board of Regents was elected in February 1851 as part of the founding of the University of Minnesota. Until 1860, the Board consisted of 12 Regents elected by the legislature, as directed by the University Charter. The 1860s marked a period of financial difficulties for the University. In 1861, the University suspended operations, and the legislature passed a law creating a temporary Board of only three Regents: John Pillsbury, O.C. Merriman, and John Nicols. Their main goal was to eliminate the University's debt—a goal achieved by 1867, when the University reopened. The Board grew to seven members in 1868.

³⁰ UMN Archives, "John Sargent Pillsbury Papers."

What the Regents' website doesn't say is that the founding Board of Regents of the University of Minnesota consisted of men who were active political players in the founding of both the Territory and later the State of Minnesota.³¹ These were the very men who negotiated treaties, wrote the state charter and the University charter, and lobbied Congress for the Indigenous lands. Because the governor simultaneously sat on the board, the University was privy to the land that would yield the most return on investment. They invented the game, the rules, and then even when they were winning, they still cheated. Studying the lives and activities of the founding Board of Regents shows how insidious and violent the founding of the University was.

Founding Boards of Regents, University of Minnesota 1851-1868		
Territorial University 1851-1860	Interim emergency management appointed by State legislature. 1863-1867	State University 1868-
Isaac Atwater Joseph W. Furber William R. Marshall Bradley B. Meeker Socrates Nelson Alexander Ramsey Henry Mower Rice Henry Hastings Sibley Charles Kilgore Smith Franklin Steele Nathan CD Taylor Abram J. Vorhes	John Sargent Pillsbury (1863-1901) Orlando Crosby Merriam (1864-1871) John Nicols (1864-1873)	John Sargent Pillsbury (1863-1901) Ronald S. Donaldson (1868-1871) Mark Hill Dunnell (1868-1870) Benjamin Franklin (1868) Avery Amherst Harwood (1868-1878) Henry Hastings Sibley (1868-1891) Edwin J. Thompson (1868-1870)

Board of Regents of the Territorial University 1851-1868

In 1851 Through the Enabling Act, Congress Authorized the University's Board of Regents:
 To set apart and reserve from sale, out of any of the public lands within the Territory of Minnesota to which the Indian title *has been or may be extinguished*, and not otherwise appropriated, a quantity of land not exceeding two entire townships, for the use and support of a university in said Territory.

Minnesota Session Laws - 1851, Regular Session, 2nd Territorial Legislature, "CHAP. III. - An act to incorporate the University of Minnesota, at the Falls of St. Anthony."

³¹ Fuecker et al., "CURA TRUTH Capstone."

In 1851, the soon-to-be University Regents scouted Indigenous lands in what was then the Territory of Minnesota, inventoried the land for resources, and decided which parcels they wanted to acquire to establish the University of Minnesota.³² Henry Sibley was the Minnesota Territory's first delegate to the U.S. Congress. He introduced a bill granting the territory two townships of land to be used for university purposes.³³ On February 25, 1851, the Minnesota legislature passed an Act which constitutes the first charter of the university which was to be "located at, or near, the falls of St. Anthony."³⁴ The Regents' final task, to extinguish Indigenous rights to the land, occurred just six months later when Henry Sibley, Alexander Ramsey, and several other founding Regents were present at Mendota for the deceptive signing of the 1851 Treaty of Traverse de Sioux in which the Dakota were uncompensated for more than 35,000 square miles.³⁵

The constraints of time and the volume of archival documentation only allowed for enough research to form bio sketches of two of these men, Henry Hastings Sibley and Alexander Ramsey, illustrating how they used their position as regents to steal Indigenous lands. This report attempts to provide brief biographical information for these men, including their major career events and related historical events.

Fortunes Made Through Ethnic Cleansing

As settlers moved westward, human relations to this land changed drastically. Northern forests, the creatures that lived in them, and the mineral-rich deposits below were increasingly seen as less of a hindrance to settlement and more as sources of profit. Mining and lumbering drove many treaties and began a perpetual transfer of wealth from

³² Regents used records collected by the state geologist to document lands and resources. See UMN Archives, "Newton Horace Winchell"; UMN Archives, "John Sargent Pillsbury Papers," 1858 and 1867–1915; UMN Archives, "Sprague Papers, History of University Land Grants, 1908"; UMN, "The First Annual Report of the Board of Regents"; Johnson, *Dictionary of the University*; Fuecker et al., "CURA TRUTH Capstone."

³³ Date of memorial from the Territorial legislature to Congress: 2/19/1851. Memorial from the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Minnesota "[No. 1.]—A Memorial to Congress for a grant of land [100,000 acres] to endow a University" (date of the first land grant bill). Statutes at Large (vol. 9, pg 568), 31st Congress, 2nd Session, Chap. 10. "An Act to authorize the Legislative Assemblies of the Territories of Oregon and Minnesota to take Charge of the School Lands in said Territories, and for other Purposes." Section 2 "...set apart and reserve from sale, out of any of the public lands within the Territory of Minnesota to which the Indian title has been or may be extinguished, and not otherwise appropriated, a quantity of land not exceeding two entire townships, for the use and support of a University in said Territory..."

³⁴ Date of incorporation of the university: 2/25/1851. Minnesota Session Laws—1851, Regular Session, 2nd Territorial Legislature, "CHAP. III.—An act to incorporate the University of Minnesota, at the Falls of St. Anthony."

³⁵ Minnesota Humanities Center, "1851 Dakota Land Cession Treaties."

Indigenous Nations to white settlers. Among those who benefitted the most were the founders of the University of Minnesota. They were behind legal structures, communicating with one another while legislation was being passed in Congress, actively planning genocide.

Henry Sibley first entered into business with Indigenous peoples as a fur trader with the American Fur Company, an organization foundational to colonial development of the region.³⁶ Born to a family several generations into profiting from treaties, Sibley would go on to become the first congressional delegate for the territory of Minnesota.³⁷ In this capacity, he introduced a bill that would be the first land grab in Minnesota, giving the territory two townships “for university purposes.”³⁸ On February 13, 1851, just three days after Congress passed the Land Grant memorial, the State legislature passed the University’s first charter, stating that the institution “was to be located at, or near, the falls of St. Anthony.” The timeline below details Sibley’s connection to Indigenous-settler politics, and especially with Dakota communities. His knowledge of the importance of this place to Dakota peoples came from intimate connections with Dakota bands along Haha Wakpa. Dakota peoples accessed trade through kinship networks, and Sibley used this to his advantage, marrying a young Dakota winyan named Tahshinaohindoway, also known by the English name Red Blanket Woman. One can imagine Tahshinaohindoway as traveling to the islands near Bdote to give birth to their daughter, Wakiye, whose English name was Helene.³⁹

This makes placement of the institution along Haha Wakpa all the more insidious. Sibley negotiated many treaties and was a signatory on a total of eleven. Two in 1837, one with the Cherokee and one with the Winnebago, he signed as an Agent with the American Fur Company (AFC). In 1865 he was signator on multiple treaties that displaced many Dakota Tribes, as Brigadier General of the Dakota War and as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, responsible for Blackfeet, Hunkpapa, Lower Brule, Miniconjou, Oglala, Sans Arc, Two Kettle, Yankton, and Upper Yankton.⁴⁰

The following is a summary of Henry Sibley’s life and AFC activities in Minnesota from 1827 to 1891.

³⁶ Patchin, “The Development of Banking in Minnesota.

³⁷ Case, *The Relentless Business of Treaties*.

³⁸ UMN Archives, “Sprague Papers, History of University Land Grants, 1908,” 1.

³⁹ Dakota Soul Sisters, “Three Dakota Daughters.”

⁴⁰ Indian Land Tenure Foundation, “Treaty Signers of the U.S.”

- 1827 AFC monopolizes the “fur trade in what is now Minnesota. The Company suddenly increased its prices by 300 percent; American Indians, returning from the hunt with expectations of trading for their yearly supplies, found themselves cast into a debt cycle that would increase in the decades ahead.”⁴¹
- 1834 Sibley appointed regional manager of the AFC's “Sioux Outfit” and made his home at Mendota at age 23. According to Why Treaties Matter, “AFC departments were sold to partners who included the Chouteaus, *Henry Sibley*, and Hercules Dousman. **The business strategy of the reorganized companies changed from fur trading to treaty making.**”
- 1837 [Dakota and Pine Treaties](#) coincide with collapse of fur trade. Sibley and other new owners of AFC used their political connections to ensure that treaty monies would first go to fur traders to pay off debts incurred because AFC raised prices on goods, which created a debt cycle. This was, in effect, a government bailout of the fur trade, once again, on the backs of Native people.
- 1838 Sibley appointed first Justice of Peace west of the Mississippi.
- 1839-40 Sibley's union with [Tahshinaohindoway](#), a.k.a. Red Blanket Woman (from Black Dog's Village). Their daughter, Wakkiyee (Bird, or Helen Hastings), was raised by missionary Wm. Brown and wife, and educated in missionary school.
- 1841 [Preemption Act](#) permitted "squatters" who were living on federal government-owned land to purchase up to 160 acres.
- 1842 Sibley leaves Red Blanket Woman; she dies the following year. AFC goes bankrupt amid dying fur trade business.
- 1843 Sibley marries Sarah Jane Steele, sister of Franklin Steele, a business associate.
- 1848 Sibley elected first delegate to U.S. Congress from the Wisconsin Territory (included much of present-day Minnesota east of the Mississippi River); he advocated for the creation of MN Territory from a portion of WI and an additional tract west of the Mississippi.
- 1849 Minnesota becomes a Territory.

⁴¹ Minnesota Humanities Center, “The Fur Trade.”

Sibley selected to represent those referred to at the time as “mixed-blood” people during treaty negotiations.

- 1849-53 Sibley served as Territorial delegate to Congress.
- 1851 Sibley represented fur traders’ interests in [Treaties of Traverse des Sioux and Mendota](#), which resulted in twenty-four million acres of land open to settlement.
Statute written that the University of Minnesota be established “at or near the falls of Saint Anthony.”⁴²
Sibley was elected to Board of Regents.
- 1853 Sibley retired from fur trade; liquidated holdings; began investing in land at Traverse des Sioux, Mendota, Hastings, and St. Anthony Falls.
- 1857 [Enabling Act passed](#) (allowed voters to decide to become a state).
MN Territory holds a constitutional convention. Sibley elected Dakota Co. Representative of Democratic wing. In Oct. convention adopts constitution.
- 1858, May 1 Minnesota becomes a state.
- 1858-60 Sibley elected as first governor of Minnesota.
- 1860 University is in extreme debt. The debts owed by the institution totaled \$120,000 with no funds or income to pay off that debt. (This is equivalent in purchasing power to about \$4 million today.) “The regents also agitated the matter of a new land grant as it then seemed inevitable that the entire grant would be sacrificed to pay off the indebtedness.”⁴³
- 1862, May 20 [Homestead Act gives](#) 160 acres to settlers if they live on it, improve it, and pay a small registration fee.
- Jul 1 [Pacific Railway Act](#) is passed offering federal subsidies to companies to build a transcontinental railroad system.
- Jul 2 [Morrill Act](#) is passed, giving federal land grants to states to establish public universities.
- Aug 17 US-Dakota War begins. Sibley serves as colonel and brigadier general.⁴⁴

⁴² Wilkinson, *1851 Minnesota Territorial Statutes*.

⁴³ Sprague, “A History of the University Land Grants. 1900–1910.” 2.

⁴⁴ Dakota County Historical Society, “Sibley and the U.S.-Dakota War of 1862.”

Political Careers Built on a Platform of Genocide

In 1849, Alexander Ramsey was elected governor of the Territory of Minnesota. His views on Indigenous people, especially Dakota people, were racist and genocidal. For example, in 1862 in a message to the Minnesota Legislature, he stated, “The State government sustains no other relation to [Dakota] than that of a foreign and independent State. It establishes no laws and regulations respecting them, and of consequence possesses no means for the protection and security of its contiguous territory by the preservation of friendly relations and feelings between the two races.” He concluded, “The Sioux Indians of Minnesota must be exterminated or driven forever beyond the borders of the State.”⁴⁵ Through this same speech, Ramsey acknowledges the sale of other expropriated lands, known as the School Lands, which were sold to fund the 1862 war against the Dakota people. This resulted in the forced removal of Dakota peoples from their homelands, in the process expropriating more land that would ultimately be used in the 1862 Morrill Act to provide the endowment for 33 new colleges that would teach modern agricultural science and mechanical arts with the goal of modernizing the nation’s industrializing economy.⁴⁶

The following is a summary of Alexander Ramsey’s life and related events from 1815 to 1866.

- 1815 9/8 Ramsey is born in Hummelstown, Pennsylvania.

- 1848 Ramsey campaigns for president-elect Zachary Taylor; is granted governorship of Minnesota Territory as a “reward.”

- 1849 Ramsey begins position as Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs. Goal of the office was Indian removal, so as to open land to settlers ([mnopedia](#)).

- 1850 [Sandy Lake](#) Tragedy. Ramsey acknowledges that the payment to the Lake Superior Ojibwe has not yet been appropriated by Congress and devises a plan to delay payment to force Ojibwe to leave their lands. This decision to interfere with treaty agreements resulted in the death of hundreds of Anishinaabeg.

- 1851 [Treaty of Traverse des Sioux. Ramsey](#) leads negotiations with Dakota leaders, opening 24 million acres to settlers.

⁴⁵ Ramsey, “Annual Message of Governor Ramsey, 1862.”

⁴⁶ Lee and Ahtone, “Land-Grab Universities”; CURA and Resilient Communities Project, “Towards Recognition and University-Tribal Healing (TRUTH).”

- Ramsey elected to UMN Board of Regents.
- 1855 Ramsey becomes mayor of St Paul.
- 1857 Ramsey loses gubernatorial race to Henry Sibley.
- 1860-63 Ramsey serves as the State of Minnesota's second governor (R).
- 1862 US-Dakota War. Ramsey appoints Sibley as commander of the U.S. forces.
- 9/9 Following end of US-Dakota War, Ramsey declares that "The Sioux Indians of Minnesota must be exterminated or driven forever beyond the borders of the State."⁴⁷
- 1863-75 Ramsey is elected to the U.S. Senate.
[Dakota and Winnebago removal acts.](#)
- 1879-81 Ramsey is named Secretary of War under President Rutherford Hayes.
- 1886 Ramsey retires from politics. He also serves as board member at the St. Paul Public Library and president of the Minnesota Historical Society two times.

Profit from Genocide

The University of Minnesota has taught generations that the institution was simply a passive recipient of land gifted by the federal government. Rather, it has been an active participant in the "disappearing of Indigenous interests."⁴⁸ And this is not limited to the early years of the institution. In 172 years, UMN has shown no meaningful contribution or commitment to Tribal self-determination. UMN seems to be ignoring many opportunities to ameliorate its impact on the persistent achievement, employment, income, wealth, or health gaps experienced by Native Americans. Yet an abundance of research shows persisting intergenerational effects of trauma caused by genocide and land dispossession.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Ramsey, "Annual Message of Governor Ramsey."

⁴⁸ Roediger, "Morrill Issues and Academic Liberalism."

⁴⁹ For examples on Native Americans, see Newland, "Federal Indian Boarding School Initiative Investigative Report." For First Nations example, see National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation, "Reports"; Akee, "Stolen Lands and Stolen Opportunities." Intergenerational impacts of genocide and war have also been found in the

State and Federal laws guarantee that the University continues to benefit in perpetuity from the vast sums of wealth it accumulated through such crimes.⁵⁰ It is a moral imperative that the University begin giving back to the Nations it has harmed.

The internationally accepted definitions of ethnocide and genocide call into question the actions of the Regents of the University of Minnesota, UMN's sustained disinvestment of Indigenous peoples, and ongoing impacts of land dispossession. The discussion closes with examples of the impacts of continued disinvestment of Indigenous peoples today.

What is Ethnocide?



Ethnic cleansing is a policy of coerced removal of one group of people by another, under supposition of racial, ethnic, and religious superiority. In 1994, in the context of human rights abuses in Yugoslavia, the United Nations defined ethnic cleansing as, "rendering an area ethnically homogenous by using force or intimidation to remove persons of given groups from the area. Ethnic cleansing is contrary to international law."⁵¹ Tactics include "murder, torture, arbitrary arrest and detention, extra-judicial executions, rape and sexual assaults, confinement of civilian population in ghetto areas, forcible removal, displacement and deportation of civilian population, deliberate military attacks or threats of attacks on

descendants of other groups. See P. Dashorst et al., "Intergenerational consequences of the Holocaust"; Greenfeld, Reupert, and Jacobs, "Living alongside past trauma."

⁵⁰ See Wilkinson, "1851 Minnesota Territorial Statutes." See also Minnesota Legislature, Constitution of the State of Minnesota, Article VIII and Article XIII, Section 3. See also National Archives, "Morrill Act of 1862."

⁵¹ UN Security Council, "Final Report of the Commission of Experts, 1992."

civilians and civilian areas, and wanton destruction of property.” These are the same atrocities used in the Indigenous genocide that took place in Minnesota’s land grabs.

What is Genocide?



Genocide is the denial of right to existence, in entirety or in part, of racial, political, religious, and other groups.⁵² Article II of the Geneva Convention defines two elements of genocide, mental and physical. The mental element is defined as the “intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group.” In its physical element, this intent manifests in five acts:

- 1) murder
- 2) serious bodily harm
- 3) inflicting conditions intended to wholly or partly bring about the group’s physical destruction
- 4) preventing births
- 5) forced transfer of children to another group⁵³

⁵² United Nations, “The Crime of Genocide.”

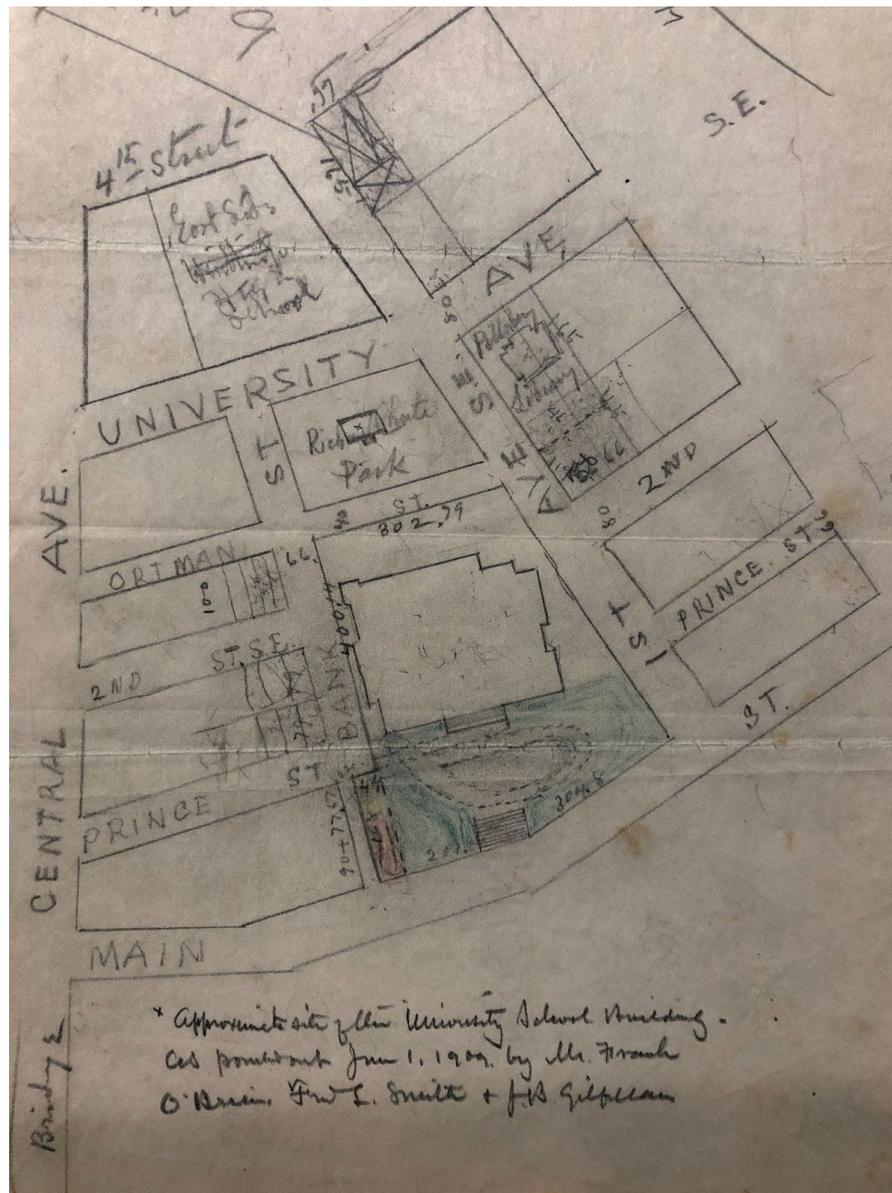
⁵³ United Nations, “Ethnic Cleansing”; United Nations, “Genocide”; United Nations, “Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.”

In order for the University of Minnesota to exist, each of these acts were committed on an uncounted number of Indigenous bodies, often through policies written and enacted by the founders of this institution for both public and personal gain.

Since its inception, the University of Minnesota has played a continued role in the disinvestment of Indigenous peoples. Beginning with the 1851 treaty, land grabs were coordinated by members of the founding Board of Regents to create a perpetual pipeline of wealth that continues to flow from Indigenous communities to settler communities. This was often done through shady land speculation processes that encouraged a heavy influx of settlers to Minnesota through the promise of “cheap” land. However, what is often left out of the romanticized settler narrative is that “Western land stayed ‘cheap’ during America's expansionist period because [of] the epic, continually unfolding tragedies inflicted on indigenous people—epidemics that were among the most devastating in the history of the world, intentional ethnocide, the displacement of nations—were never entered into the ledger books.”⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Case, *The Relentless Business of Treaties*, 28.

Early Land Acquisitions—Twin Cities



This sketch of the very first location of the university, right at the falls, is in the Folwell Papers, University Archives.

The University of Minnesota's first home was located south of the river, "at the falls of St. Anthony," until that time known as Owamni.⁵⁵ It consisted of "four acres of land and was located between what is now known as Central Avenue and First Avenue Southeast,

⁵⁵ As stipulated in the "University of Minnesota Charter" (UMN).

and Second Street and University Avenue.”⁵⁶ This land was sold to the University by Franklin Steele in 1851.⁵⁷ Steele sat on the Board of Regents from 1851 to 1860.⁵⁸ He was the brother-in-law of Henry Sibley, who had married Steele’s sister, Alice, in 1843.

Franklin Steele was appointed by President Van Buren as the sole proprietor in the area in 1837.⁵⁹ As such, he had the power, which he misused, to acquire knowledge of the pending act to open lands. He knew exactly which land he wanted, one of great importance to Dakota peoples, the land on the east side of Owamiamni. It had the steepest drop and thus could power many mills. Major Plympton, Commandant at Fort Snelling, omitted this parcel of land from the maps.⁶⁰ Upon receiving the first word from a post, Steele snuck out in the middle of the night and staked his claim on this parcel. It was lumber from Steele’s mill that built the first university building.⁶¹

In October of 1852, at a meeting held in St. Anthony, the Board met to discuss relocating the institution. “It has been thought by some of the friends of the University, that its present location is in closer proximity to the business, and especially, the manufacturing, carried on in town, than would be desirable for a seat of learning.”⁶² A committee was formed to identify possible sections of land on which to move the University. Eventually, the current site was chosen.

⁵⁶ Johnson, *Dictionary of the University of Minnesota*.

⁵⁷ University of Minnesota, “The First Annual Report of the Board of Regents, 1852, and Johnson, *Dictionary of the University of Minnesota*.

⁵⁸ See full list at UMN, “University of Minnesota Board of Regents.”

⁵⁹ Roberts, “An Early Political and Administrative History,” 23.

⁶⁰ Roberts, “An Early Political and Administrative History,” 13, 28; Folwell, *A History of Minnesota*, I, 422–23.

⁶¹ Roberts, “An Early Political and Administrative History,” 33.

⁶² University of Minnesota, “The Second Annual Report of the Board of Regents, 1853.”



Plan No. 1, University of Minnesota.

The map above depicts the Twin Cities campus as it looked in 1865. The yellow objects represent the early University buildings on this land. All three were destroyed by fire. On the left is the colosseum built in 1884 and demolished in 1894.⁶³ In the middle is the first building, Old Main, built in 1856, razed in 1904. On the right is the original agricultural college building, which stood from 1875 to 1888.⁶⁴

⁶³ See Johnson, *Dictionary of the University of Minnesota*.

⁶⁴ University of Minnesota, "Campus History Historic Maps."

It is through deception, again and again, first by trickery and collusion and false treaties, then through acts of Congress that failed to pay the Dakota the promised amount, and the failure to map this parcel of land, and perhaps more that we've yet to uncover, that the University of Minnesota was able to open its doors in 1851. An uncounted number of Indigenous peoples were displaced, murdered, and traumatized in terrifying ways so the first class, consisting of 40 white students, could receive an education for the "common good."⁶⁵ The presumption of common good has often been conceived of and upheld in systems of white privilege.

Over the next several years, the founding Board of Regents sold nearly 46,000 acres of Dakota land to fund the University. They mismanaged the profits, and drove the University into financial ruin.⁶⁶

These actions show that regents were long making plans for a university that would be built on Dakota lands and making moves toward this end through influence over state and federal policies. A report written by Daniel Sprague, accountant and recorder of the Experimental Station from 1887 to 1890, is the earliest written on how the first Board of Regents used their political might to acquire Native land.⁶⁷ Many major actors in the colonial political spheres appear on this (e.g., Ramsey, Rice, Sibley). Archival documents show collusion between members of the Board of Regents, state and federal governments, and industry officials (timber, railroad, milling, mining, etc.) to lie, cheat, displace, murder, and steal Native lands.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ University of Minnesota, "Regents' Report, 1852."

⁶⁶ University of Minnesota "Meeting Minutes Vol. I, 1860-1868" UMN, "A Report Made by the Standing Committee [Heaton Report]"; UMN Archives, "Sprague Papers, History of University Land Grants."

⁶⁷ See UMN Archives, "Sprague Papers."

⁶⁸ See these UMN Archives records: "John Sargent Pillsbury papers"; "Daniel W. Sprague papers, 1908"; "William Watts Folwell Papers"; "Forest Lands and Permanent University Fund." For a full list of archives analyzed through the scope of this project, see bibliography.

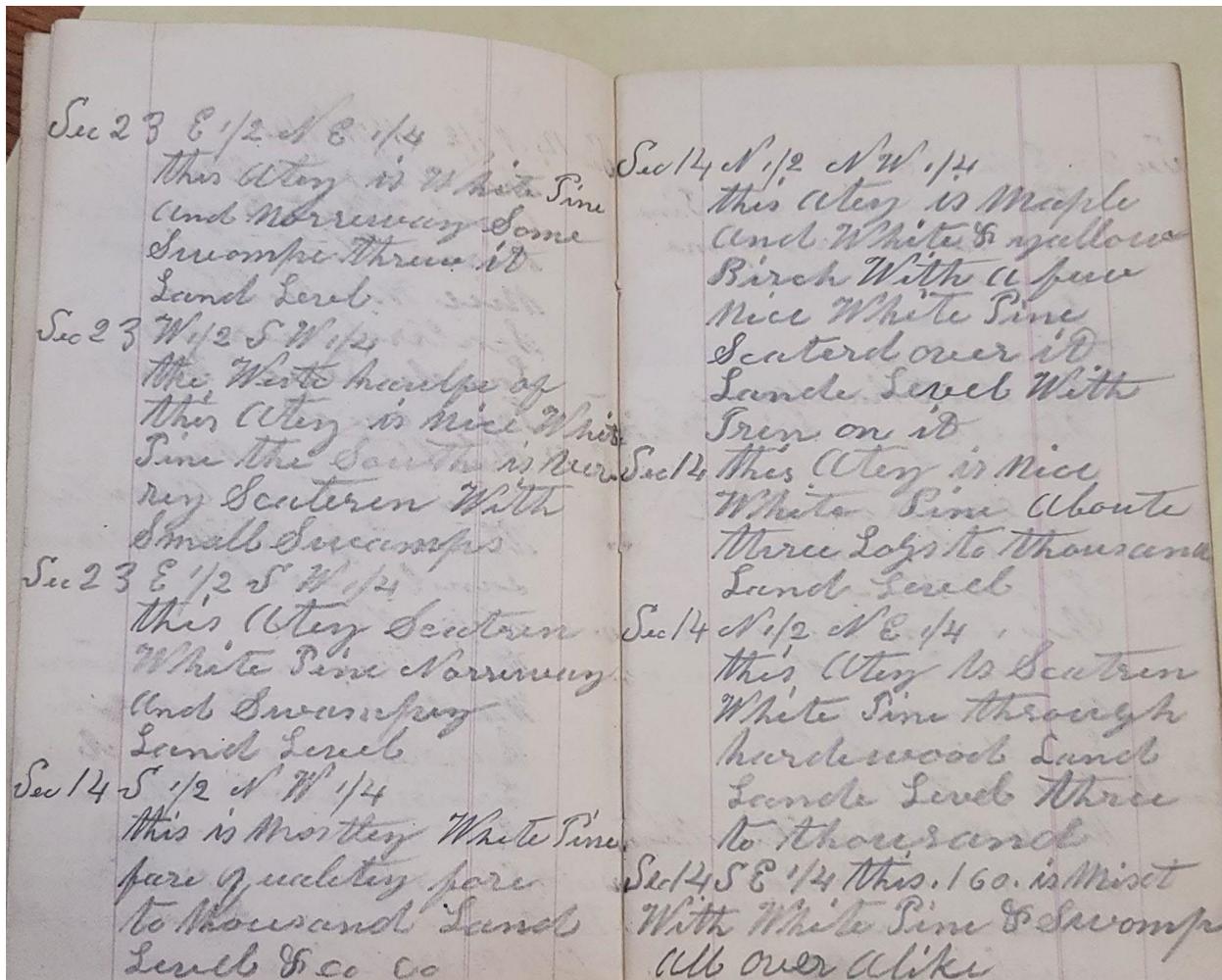


Image of sectioned lands kept in a ledger. GROG STONE selections T 57N R 14W Sections, John Sargent Pillsbury Papers, 1858, 1867-1915. University of Minnesota Archives.

One example began in 1854 and continued over decades. Henry Rice served on the Board of Regents from 1851 to 1859, during which time he was a signatory to the 1854 Treaty with the Chippewa (Treaty of LaPointe). The Board of Regents would later use maps and ledgers created through land surveys to purchase lands that would return the most profit upon sale.

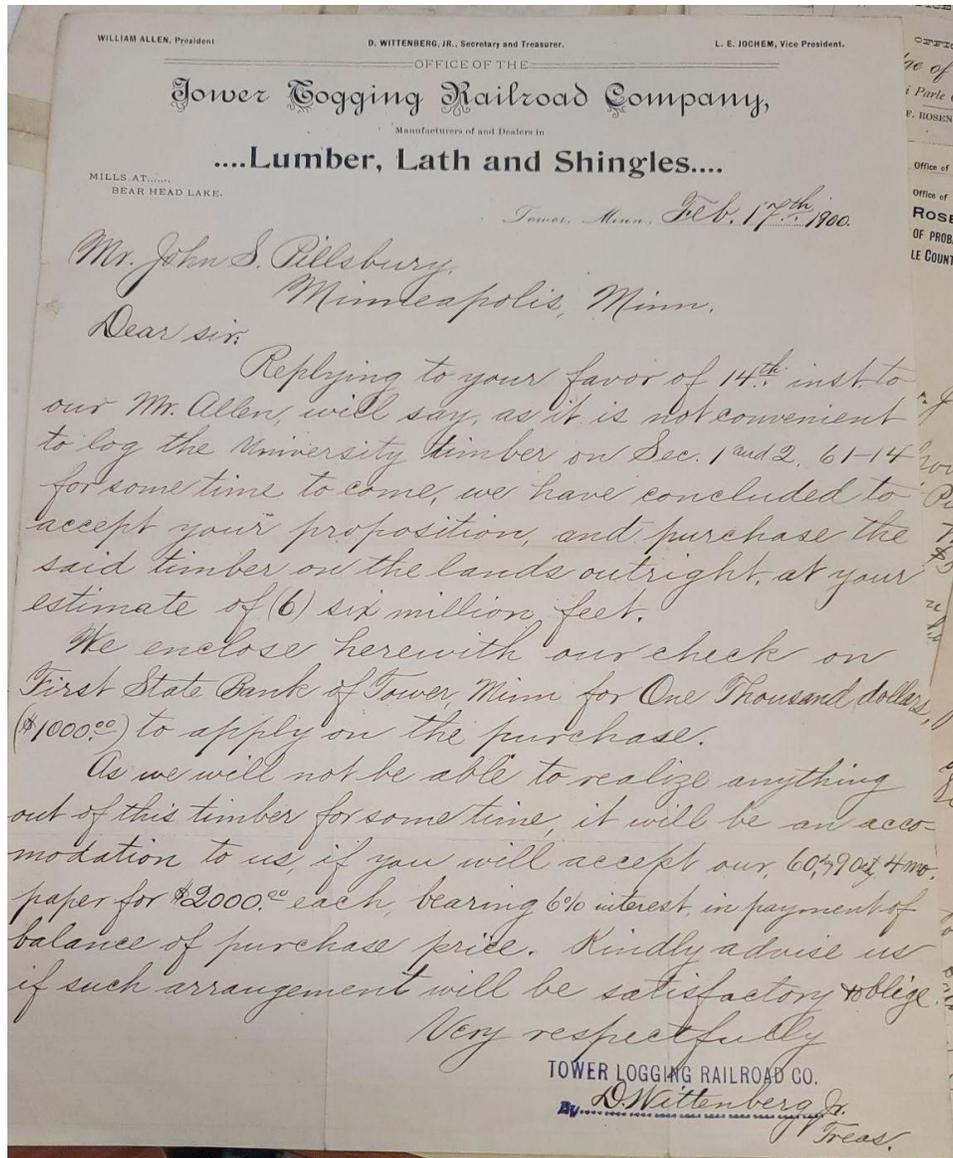


Image of a letter from the Tower Logging Railroad Company accepting a deal for lands with "6 million feet of lumber." John Sargent Pillsbury Papers, 1858, 1867-1915. University of Minnesota Archives.

They would then exchange correspondence with industry officials to make the most profit off these lands. And even when ways to harvest the trees living on those lands did not yet exist, logging and railroad companies would purchase on credit, paying interest until they saw a return on their investment.

A Government unto Its Own

Another aspect important to the context of how the University continues to operate is the formation of the quasi-governmental body that is the University. The Board was the government, the government was the Board, and they made sure through the charter that when Minnesota achieved statehood in 1858, the University was granted constitutional autonomy, allowing for self-governance. This assured that land and resources would remain under the control of a private board versus the state. The legislature has the authority to nominate regents, however the business of the University is not under legislative control. Thus, courts have upheld UMN's right to constitutional autonomy to keep institutions free of political bias.⁶⁹ It also serves to keep control of the vast land holdings and resources in the hands of a dozen legislative-appointed individuals.⁷⁰

The University of Minnesota Operates Under Constitutional Autonomy.

This law was created by the men who would go on to be named to the founding Board of Regents, the same men who designed the system to profit from the theft of Indigenous lands. What this means:

1. The Board of Regents alone is empowered to manage the university, except as qualified below.
2. Judicial relief is available if the regents abuse the management powers granted by the state constitution.
3. The legislature may place conditions on university appropriations, if the conditions do not violate university autonomy.
4. The university is subject to the general lawmaking power, so far as that does not impede the regents' ability to manage the university.

The University's special legal status, also known as constitutional autonomy, has been upheld in multiple cases. A legal analysis of case law by the state legislature found the above principles to be central to the cases.

⁶⁹ McKnight, *University of Minnesota Constitutional Autonomy*.

⁷⁰ UMN Board of Regents, "Current Regents."

Mismanaged and in Debt, the Territorial University Is Closed

In the Regents Report to the legislature in 1860, Secretary Atwater writes that in the Spring of 1858, limited attendance resulted in insufficient tuition to pay even one half-time professor. By the end of the year, the Regents discontinued schooling. His Supplementary Report is a response to a congressional inquest into the Regents' financial decisions and motivations.

In an act of March 8, 1858, before incorporation into the Union, the Minnesota Legislature illegally authorized the University to issue \$40,000 in bonds secured by an institutional mortgage on 21,000 acres of unsold land-grab lands. This was the latest financial scheme used by the Board of Regents to increase the profits of their land grab. These bonds were:

negotiated in the month of January 1859, by Governor Sibley. At a meeting of the Board of Regents the autumn previous, the subject was discussed as to whether these were State Bonds. I think it was the opinion of the majority of the Board that they were; but the matter was referred to the Attorney General, who gave his opinion in writing, that the bonds were State Bonds.⁷¹

However, they were not State Bonds, as investment firms would come to find out when they were unable to collect the value of the bonds. Claims for damages were filed against the State and the University.⁷²

121 BROADWAY, NEW YORK, ;
October 9th. 1860.

Hon. E. D. Neil, Chancellor University, Minnesota :
SIR: Your letter dated Oct. 5, and addressed to Mr. Robert Sewell, has just been put into my hands—with instructions to answer the same.
The firm of Sewell, Ferris & Co. deny *in toto* that there is any claim on them by reason of any transactions arising out of purchases made by them of Minnesota Bonds. On the contrary, they have a demand for large damages against the Regents or the State. The Bonds bought by S. F. & Co. were represented by Gov. Sibley as State Bonds, and on the fact of his representations were bought by S. F. & Co. as State Bonds. It afterwards turned out that the Bonds were University Bonds, of greatly inferior value, and almost unsaleable.

Yours, respectfully,
HENRY BRACE.

(Signed.)

Letter from attorney to University of Minnesota Chancellor regarding damages incurred from the sale of unbacked University bonds.

⁷¹ University of Minnesota, "Regents' Report, 1860."

⁷² University of Minnesota, "Annual Report of the Board of Regents, 1861."

In a scathing report written by the Standing Committee of the Senate and the House (1860), otherwise known as the Heaton Report, a bipartisan committee found the financial management policies of the institution to be “reckless, and apparently in total disregard of the true interests of the State and University.”⁷³ The Founding Board of Regents had so grossly mismanaged the first land grab to benefit their business ventures that the University remained closed. The investigation into the University was never satisfactorily resolved; the Heaton Committee report ends by saying they still have yet, after two years, to be given the Regents’ books.⁷⁴ Thus, they recommended that a resolution be passed to give the new Board of Regents authority to continue the investigation.

By 1860, just two years before the US-Dakota War, the University was still in extreme debt, though it was now a State University. The debts owed by the institution totaled \$120,000 (about \$4 million today), with no funds or income to pay off that debt.⁷⁵ The governor at the time, Alexander Ramsey, who was also a member of the Founding Board, recommended that the remainder of the 1851 land-grant lands be turned over to the University's creditors. According to the Sprague papers, “the regents also agitated the matter of a new land grant as it then seemed inevitable that the entire grant would be sacrificed to pay off the indebtedness.” According to Lee and Ahtone:

But consider the wider significance of the cession of 1851, and its grim aftermath, to the national land-grant university system: No other Indigenous cession provided land to more universities. Nearly 830,000 acres from this treaty—an area almost three times the size of Los Angeles—would help fund the endowment of 35 land-grant universities. Mni Sóta Maḵoḵe furnished one out of every 13 acres redistributed under the Morrill Act.⁷⁶

By now, the regents had learned that they could hoard vast wealth through land dispossession.

⁷³ University of Minnesota, “A Report Made by the Standing Committee.”

⁷⁴ Parallels can be drawn to the TRUTH Project; despite several requests, our team was never granted full and transparent access to university financial records.

⁷⁵ UMN Archives, “Sprague Papers, History of the University Land Grants. 1900-1910.”

⁷⁶ Lee and Ahtone, “Land-Grab Universities.”

Emergency Board Appointed

The situation was so grim for the University that the legislature stepped in to appoint an emergency board:

Finally in 1864 through the influence of John S. Pillsbury, the legislature appointed a new board of three regents of which Mr. Pillsbury was made the new chairman, authorized and empowered to sell lands to the amount of 14,000 acres with the process to arrange, compromise, settle, and pay off all claims and demands against the university.⁷⁷

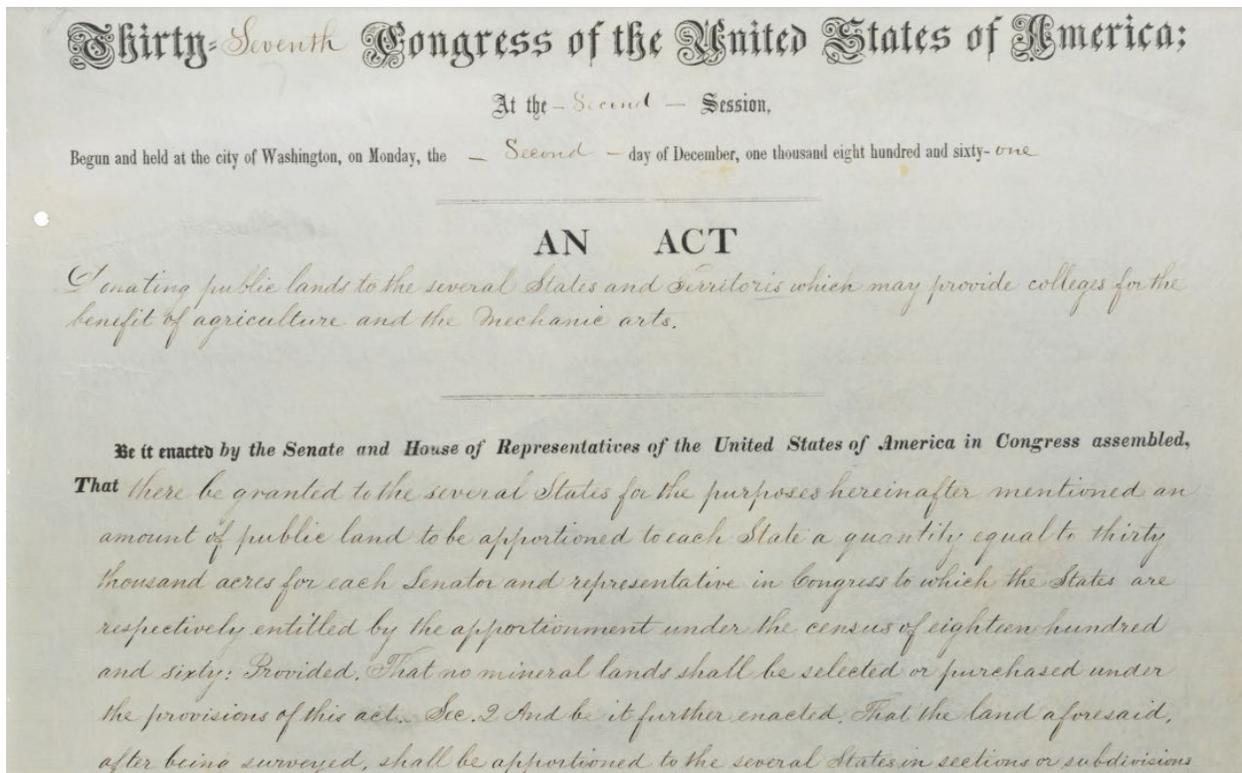
The Morrill Act and the Opening of the State University

In 1862, the passage of the Morrill Act presented a rich solution to the University's financial woes. The Morrill Act bears the name of its sponsor, the senator from Vermont, Justin Morrill. Under the terms of the act, each state was granted 30,000 acres of "public" lands for each member of Congress representing that state. These public lands, however, were seized from Tribal Nations through treaties in which the United States government never upheld its bargains. The lands were not public, they were stolen from Tribal Nations and used to fund a perpetual transfer of wealth from Indigenous communities to white communities.

Profiting In Perpetuity

Land grab institutions focused on agriculture and the mechanical arts. Military training was also required curriculum at all land grab schools. The intent behind the legislation was to rapidly colonize and industrialize the nation by scientifically training technicians and agriculturalists. The lands given to states were required to be sold and the profits used to finance the establishment of a permanent fund for a state institution that would be held in perpetuity, meaning that the money created through intentional genocide and land expropriation by the architects of the institution would continue to be invested and earn interest. The University of Minnesota was designed to be a pipeline of perpetual wealth transfer from Indigenous peoples to settlers.

⁷⁷ UMN Archives, "Sprague Papers, History of the University Land Grants. 1900-1910," 2.



The above image is of the opening paragraph of the Morrill Act of 1862. It reads:

AN ACT Donating Public Lands to the several States and Territories which may provide Colleges for the Benefit of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there be granted to the several States, for the purposes hereinafter mentioned, an amount of public land, to be apportioned to each State a quantity equal to thirty thousand acres for each senator and representative in Congress to which the States are respectively entitled by the apportionment under the census of eighteen hundred and sixty: Provided, That no mineral lands shall be selected or purchased under the provisions of this Act.

The Morrill Act was passed on July 2, 1862, just one month before the US-Dakota War of 1862, during which time Minnesota Governor and Regent Alexander Ramsey authorized, and Brigadier General and Regent Henry Sibley enforced genocide through the sustained

starvation, rape, murder, and exile of many Dakota, Cheyenne, and Ho-Chunk peoples.⁷⁸ After the war, and prior to revoking the Dakota treaties and expelling the Dakota bands from Minnesota, President Lincoln authorized the hanging of 38 Dakota men for their involvement in the war.

Governor Ramsey claimed lands for the State University a mere five weeks after he held the largest mass execution in U.S. history, the hanging of 38 Dakota men in Mankato, Minnesota, on December 26, 1862. The state had not yet been included in the Morrill Act, however, and University leaders continued to, as Sprague said, agitate for further lands from the federal government.

The regents, both in their regents meeting minutes and in the Enabling Act of Minnesota, passed by Congress in 1857, used specific language to designate “72 sections of land shall be set apart and reserved for the use and support of a *state* university, to be selected by the Gov. of the state subject to the approval of the commissioner of the general land office” (emphasis added).⁷⁹ Sprague notes this is because this would be the second land grab the university took, because the “condition of MN being different” due to being given to the a territorila insitution when Minnesota was not yet a state. It was the Territory of Minnesota that received the first land grab in 1851, the State of Minnesota had not received one, from the regents’ perspective. This left enough question as to whether Minnesota was twice promised land, first for a territorial university, then for a state university. Thus, the argument made by the regents stated that the State was owed an additional 72 sections due to the strategic phrasing in the Enabling Act. Using this argument, on April 21, 1968, Senator Rice was able to successfully advocate for Minnesota’s access to the 1862 Morrill Act lands.⁸⁰

Both the Territorial Act and the Enabling Act were written by the men who sat on the Board of Regents while simultaneously holding high political positions and executive careers in the industries buying the land from the University. Sibley, Ramsey, and other founding Board members were at the negotiation and signing of the 1851 treaty that opened the land to settlement, making the Morrill Act the second time they profited through the laundering of Indigenous lands through the establishment of a university.

⁷⁸ For more information on the Dakota War, see MNHS, “The US-Dakota War of 1862, Resources.”

⁷⁹ See Office of the Minnesota Secretary of State, “Enabling Act for the State of Minnesota.”

⁸⁰ UMN Archives, “Sprague Papers, A History of the University Land Grants. 1900–1910”; Brown, Kyle. “Flashback Friday: Land Grant Approved for University of Minnesota 169 Years Ago.”

April 21 1868 petition from
 Governor of Minnesota praying for
 construction lands ~~and~~ granting
 lands to State University
 Reference to Committee on Public
 Lands, Cong. Globe Part 3 Page 2329

Saw Hendricks from Com on
 Public Lands ⁵⁷⁵⁵⁵ submitted a report
 + bill, on memorial of Gov of
 Minnesota June 18 1868, ordered
 Printed Part 4 Page Part 4
 Page 3240

July 3^d 1868 Read 3^a
 Time was passed

July 6. Received in House

July 27 Read 1st time and
 referred to Com on Public
 Lands on motion of Mr Ingersoll

July 27 adjourn

A note on a torn piece of torn notebook paper reads, "April 21, 1868, petition from governor of Minnesota praying for construction lands granting lands to State University. Reference to comments on Public Lands....pg 2329,"

University Archives Pillsbury, John Sargent Box 1 of 1 location: Row 2, Division 3, Shelf 9, Position Front. Folder: University correspondence and papers 1870-1872. 0000-0769.

According to the CURA analysis mentioned earlier, the University would greatly benefit from this second land grab: the return was more than 250 to 1 or 25,000 percent.⁸¹ By the standards of the institution, the state, and investment portfolios, both historically and modernly, the morality of such a high return on investment would be called into question, as the Heaton Committee did.

However, protected by their wealth and elite connections in the east, the Regents of the University of Minnesota were then able to use the Morrill Act to obtain and sell Dakota lands to create “the Minnesota Windfall.” The expropriated Dakota lands provided more land (830,000 acres) and funded more universities than any other Morrill Act land grab.⁸²

Federal, state, and institutional forces, including warfare and genocide, have been used to exert power over Tribal Nations in an attempt to sever the relationship between Indigenous peoples and the land. Because relationship with the land is central to identity making for American Indians, harms perpetrated against Unci Maka, Aki, the Earth, also inflict violence on Indigenous bodies. So, in this twofold manner, the University of Minnesota continues to harm Indigenous bodies through enforced settler colonialism.

For too long, the University has been able to, by virtue of it being one of the world’s preeminent research one institutions, propagate the notion that it was simply the recipient of a gift of “public” land from the federal government through political acts separate and distinct from the university. The University’s own archival records show this to be untrue, and it is time to restore the narrative of how the University truly came into existence—that it was part of an ongoing reign of ethnocide and genocide methodically planned and executed by the very founders of the institution.

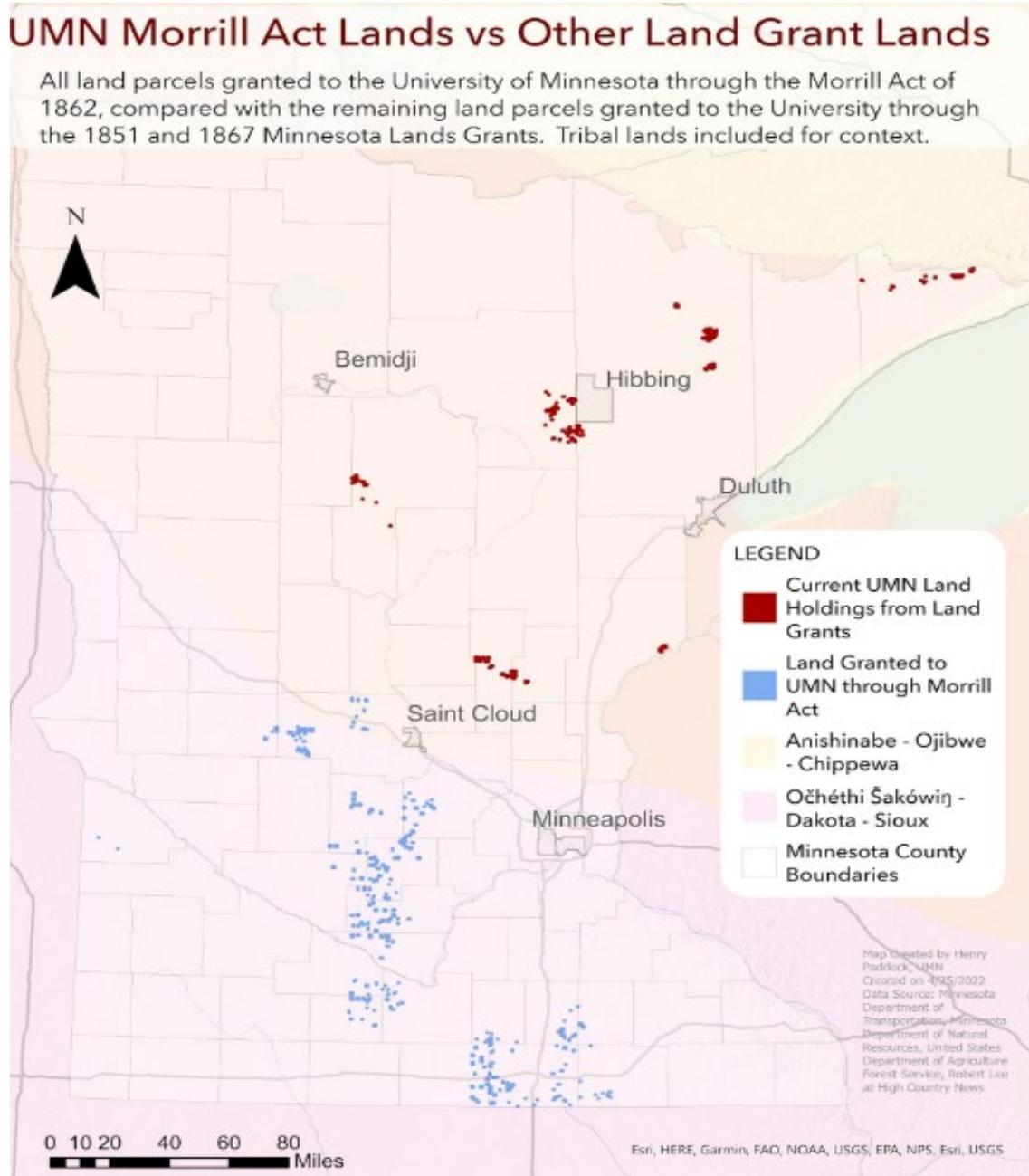
Lee and Ahtone’s analyses of land parcels sold after the Morrill Act show that Minnesota profited more than any other state from their land grab, despite receiving less land from the federal government. TRUTH research shows that this is correlated to human rights abuses and to misuse of power by the founding regents.

These men advocated, pushed for, and enacted policies that amount to ethnic cleansing. They used the University and its resources to scout the land, take inventory of what existed on each piece they sectioned off, and then lobbied the federal government to pass legislation that would legalize dispossession, forced removal, and genocide. They then chose lands based on what resources existed there, and used any means necessary to remove

⁸¹ CURA and Resilient Communities Project, “Towards Recognition and University-Tribal Healing (TRUTH).”

⁸² Lee and Ahtone, “Land-grab Universities.”

Indigenous people from the lands they chose. They then sold these lands off to the highest bidder, usually their friends or relatives in the timber, mining, and railroad industries.⁸³



⁸³ See UMN Archives, "William Watts Folwell Papers"; Fuecker et al., "CURA TRUTH Capstone"; University of Minnesota, "Meeting Minutes, 1860-1889"; UMN Archives, "Sprague Papers, A History of the University Land Grants, 1900-1910"; Roberts, "An Early Political and Administrative History."

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA SYSTEM CAMPUSES

Campus Histories and Land Acknowledgments

The full history of each of the University of Minnesota’s campuses and research centers is beyond the scope of the TRUTH Project. Each campus deserves a separate research project that documents the history of land dispossessions and acquisitions and the ongoing impacts on Indigenous peoples today. Each report must go beyond the development and performance of land acknowledgment statements, focusing instead on measurable actions for each campus and its component colleges, institutes, and departments.

University of Minnesota Morris

The University of Minnesota Morris is located along Owobopte Wakpa—a place from which Dakota turnips have been dug river—in the middle of mashkode akiing—prairie land. Before there was a University of Minnesota presence in Morris, the site housed an American Indian boarding school established in 1887 by the Sisters of Mercy community of the Catholic Church under contract with the U.S. government. During this time, the school maintained an enrollment of between 75 and 100, drawing most of its students from the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa in North Dakota; a handful of Dakota students came to Morris from the Sisseton-Wahpeton Reservation during the Catholic era. In 1897, as part of a larger shift away from contracting religious groups to run boarding schools, the U.S. government began directly operating the Morris Industrial School for Indians on the site. During the federal era, recruitment of students shifted away from communities in North Dakota and toward Ojibwe communities at White Earth and Mille Lacs, with a few students from Leech Lake and other communities in Minnesota. The school also continued to draw students from Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate during its federal era, as well as smaller numbers of students from Lakota, Oneida, and other Native communities. Enrollment grew steadily from 150 students at the start of the federal era to 200 in 1908.

After the turn of the twentieth century, congressional officials and administrators in the Office of Indian Affairs began to call for the closure of off-reservation boarding schools. They cited the high costs of the institutions and their failure to completely assimilate Native people in short order. In 1909, the federal government closed the school, transferring the campus and buildings to the State of Minnesota. The federal and state statutes that provided for the closure of the campus stipulated that American Indian students be admitted to future educational institutions on the site “on terms of equality” with other students and “free of charge for tuition.” The following year, the University of Minnesota established the [West Central School of Agriculture \(WCSA\)](#) on what is now the Morris campus. The WCSA educated area high school students in a boarding school environment until 1963. Few Native students accessed WCSA; ongoing archival and oral history research conducted by UMN Morris campus archivist Steve Gross and historian Matthew Villeneuve (University of Wisconsin Madison) indicate one or two Native students may have attended.⁸⁴

The University of Minnesota Morris replaced WCSA in 1960, when the University founded the campus as its public liberal arts college. The campus has honored the tuition waiver for qualified Native students since that time. On its campus website, the University of Minnesota Morris acknowledges that the educational obligations to Native Nations and peoples that have been carried forward via the tuition waiver are rooted not only in state and federal statutes, but in treaty laws that called for educational provisions to be provided by the federal government. Only a handful of Native students enrolled at UMN Morris in its first two decades, but Native student enrollment has grown steadily since that time. As of fall 2020, 346 students from 70 tribes or first nations located across 16 states and Canada enrolled at UMN Morris, or over one quarter of the college’s total student body. Over half of the Native students enrolled there come from tribes located in Minnesota.

In 2015, UMN Morris received a Native American-Serving Non-Tribal Institution (NASNTI) grant to create the Native American Student Success Program (NASS). This grant was renewed by the federal government in 2020. NASS supports Native American students through academic coaching and mentoring, career and financial aid, and social and cultural programming. Other opportunities for Native students at UMN Morris include the American Indian Science and Engineering Society, the McNair Program, and Gateway, a for-credit college preparation curriculum offered each July to students from groups

⁸⁴ University of Minnesota Morris, “UMN Morris Land Acknowledgment”; Ahern, “Indian Education and Bureaucracy”; UMN Morris, “American Indian Boarding Schools in Morris.”

underrepresented within higher education. There are currently no plans to institutionalize the budget for this program once the grant funding ends.

Recent Developments at UMN Morris

Tribal communities have long known that deaths occurred at boarding schools, and Ahern's [1984 article](#) in *Minnesota History* refers to deaths at the Morris boarding schools. Until recently, archival records related to the boarding schools that are held at UMN Morris did not contain references to children who died and were buried at the site of the boarding schools; these records had been gathered over decades by Morris faculty and archivists from the National Archives in Washington, D.C.; the records of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions at Marquette University in Milwaukee, Wisconsin; and the records of the Sisters of Mercy in Belmont, North Carolina. Starting in 2010, campus archivist Steve Gross led efforts to gather copies of these records for the UMN Morris campus archives. This work built on earlier archival research by Professor Bert Ahern, a scholar of American Indian education who taught history at UMN Morris from 1968 to 2009.⁸⁵

These records demonstrated that, much like other boarding schools funded by federal contracts or directly operated by the Office of Indian Affairs, the boarding schools at Morris operated on per-student funding formulas that incentivized overcrowding and led to unhealthy living conditions. Students at these schools suffered from outbreaks of diphtheria, tuberculosis, influenza, and trachoma, among other diseases. When students fell gravely ill, school administrators generally sent them home, often to avoid culpability for student deaths.

During the summer of 2018, research by a then-Morris student and a faculty member identified within historical newspapers specific evidence of at least three, and possibly as many as seven, Native children who died at the boarding school in the late 1800s and early 1900s, and that they may have been interred in a cemetery plot on or near the present-day Morris campus. One of these articles stated that a student was interred in "the Indian School Cemetery," and other articles discussed the deaths of students without confirming that school administrators returned them to their communities to be buried. This research was part of a larger ongoing effort to expand the campus's collection of material related to the boarding schools, and the work was subsequently expanded to include recently digitized materials from the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions and materials held at the

⁸⁵ UMN Morris, "American Indian Boarding Schools in Morris"; Ahern, "Indian Education and Bureaucracy."

Stevens County Courthouse. Conversations were also held with the local Catholic priest and with a member of the parish cemetery board.

After consultation with the UMN Morris American Indian Advisory Council, then-Chancellor Michelle Behr shared news of the new archival information with tribes whose members are known to have attended the boarding schools at Morris. Since that time, campus administrators have engaged in consultation with Jaime Arsenault-Cote (Tribal Historic Preservation Officer, White Earth Nation of Ojibwe), Dianne Desrosiers (Tribal Historic Preservation Officer, Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate), Alysia LaCounte (Attorney, Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians), and others. This consultation gained urgency during the summer of 2021 following the discovery of hundreds of unmarked graves at the Kamloops Residential School in Kamloops, British Columbia, Canada. In August 2021, UMN Morris students from the Circle of Nations Indigenous Association (CNIA) started a social media campaign under the title, “Search the School,” encouraging campus administrators to use ground penetrating radar to search the Morris campus for burials from the boarding school era. Through the 2021–22 school year, Acting Chancellor Janet Schrunk Ericksen met regularly with leaders from CNIA to provide updates on tribal consultation for the search process.⁸⁶

In June of 2022, under guidance from Arsenault-Cote, the Institute for Canine Forensics (ICR) brought a team of dogs trained in historical remains detection to search the campus for evidence of burials. While a report from ICR is still pending, this non-invasive search will help to guide the use of ground penetrating radar to search the campus for burials; this search will also be conducted under the leadership of Arsenault-Cote and Desrosiers. Documents gathered from the National Archives in Washington, D.C., and St. Louis, Missouri, will also help to guide the use of ground penetrating radar.

Moving Forward at UMN Morris

In addition to tribal consultation regarding the ongoing search for interred boarding school students, UMN Morris Acting Chancellor Janet Ericksen and Native American Student Success Program Coordinator Chip Beal continue to consult with Arsenault-Cote, Desrosiers, and the UMN Morris American Indian Advisory Committee regarding efforts to support student mental health. In 2021, the campus added a webpage providing information on the boarding schools that operated on its site. On its campus website, UMN

⁸⁶ UMN Morris, “American Indian Boarding Schools in Morris.”

Morris officials acknowledge “the social, emotional, spiritual, and cultural devastation from boarding school experiences have passed down to Native American individuals, families, communities and Tribal Nations today.” [Student Counseling](#) on the Morris campus offers mental health care and resources for all of their students. As licensed and experienced providers, they have special training in multicultural issues and cultural competency.

In recent years, the University of Minnesota Morris has hosted ceremonies, trainings, and workshops to increase awareness of the boarding school history on the land where the university now sits. In April 2019, with the guidance of the campus’s American Indian Advisory Committee, as well as Dakota and Anishinaabe elders, the campus hosted a ceremonial gathering as a first step in remembering the children and their families and communities that have been negatively impacted by the boarding school on this site and all those across Minnesota and our nation. The late Mr. Danny Seaboy of the Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate led that gathering and the Woapiyapi ceremony. In November 2019, Mr. Seaboy again led the campus and Tribal leaders in a ceremony to bring support to UMN Morris students, children, and families of the boarding school era and all those carrying intergenerational trauma. In November 2020, Anishinaabe cultural and spiritual advisors, Mr. Darrell Kingbird Sr., citizen of the Red Lake Nation, and Mr. Naabekwa Adrian Liberty, citizen of the Leech Lake Band of Ojibwe, led the second annual ceremonial gathering. Auntie in Residence Tara Mason, a citizen of the White Earth Nation, provided cultural teachings and supported the ceremonies. The third annual ceremony was on October 30, 2021. Jerry Dearly, Lakota, Pine Ridge, led the ceremony, and Dawn Chase, Upper Sioux Community, assisted with preparations and the ceremony. A [Teach-In](#) held Saturday, November 6, 2021, provided background and information about continuing effects of Native American boarding schools. Additionally, UMN Morris joined the [National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition](#) in 2018 to further these efforts.⁸⁷

University of Minnesota Crookston

Campus Land History

In 1863, the Red Lake and Pembina Bands entered into a treaty to “cede, sell and convey” the land that the University of Minnesota Crookston sits on today in the United States. In

⁸⁷ UMN Morris, “American Indian Boarding Schools in Morris.”

1895, the Minnesota legislature appropriated dollars to construct two experimental research farms; one of them was in Crookston. The Great Northern Railway donated 476 acres, where the Northwest experiment station was established. In 1905, the Minnesota legislature appropriated money to establish the Northwest School of Agriculture, a regional residential high school with a focus on agriculture. In a move to further professionalize the school, in 1965 the Minnesota legislature approved the creation and education appropriation for the support of an Agricultural and Technical Institute. It was later renamed the University of Minnesota Technical College. By 1993, the college was offering B.A. programs. In 1998, the University of Minnesota Board of Regents officially changed the name of the campus to University of Minnesota Crookston.

Existing and Emerging Tribal Relations at Crookston

In 2021, the University of Minnesota Crookston established an American Indian Advisory Committee. The committee has several responsibilities. The first is to create a new campuswide Land Acknowledgement Statement (LAS) and craft a set of goals and strategies behind the LAS. Another is to provide recommendations on the Kiehle Auditorium murals.⁸⁸

Another area in which UMN Crookston is working to strengthen its tribal relationships is by supporting workforce development and entrepreneurialism through the Veden Center and Economic Development Administration Center. UMN Crookston has also been working with White Earth Tribal and Community College (WETCC) to develop a collaboration on a 2+2 Head Start early childhood development program. Campus leaders are conducting listening sessions with their three closest tribal nations to learn about their workforce needs and discuss potential opportunities for additional collaboration. The EDA Center is collaborating with UMN Extension and the Bois Forte Band of Chippewa to conduct a workforce skill analysis of their tribal members; this will help the nation identify entrepreneurship opportunities for their members.

Faculty are participating in a system-wide initiative looking at how Indigenous thought can be made more central to education and research. The intended outcome is an action plan to strengthen the presence of Indigenous Knowledge in teaching and research. Crookston

⁸⁸ For more information, see UMN Crookston, "Kiehle Auditorium Murals."

administrators are collaborating with faculty and staff members across the UMN system to create an Indigenous research policy based on best practices in Indian Country.

University of Minnesota Duluth

The University of Minnesota Duluth is primarily situated on a campus that covers more than 160 acres of land in Duluth which was ceded by the Ojibwe of Lake Superior and Minnesota in the Treaty of 1854. The ceded land was surveyed by the General Land Office in 1956–57, then issued as scrip to veterans and as patents to the general public. UMN Duluth’s main campus was assembled in several chunks, the two largest acquisitions being the 1947 acquisition of nearly 160 acres of a plot called the Nortondale Tract, and the other being the donation of what would become part of the Bagley Nature Area on the northwestern corner of the campus. Both areas came largely from the acquisition of tax delinquent land by wealthy donors to UMN Duluth.

The 160-acre Nortondale Tract was purchased by the Norton brothers of Kentucky in the 1870s for a planned real estate development. In the 1890s, the brothers passed away and their estates created the Northern Realty & Investment Co., which managed the Nortondale Tract for them. The land sat undeveloped by settlers, though some Native families lived and harvested on the land during the nineteenth century. In 1947, agents acting on behalf of the University of Minnesota Board of Regents and funded by Regent Richard L. Griggs and other Duluthians acquired the tax delinquent land of the Nortondale Tract for the new University of Minnesota, Duluth Branch’s future main campus.⁸⁹

In 2018, UMN Duluth embarked upon an effort to create a land acknowledgement statement. The University of Minnesota Duluth’s Land Acknowledgment was crafted via a collaborative process with our Department of American Indian Studies; the Campus Climate Leadership Team; Campus Climate Change Team; participants at the 2019 Summit on Equity, Race, & Ethnicity, and endorsed by the Minnesota Indian Affairs Council on June 4, 2019. The University of Minnesota Duluth’s land acknowledgment states:

We collectively acknowledge that the University of Minnesota Duluth is located on the traditional, ancestral, and contemporary lands of Indigenous people. The University resides on land that was cared for and called home by the Ojibwe people, before them the Dakota and Northern Cheyenne people, and other Native peoples from time immemorial. Ceded by the Ojibwe in an 1854 treaty, this land holds great

⁸⁹ See appendix for full report, [Stinnett, “Nortondale Tract.”](#)

historical, spiritual, and personal significance for its original stewards, the Native nations and peoples of this region. We recognize and continually support and advocate for the sovereignty of the Native nations in this territory and beyond. By offering this land acknowledgment, we affirm tribal sovereignty and will work to hold the University of Minnesota Duluth accountable to American Indian peoples and nations.⁹⁰

University of Minnesota Rochester

As of the release of this report, campus-based information from the University of Minnesota Rochester had not been made available.

⁹⁰ For additional information, see UMN Duluth, “The University of Minnesota Duluth’s Land Acknowledgment.”

RESOURCE EXTRACTION AND LANDGRABS

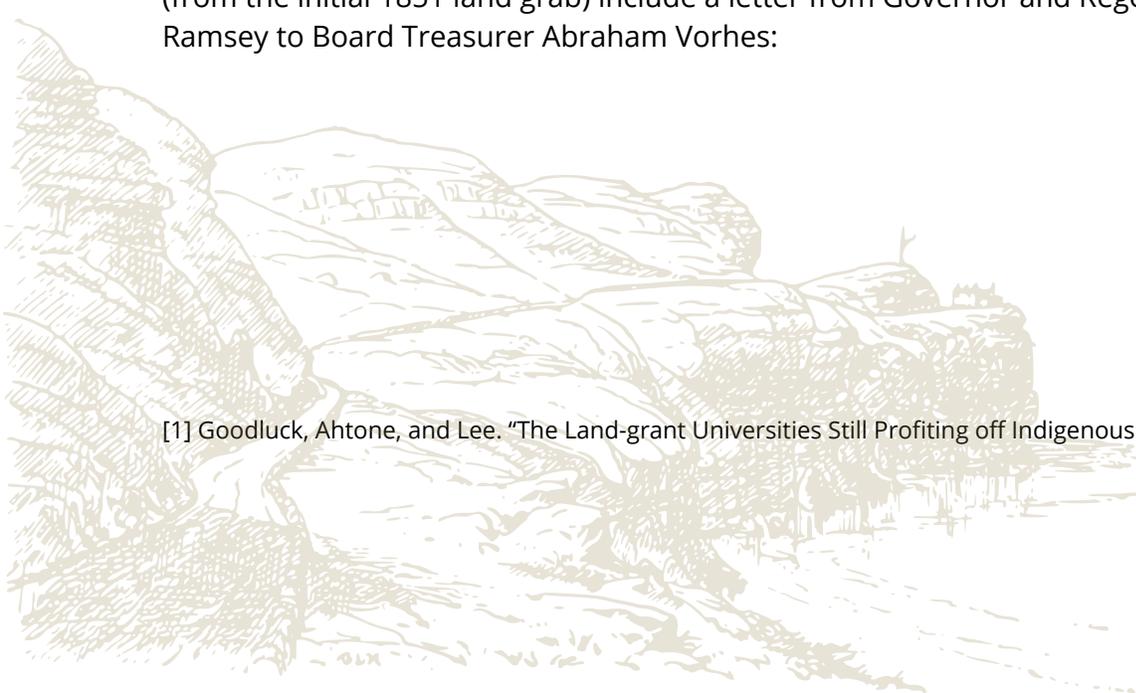
Mni Sóta Maḵoce

Financial Analyses of UMN Revenues

To better understand the fiscal impact of the Board of Regent's financial schemes and speculation on the current financial position of the University of Minnesota, the TRUTH Project sought an economic analysis of the Permanent University Fund, or PUF. In conversation with an article written on land grab universities continuing to profit from mineral leases on Morrill Act lands, two teams—one from CURA and the other from the Humphrey School—performed detailed analyses of revenues UMN accrued from lease holdings. In addition to the 240 acres of Morrill Act lands identified by High Country News, CURA's research yielded additional sources of revenue from mineral rights on lands taken in other land grabs.[1]

The records left by the regents themselves presented detailed accounts of how University land grabs were a revolving door of wealth transfer from Indigenous communities to settler communities. Communications show inquiries from people seeking to acquire specific types of land, beginning with the regents themselves. Minutes from a meeting held on August 28, 1860, to discuss choosing “remaining land” (from the initial 1851 land grab) include a letter from Governor and Regent Alexander Ramsey to Board Treasurer Abraham Vorhes:

[1] Goodluck, Ahtone, and Lee. “The Land-grant Universities Still Profiting off Indigenous Homelands.”



Copy
 Letter from Governor A. Ramsey
 To Abraham Lincoln Esq.
 Relation to location of University, &c.

State of Minnesota
 Executive Office
 Saint Paul April 11, 1860

Abraham Lincoln Esq

Sir

The Legislature at its last session appropriated for hundred dollars or so much, though as much be necessary, for the purpose of locating the remainder of the University lands, donated by the United States, and I hereby appoint you an agent for that purpose.

The presumption is that the Legislature contemplated the remainder of the first grant of 1857 about fourteen thousand one hundred and twenty one acres (14,191) equal to twenty two $\frac{1}{2}$ \times 700 (22,17) sections of that grant are yet to be entered.

If farming lands I would suggest that the fertility of the soil, convenience to markets, railroads, rivers, running water, settlements &c. rather than timber, should determine your selection, as the danger is that it will be impossible to possess the latter. These lands should generally be selected on the West of the Mississippi, in the valley of the Crow, the Minnesota &c and and equal portions South of the Minnesota river.

The Reports have indicated a desire that 3000 or 4000 acres of Pine lands well timbered and convenient to floating streams, be selected. Mr. Kimball, a member of the Board residing at St Anthony, is well informed as to the Pine lands on Rum River and I would advise you to consult with him in reference thereto. As far as can be done, I should prefer that you would personally inspect the lands

you may select, and in your journey, it is desirable if convenient, that you should visit the lands already entered and furnish the Board a brief report of their character, probable value &c.

In whatever district these lands may be selected by you, you will receive and return to this office, or to the Board of Regents, some proper evidence of the land office, that the lands have been entered upon their plats and books, as for the use of the University.

The Act of July 22nd 1858, a copy of which is herewith enclosed, conveys to certain parties in Rice Co. lands that it is alleged were pre-empted in ignorance of their selection for University purposes. These in the aggregate amount, I am informed to twenty six hundred and forty four (2644) acres. The records at Hudson and St Peter land offices, will enable you to ascertain the amount precisely, and as the University is entitled to other lands in lieu of these, you will select an equivalent quantity in place of them. These 2644 are a part of the aggregate of 11,191 at first referred to.

These of course are intended to be but general directions in your work. From your practical experience in surveying, your knowledge of lands &c. much is left to your own discretion.

As to your Compensation, I can only say that the whole charge for services, expenses &c. must not exceed the appropriation of five hundred dollars and may be as much less as is consistent with a faithful performance of the duties entrusted to you.

For various reasons it is expected that you will enter upon the work immediately. I furnish you herewith a list of the lands heretofore entered, including the aforesaid 2644 acres in Rice County.

Very respectfully

Yours &c

Alex. Ramsey

(Signed)

This letter is an attempt to influence which land will be chosen. "The Regents have indicated a desire that 3000 or 4000 acres of Pine lands well timbered and convenient to floating streams be selected."⁹² Land situated with white pine and access to waterways benefited the timber industry's ability to float the cut timber downstream. Several regents, including Board President Alexander Steele, had commercial interests in timber.⁹³

⁹² University of Minnesota, "Board of Regents Meeting Minutes, Vol. I 1860-1868," 11-12.

⁹³ Roberts, "An Early Political and Administrative History"; Case, *The Relentless Business of Treaties*.

The Board of Regents consisted of lawyers, businessmen, politicians, and financiers who controlled land sales and local business development, passed legislation, and negotiated treaties. They ran the University in much the same way they ran government and personal affairs. They used their connections and knowledge taken from intimate relations with Indigenous peoples. They had at their disposal university faculty, state departments, maps, journals, and ledger books listing all the sections of land that they chose.⁹⁴ This information was gathered in various land surveys, the most concerning of which was the state-sponsored geologic survey of this land conducted by Newton Horace Winchell (see p. 67), which identified areas rich in timber, minerals, and other resources.

During fall semester 2021, TRUTH partnered with CURA for a Resilient Communities Project (RCP) fellowship. The mission of RCP is “to connect local government agencies with UMN students and faculty to work collaboratively on projects that both advance community resilience, equity, and sustainability and enhance student learning, knowledge, and skills.” Members of the fellowship team included Madison Bozich, Shuping Wang, and Kyle Malone.⁹⁵ Deliverables included a [strategic analysis](#) of the 1862 Morrill land grab [a brief analysis of mineral leases](#) (Wang), and an interactive [story map](#) (Malone).⁹⁶

Currently, the University of Minnesota has an endowment worth approximately \$3.87 billion dollars (2020). As of 2020, the Permanent University Fund (PUF), created from the sale of Morrill Act lands was worth approximately \$591 million. It is through the analyses of these funds that the large scale of wealth redistribution from Indigenous peoples to the University of Minnesota can be seen. The University has been less than forthcoming with this information, and multiple requests for financial records went ignored, despite UMN’s status as a public institution. Because of this, no perfect analysis could be performed. Rather, economists created a code run in R that offers the best estimates to date.

Even though all Morrill Act land was sold by 1904, the University has had access to large-scale, indirect profits from the interest accrued on the investment of money tied to these funds. Bozich identified tremendous gains made on the University endowment through several possible scenarios in how the investments have played out over time, resulting in incredible amounts of discretionary spending at three different intervals of return. The three investment strategies she tested include the S&P 500, with an average return of 11.6%, T-Bonds at 5.21%, and T-Bills at 3.36%. Bozich’s analyses place the return at its

⁹⁴ UMN Archives, “Pillsbury Papers, 1858 and 1867–1915”; UMN Archives, “Winchell papers, 1872–1883.”

⁹⁵ See UMN, “TRUTH: A Strategic Analysis of the Morrill Land Grab.”

⁹⁶ See CURA and Resilient Communities Project, “TRUTH: A Strategic Analysis” (storymap).

lowest \$50 million and at the highest \$225 million, with access to upwards of \$100 million in reinvestment capital made from the compounded interest from the original sales.⁹⁷

Under the assumption that the S&P 500 levels of spending somewhat overshoot levels of discretionary spending, the combination asset provides more reasonable estimates:

\$100,664,393 in spending, with a book value of **\$17,130,325**, as a low estimate; and **\$293,338,516** in spending, with a book value of **\$396,321,317**, as an upper estimate.

In conclusion, although the University has not directly held Morrill Act lands since 1904, the endowment has recognized tremendous returns at multiple potential spending ratios due to compounded interest accrued from the original sale.⁹⁸

Continuing to center the land, researchers also examined the various ways the regents acquired land. Land grants/grabs accounted for the greatest amount of land that has passed through the University, along with donated and purchased lands. Gains from these lands were not merely from their sale; revenue also came in the form of mineral leases dating back to as early as 1891. Wang identified four ways this revenue has been split among PUF accounts:

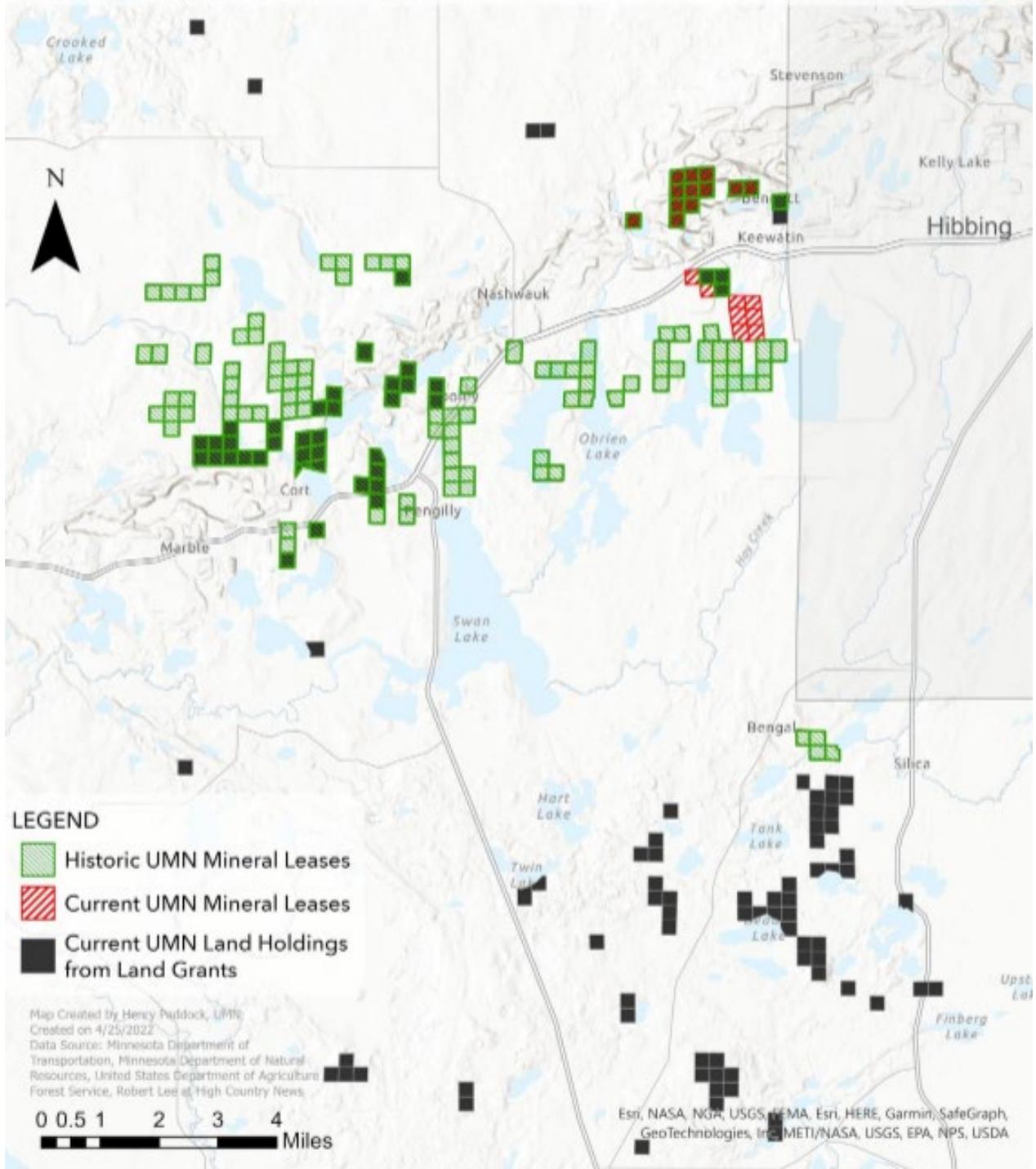
1. The endowed chair account
2. The endowed mineral research account
3. The endowed scholarship account
4. The endowed Mesabi Range account

⁹⁷ For a detailed explanation of this analysis and the code used, see CURA and Resilient Communities Project, "TRUTH: A Strategic Analysis," presentation at the TRUTH Symposium, May 2022.

⁹⁸ Bozich. "TRUTH: A Strategic Analysis of the Morrill Land Grab in Minnesota."

UMN Mineral Leases on Land-Grant Land (Hibbing)

University of Minnesota mineral leases - historical and current - compared with the University's remaining land holdings acquired from land grants. Itasca County, outside Hibbing, MN.



The University has not been transparent about how much of this money has gone to Native scholars and initiatives.

Building upon the work of the RCP Fellows, in the spring of 2022, a group of Masters students at the Humphrey School of Public Affairs devoted their final project for PA 8081: Urban Planning Capstone to TRUTH. The research performed by this group begins to look at the implications of this vast transfer of wealth through an Indigenous lens by critically examining the way the University has shifted “hundreds of millions, if not billions of dollars of wealth from Tribes to the University.”⁹⁹ This was done through historical and financial analysis of the PUF, including sources of revenue and how such funds have been allocated. Deliverables from their project included a [report on the Permanent University Fund](#) and a [qualitative study](#) of other institutions that are reckoning with their troubled relationships with Indigenous communities.¹⁰⁰

The Capstone findings also show that from 1890 to 2022, iron and taconite leases have earned the University at least \$191,875,315. This number is not adjusted for inflation and does not include reinvestment capital made from the compounded interest over time. The PUF lands and revenues are managed by the Minnesota Department of Natural Resources. Many of these holdings are situated in territories ceded in the 1851, 1854, and 1857 treaties.

Land Grab U found that UMN is one of 12 institutions “still in possession of unsold Morrill acres as well as associated mineral rights, which continue to produce revenue for their designated institutions.” Our research indicates that although UMN holds 22,028 acres of mineral rights in its permanent university fund. These were not Morrill Act lands. These PUF lands are managed by the Department of Natural Resources, generating revenue through timber and mining leases.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Fuecker et al, “CURA TRUTH Capstone: Permanent University Fund” and Fuecker et al “TRUTH University Report”

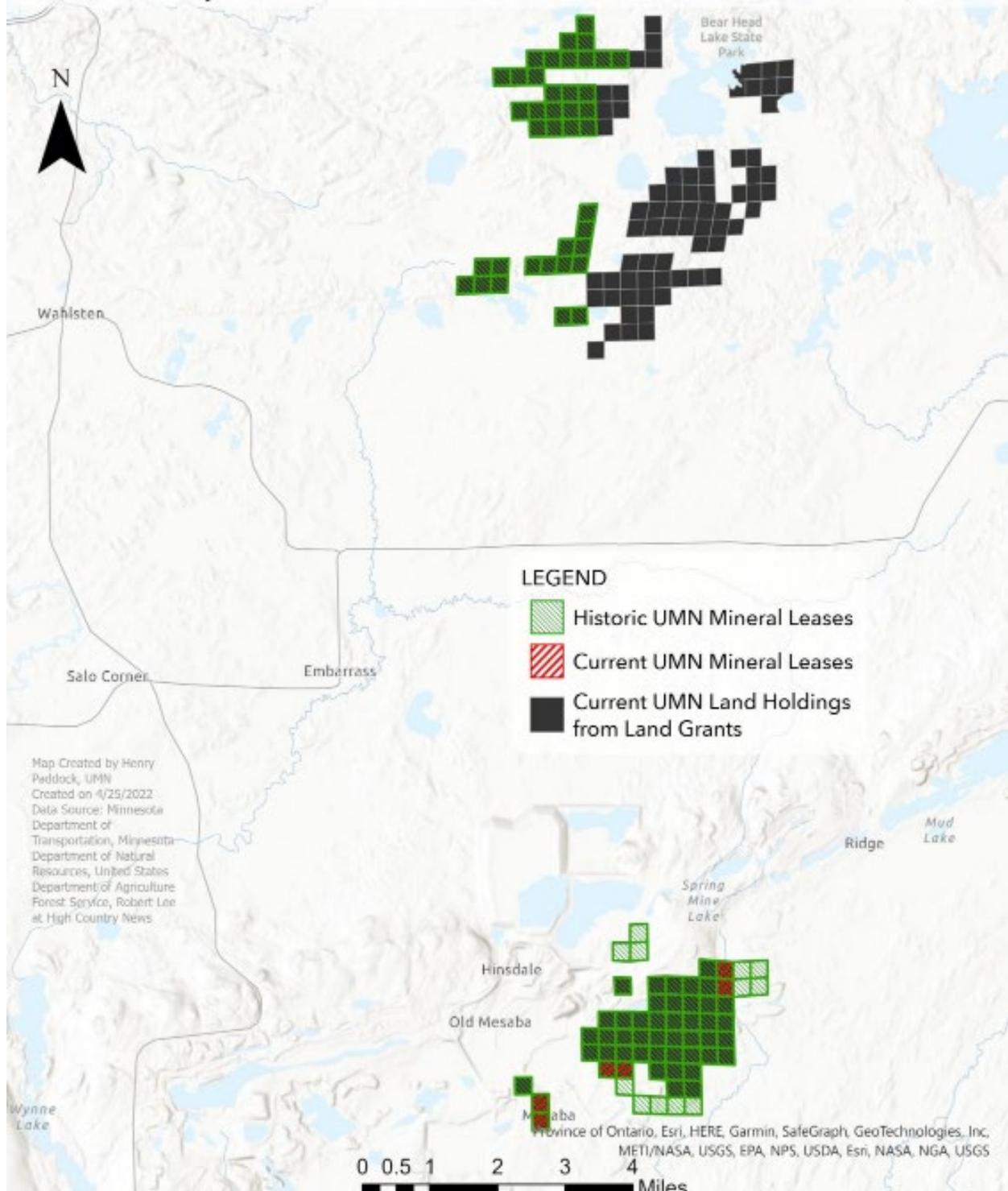
¹⁰⁰ See CURA and Resilient Communities Project, “TRUTH: Presentations given at the TRUTH Symposium,” for presentations by each group. <https://www.youtube.com/@towardsrecognitionandtriba9694/playlists>.

¹⁰¹ For more information, see Lewis, “Lexicon of State Owned Lands.”

UMN Mineral Leases on Land-Grant Land (Babbitt)

University of Minnesota mineral leases - historical and current - compared with the University's remaining land holdings acquired from land grants.

St Louis County, between Embarrass and Babbitt ~50 miles north of Duluth, MN.



These mineral leases are a perpetual source of income for the University, contributing millions to the PUF every year. However, there is another way the University has recirculated the wealth and profited from Indigenous land dispossession: municipal bonds. These bonds have provided the University a source of revenue, as well as supported capital projects throughout the state that furthered settler populations at the expense of Indigenous populations. No evidence of bonds or loans to Tribes was found throughout the course of this project.

The records used in these analyses were obscure and difficult to locate. The State Auditor's Office originally managed the PUF, but control of investments reverted to the regents in 1963, after which time detailed records are less accessible. What else is not seen in this picture is the vast personal wealth accrued from dispossessed lands. Without these records, a full picture of the wealth transfer is not visible. If UMN is serious about improving relations with Tribal Nations, the regents must begin by apologizing and setting right what their predecessors set into motion 172 years ago.

With over a century of investing in the cities and counties of Minnesota from very early on in Minnesota's statehood, it's evident that the PUF funds derived from Tribal lands and resources extracted from those lands have been important to the growth of the colonized state.

—Fuecker et al.

HISTORY OF HARMFUL RESEARCH PRACTICES

The University of Minnesota is an internationally acclaimed R1 institution. Despite this, research practices have long ignored Tribal sovereignty and treaty rights. Indigenous rights have been and continue to be violated through UMN's involvement with telescopes, medical experimentation, eugenics, archaeology, social work, and natural sciences. Below are several areas of concern raised by MIAC and examined by TRUTH.

Anthropology/Archaeology

The Anthropology and Archaeology departments have exhibited a troubling pattern of behaviors that have inflicted harms on Indigenous peoples. Several instances are detailed below. It is up to each department to inventory their history and collections and begin the process of repatriation and curriculum development that not only mitigates harm, but maximizes benefits to Indigenous peoples.

Land Allotment/Nelson Act

Faculty at the University of Minnesota played a significant role in racializing the identities of White Earth Anishinaabeg in the early 1900s, which the U.S. used to justify land allotment fraud and theft.

In 2002, as a part of the Community Assistantship Program (CAP) administered by CURA, Jill Doerfler (White Earth Anishinaabe) worked with the White Earth Reservation Tribal Archives to produce a report.

The report begins:

The purpose of this project was to determine the impacts of historic anthropological and current agricultural research done at the University of Minnesota on the Anishinaabe. The University of Minnesota has been inextricably involved with the land thefts that occurred at White Earth near the turn of the nineteenth century and

the collapse of the wild rice industry on all the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe reservations in the late twentieth century. The involvement in these racist, colonialist projects demonstrate the ways in which prejudice has and continues to pervade the University.¹⁰²

The following excerpts address the University's efforts to domesticate manoomin:

A Study of Wild Rice in Minnesota provided a chronology of the efforts of the University of Minnesota, the Minnesota State Department of Conservation and other public agencies involved in manoomin research since 1939 to domesticate and create hybrid varieties of manoomin. The...chronology illustrates that while there was difficulty in getting initial support to explore the possibility of domesticating manoomin eventually financial support was secured.¹⁰³

The research on the domestication of manoomin done at the University of Minnesota has not benefited Anishinaabe society in any way. In fact, it has caused the prices for manoomin to collapse, resulting in lost income for Anishinaabe ricers.¹⁰⁴

The report details the involvement of a member of the University of Minnesota Board of Regents, as well as faculty members in allotment fraud cases on the White Earth Reservation in the early 1900s:

Exemplifying how western science can be used to promote racist agendas are the cases of land theft at the White Earth Reservation. Western science had a direct effect on the colonization and theft of hundreds of thousands of acres of land held by the Anishinaabeg. Anthropologists became embroiled in cases of land fraud on the White Earth Reservation. Soon after reservation lands were divided up into individual portions it became necessary to determine who was a "full-blood" and who was a "mixed-blood" because blood quantum and competency were directly connected in legislation passed by the United States." Full-bloods and minors were deemed legally incompetent and thus it was not permissible for them to sell their allotments; adult mixed-bloods, on the other hand, were competent and had the ability to sell their land. University of Minnesota Board of Regents member and United States Congressman Knute Nelson sought to advance the agricultural economic interests of Euro-Americans and in 1889 introduced "An Act for the Relief and Civilization of the Chippewa Indians of Minnesota." The passage of the Nelson Act resulted in an astonishing amount of fraud and corruption culminating in losses in the millions for the Anishinaabeg.

¹⁰² Doerfler, "Where the Food Grows on Water," 1.

¹⁰³ Doerfler, "Where the Food Grows on Water," 8-9.

¹⁰⁴ Doerfler, "Where the Food Grows on Water," 22.

Conflicting understandings of who was a “full-blood” and who was a “mixed-blood” caused confusion and ultimately resulted in the disregard for Anishinaabeg definitions of themselves. Dr. Albert E. Jenks, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Minnesota, and Dr. Ales Hrdlicka, curator of the Division of Physical Anthropology at the Smithsonian Institution, came to White Earth to physically examine the Anishinaabeg and determine their blood quantum....

While on a leave of absence from the University of Minnesota, Jenks worked for an attorney for the lumber companies and adamantly claimed he could indisputably determine full-bloods from mixed-bloods through various physical examinations, including a cross-section hair analysis. Dr. Jenks worked with Dr. Hal Downey from the Department of Animal Biology in the College of Sciences, Literature, and Arts at the University of Minnesota on the hair tests. In addition to hair analysis Dr. Jenks and Dr. Hrdlicka performed several other physical tests to determine blood. Blood quantum became the critical determiner in most of the cases, while other significant evidence was ignored. Judge Page Morris went so far as to dismiss cases even before they began based on his personal impression and assessment of the plaintiff’s physical characteristics as they stood before him.¹⁰⁵

The report also addresses the broader issue of research involving Native peoples:

The University of Minnesota is a large institution with innumerable programs and projects. It is difficult to summarize the overarching relationship with American Indian communities. Concerns about research and other projects involving American Indians have long been cause for apprehension and concern to American Indian people. The impacts of various research initiatives at the University have been vast, and the continued and potential impacts are impossible to predict.¹⁰⁶

The work of Dr. Doerfler is still relevant and timely, indicative of the lack of attention that UMN has given this problematic past. It is clear that the early work of anthropologists and other researchers was detrimental to the identity and financial wellbeing of Native peoples in Minnesota. Unfortunately the ripple effects of that work continues today in the harm done to Indigenous harvesting of manoomin and the collapse of that economy. Those effects also continue in the losses of land and wealth due to the racist framing of blood quantum.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Doerfler, “Where the Food Grows on Water,” 18–20.

¹⁰⁶ Doerfler, “Where the Food Grows on Water,” 26.

¹⁰⁷ For more information, see Beaulieu, “Curly Hair and Big Feet”; Doerfler, *Those Who Belong*; Meyers, *The White Earth Tragedy*; Soderstrom, “Weeds in Linnaeus’s Garden.”

Mimbres/NAGPRA Violations

University of Minnesota anthropologists and archaeologists played principal roles in several excavation expeditions to New Mexico in the 1920s and 1930s, which uncovered human remains and funerary objects affiliated with the Mimbres culture. The University took possession of those materials, most of which have remained in the possession of the University.

In 2020, President Joan Gabel appointed a Mimbres Advisory Committee to:

- assess the appropriateness of the process employed by the Weisman Art Museum and the Department of Anthropology to catalog the Mimbres objects.
- confirm the accuracy and completeness of the resulting catalog as well as the categorization of the objects therein.
- consult with all Tribal Nations that are, or likely to be, culturally affiliated with the Mimbres objects or lineally descended from the Mimbres.
- assess the cultural affiliation, or lack thereof, of any tribal nation to the Mimbres people.
- make a recommendation as to any tribe or tribes that you believe are culturally affiliated with the Mimbres, along with your reasonings and factual basis, to the Provost.

This summary addresses the status of the Mimbres ancestors and their belongings which have been in the care of MIAC (at the Osteology Repository at Hamline University) and the University of Minnesota. In June of 2020, the MIAC Board issued a resolution demanding that the University take immediate action toward the repatriation of the ancestors and their belongings, noting that “the Native Nations of MIAC view MIAC’s continued temporary custody of the human remains of our relatives as enabling the University’s continued resistance and failure to comply with NAGPRA.”¹⁰⁸ This issue is thus one of central concern for the relationship of the University with the Native Nations in the state, in addition to the Nations culturally affiliated with the Mimbres ancestors.

A detailed narrative of the history of the University’s actions may be found in [a report in the appendices](#), thus only a brief description is offered here. University anthropologists, led by A.E. Jenks (well-known for his work at White Earth grounded in principles of eugenics), spent four years (1928–31) digging multiple sites in New Mexico. Their primary focus was

¹⁰⁸ See [2020 MIAC resolutions](#), in Appendix and online at <https://mn.gov/indianaffairs/miacresolutions.html>.

on sites identified with the Mimbres archaeological culture. Of the close to one thousand human burials, they dug up, they retrieved nearly 200 ancestors' remains, approximately 1,300 pottery vessels and several thousand other items, which were transported to Minnesota. Over the next sixty years, these ancestors and items remained largely in the possession of the anthropology department, but a number of bowls were traded to other museums or in one case to a private collector. Pursuant to the change in Minnesota's Private Cemeteries Act (MN statute 307.08) in the late 1980s, the ancestors' remains were transferred to MIAC, and in 1992 the remaining Mimbres items were transferred internally from the anthropology department to the Weisman Art Museum (WAM). Rather than cooperate with MIAC on NAGPRA compliance, the museum instead filed its own summary which neither identified any items as burial-associated nor mentioned their association with the ancestors at MIAC. While MIAC appropriately engaged in Tribal consultations and filed its own inventory in 2002, the WAM director refused to collaborate, and the museum failed to respond adequately to Tribal inquiries regarding the collection, as required by NAGPRA.

With the departure of the previous director of WAM, the museum and the anthropology department have been able to fully collaborate with MIAC to address these failures. A physical inventory of the Mimbres items at the University has been completed, and many of the items traded to other museums have been located. As required by the law, University representatives have initiated consultations with as many of the likely affiliated Tribes as possible. In addition, following the guidance of the NAGPRA federal program officer Melanie O'Brien, the museum has come to a collaborative agreement with seven other museums holding associated Mimbres items to participate in a joint NAGPRA inventory with the University and MIAC, as this will significantly ease and expedite the process of repatriation to whichever Tribe(s) assume the responsibility. In February 2022, the UMN Board of Regents publicly offered an apology and stated its full support of the repatriation process.

Since that time, WAM and anthropology staff have worked with MIAC and Hamline personnel to complete and submit the initial inventory to the national NAGPRA office in early June 2022. The law allows a grace period of six months before a Notice of Inventory Completion must be published. Because there remained some unresolved questions about how items in the inventory were listed, which can only be answered by the culturally affiliated Tribes, staff used this period to continue Tribal consultations. An advisory group of cultural experts representing six of the affiliated Pueblos and one facilitator requested that they visit with the ancestors and the collection prior to the completion of the inventory. This visit, funded by the University, took place October 4–6, 2022.

This group has been coordinated and facilitated by Dr. Bruce Bernstein, currently serving as the Tribal Historic Preservation Officer (THPO) for the Pueblo of Pojoaque, to advise on how best to return and provide care for the Mimbres ancestors, objects, and beings. They have worked together previously to advise the DeYoung Museum on its care and interpretation of fifty-eight Mimbres bowls. The group includes Brian Vallo (Acoma), Stewart Koyiyumptewa (Hopi), Arden Kucate (Zuni), Chris Toya (Jemez), Woody Aguilar (San Ildefonso), and Richard Smith Sr. (Laguna). While some advisors were not able to visit, the university welcomed Mr. Vallo, Mr. Kucate, Dr. Aguilar, and Dr. Bernstein to the Weisman Museum in Minneapolis for three days of consultation and conversation.

On the first working day, University representatives and the advisory group discussed what their collective hopes and expectations were for the visit before the advisory group spent the remainder of the day privately viewing much of the collection that the museum had laid out on tables. Printed records with photos of the items at each of the other institutions were also provided. The advisory group marked a number of items as sensitive during this viewing. At their request, University staff also visited the storage areas where the funerary items were typically kept.

On Wednesday, the group viewed the items at WAM which are specifically associated with the ancestors who are here in Minnesota (including photos of any items held in other museums). These were grouped by the documented burial, with identifiers (assigned burial number and any assessed demographic information about the individual such as age and sex). This viewing was very emotional, and the advisors felt that there was tremendous restlessness from these items. Afterward the advisors went to Hamline University to visit the ancestors. From Wednesday afternoon through Thursday morning, the advisors, UMN and MIAC participants engaged in discussions about how the latter groups can improve the care provided to the ancestors and their belongings while they await return, and what the next steps are toward repatriation.

The care recommendations from the advisors included asking that the ancestors be moved to a space of their own, as currently Hamline (as the osteology repository for the Minnesota Indian Affairs Council) is keeping them within the same space that holds Dakota and Anishinaabeg ancestors' remains. UMN and MIAC are collectively working on this, and to arrange for smudging offerings by an elder qualified to do so.

For the funerary items, the advisors requested that these items also be given more space, for bowls to be stored upright, to switch plastic cushioning for muslin, and to replace cabinet doors with muslin draping. Their preference is that bowls should not be stacked or contained/covered with plastic. They believe these changes will allow the items to breathe.

The advisors will discuss, as a group, further recommendations on whether the items marked as particularly sensitive should be separated from the rest of the group but have strongly advised that in the meantime museum staff must take great care to avoid any handling of those items while experiencing negative emotional states. They will also continue discussions on whether the museums should store burial groupings together. They felt this last aspect was an important point of discussion needing input from as many of the other Pueblo communities as possible.

The advisors hope that the repatriation process will be accomplished with consensus from all, possibly via the All-Pueblo Governor's Council and the Hopi Nation. It remains the case that Hopi Nation is best prepared to take the lead in the reburial of the ancestors.

At the conclusion of these discussions, UMN and MIAC made a commitment to implement the recommended changes in care, and to provide more accessible information to be shared with other Pueblo Tribal advisors. In light of the frequent identification of culturally sensitive items, regardless of their association with human burials, UMN also has committed to the inclusion of the entire collection of objects/beings in the inventory as a means to expedite their best care. The advisors have committed to conferring among themselves and with affiliated Tribes regarding additional needs and the best next steps following the completion of the inventory in December 2022.

With the completion of the inventory and publishing of the notice, the University will be in compliance with the law with respect to the Mimbres collection. However, its obligations will continue, and their fulfillment will require significant University support.

Responsibilities include:

- Ongoing communication and collaboration with the affiliated Tribes to assure the short-and longer-term care of Mimbres ancestors and belongings. The advisory group has recommended that University representatives visit with them in New Mexico in spring 2023 in order to continue in-person discussions and relationship-building.
- Providing adequate space for the proper care as already advised; pending further discussions among the affiliated Tribes, this may also require the physical reassociation of burial items and possibly ancestors. This will also necessitate dedicated museum staff effort.
- Logistic and financial support for the return transport of ancestors and their belongings when a secure reburial location has been identified.

- Addressing several requests from the advisory group and affiliated Tribes which are outside of the scope of NAGPRA, and would contribute to restorative justice in our relationship: first, to transfer control of the associated collection metadata to the Tribes, and second, to recognize the unmerited professional, academic, and financial capital the University accrued from its possession of the collection. This could be done through academic programs or applied research that supports the affiliated Tribes.
- For any items that the Tribes may not be able to immediately receive (i.e., items that may not be appropriate for reburial), the University must be prepared to act as steward to provide continuing care until such time as the Tribes are ready for their return.

The report prepared by the internal University advisory committee, also details several recommendations to the president and provost of the University regarding more proactive efforts to address the institution's repatriation and repatriation obligations. The committee suggests that the University adopt structural changes to become more transparent about its many collections that may have arrived through extractive research practices throughout the University's history.

Additional recommendations of the Mimbres Advisory Committee:

- The Weisman Art Museum should be prepared to enter into a cooperative care agreement with the Tribes to provide culturally appropriate care for items that are not associated with the ancestors at Hamline and are therefore less likely to be returned right away.
- Develop UMN systemwide policy and support for future inventory and repatriation/repatriation efforts.

Recently proposed changes to NAGPRA regulations will require all institutions to complete *any* unfinished inventory filings within two years of the rule change. The University could not only be proactive in this process internally, but given the experience gained in this case, the institution could play a role in training the next generation of museum professionals building equitable and collaborative relations with Native Nations through existing academic programs.

University of Minnesota Extension

The Indian Relocation Act of 1956 pushed Native people to leave their reservations for urban centers. The Twin Cities was one place that saw an influx of Native people from all over Turtle Island. This geographic extraction was another attempt at forced assimilation. The intent of this policy was to disconnect Tribal citizens from their cultural and land-based identities. It was another set of broken promises, leaving people in desperate need of housing and cut off from their traditional kinship networks. Intergenerational knowledge of culture was nearly lost or forgotten with youth in many families cut off from the cultural knowledge of their elders. In 1958, the University of Minnesota Extension facilitated the relocation of Bois Forte Band Members once again. In all, 36 families were removed from their homelands and sent to Minneapolis, cut off from resources, family, and kinship networks.

Medical Experimentation

In the 1950s and 60s, university researchers were contracted by the U.S. military to study an acute outbreak of nephritis among children of the Red Lake Nation. The experience was traumatic for the entire community, as children underwent experimental kidney biopsies.¹⁰⁹

Manoomin/Psin/Wild Rice

Manoomin/Psin (wild rice) is central to the cultures of Ojibwe, Dakota, and other American Indian peoples throughout much of North America. It is of particular importance to Ojibwe and other Anishinaabeg communities, as their history identifies it as the very reason they came to live and still reside in and around the Great Lakes Region. Traditionally, the plant has been an important source for keeping food stores full throughout winter months and continues to serve a critical role in maintaining familial relations and connections to the more-than-human world through its traditional harvest. From the beginning of European colonization in North America, this resource has been the target of repeated attempts at

¹⁰⁹ Goodwin, "The University of Minnesota and the Red Lake Band of Chippewa Indians: A Brief Analysis", also see Red Lake External Review on page 75.

commodification and theft by white settlers who have been particularly interested in it as a tool of empire via its economic potential as an industrialized commodity. The fragility and skill needed to maintain healthy stands of manoomin meant that these attempts at commodification were repeatedly met with failure or disinterest by settlers until in 1963, a partnership between the University of Minnesota and the Bureau of Land Management opened the door to genetic manipulation and the eventual industrialization of the resource. In a study produced by this partnership and absent meaningful consultation between researchers and participant communities, University researcher Erwin Brooks argued that industrialization of the traditional manoomin harvest would bring substantial benefits to economically depressed Indian communities in the Great Lakes Region. Based on this rationale, University researchers began taking samples of manoomin from the wild which exhibited specific traits conducive to an industrialized harvest and began the University of Minnesota Wild Rice Breeding and Genetics program. The program created several patented strains of paddy grown wild rice. This work is met with intense opposition from many Ojibwe and other Native communities today, as paddy rice is seen as a threat to natural manoomin through cross pollination. It also limits the premium one may command for their natural harvest. Despite this opposition, and the negative effects on Native communities, research and funding for the Wild Rice Breeding and Genetics program continues at the University of Minnesota today at the Kimball Lab.¹¹⁰

Earth Sciences/Geology

The Minnesota Geologic and Natural History Survey was founded in 1872 and restarted in 1911 as the Minnesota Geological Survey (MGS). The original purpose of the survey was to economically evaluate the “mineral kingdom” of Minnesota; today, the MGS mission is to identify and support stewardship of water, land, and mineral resources.¹¹¹ Throughout this history, geological mapping played a significant role in identifying which lands were profitable for U.S. settlement through gold and other natural resource extraction. Henry H. Eames, the first state geologist of Minnesota, made fraudulent claims of gold along Lake Vermillion that incited a “quasi-military organization” to set up shop on unceded lands of the Bois Forte Band of Chippewa. To avoid violence, the Bois Forte Band ceded their land surrounding the lake and were forced to accept a smaller reservation further northwest.

¹¹⁰ Rico, “Wild Rice Controversy.” For more information, see Andow et al., “Preserving the Integrity of Wild Rice.”

¹¹¹ CSE, “Minnesota Geological Survey.”

Newton Horace Winchell, the first director of the Minnesota Geologic and Natural History Survey, led mapping surveys throughout present day Minnesota and unceded Lakota Territories, specifically the Black Hills. This Black Hills expedition was led by the U.S. military, including George Armstrong Custer, and directly led to mining explorations, white settlement, and, eventually, U.S. takeover of these lands through violence and coercion. But geologists—including current UMN students and MGS staff—learn about Winchell and the history of geologic mapping stripped from the violence that followed or made the research possible. The MGS is now implementing a new policy where on-reservation mapping can only be done with tribal permission, but we have a long way to go in (re)imagining and (re)creating geoscience ethics to fully respect tribal sovereignty.¹¹²

A small metal chest held dozens of leather-bound journals, indexes of the resources that once existed on this land. In subsequent trips to the archives, correspondence between the Board of Regents and people expressing interest in purchasing lands was gathered and analyzed. Review of these records show that the regents chose lands based on what resources existed there, and used any means necessary to remove Indigenous people from the lands they chose. They then sold this land at incredible profits. These land sales saw a 25,000 percent return on investment. And in urban areas individuals purchased land through bonds at high interest rates.



¹¹² Nyblade and McDonald, "Recognizing Geology's Colonial History."

PRESENT

Implications of UMN's Land Grabs Today

It is easy to think of all this happening in the past, however land dispossession and genocide has lasting intergenerational impacts. The existence of the University of Minnesota is inextricably linked to the policies put in place by the founding regents. The University of Minnesota only exists because of the genocide and ethnic cleansing used to dispossess this land from Indigenous peoples. European American thought, knowledge, and power structures are endemic to U.S. institutions. This is the manifestation of colonization.

The University of Minnesota Today

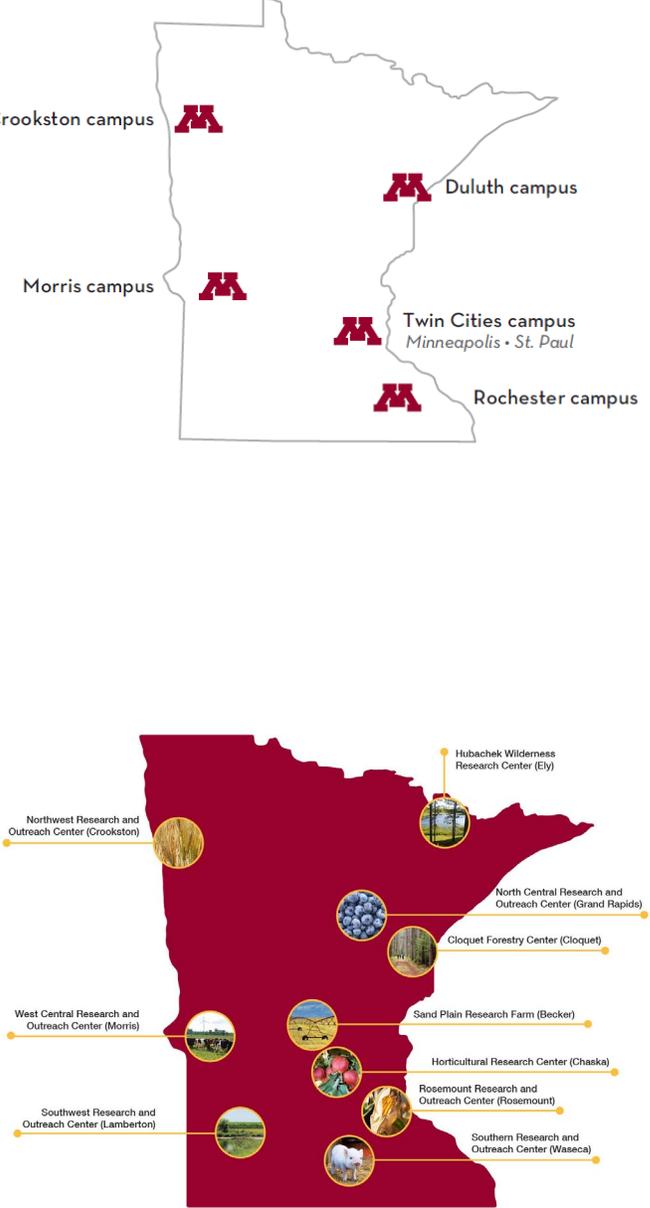
Institutional roots are transplanted through a process of imperial conquest, proliferating on the nutrient-rich land and resources gained through coercive and inhumane tactics. These white-supremist institutions depended upon a “self-interested reading of legal concepts that allowed White settlers to rationalize and legitimize their decisions to steal lands from the Indigenous peoples who already inhabited them.”[1]

Because of the actions of the Founding Regents, today the University of Minnesota exists as a world-renowned research institution with a multi billion-dollar operating budget. The University has five campuses and six research and outreach centers. According to The State of Minnesota 2022–23 Biennial Budget, University spending was \$3.7 billion in FY19, and it employed more than 20,000 faculty and staff. The following tables show campus and center locations, as well as other headcount and financial information.

Archival evidence examined throughout the course of the TRUTH Project shows how UMN's founders used the institution to access vast swaths of land seized through deceptive and reneged treaties they had a hand in negotiating. Archival and financial analyses of the monies created through the sale of these lands have been used to develop the institution, and more broadly, the settler state of Minnesota into what it is today. The founders of the

[1]Brayboy, “Toward a Tribal Critical Race Theory in Education”; Brayboy and Castagno, “How Might Native Science Inform ‘Informal Science Learning?’”

institution capitalized on the genocide and ethnocide of Indigenous peoples for their own selfish gains. UMN perpetually profits from land and lease holdings.¹¹⁴

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Five Campuses (Crookston, Duluth, Morris, Rochester, TwinCities) ● Six Research and Outreach Centers throughout the State ● FY19 Actual Spend: \$3.7billion ● Faculty & Staff Employee Headcount: 20,643 ● Graduate Student & Professional-in-Training Employee Headcount: 6,559 ● Fall 2019 Total Student Enrollment: 67,024 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Undergraduate: 44,001 ○ Graduate: 12,726 ○ First Professional: 4,214 ○ Non-Degree: 6,083 ● Degrees awarded (2018–19 Award Year): 16,238 ● Sponsored Research Awards (FY19): \$863.0 million ● Permanent University Fund valued at \$591 million dollars in 2020.
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Map of five campuses: <https://crk.umn.edu/about-us>.

Map of research centers: <https://cfans.umn.edu/research/research-outreach-centers>.

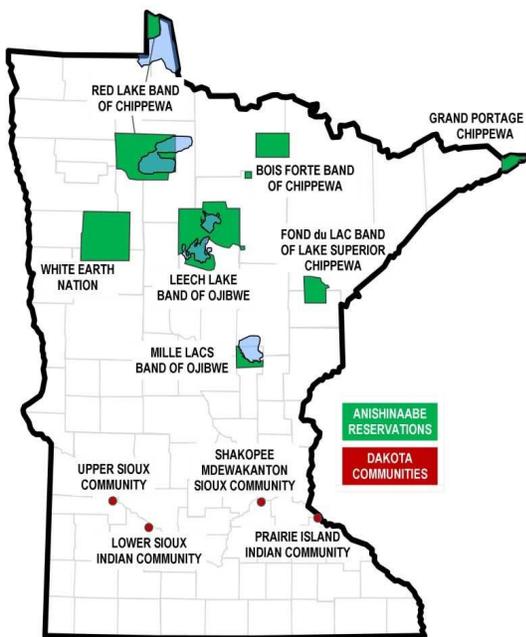
The University persistently has operated under a colonial mentality that currently falls short of recognizing the unique political space Native Americans occupy in this country.

¹¹⁴ Bozich, "TRUTH: A Strategic Analysis"; Fuecker et al., "TRUTH Capstone: Permanent University Fund."

Education is a path toward individual self determination central to Native rights.¹¹⁵ In the United States, higher education has been a route to a more stable income, and a stable income allows for more choices in life. The gatekeeping of U.S. education presents a systematic disenfranchisement of Native Americans. This infringes on the self-determination of Tribal citizens and their descendents, putting them disproportionately in a state of economic deprivation.¹¹⁶

Tribes Today

The connections of Indigenous peoples run deep in this land, and try as they might, settlers have never been able to sever our roots. Today, approximately 120,000 American Indians live on this land, accounting for approximately 1 percent of the population.



There are 11 thriving sovereign Tribal Nations with whom Minnesota shares geography. Minnesota tribes are among the top 20 largest employers in the state. Tribes have jurisdiction over thousands of acres of land within and beyond reservation boundaries.

Current reservation map. <https://www.dot.state.mn.us/tribaltraining/tribe-map.html>

Tribal Nations have positive economic impacts on the region. In 2019, the National Congress of American Indians found that, “In Minnesota, spending by the 11 tribal nations was responsible for \$2.75 billion in economic activity statewide, supporting 41,700 jobs and \$1.35 billion in household income, representing 1.1 percent of the state’s economic

¹¹⁵ Brayboy, “Toward a Tribal Critical Race Theory”; Brayboy and Castagno, “How Might Native Science Inform ‘Informal Science Learning?’”

¹¹⁶ Fertig, “Minnesota Poverty Report 2009–2019.”

output.”¹¹⁷ Together, Tribes are the 14th largest employer in the state and casinos are the second most popular tourist draw to the state, adding \$1.7 billion to Minnesota’s GDP annually.¹¹⁸

University–Tribal Relations

The University of Minnesota has only recently begun to move toward improving relationships with the 11 Tribal Nations with whom Minnesota shares geography. President Joan Gabel is the first in the history of the institution to prioritize Tribal relations. She has done so by committing to meet regularly with Tribal leaders, engaging in repatriation, initiating an external review of the Red Lake medical experimentation in the 1950s and 60s, holding discussions about the stewarding and repatriation of the Cloquet Forestry Center to the Fond du Lac Band, and establishing the University of Minnesota Native American Promise Tuition Program.¹¹⁹

Meeting with Tribal leaders

University President Joan Gabel has committed to meeting with Tribal Leaders three times per year, where she updates them on Indigenous issues at UMN. These meetings are not codified, and the regents should create a policy that ensures future presidents will also tend to the growing of these relationships.

Repatriation

The Weisman Art Museum recently hired a new director who has been engaging with the Pueblo Tribes regarding repatriation of the Mimbres ancestors and their funerary belongings. An inventory has been completed on the Mimbres belongings, bringing the

¹¹⁷ National Congress of American Indians, “Securing Our Futures.”

¹¹⁸ Minnesota Indian Gaming Association, “Economic Impact of Indian Gaming in Minnesota.” 20.

¹¹⁹Gabel and Diver, “Celebrating Native American Heritage Month.”

University into compliance for these items with NAGPRA for the first time in the 35-year history of the law. See page 61 for more information on the Mimbres repatriation.

We also insist the University begin looking beyond the Mimbres incident into other incursions of burials, and perform a full, systemwide inventory of ancestors and items held by the institution and any department or person affiliated with the institution.

Red Lake External Review

In the mid 20th century, University of Minnesota researchers received funding from the U.S. military to conduct studies on children of the Red Lake Nation. Some of these children were subjected to painful kidney biopsies, and there has been a question of how informed consent was obtained. The Red Lake Nation's Report details the findings of the Tribal Research Fellow.¹²⁰

Concurrently to the TRUTH Project, the University of Minnesota put institutional funding and support behind an [external review](#) of the medical research done at the Red Lake Nation during the mid 20th century epidemic of post-streptococcal impetigo acute glomerulonephritis (PSAGN).¹²¹ Three of the nation's leading nephrologists studied the literature surrounding the case and interviewed several people.

TRUTH believes this review undermines tribal sovereignty of the Red Lake Nation, as well as attempts to exonerate the University from harm and the perception of harm. It also raises these questions:

- What was the definition of an external investigation used by the external team?
- What constitutes an external investigation that is fair and just with a Tribal nation?
- Who determined that an external investigation was needed and in THIS particular manner and using this approach and consultants?
- Was the external investigation process Indigenized in any way?
- What were the design and methods that the external investigation process engaged? Who chose these methods and why?
- Ponemah, one of the communities heavily impacted by the disease, is home to one of the largest Ojibwe speaking populations in the state. If this is true today, what

¹²⁰ Goodwin, "The University of Minnesota and the Red Lake Band of Chippewa Indians: A Brief Analysis."

¹²¹ Shulman, Rovin, and Matheson "Report on Red Lake Nation for the University of Minnesota."

language barriers existed 75 years ago that impacted the informed consent process?

We found the external review lacking in several areas. Most notably, there was no Courts have found in similar instances that research participants can experience “indirect physical harm” in situations where they feel exploited, resulting in an earned wariness of the medical community. In addition, situations where participants values and morals are impeded or where trust is violated can result in dignitary harm.¹²²

The review is done through a lens that does not locate this story where it exists—amid structural racism and unconscious bias—rather, it fails to acknowledgement the history of medical and research abuses against Native Americans. It is framed by today's standard of care for PSAGN and the research norms of the mid-1900s. We find this to be a contradictory framework that fails to provide proper context.

The external review infers that the Red Lake Nation was uncooperative with the process, failing to give the full context of the situation. Perceptions of harm can impact how people show up in these situations and can accelerate the dignitary harms experienced. In multiple instances, the external review laments on the lack of cooperation by the Red Lake Nation to certain requests by the authors of the report related to the identity of the children. Yet it mentioned only once that upon his death, Dr. Wannamaker's papers, including all documentation on the research conducted on the Red Lake children, were destroyed. After our experiences in the University archives, we find this to be highly irregular practice, especially given the impact this research had on the field of nephrology. Included in his papers would have been applications for funding for the research projects and associated documents, including consent forms, and communications with the UMN Committee on the Use of Human Volunteers. However, the external review does not question this at all, and demands a double standard: that the Red Lake Nation maintain these records where the University could not.

The external review also calls into question the legitimacy of the evidence brought forth by Dr. William Freeman to the Red Lake Nation. Dr. Freeman has sent a [response](#) to the external review that is printed in full in the appendix. In his response, several important points are raised, including the double standard applied to RLN.

¹²² Van Assche, Gutwirth, and Sterckx, “Protecting Dignitary Interests of Biobank Research Participants: Lessons from Havasupai Tribe v Arizona Board of Regents.”

Ultimately, we may never know what consent looked like or the conditions put around the study due to the destruction of the Wannamaker papers. What is clear is that this external review is research on a tribe, and as such, it MUST be held to different standards rooted in best practices of Indigenous research.¹²³

Indigenous Research Policies

The University of Minnesota has been responsive to the many conversations happening around research ethics. Indigenous peoples, land, and cultural patrimony have been objectified and harmed by UMN researchers many times over. Under the leadership of the Office of Native American Affairs, an interdisciplinary team of faculty from across the UMN system have begun to develop Indigenous Research Guidelines. Based on best practices, this guide can serve as the foundation for new ways of research that respect the sovereignty and treaty rights of Indigenous peoples. These guidelines have been presented to university leaders, and now it is up to the Board of Regents to institute it as policy.

Cloquet Forestry Center

The Cloquet Forestry Center (CFC) is an experimental research station located within the boundaries of the Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Chippewa. Controversy around the impacts research has on Tribal sovereignty and treaty rights were discussed in depth by Kami Diver, TRUTH Research Fellow.¹²⁴ Recently, UMN has begun discussions of rematriating the CFC to the Fond du Lac Band.¹²⁵

Native American Promise Tuition Program

The Native Promise is a hybrid scholarship that attempts to blend both affinity and need-based requirements, for a last-dollar scholarship.¹²⁶ To be eligible, students must be first-

¹²³ Russo Carroll et al, "The CARE Principles for Indigenous Data Governance."

¹²⁴ Diver, "Nah-ga-chi-wa-nong."

¹²⁵ UMN Cloquet Forestry Center, "Frequently Asked Questions on the Intentions for Cloquet Forestry Center."

¹²⁶ UMN System, "Native American Promise Tuition Program."

year or transfer students from one of the four Tribal colleges in Minnesota as of fall 2022. This program is problematic because:

- It automatically excludes Dakota Tribes expelled from the state by the founders of the University, who profited personally and institutionally from the Dakota genocide and land expropriation.
- Since most Natives live away from their homelands, in urban areas, far from the tribal colleges, it excludes Urban Indigenous students who attend community colleges as well as Tribal Nations who do not yet have Tribal colleges.
- It automatically excludes current students.
- It is based on the eugenic concept of blood quantum, a theory co-developed and used on Anishinaabeg peoples by the ever-problematic Dr. Jenks.¹²⁷
- It does not even meet the U.S. definition of American Indian per the United States Code.¹²⁸

The University should immediately remove all barriers through an expansion of the waiver to include billed and unbilled costs of attending college to all Native students, based on lineal descent with a letter from their Tribal nation. This would bring the institution in line with other local Universities.¹²⁹ The University of Minnesota must also make this a first-dollar scholarship to create the potential to cover the true cost of attendance.¹³⁰

Ongoing Effects of Land Dispossession on Social Determinants of Well-Being

Our communities are inherently strong, and colonization imposes harsh conditions on them. The policies enacted seven generations ago have an impact on housing, income, and wealth today. The theft of Indigenous lands results in “deprivation that accumulates over generations.”¹³¹ Similar to research that illustrates how the lack of access to land and fair housing practices has had intergenerational effects, especially when it comes to the

¹²⁷ Doerfler, *Those Who Belong*; Meyers, *The White Earth Tragedy*; Soderstrom, “Weeds in Linnaeus’s Garden.”

¹²⁸ Cornell Law School, “20 U.S. Code § 7491–State Educational Agency Allocations.”

¹²⁹ See Augsburg University, “American Indian Recognition Full Tuition Program.”

¹³⁰ See Association of Community College Trustees, “First-dollar vs. Last-dollar Promise Models.”

¹³¹ Akee, “Stolen Lands and Stolen Opportunities.”

physical and financial well-being of Black families, Akee and colleagues show that Indigenous families own “8 to 88 percent of the wealth their white counterparts do.”¹³²

Housing

A case study of how stolen lands results in housing inequities for Indigenous peoples can be seen right here in Minnesota. From 1900 to 1910, the decade after the Nelson Act was passed, White Earth Reservation saw a decline in home ownership and a rise in homelessness and overcrowding. The Red Lake Nation is one of two closed reservations in the country, meaning that their lands were never allotted and are still held in common by the band. They did not see similar changes in housing as White Earth did.¹³³ Not only did the regents of the University of Minnesota play a role in this land dispossession, faculty researchers at the University played a role in the dehumanization of Indigenous bodies and quantification of Indigenous blood.¹³⁴ The institution thus has an obligation to ameliorate the ongoing impacts on Indigenous families for as long as those impacts persist. The following subsections detail several key areas where land dispossession has lasting impacts on Indigenous nations and families.

Wealth Inequities

Present-day research being done at the University of Minnesota shows that income disparities persist. The Minnesota Poverty Report shows that Indigenous Minnesotans are disproportionately impacted by poverty and other measures of equality relative to other races and U.S. averages. The supplemental poverty rate in 2016–19 was 23.0 percent for Native Americans and the Native American–White poverty gap is almost 16 percentage points in Minnesota compared to 12 percentage points in the U.S. Indigenous people are

¹³² Akee, Jones, and Porter, “Race Matters: Income Shares, Income Inequality, and Income Mobility.”

¹³³ Akee, “Land Titles and Dispossession.”

¹³⁴ Beaulieu, “Curly Hair and Big Feet”; Doerfler, *Those Who Belong*; Meyers, *The White Earth Tragedy*; Soderstrom, “Weeds in Linnaeus’s Garden.”

over-represented in the criminal justice system.¹³⁵ Native Americans are less likely to own homes and on average earn less than Whites.¹³⁶

Education

Those who earn a college degree will earn more over the course of their lives than those without a college education. On average, they will enjoy better health and quality-of-life outcomes when compared to those who do not graduate from college. In a time of growing economic inequality, a college degree is more important now than ever. However, not everyone has the same opportunity to earn a degree. Historically, racism was embedded into structures that still exist today, including our education system. Practices such as segregation; redlining; and in the case of Native peoples, forced displacement from their homelands to reservations where there is little economic opportunity, have decreased the number of paths through higher education for Black, Indigenous, and People of Color. This is a story about how academia is failing students from Indian Country, and how academia can learn to be a space that recognizes, welcomes, and supports Indigenous students before they even arrive on campus.

Getting into college is only part of the struggle. Research continues to show completion disparities between people of color and low-income students when compared to their more affluent white peers. This lack of representation has lifelong implications, considering that two-thirds of all jobs require post-secondary certification, and much of the remaining third fail to pay a living wage.

Primary, secondary, and college curriculums rarely explain the founding of this nation as anything less than glorious. The truth is genocide was enacted; slavery was used. And what intergenerational impacts does that have today? The answers are not readily available because much has been erased from the historical record.

¹³⁵ Arya and Rolnick, "A Tangled Web of Justice."

¹³⁶ For example, a 2014 study by USD HUD ("Housing Needs and Socioeconomic Conditions of American Indians and Alaska Natives") found that, "Although the homeownership rate of the AIAN population increased significantly over the past decade—from 38 percent in 2000 to 54 percent in 2010—it was still lower than the 2010 non-AIAN homeownership rate of 65 percent. AIAN homeownership rates vary substantially by type of area and by region. For example, homeownership rates for Native Americans in tribal areas ranged from 54 percent in the Northern Plains region to 77 percent in the Arizona/New Mexico region."

Anti-Indigenous policies were baked into the very bricks that built this institution, so it is no wonder why so few Native students complete degrees, or why it takes longer. The emotional labor of protecting oneself from these aggressions is exhausting. We feel the historic traumas from this land.

Native Americans have the lowest high school graduation rates,¹³⁷ are least likely to apply to college, and have the lowest postsecondary degree attainment of any group of students at the University of Minnesota.¹³⁸ The literature, however, paints a different picture. In many scenes, the Native experience is erased. This is due to the tension between Western scientific desires of statistical significance and the experiences of Native scholars who are omitted during statistical analyses.

Statistical Violence

To compound educational disparity further, there remains relatively little research on higher educational experiences, access, and completion among students from Tribal nations. By leaving Native students out of the literature, academia is depriving admissions officers of the knowledge they need to open access to Native American students and ensure that campuses are actively working to create an atmosphere of success for Native students. To present statistics on college access and completion is to offer educators insight into how they may change policies and procedures to better serve students. How can institutions better serve Native students if these students do not even appear in the knowledge base?

Failing to include Native American students in institutional data and literature is statistical violence.¹³⁹ It is in this silent void that colonial genocide is perpetuated. The omission of Native students from the literature casts us as specters, ghosts that may haunt the memories of place and time, but who cannot be located in the contemporary images of these institutions. This void assumes all the Indians have vanished, that this land is free for the taking. It fails to understand the complexity of the Native experience in the U.S education system, the historic trauma that shadows our vision. It renders us invisible, not just to educators, but even to ourselves; it is hard to see success in a system that was built

¹³⁷ Smith and Rademacher, "Minnesota High School Graduation Rates Rise Slightly."

¹³⁸ National Indian Education Association, "Information on Native Students."

¹³⁹ Garland, "Foreword," in *Beyond the Asterisk*.

to “save the man and kill the Indian.”

This problem is not new. Native academics have long struggled with the erasure and invisibility of Indigenous peoples within the academy. John Garland calls this lack of representation, “the Native American research ‘asterisk,’”¹⁴⁰ a term that explains this phenomenon of silencing Indigenous experiences in scholarly literature. Garland calls academia in for a discussion on how current measures fail to show the existence, let alone success, of Native students, staff, and faculty. He points to the deficits in such measurements.

Western concepts of statistical significance render Native Americans too few to analyze. To say there are too few people to include in data sets serves colonialism by perpetuating the myth of the vanishing Indian. In order to respectfully represent access and completion for Indigenous students, methods must be employed that tell their stories. Datasets must be disaggregated, and we must place equal value on every student’s voice.¹⁴¹

UMN Student Statistics

According to the University’s Office of Institutional Data and Research (IDR), there were 68,631 students enrolled during the 2022–23 academic year. This number consists of enrolled students on all five campuses. Nearly 61 percent, or 41,598 identify as white, 11 percent identify as Asian, 7 percent as Black, nearly 5 percent identify as Hispanic, 8 percent are international students, and 2 percent identify as American Indian. Race is unknown for about 6 percent of students during this enrollment period.¹⁴² The following charts disaggregate enrollment data at the University as a whole, as well as at each campus. Each chart illustrates the predominance of white students, with a small blue sliver showing Native enrollment. Only at Morris is there a large Native student population.

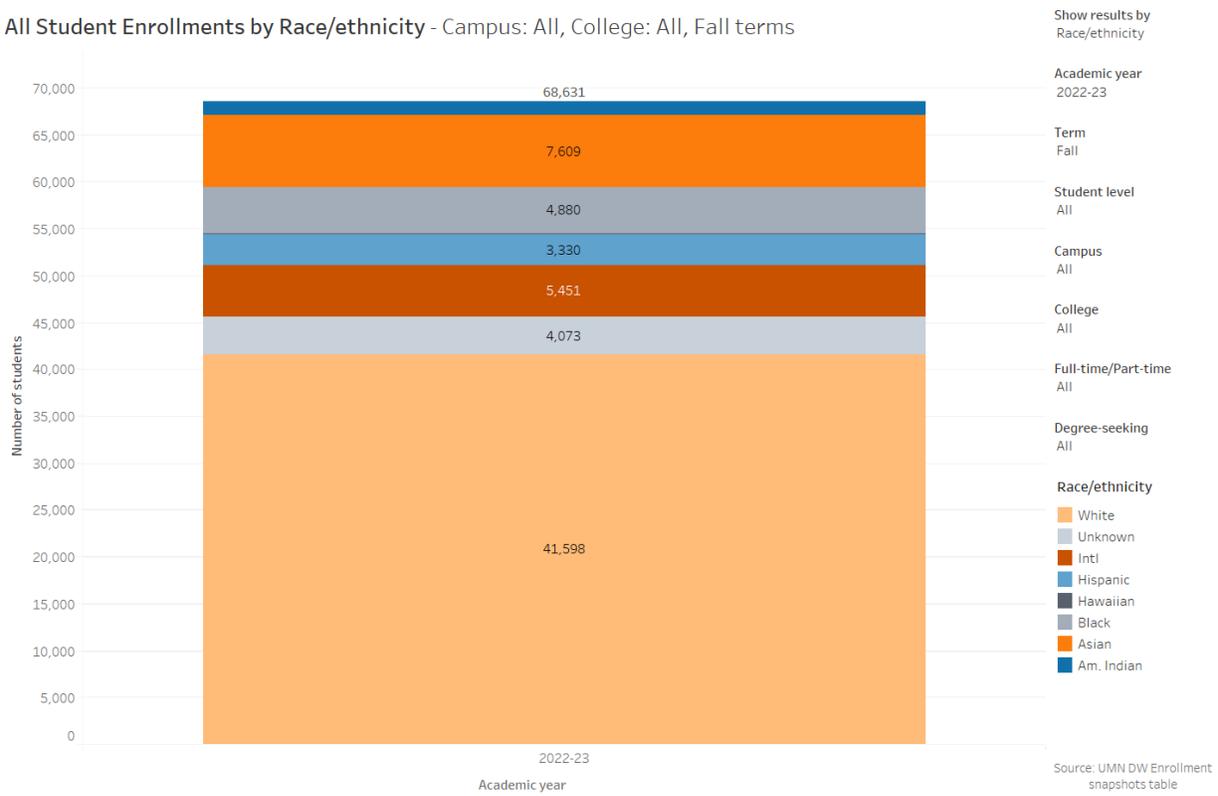
¹⁴⁰ Garland, “Foreword,” xv.

¹⁴¹ Garagiola, “Statistical Violence: How Research Practices Hurt Native Scholars.”

¹⁴² Institutional Data and Research. “Student Enrollment Shown by Race/Ethnicity.”

UMN All Campuses

All Student Enrollments by Race/ethnicity - Campus: All, College: All, Fall terms



UMN Crookston

All Student Enrollments by Race/ethnicity - Campus: Crookston, College: All, Fall terms

Show results by Race/ethnicity

Academic year 2022-23

Term Fall

Student level All

Campus Crookston

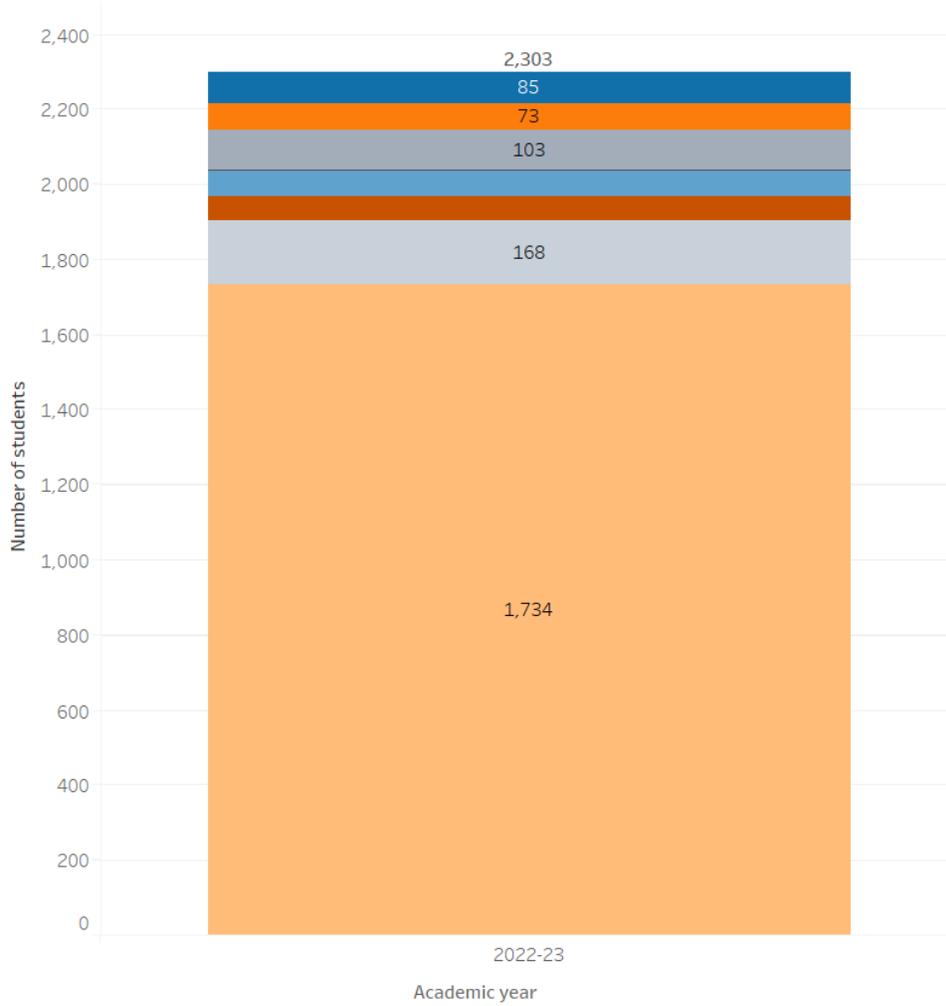
College All

Full-time/Part-time All

Degree-seeking All

Race/ethnicity

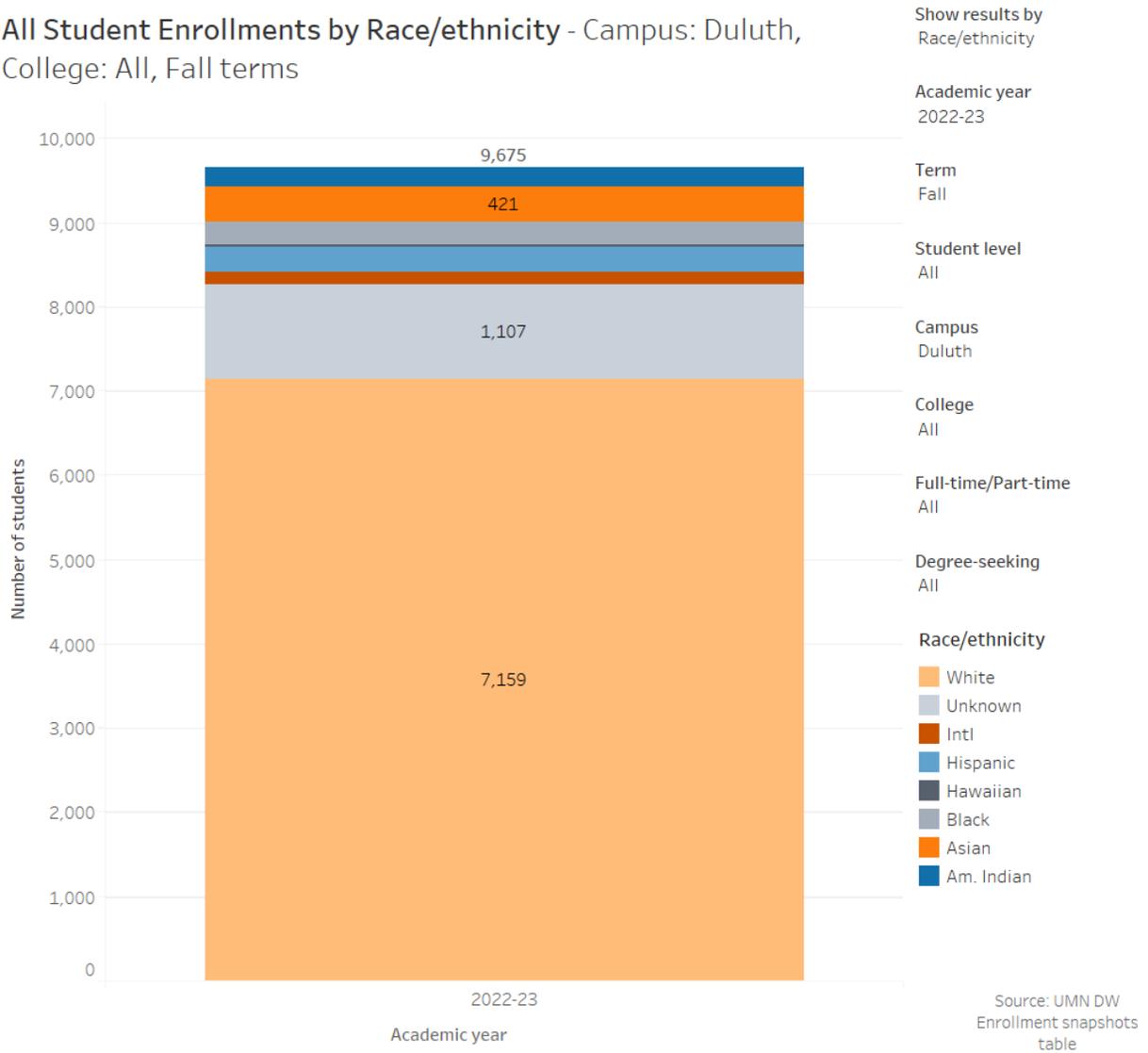
- White
- Unknown
- Intl
- Hispanic
- Hawaiian
- Black
- Asian
- Am. Indian



Source: UMN DW Enrollment snapshots table

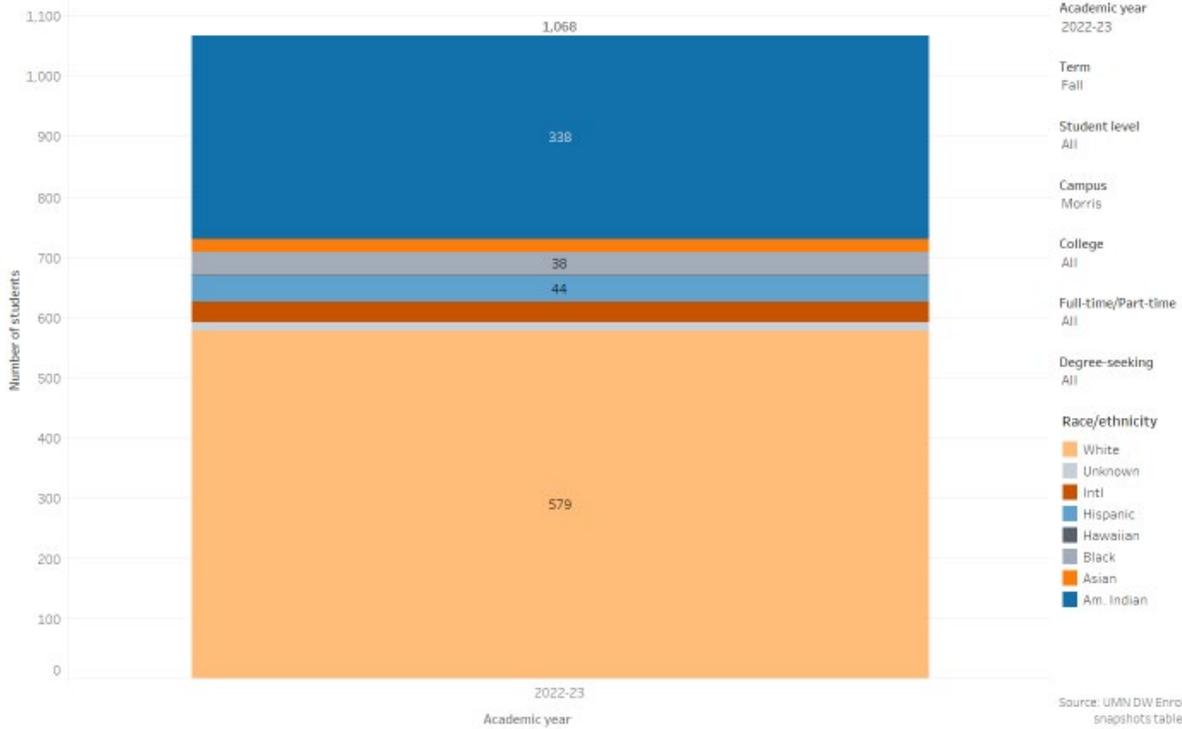
UMN Duluth

All Student Enrollments by Race/ethnicity - Campus: Duluth, College: All, Fall terms



UMN Morris

All Student Enrollments by Race/ethnicity - Campus: Morris, College: All, Fall terms



Show results by Race/ethnicity

Academic year 2022-23

Term Fall

Student level All

Campus Morris

College All

Full-time/Part-time All

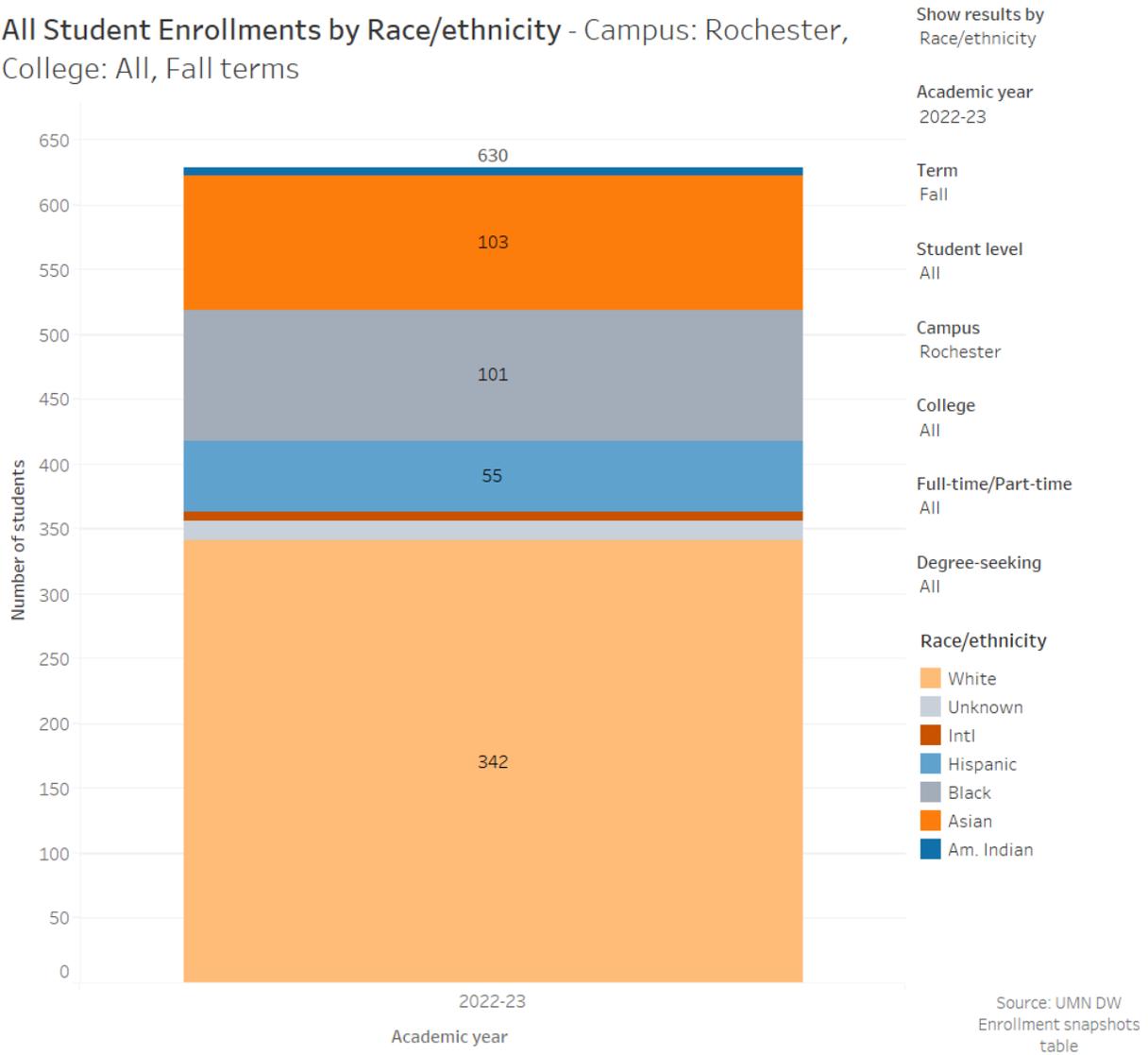
Degree-seeking All

- Race/ethnicity
- White
 - Unknown
 - Intl
 - Hispanic
 - Hawaiian
 - Black
 - Asian
 - Am. Indian

Source: UMN DW Enrollment snapshots table

UMN Rochester

All Student Enrollments by Race/ethnicity - Campus: Rochester, College: All, Fall terms

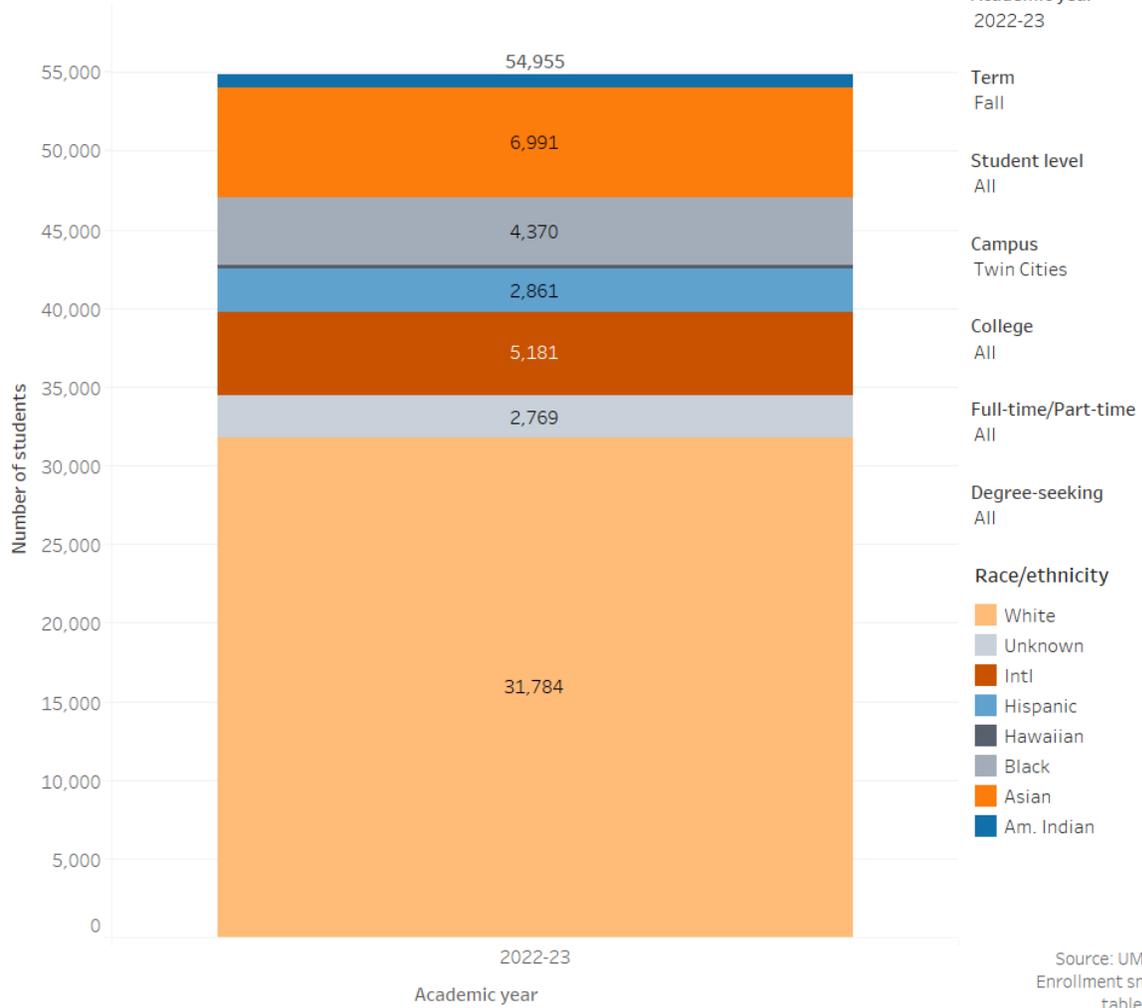


UMN Twin Cities

All Student Enrollments by Race/ethnicity - Campus: Twin Cities, College: All, Fall terms

Show results by Race/ethnicity

Academic year 2022-23



Native American Representation in Employment

Researchers made requests to the University’s Office of Institutional Data and Research (IDR) for data specific to American Indian/Alaska Native representation in employment. In some instances, the small sample size makes it impossible to guarantee anonymity. In most cases, Native Americans would be considered “statistically insignificant” and left out of the dataset. This is one example of the way statistics perpetuate the myth of the vanishing Indian, and how Western epistemologies inflict violence through erasure and suppression of data linked to Indigenous presence. This invisibility of Indigenous peoples benefits the settler state; if there are no Native Americans, there are no longer treaty obligations to uphold. This is erasure by design, and UMN is implicit in perpetuating this erasure.

Many of the positions held by Indigenous people at UMN tend to be lower-paid, contingent or contract labor. From the data received from Institutional Research, we were unable to determine the percent of adjunct and tenure-track faculty. No job codes were sent to disaggregate this data, so we are unable to perform an analysis to determine average wages of Indigenous employees relative to their non-Indigenous colleagues.

American Indian/Alaska Native Employees UMN Systemwide Data provided by IDR		
	2011	2019
Faculty	45	41
Professional	57	54
Administrative	15	11
Civil Service	63	61
Labor Represented	59	60
Graduate Assistant	60	49
Professional in Training	15	19
Total	316	296

Under Joan Gabel's tenure, two senior leadership positions have been added. In 2020, Tadd Johnson became the first Native American in senior leadership, being named the University's first Senior Director of American Indian and Tribal Nations Relations. The following year, Karen Diver was named Advisor to the President, and now heads the Office of Native American Affairs (NAA).

Data Sovereignty

Data sovereignty is the right Tribal Nations must govern the collection, ownership, and application of their own data. It derives from Tribes' inherent right to govern their peoples, lands, and resources.¹⁴³

Data sovereignty is incredibly important to Indigenous communities, because for so long, data has been stolen from us, used against us, kept from us. It was critical to our partnership with 11 tribes and MIAC to include clauses that protect data sovereignty in our grant subaward agreements. So often on this project our attention and energy have been removed from what is important to defending the rights of Tribes to store and share TRUTH data as they determine it to be appropriate.

University of Minnesota research policies have often failed to respect Tribal sovereignty or consider data sovereignty. For example, the University has no formal consultation processes with Tribal Nations; there is little to no oversight to ensure culturally sensitive protocols are in place and followed. University researchers do not go to Tribes to get permission to do research and do not work with us to design ways to collect, analyze, access, and store data that honor and uphold data sovereignty; and there is a systematic failure of the University to educate researchers about Indigeneity, settler colonialism, and the history of Tribal–University relations. The University is currently discussing Indigenous Research Guidelines published by NAA, however at the time of this writing, these guidelines have not been mandated or formalized.

NAA is also discussing the opportunity to educate UMN researchers on best practices in community through a series of training sessions and an Indigenous Research Symposium. A grasp of the history of this land and an understanding of the contemporary lives of Indigenous people are foundational components to any research on Indigenous topics.

¹⁴³ Russo Carroll, Stephanie, Desi Rodriguez-Lonebear, and Andrew Martinez. "Policy Brief: Indigenous Data Sovereignty in the United States."

Indigenous knowledges, cultures, lands, and lives were stolen, attempted to be erased. Data collected for use in our communities should be of use to us.

This means that the University would take a completely different approach to research than what we are used to. The institution and its community members would accept that not all knowledge is for them, though they can still facilitate learning for Indigenous folks in other ways. This would also mean that UMN finally stops trying to expropriate our lands, knowledges, and cultures.

Epistemic Violence

Throughout this project we have faced another problem caused by colonialism: epistemic violence. We have been saying these things for 172 years. But it took us proving it—through the very white paper they have hidden in archives deep beneath Misi-Ziibi. They want proof, evidence. And what is evidence to them? Their own documents. Our knowledge, our ways of knowing, our ways of sharing information are consistently not seen as equitable in the hierarchy of knowledge, which itself is situated in racial bias. From the beginning we had to enlist CURA. We knew that the institution would not value our words if they were not said by white people. Plain and simple. Full stop. Which begs the question, when are we going to be seen as competent enough to hold the knowledge about our own people? Our own histories? Our own struggles? Our power? Our cultures? Our futures?

Sustained Disinvestment in American Indian Studies

The University has sustained its disinvestment in Indigenous peoples. An illustration of this is in the chart below, which compares some departmental budgets on the Twin Cities campus.

2021-2022		2019-2020		2020-2021		Per Credit Hour		Total Investment Per Student		TAUI Budget		Faculty/Staff Investment		Inv-Tuition		
SCH	Tuition #	Inv-Tuition	Faculty/Staff Investment	TAUI Budget	Total Investment Per Student	Per Credit Hour	TAUI Budget	TAUI Budget	SCH	Tuition #	TAUI Budget	SCH	Tuition #	TAUI Budget	TAUI Budget	
AFRO (10947)	2137	\$900,106	\$1,071,106	\$147,628.00	\$1,218,814	\$335	\$112	\$335	2071	\$913,748	\$141,217	2071	\$913,748	\$169,396	\$169,396	
AMIN	3803	\$1,704,544	\$1,044,318	\$146,464	\$1,190,782	-\$405	-\$135	-\$405	4247	\$1,863,911	\$182,341	4247	\$1,863,911	\$181,328	\$181,328	
AMST	4748	\$2,341,873	\$1,522,790	\$352,963	\$1,875,753	-\$295	-\$98	-\$295	4692	\$2,320,878	\$366,578	4692	\$2,320,878	\$363,740	\$363,740	
ART (10951)	11,032	\$5,117,189	\$2,779,415	\$1,266,382	\$4,045,797	-\$291	-\$97	-\$291	11646	\$5,355,481	\$1,410,689.00	11646	\$5,355,481	\$1,351,420.00	\$1,351,420.00	
ARTH (10953)	3495	\$1,605,431	\$1,362,442	\$332,791	\$1,695,233	\$77	\$26	\$77	3337	\$1,486,967	\$371,486	3337	\$1,486,967	\$429,749	\$429,749	
CHIC	1591	\$693,763	\$674,299	\$215,807	\$890,106	\$370	\$123	\$370	1240	\$562,413	\$282,206	1240	\$562,413	\$278,016	\$278,016	
CNES/CSCL (1	4711	\$2,033,914	\$2,812,789	\$1,807,163	\$4,619,952	\$1,647	\$549	\$1,647	CNES/CSCL	4847	\$1,305,151	\$1,305,151	CNES/CSCL	4847	\$2,236,526	\$1,414,424
ENGL	18511	\$8,487,929	\$5,184,165	\$1,895,052	\$7,079,217	-\$228	-\$76	-\$228	ENGL	1905C	\$2,074,008	\$2,074,008	ENGL	1905C	\$9,943,895	\$2,038,629
GWSS	3885	\$1,844,409	\$1,613,276	\$329,847	\$1,943,123	\$76	\$25	\$76	GWSS	3588	\$361,744	\$361,744	GWSS	3588	\$1,759,597	\$313,351
HIST	10519	\$5,107,964	\$5,944,712	\$539,752	\$6,484,464	\$393	\$131	\$393	HIST	11326	\$655,412	\$655,412	HIST	11326	\$5,414,024	\$657,070
PHIL	7578	\$3,594,138	\$2,248,435	\$434,055	\$2,682,490	-\$361	-\$120	-\$361	PHIL	8604	\$480,944	\$480,944	PHIL	7652	\$3,546,715	\$499,032
					\$33,725,731											

Comparison of CLA departmental ledgers at UMN Twin Cities 2019-22.

The College of Liberal Arts has consistently run a scheme of disinvesting in American Indian Studies (AIS, AMIN in the chart) to cover other departments such as Classical Studies (CNES/CSCL), while simultaneously and systematically underfunding all ethnic studies departments. Money is being made in American Indian Studies, where the college sees \$400 per credit hour taken in AIS. Other departments see deficits per student credit hour, yet are consistently given higher budgets, whereas AIS is housed in a building with roaches and leaking roofs, where our faculty's Indigenous knowledge is destroyed, institutionally devalued. This is a continuation of violence committed by the land grab institution. It is yet another example of the intergenerational impacts of Indigenous land dispossession.

UMN's Permanent University Fund was valued at more than \$591 million dollars in 2020. The PUF consists of public endowments from federal land grants, as well as mineral taxes, rights, and royalties. The PUF profits in perpetuity on interest and investments made from the sale of stolen Indigenous lands. Four percent of the interest generated annually can be used at the University's discretion. This provokes so many more questions about the PUF funds. How much of that is going toward Indigenous students? Faculty and staff? Orgs? Departments? Causes? Research? Grants? Anything? How about the mineral rights still generating profit up in 1854 treaty territory? How many of those endowment funds have ever gone to Native Americans or Tribal Governments?

This money could be used to begin to repair the educational disenfranchisement of Native families that allows for a continuations of the intergenerational transfer of wealth white families have been able to access. For generations, settler families passed wealth from generation to generation.

Far more important than any monetary accrual was the cinch put around intergenerational transfer of knowledge, language, culture, stories, medicine, midwifery, food ways. All the while, the University has been profiting off Indigenous land, people, and knowledges since its inception.

The University is culpable in the land dispossession and genocide of Indigenous peoples in Mni Sóta Maḵoḱe. There can be no further doubt of the very active role the University, and its founders, played in these events. The University's founding came at a dire cost to the Dakota and other Indigenous people in Mni Sóta. Not only is it the right thing to do to begin to work toward justice and healing, but there are also other moralities and legalities to consider.

Programs, Support, and Resources

The resources compiled herein consist of those driven by the University, those that are student driven, and those that originate from Tribal Nations or the greater community. This list is not exhaustive; there are more programs that could be added. Creating a UMN Systemwide Native American Student Resource List should be established and housed in a central location and available online, and having training for admissions and financial aid officers to facilitate student access to these resources would help Indigenous students better understand their financial aid options. Having resources at these three intersections (University-driven, Tribal/community-driven, and student-driven) weaves a net that provides Native American students with the support to persist to graduation.

A [document](#) prepared by the Office of Native American Affairs for Tribal Leaders details resources for Indigenous students by campus.¹⁴⁴ Students on campuses across the UMN system have long recognized the lack of knowledge about and accessibility to resources and have started to create resource maps for other students who struggle to navigate these institutions and systems. Although these maps are in their infancy, they begin to imagine what the University of Minnesota may look like through a decolonial lens.¹⁴⁵ As such, the institution is lagging behind both student-driven and community-driven efforts to

¹⁴⁴ University of Minnesota, "List for Tribal Leaders on University of Minnesota Projects."

¹⁴⁵ See "[Minneapolis Campus Resources Tour](#)."

create an easily accessible resource hub designed to support the success of Indigenous students.

A study by the HOPE Center for College Community and Justice found that Indigenous students are more likely to experience food and housing insecurity than other groups, and that this is correlated to persistence and retention.¹⁴⁶ Every campus has a food resource center that students can access, as well as connections to further community resources.

The inability for students to practice food sovereignty while on campus provides the University with the opportunity to develop food resources specific to Native American students. This could resemble the campus pantries offering meat, manoomin, or fish that are sustainably harvested in the community.

In addition to food resources, the Crookston and Duluth campuses have listed on their resource websites that clothing and/or winter gear is also available.

To measure the reach and effectiveness of the resources that have been identified at UMN, we recommend that an evaluation utilizing Indigenous Research Methodologies be conducted to assess impact, accessibility, and availability; to identify areas for additional resources specific to Indigenous students; and other measures to be determined. After an evaluation is conducted, programs that are highly successful should be expanded to all campuses in a way that serves each campus' unique needs. These efforts must be persistent and reciprocal in establishing ongoing communications. Furthermore, a UMN Systemwide Native American Student Resource List should be established and housed in a central location and available online, as well as regularly utilized and updated. This compilation should be circulated widely across the University system including admissions and financial aid advisors, as well as outside organizations such as Tribal Colleges and Universities (TCUs) and Tribal education departments. Future programming can benefit from avoiding the errors addressed in the problematic programming mentioned above. Centering and listening to the needs of Indigenous students and Tribal communities are crucial for Native American student recruitment, retention, and success on all five campuses across the University of Minnesota system.

¹⁴⁶ Baker-Smith, Christine, et al. "RealCollege 2020: Five years of evidence on campus basic needs insecurity." See also Crazy Bull and Godrick-Rab, "Opinion: Tribal Colleges, Lifeline to Rural and Disenfranchised Native Communities, Need Our Help more than ever."

Federal Trust Responsibility

The University of Minnesota locates its beginnings as a Territorial Institution. As such, as an institution of the federal government it has an obligation to Indigenous peoples under the federal trust responsibility. In 1862, a report to the State legislature from the Board of Regents chaired by John Sargent Pillsbury further ties the University to this responsibility. Pillsbury promised that the State University succeeds in the rights, endowments, and full legal indebtedness of the Territorial Institution. The report reads, in part:

.... all the rights immunities franchises and endowments here to for granted or conferred to the territorial University are hereby perpetuated on to the said University and all lands which may be hereafter granted by Congress, or other donations for said University purposes. Shall vest in the institution referred to in this section. The State University therefore succeeds to the rights and endowments of the territorial University. It is perhaps a fair presumption that it is expected to also assume the legal indebtedness of the original institution. The Regents have labored under a painful sense of their utter inability to meet the honest indebtedness of the Your Board of Regents, however, believe that, through the munificence of Congress, the State University will not be without an endowment. A careful examination of the acts of Congress relative to the Territorial and State Universities of Minnesota, shows that Congress, in the enabling act of February 26, 1857, made a distinct reservation of two whole townships of land to the State of Minnesota, "for the use and support of a State University, to be selected by the Governor of said State." That this reservation does not refer to the lands reserved by a prior act of Congress, "for the use and support of a University in said Territory," (of Minnesota,) is evident from a critical examination of the acts themselves, and a comparison of the language of grants to other States in analagous cases.... No action has yet been had by the Department at Washington, but it is hoped that when a restoration of peace shall allow a deliberate consideration of this claim, the Government will agree with the Regents that the grant to the State University is entirely independent of and additional to the reservation of lands for the old Territorial University. This view of the purpose of Congress is confirmed by the fact that Congress, on the 2nd of March 1861, passed another act donating to the State the old reservation of lands for the Territorial University. The title of the State to these lands is therefore fixed. The claim of the State to the additional lands, rests upon the new and distinct reservation made in the enabling act for a State University.¹⁴⁷

When the University's Regents accepted "full legal indebtedness" of the Federal Territorial Institution, one of those debts was the Federal Trust Responsibility.

¹⁴⁷ University of Minnesota, "Annual Report of the Board of Regents, 1862."

A Legal Obligation Codified by Laws

The federal Indian trust responsibility is the legal obligation the United States has to Tribes. It is founded in statute, and supreme court decisions. In 1831, Chief Justice Marshall defined the relationship between Tribes and the U.S. as akin to “guardian to ward.” Although Tribes have maintained their sovereignty and are capable of governing themselves, Marshall described them as “domestic dependent nations.” This decision established the beginning of a trust relationship. Congress has since reaffirmed the trust relationship legislatively.

A Moral Obligation

The federal trust responsibility is also the moral obligation the federal government has to Tribal nations. Broadly speaking, the trust responsibility is a responsibility owed by the federal government to American Indians, not over them. This responsibility is constructed by treaties, statutes, and precedents set by prior conduct. It “transcends specific treaty promises and imposes a duty to promote tribal sovereignty and economic self-sufficiency.”¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁸ Pevar, *The Rights of Indians and Tribes*, 33.

THE FUTURE

Niizhoogaabawiwag: Standing Together

Recommendations

During a three-year period, from 2020 to 2023, TRUTH, the Minnesota Indian Affairs Council, and the 11 Tribes in Minnesota conducted numerous consultations. They worked in parallel with CURA researchers and Humphrey School graduate students, who were uncovering documents about the disenfranchisement of Native peoples and the founding of the University of Minnesota on stolen, unceded lands. The outcome of the many presentations and listening sessions is the following series of recommendations. Below is first a list of all the recommendations gathered during this three-year period, followed by eight broad areas or themes of change for university administrators to bring the institution inline with practices at other institutions. A more detailed strategic plan is available in the appendix.[1]

Hot Spots

In this section, we present several broad areas in which the University of Minnesota can make sustainable investments and meaningful changes that are in line with the institution's values and mission. This is not going to happen overnight. It will take a systemic commitment by the institution to invest in Indigenous peoples for as long as it divests from them. It requires a strategic plan that spans centuries.

Area 1: Land Back

The Regents should give back lands annually until all lands held by the University revert to Trust lands for Tribal Nations. Space should be set aside on each campus where Indigenous peoples can gather, pray, feast, and learn in accordance with Indigenous epistemologies and beliefs and without intrusion.

[1] Paynter, "Being Better Relatives: How the University of Minnesota Could Transform its Relationships with American Indians."

Area 2: Reparations in Perpetuity

TRUTH has presented evidence of the deep-seated institutional harm the University of Minnesota has inflicted on Native American communities throughout its tenure. The forced relocation, forced assimilation, and destruction of culture and languages have caused lasting damage that continues to impact Native American communities to this day.

From the highest levels of leadership down, UMN must take responsibility for the harm it has inflicted on Native Americans and work towards reparations. Reparations are a necessary step in the healing process and must be approached in a just and equitable manner.

We call for reparations that acknowledge the harm inflicted and that also provide material and institutional support for Native American communities for as long as the University exists. This includes measures such as financial compensation, access to healthcare and education, and land restoration and repatriation.

We recognize that reparations alone will not fully address the harm that has been done, but it is an important step towards creating a more equitable and just system. We must work to ensure that the voices and perspectives of Indigenous peoples are centered in the process of reparations and that the solutions are community-led, culturally sensitive, and measured for both impact and success.

It is time for the University of Minnesota to confront this painful history and take action to repair the harm that has been done.

The Morrill Act stipulates that the PUF must be held in perpetuity. As a result of the money generated from the sale of stolen lands, the Board of Regents should adopt reparative economics in a way that honors Native self-determination. Just one place these funds could come from is redistribution of the gains made on the PUF.¹⁵⁰ The Regents need not recreate the wheel.

Good models of reparative economics already exist in our region. For example, The Northwest Area Foundation (NWAf) was created by heirs to the Great Northern Railroad to begin to redistribute the wealth created from railroads that depended on the theft of Indigenous lands. Today, NWAf acknowledges how it contributed to the disruption of Native lives and the persistent disparities that exist in Indian Country. NWAf's "40 percent

¹⁵⁰ Fuecker et al., "CURA TRUTH Capstone."

to Indian Country” is one way their “ongoing commitment supports Native-centered concepts of prosperity for a self-determined future.”¹⁵¹ If such a foundation were to be established at UMN, it should be overseen by a Native American Advisory Board consisting of representatives from each Tribe, recognized or not, in state or not, that was affected by the founding of the institution.

The University of Minnesota, by virtue of being a land grab institution, will profit from the ethnic cleansing designed by the architects of the University, the founding regents, in perpetuity. This is coupled with the Pillsbury board taking on the territorial institution’s liabilities. The University has a practice of bonding out these dividends to municipalities, counties, and cities across the country, but not to Tribes. These entities have benefited from development opportunities through these grants. The University should make this opportunity immediately and equitably available to Tribal Nations.

There has been a sustained failure of the University of Minnesota Board of Regents to adopt systemic policies with positive, measurable impacts that reverse the effects of the ethnic cleansing perpetuated by UMN through genocide, land dispossession, and other measures named in the Geneva Convention. Because of UMN’s far and insidious reach, continued land dispossession, and contributions to intellectual white supremacy, “the case for justice must include identification of not only the perpetrators of racial harm but also those who gained from the harm—whether or not they inflicted it.”¹⁵² Add to this those who continue to benefit from institutionalized genocide.

Area 3: Divert PUF Streams

This report has detailed how land dispossession nearly 200 years ago continues to cause disparities across Indian Country. The Board of Regents could use part of the perpetual profit from the sale of stolen lands to fund Area 2: Reparations in Perpetuity.

Area 4: Representation

Over a seven-year period from 2012 to 2019, the University system saw a decrease in the representation of faculty and staff who identified as American Indian or Alaska Native. It was not until 2020—169 years after the institution first opened—that a Native American

¹⁵¹ Walker, “‘Why’ 40 Percent to Native-Led Groups?”

¹⁵² Darity Jr and Mullen, *From Here to Equality: Reparations for Black Americans*.

held a senior leadership role. The University of Minnesota must commit to increasing the number of Indigenous people in staff, faculty, and leadership positions, especially in non-contingent, senior level positions.

Implement a systemwide use of signs, maps, and other campus aesthetics that display the public history of this land's first peoples and recognizes Indigenous sovereignty.

Area 5: Commitment to Education as Individual and Tribal Self-Determination

The University of Minnesota must become an institution that Native American students want to attend (as well as non-Indians interested in Native American issues), and that faculty and staff want to work for. As a result of the recent “land grab” articles, it is clear to Native Americans that a debt is owed to the Dakota and Ojibwe people. UMN schools and departments must strive to become national centers of excellence in Native American programming—especially the Humphrey School, the law school, the medical and health schools, and the colleges of education at the various campuses. The University of Minnesota should be a national leader in Native American programs. Every UMN graduate, and every professor should know the Native American history of the State of Minnesota and the country. Given the large amount of land taken from the tribes of Minnesota, the University should be a national center of excellence in all Native American programs to begin to undo a horrendous injustice. Recommendations for students include the following:

- Provide full tuition waivers for Native American students on all campuses, based on the Morris program.
- Increase efforts to recruit and retain Native American students at all campuses and include the Dakota who were displaced to other states after 1862.
- Ensure that Native American students admitted to the University are provided with sufficient funds for room and board.
- Improve Native American student support systems at all UMN campuses and colleges by establishing places and people on campuses whose job is to ensure the success of Native American students.
- Establish formalized mentoring programs at each campus and recruit Native American students in pairs or groups from the same location for personal and psychological support.

- Provide a process for all students to take Indigenous Studies courses at any UMN campus by removing registration difficulties.
- Provide funding and staffing for the establishment and continued operation of a Tribal Sovereignty Center as a stand-alone building.

Area 6: Enact Policies that Respect Tribal Sovereignty and Cultural Heritage

Establish Resources for Indigenous-led research and curriculum. As the region's preeminent research institution, the University of Minnesota can begin to support Indigenous-led research by publicly advocating for Indigenous peoples and allocating stable and abundant funding for Indigenous research and innovation pathways. Temporal and spatial resources and networks can be reallocated to better support the reclamation and restoration of Indigenous epistemologies, perspectives, and languages revitalization. We must also continue to push to decolonize educational settings by incorporating Indigenous curricula, histories, and worldviews.

Conduct a systemwide Inventory of Indigenous Ancestors and Belongings of Cultural Patrimony with the intent to repatriate what is found. Although the university has complied with NAGPRA with respect to the Mimbres ancestors and belongings, the Tribes of the state do not trust that the university has adequately identified and reported other human remains that may be Native American. The university must address these doubts with a more systematic inventory and reporting. Because the human and archaeological remains from many Minnesota sites have traveled among multiple institutions beyond UMN, this work will require an investigation to trace where all the materials have been, collaborating with MIAC's cultural resources division.

While working with MIAC and the 11 Tribes of Minnesota is a positive step, work must be done to begin consultations with Dakota tribes outside of the bounds of Minnesota. It was UMN founders who were responsible for the Dakota exile. The institution has profited greatly from this genocide.

Area 7: Sites for Future Research

The University of Minnesota has a moral obligation to finance research that a.) maximizes the benefits to Tribal Nations and Indigenous people, b.) critically examines the ongoing impacts its founding and continued existence have on Indigenous peoples, and c.)

promotes actionable and measurable positive impacts in the daily lives of Indigenous peoples. Research should take into account the following contexts and opportunities.

- The quality of life for Indigenous peoples in this state is starkly different from that of their white neighbors. Dr. Samuel L. Myers, Jr., an economist at the Humphrey School of Public Affairs, explains this difference as it relates to Black Minnesotans as the Minnesota Paradox. Myers says that racial disparities are “baked into” the very fabric of the state. This should extend to Indigenous peoples, to show that in a colonial context, the men who founded the state and the university ensured that anti-Indigenous policies left Indigenous peoples to experience some of the worst disparities in the state.
- Research should analyze the ongoing impacts of land dispossession on Tribes with ancestral roots in Minnesota, including those who are recognized, non-recognized, in- and out-of-state, as well as their descendants.¹⁵³
- There is need for a complete memory mapping that shows how the landscape changed so drastically from 1851 to 1868, at the hands of the founders of the university.
- A research project should map and analyze bonds issued by the University, including a list of municipalities and organizations that owe their development to such funding schemes.
- Researchers should map and analyze land and lease holdings the University has/continues to hold.
- School Lands, Swamp Lands, and Salt Springs Lands are referenced many times in the minutes and reports of the Board of Regents. Future research should center these lands and the financial gain the University has received from them.
- The role the extension offices played in relocation programs needs to be investigated.

Area 8: Meet Trust Obligations

The University of Minnesota, upon assuming control of the Territorial institution, also assumed the federal trust responsibility of the Territorial institution. This means UMN has an obligation to consult and partner with Tribal governments to ensure education meets the unique needs of Tribal citizens, to have meaningful consultations with Tribes before

¹⁵³ See Akee, “Stolen Lands and Stolen Opportunities.”

taking any actions that may impact them, and to ensure that tribal sovereignty is upheld through any and all processes. This includes, but is not limited to, maintaining constant communication before, during, and after tribal-related research activities and learning about the Tribe's culture, values, and how they are connected to the land.

Tribal/MIAC Recommendations

- a. Gathered during outreach and engagement Tribal Visits that took place in Fall 2021.
 - b. Gathered during listening sessions held via zoom during the Tribal Research Fellows training week in January 2022.
 - c. Gathered during an in-person focus group on 2/7/22.
- i. Overall Recommendations:**
 1. Consultation process should take place for all research with Native interests. These should have an open meeting structure to accommodate decision making:
 - a. As a collective.
 - b. As a single tribe.
 - c. Ojibwe-specific.
 - d. Dakota-specific.
 - e. Exiled Tribes-specific
 2. Resolution of shared governance structure that allows for reclamation of Indigenous stewardship of expropriated lands.
 3. Acknowledgment of these issues:
 - a. Truth: MIAC memo and TRUTH Project.
 - b. What was found in the archives.
 - c. True recognition of genocidal foundations and official apology from Board of Regents.
 - ii. Student, Faculty, and Patient Experience:**
 1. Make Red Lake and other Scholarships readily available.
 2. Facilitate pathway to higher education.
 - a. Especially nursing, medical, or health care fields.
 3. Provide increased resources for students and employees.
 - a. Establish a Ph.D. in American Indian Studies.
 4. Close the achievement gap for Native students.
 5. Create education requirements for all UMN students that honors Indigenous history.

6. Add Traditional Knowledge to course offerings, so students are not forced to choose Western modes of learning over Indigenous ones. Create an Indigenous learning hub.
7. Develop bridge programs (middle school and high school).
8. Introduce internships and support from the University in navigating legal frameworks and developing policy.

iii. University Structure.

1. Elect Native people on the Board of Regents.
2. Support Sonosky Chair at Law School in hiring Native American Faculty.
 - a. Broadly also: Humphrey and business schools (Carlson and UMN Duluth).
3. Establish a system of shared governance with Tribes (sharing power on a regular basis with Tribes).
4. Encourage a system that repairs harm on an ongoing basis.

iv. Research.

1. Establish immediate research policies for Indigenous research.
2. Train all members of the university community on new policies.
3. Indigenous community members should be included on IRB Review Boards for UMN research projects with potential impact on Native people or places.

v. Broader UMN Projects.

1. For projects that are near tribes, letters of support from University of Minnesota professors should include consultation with tribes.
 - a. Example: economic analysis.

vi. Libraries.

1. Make archives available to tribes.
2. Digitize large-scale collections.
3. Fund for travel to archives.
4. Commit to giving intellectual control of what is held (designating staff/time to find what is important to tribes).
5. Equip tribes to preserve their own cultural heritage.

vii. Cultural Heritage.

1. Offer free access to Indigenous language classes.

- viii. University Past.**
 - 1. Create a formal redress policy.
 - 2. Commit to teaching this history and offering public commemoration.

- ix. University uplifting Native History.**
 - 1. Make available a Minnesota-specific Native American History for the general public.
 - 2. Support the creation of a K-12 Indigenous curriculum.

- x. Renewed Tuition Waiver Program.**
 - 1. Remove income restrictions.
 - 2. Broaden program to model UMN Morris' policy to make it more inclusive.
 - 3. Ensure access to exiled Dakota tribes.

- xi. Land Back.**
 - 1. Return Cloquet Forestry Center.
 - 2. Create a Land Back and University Leasing option.
 - 3. Enter into a land stewardship partnership.
 - 4. Establish a land tribunal process similar to what the University of Waikato, New Zealand, has so that Tribes may petition for #LandBack.

- xii. Research that benefits resource extraction should shift to allocating funds to support reciprocity with tribes.**
 - 1. Taconite shares to students from Iron Range.
 - 2. A similar mechanism to what South Dakota has, where a portion of the money earned (on land sales, resource extraction, or interest gained) goes into a fund that supports Indigenous initiatives and is overseen by a committee of Tribal members.

- xiii. The University should create a network of contacts they work with and committees. This should include subject matter experts identified by Tribes.**

- xiv. UMN must hold up their land-grant status and federal trust obligations.**

Capstone Recommendations Based on Peer Institutions' Policies

Key Theme	Opportunity for UMN
Land Acknowledgement	Adopt university-wide land acknowledgement with <i>input</i> and <i>approval</i> from Tribal Nations
Tuition Support	Expand the affinity-based Morris tuition waiver to entire UMN system, and offer other non-academic supports
Tribal Relations Office Location	Keep this position in the President's office, foster a Nation-to-institution relationship
Admissions Identification	Expand admissions demographics data to include Tribal Affiliation, Tribal Lineage, Citizenship
Academic Programming	Build up the American Indian Studies program to be an intergenerational Master's/PhD program
Native Students and Faculty	Confirm number of Native students and faculty; focus on Native student and faculty recruitment and retention

Many of the recommendations in this report, as well as the resolutions passed by MIAC in 2020, align with the guiding principles of the University's Mission Statement and MPact 2025, the University's Systemwide Strategic Plan. The section below details how UMN can integrate and support organizational transformation by providing the support and resources that change of this scale requires, fostering broad involvement by building internal support for change and overcome resistance, and engaging external stakeholders in the process.

RENEWING SYSTEMS LANDSCAPES

A Seven Generations Plan

We are in the time of the Seventh Fire Prophecy. We stand at the crossroads our ancestors foretold. There are two sides, Indigenous and non-Indigenous. The prophecy says there is no way forward if the non-Indigenous side does not begin to acknowledge perspectives and ways of being that honoring this land and each other.

The environment that exists in Minnesota was shaped by colonial forces and deeply influences the health and well-being of Indigenous peoples. These systems were not made for Indigenous peoples to thrive in. Rather, they were made to eradicate us. This includes the University of Minnesota, one of the state's first systems. And today, Native Americans have some of the worst intergroup health disparities. This is a direct result of colonialism. This land was colonized by the founders of the University of Minnesota. The actions of these men are inseparable from the business of the University. The institution was established to further the colonial state project and continues to benefit from a codified perpetual disinvestment in Tribal Nations.

In 2017, Justice Murray Sinclair told the world, “The truth is hard. Reconciliation is harder. The first step in this healing journey emphasized the truth. With this awareness we can begin to look forward towards healing.”[1]

At that time, during the work of Canada’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the world still believed in Reconciliation. But what if some things are irreconcilable? Even if they are, we still must move toward healing.

Many organizations create 5-, 10-, or even 20-year strategic plans; however, these are not long enough timelines to address the profound challenges that Indigenous peoples face as a result of genocide and land dispossession. As one way to consider maximize outcomes of a project with such immense magnitude, UMN should plan Indigenous projects on a longer timeline. The University could consult with Rosebud Economic Development Corporation (REDCO) to create a 175-year or seven generations plan. Grounded in the Seventh

[1] Sinclair, “The Truth Is Hard. Reconciliation Is Harder.”

Generation teaching, this Indigenous way of planning centers the question, “How do we live today to create a healthy, just, abundant world for our grandchildren?”¹⁵⁵

The University of Minnesota has taken from Native Americans for seven generations. Now it is time to make plans to give for that long, to set things right for the policy changes that come as a result of TRUTH to take into consideration, to lead with humility, integrity, respect, and love for the next seven generations.

Revising MPact 2025, and future University Strategic Plans

The University’s Systemwide Strategic Plan, MPact 2025, outlines five commitments: student success; discovery, innovation & impact; MNtersections; community & belonging; and fiscal stewardship (University of Minnesota MPact 2020). Recommendations for improving relationships with tribal nations can be linked to these commitments as shown in the table below:¹⁵⁶

<p>Student Success</p> <p>“Meeting all students where they are and maximizing their skills, potential, and well-being in a rapidly changing world.”</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide financial supports for American Indian students • Expand bridging programs • Offer Dakota and Ojibwe residential options • Ensure American Indian Learning Resource Centers are well resourced
<p>Discovery, Innovation, & Impact</p> <p>“Channeling curiosity, investing in discovery to cultivate possibility and innovating solutions while elevating Minnesota and society as a whole.”</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educate every student at the University about American Indians • Partner with tribal nations on research initiatives • Develop policies for research ethics oversight that include Indigenous values
<p>MNtersections</p> <p>“Inspired by Minnesota to improve people and places at world-class levels.”</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Be an example for other universities in how to honor Indigeneity • Expand Dakota and Ojibwe programs

¹⁵⁵ REDCO, “Sičangū Co.”

¹⁵⁶ Paynter, “Being Better Relatives: How the University of Minnesota Could Transform its Relationships with American Indians.”

<p>Community & Belonging</p> <p>“Fostering a welcoming community that values belonging, equity, diversity, and dignity in people and ideas.”</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ensure each campus is a welcoming place for American Indians • Create opportunities for every person at the University to learn more about American Indians
<p>Fiscal Stewardship</p> <p>“Stewarding resources to promote access, efficiency, trust, and collaboration with the state, students, faculty, staff, and partners.”</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognize the origins of the University’s resources and direct them to benefit American Indian partners • Restructure funding to allow for building relationships with tribal partners and for compensating their involvement in research initiatives

Shared Values

Our study highlights multiple moral shortcomings at the University of Minnesota. The ways the University has colluded to profit from the dispossession, and genocide of Indigenous peoples is also unethical by the University’s own standards. The Board of Regents Mission Statement and Code of Conduct are both at odds with the current state of Indian affairs at the University. Below are some places the University Board of Regents may begin to focus policies in ways that demonstrate a shift in institutional mission and values in Indian Country. The examples are not University-driven; rather they are responses from in-depth focus groups with TRUTH Tribal Research Fellows and experts in their communities on Tribal-University relations, who have vested interests in how Indigenous students, faculty, and staff succeed at UMN.

Indigenous Values

By incorporating Indigenous value systems in these areas, The Board of Regents can begin to clear the way for healing in the wake of the genocidal actions of their predecessors.

Oceti Šakowin Values

- Wócekiya – Prayer
- Wóohoda – Respect
- Wówaunšidaŋ – Caring and Compassion

- Wówahʔadaŋ – Humility
- Wóksape – Wisdom
- Wóokiya – Generosity and Helping
- Wówicaka - Honesty and Truth

Anishinaabeg Values

Seven Grandfather Teachings based on minobimaadizi, living in a good way.

- Debwewin - Truth
- Zoongidi'ewin - Courage
- Manaaji'idiwin - Respect
- Gwayakwaadiziwin - Integrity
- Zaagi'idiwin - Love
- Nibwaakaawin - Wisdom
- Dabasendizowin - Humility

University Values

The BOARD OF REGENTS POLICY: Mission Statement

The University of Minnesota (University), founded in the belief that all people are enriched by understanding, is dedicated to the advancement of learning and the search for truth; to the sharing of this knowledge through education for a diverse community; and to the application of this knowledge to benefit the people of the state, the nation, and the world.¹⁵⁷

In addition to the University's Mission Statement, the Board of Regents Code of Conduct requires that while carrying out the institution's research, teaching, and public service duties, members of the University community must be dedicated to advancing the University's core values.¹⁵⁸

The Board of Regents Code of Conduct applies to:

- members of the Board of Regents;

¹⁵⁷ UMN, "Board of Regents Policy: Mission Statement."

¹⁵⁸ UMN, "Board of Regents Policy: Code of Conduct."

- faculty and staff;
- any individual employed by the University, using University resources or facilities, or receiving funds administered by the University; and
- volunteers and other representatives when speaking or acting on behalf of the University. (Students are covered by the Board of Regents Student Conduct Code.)

Section II.1 of the Board of Regents Code of Conduct (December 8, 2006) identifies the following core University values:

- excellence and innovation
- discovery and the search for the truth
- diversity of community and ideas
- integrity
- academic freedom
- stewardship and accountability for resources and relationships
- sharing knowledge in a learning environment
- application of knowledge and discovery to advance the quality of life and economy of the region and the world
- service as a land grant institution to Minnesota, the nation, and the world

Section III of the Code of Conduct provides standards of conduct that build and elaborate on core University values. These standards of conduct are:

- act ethically and with integrity
- be fair and respectful to others
- manage responsibly
- protect and preserve University resources
- promote a culture of compliance
- preserve academic freedom and meet academic responsibilities
- ethically conduct teaching and research
- avoid conflicts of interest and commitment
- carefully manage public, private, and confidential information
- promote health and safety in the workplace.

CONCLUSION

This story is a microcosm of a much larger issue, just one example of how colonialism is manifested through institutions. The University of Minnesota is implicated in the formation of the settler colonial project in Minnesota and beyond through the bonding out of PUF funds that are the perpetual profit of Indigenous genocide. The University is not only sitting on unceded Native Lands, it uses Native Lands and resources to create wealth and knowledge that it also profits from.

This report is titled *Oshkigin Noojimo'iwe, Naḡi Wan̄ Petu Uḡ Ihduwaš'ake He Oyate Kiḡ Zaniwiçaye Kte*, which we understand to translate roughly into *the spirit that renews through fire heals the people*. Oshkigin is the spirit that renews the land through the Ojibwe practice of controlled burning, a traditional land management technique. UMN recently acknowledged that traditional uses of controlled burns promote a healthier and more diverse ecosystem than Western land management practices it has taught for more than a century while simultaneously discounting traditional ecological knowledge. This epistemic violence is an echo of the violent land grabs that created UMN.

Fire has been used by Tribes of this region since time immemorial as a tool for cleansing and healing. The belief in the healing power of fire is rooted in the idea that fire is a transformative force that can purify and release negative energy. This is why it is often used to purify people, objects, or spaces.

Fire can also have a symbolic meaning. The warmth and light of fire can provide a sense of comfort and safety, which can be healing. Fire can also create a sense of community and togetherness, bringing people together around a shared experience. When a fire burns, it transforms whatever it encounters, lending power to be reborn anew. Its ability to release negative energy and promote renewal makes it a powerful symbol of hope and growth.

This is why fire is often used as a metaphor for transformation.

We seek not the physical destruction of the institution, but metaphorical controlled burns of institutional ways of being that perpetuate harm. We seek a transformation of policies and practices that have been harming the people and the land. We seek campuses where Indigeneity is seen, heard, and valued. We seek educational and employment experiences where we can grow and thrive the same as our white counterparts. We seek redress for seven generations. With the flames of change we honor those who come before us and

[1] Paynter, "Being Better Relatives: How the University of Minnesota Could Transform its Relationships with American Indians."

prepare the landscape for the future, planting seeds to revitalize what institutional actors and forces have attempted to destroy.

Taken as a whole, this document elicits an examination of the University of Minnesota, from its founding as a territorial institution to its present-day status as a world-renowned Research 1 University. Baked into that history are the many injustices enacted upon Indigenous peoples, from genocide, land thefts, broken treaties, and banishments to ongoing appropriation of cultural knowledge and unfulfilled opportunities for Indigenous youth to enjoy the educational success offered to other residents.

Since its inception, the University of Minnesota has played a continued role in the disinvestment of Indigenous peoples. When we begin to understand the vast amounts of wealth accumulated through Indigenous land dispossession and simultaneously look at how our institutions have stewarded this wealth transfer, we can see the responsibility they have to redress their investment in white supremacy and begin to repair, redress, rematriate, reinvest in, and heal relationships with Indigenous communities.

We ask that the University of Minnesota acknowledge and recognize the historical and ongoing harm and genocide committed against Native American people by the institution's systems and policies. The forced removal of Indigenous people from their land, the harmful research and eugenics practices devised to do so, the forced assimilation through epistemic violence, and the ongoing erasure of Indigenous cultures and languages that have caused immeasurable pain and suffering.

We seek redress for these atrocities, which have had lasting impacts on Native American communities, including loss of language, culture, community, and have depressed social determinants of well-being among Indigenous peoples including education, healthcare, housing. Reparations and restorative justice are necessary steps towards healing.

We call on the University of Minnesota to address the ongoing harm inflicted on Native American people through systemic change and reparative measures. This includes recognizing and respecting Indigenous sovereignty, providing resources and support for language and cultural revitalization, and ensuring access to healthcare and education.

UMN must acknowledge how the institution's past actions have contributed to the perpetuation of institutional harm against Indigenous peoples and ask non-Indigenous peoples at UMN to commit to working towards meaningful change and healing, both individually and collectively.

This is why the TRUTH Project also offers specific recommendations that offer a way forward for the University to begin to repair its relationship with its Tribal partners. These include ways to make repayments, to support Indigenous people and programs, and to facilitate higher education for Native students.

The active research phase has ended; however, we will continue to be here to work with Tribal Nations to ensure these recommendations are met. Working out 172 years of institutional wrongdoing and reaching trust is going to take a long time. This healing process will take as many generations as it took to begin this truth-telling: seven. It will take the work of many—Indigenous and non-Indigenous—to bring our world back into balance, but now is the time to begin the journey. Rather than shy away from this process, UMN should embrace the opportunity to become a better relative and set an example for other institutions to follow.

We still see that higher education is currently a valuable path for our people and also believe it doesn't have to be so difficult to be Indigenous in education systems. We can find common ground and create more success for Native Americans in higher education.

We hope that other places use this model to embark on similar work within their communities. The interconnectedness of academia, industry, and attempted erasure of Indigenous thought, economics, lifeways, and peoples spirals in countless directions across all sectors of society. Thus, our story is not merely an intellectual argument to have amongst academics. This is about our people. It is about the land. And the land is ready for this circle to be closed so a new circle, a healing circle, can be opened.

We end by asking:

- How do our actions benefit Tribal Nations and Indigenous peoples?
- What shape does intergenerational healing take?
- How do we center the land?
- How do we redress the inequities created through genocide and repression of Indigenous peoples and culture?
- How do we repair where settler occupation has erased Native lives, culture, and histories by exploiting Native lands and resources while displacing Indigenous people?
- How might an institution serve as a site of healing rather than harm?

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Appendix

Below are links to the supporting documents made by our research partners within the University:

1. [Memo to Melanie Benjamin, Chief Executive of Mille Lacs Band of Ojibwe from Jamie Edwards and Government Affairs \(interns Ben Yawakie, An Gargialoa-Bernier, and Laura Paynter\), 22 Jun 2020 in RE: Mille Lacs MIAC Resolution on the University of Minnesota.](#)
2. [Minnesota Indian Affairs Council. MIAC Resolution 06262020 01 Rick Smith Indian Learning Center.](#)
3. [Minnesota Indian Affairs Council. MIAC Resolution 06262020 02 Repatriation of American Indian human remains and funerary objects.](#)
4. [Minnesota Indian Affairs Council. MIAC Resolution 06262020 03 Fulfilling the university's obligations to Minnesota's 11 tribal governments.](#)
5. [Bozich, M. \(2022\). TRUTH: A Strategic Analysis of the Morrill Land Grab in Minnesota. University of Minnesota Resilient Communities Project. Toward Recognition and University-Tribal Healing Project. Unpublished as of July, 2022. Available from the Center for Urban and Regional Affairs's Resilient Communities Project: <https://www.cura.umn.edu/programs/local-government/resilient-communitiesproject>.](#)
6. [Wang, S. Lands of the University of Minnesota. 2022. Center for Urban and Regional Affairs. University of Minnesota Resilient Communities Project. Toward Recognition and University-Tribal Healing Project. Unpublished as of July, 2022. Available from the Center for Urban and Regional Affairs's Resilient Communities Project: <https://www.cura.umn.edu/programs/local-government/resilient-communitiesproject>.](#)
7. [Fuecker, D., Goodwin, A., Paddock, H., & Titus, M. 2022. The Permanent University Fund: Land Grants and Mineral Leases TRUTH Capstone: Permanent University Fund University of Minnesota Resilient Communities Project. Toward Recognition and University-Tribal Healing Project. Unpublished as of July, 2022. Available from the Center for Urban and Regional Affairs's Resilient Communities Project: <https://www.cura.umn.edu/programs/local-government/resilient-communities-project>.](#)
8. [Fuecker, D., Goodwin, A., Paddock, H., & Titus, M. 2022. University Relationships with Tribal Nations: Opportunities for University Action. TRUTH Capstone: Permanent University Fund Center for Urban and Regional Affairs. University of Minnesota Resilient Communities Project. Toward Recognition and University-Tribal Healing Project. Unpublished as of July, 2022. Available from the Center for Urban and Regional Affairs's Resilient Communities Project: <https://www.cura.umn.edu/programs/localgovernment/resilient-communities-project>.](#)
9. [Doerfler, Jill. "Where the Food Grows on Water: Continuance of Scientific Racism and Colonialism." 2002.](#)
10. [Report and Recommendations from the Mimbres Advisory Group to President Joan Gabel and Executive Vice President and Provost Rachel Croson. 2022.](#)
11. [Shulman, Rovin, and Matheson "Report on Red Lake Nation for the University of Minnesota." February 2023. <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1ZXcPHtXRSEP84siwqts0qB7iQ3Oltv4v/view>.](#)
12. [Freeman, W. "Response to Report on Red Lake Nation. February 2023.](#)
13. [Seanna R. Stinnett. A Brief History of the Nortondale Tract. August 8, 2022. Unpublished as of 2/19/2023.](#)
14. [Interim Statement of Intent* Department of Earth & Environmental Sciences University of Minnesota-Twin Cities. 2022.](#)
15. [Tadd Johnson, Senior Director of American Indian Tribal Nations Relations. Memo to President Joan Gabel on UMN Systemwide Native American Student & Community Resources. 01/25/2022.](#)
16. [University of Minnesota List of Projects for Tribal Leaders.](#)
17. [Paynter, Laura. Being Better Relatives: How the the University of Minnesota Could Transform Its Relationships with American Indians. 2021.](#)

TO: Melanie Benjamin, Chief Executive of Mille Lacs Band of Ojibwe
FROM: Jamie Edwards and Government Affairs (Interns Ben Yawakie, An Garagiola-Bernier, and Laura Paynter)
DATE: June 22, 2020
RE: Mille Lacs MIAC Resolution on the University of Minnesota

Executive Summary

This memorandum is meant to accompany Minnesota Indian Affairs Council summarizing the political context of the relationship between American Indians and Alaska Natives (AI/AN) and the governments of the United States and State of Minnesota, the history of the University of Minnesota, and how it can improve its relationships with the four Dakota (Sioux) and seven Anishinaabe (Chippewa, Ojibwe) American Indian tribes of Minnesota. It is important to note that much of the information contained within this memorandum is not readily available to the public, nor is it included in K-12 or higher education curriculum.

I. Sovereignty and Recognition

Federal-Tribal

AI/AN have a unique relationship with the United States government that is unlike that of any other relationship between a group of people and the federal government. The United States government recognizes the inherent rights of 574 AI/AN tribes and made a commitment to provide certain provisions and services in exchange for peace and land cessions through the signing of treaties, acts of Congress, presidential executive orders, federal administrative actions, and federal court decisions.¹ These formal acts establish the foundation of the trust relationship between the U.S. federal government and AI/AN tribes as sovereign political entities.² Due to this retained sovereignty, the U.S. government and federally recognized AI/AN tribes have a government-to-government relationship.

This trust relationship defines federally recognized AI/AN tribes as “domestic dependent nations”.³ As was further opined in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia (1831)*, “[T]he relation of the Indians to the United States is marked by peculiar and cardinal distinctions which exist nowhere else... Their relations to the United States resemble that of a ward to his guardian”.⁴ In these words and the culmination of three U.S. Supreme Court rulings known as the Marshall Trilogy, the trust relationship was further cemented in U.S. Supreme Court legalese.

¹ Frequently Asked Questions. (2020). Bureau of Indian Affairs. Retrieved June 20, 2020, from <https://www.bia.gov/frequently-asked-questions>

² Uran, S. C. (2014, January 3). *Professor Breaks Down Sovereignty and Explains its Significance*. Indian Country Today. <https://indiancountrytoday.com/archive/professor-breaks-down-sovereignty-and-explains-its-significance-B8tl2DAAREa05ACzie58hw>

³ *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, 30 U.S. 1, 30 (1831).

⁴ *Id.*

Historically, federal policy regarding AI/AN people and tribes has oscillated between self-determination and recognition of sovereignty, and assimilation and termination. Historians analyze American Indian history through six distinct eras of federal Indian law and policy: “Post-Contact and Pre-Constitutional Development (1492-1789); The Formative Years (1789-1871); Allotment and Assimilation (1871-1928); Indian Reorganization (1928-1942); Termination (1943-1961); and Self-Determination and Self-Governance (1961-present).”⁵ These eras are marked by the establishment of friendships and alliances; treaty making; removal of American Indians from their ancestral homelands onto reservations and westward American expansion justified by the Monroe Doctrine and Manifest Destiny; land allotment and the transfer of 90 million acres of Indian land to non-Indians⁶; the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, which ended allotment and encouraged tribal governments to adopt boilerplate constitutions, subject to Secretary of Interior approval; active termination of trust responsibilities by the U.S. government and relocation of some tribal citizens to urban communities across the United States; and finally, the recognition of inherent sovereignty rights and rights of self-determination for federally recognized American Indian tribes.

In contemporary U.S. history, each president since Lyndon B. Johnson has released a presidential executive order, presidential proclamation, or official statement reaffirming the commitment of the United States government to tribal sovereignty and to engage and consult with federally recognized American Indian tribes in a government-to-government relationship.

State-Tribal

Minnesota has had a troubled history with the Indigenous inhabitants to these lands that predates its statehood. Minnesota’s first Superintendent of Indian Affairs and concurrent Territorial Governor (1849-1853), second Governor (1860-1863), and fourth US Senator (1863-1875) of Minnesota, Alexander Ramsey, stated in his 1863 Annual Message to the State Legislature, “The State government sustains no other relation to [Dakota] than that of a foreign and independent State. It establishes no laws and regulations respecting them, and of consequence possesses no means for the protection and security of its contiguous territory by the preservation of friendly relations and feelings between the two races.”⁷ He also said, “The Sioux Indians of Minnesota must be exterminated or driven forever beyond the borders of the State.”⁸ In the same year, following the end of the Dakota Conflict, the State of Minnesota and its settlers successfully advocated for the dissolution of the Winnebago Reservation and the removal of the Winnebago, or Ho-Chunk people from the exterior boundaries of the State of Minnesota.

⁵ Cohen, Felix S., 1907-1953. (2020). *Cohen's Handbook of Federal Indian Law*. Newark, NJ :LexisNexis.

⁶ Indian Land Tenure Foundation. *Land Issues: Issues*. (2020). Retrieved June 20, from <https://iltf.org/land-issues/issues/>

⁷ Minnesota (State). Governor (1860-1863: Ramsey). (1862). *Annual Message of Governor Ramsey to the Legislature of Minnesota*. Saint Paul [M.N.]: [Saint Paul: William R. Marshall, State Printer], 1862. Available at: <https://www.leg.state.mn.us/docs/NonMNpub/oclc18189672.pdf#page=49>

⁸ *Id.*

This tumultuous past has been etched in books and the memories of individuals and their descendants on both sides of history. It was not until Rudy Perpich became Governor of Minnesota that there was an attempt to turn the tide on this long-standing history of ill-will and contempt. Governor Perpich declared 1987 a “Year of Reconciliation” in an attempt to develop “appreciation of cultural diversity and human understanding.”⁹ Despite this effort, it was not until Governor Jesse Ventura issued Executive Order 02-10 in 2002 that the State of Minnesota officially recognized the inherent sovereignty and rights to self-determination of American Indian tribes in Minnesota and made an official commitment to consult Indian tribes on a government-to-government basis for the first time.¹⁰ Each governor since Jesse Ventura (Tim Pawlenty, Mark Dayton, and Tim Walz) has issued an executive order reaffirming this relationship.

II. History of Mni Sota Makoce (a.k.a. Minnesota)

Pre-European Colonialist/American Settler Contact

Dakota Oyate (“Sioux Nation”)

The Dakota people are the Indigenous inhabitants of the states now known as the Dakotas, Iowa, Minnesota, northern Nebraska, Wisconsin, Wyoming and the country known as Canada.¹¹ The Dakota people trace their origins/genesis to the confluence of the Mississippi and Minnesota Rivers, known as “Bdote”, located near Owamniyamni (St. Anthony Falls), a sacred place in Dakota spirituality. The traditional creation story tells of the Dakota people coming from stars of the Milky Way Galaxy and coming upon Bdote, the center of the earth. It is from this location that the Dakota Oyate spread across what is now known as the United States.¹² As the Dakota spread, they formed four groups: Sisitunwan (or Sisseton, Dwellers at the Fish Ground), Wahpetunwan (or Wahpeton, Dwellers among the Leaves), Bdewakantunwan (or Mdewankanton, Dwellers by Mystic Lake), and Wahpekute (Shooters among the Leaves). The Dakota are one part of the Oceti Sakowin (People of the Seven Council Fires) that also includes the Lakota and Nakota.¹³

Northern Cheyenne

⁹ Minnesota (State). Governor (1983-1991: Perpich). Year of Reconciliation Proclamation. [Saint Paul, M.N.]: [Minnesota Historical Society], 1987. Available at: <https://www.leg.state.mn.us/archive/sos/film/pdf/37350.pdf>

¹⁰ Minnesota (State). Governor (1999-2003: Ventura). Prairie Island Signing Ceremony. [Prairie Island Reservation]: [Minnesota Historical Society], 2002. Available at: <https://www.mnhs.org/people/ventura/transcripts/141.pdf>

¹¹ *Sioux Song and Dance*. (n.d.). Library of Congress. Retrieved June 20, 2020, from <https://www.loc.gov/item/ihas.200215466>

¹² Minnesota Humanities Center. (2020). Bdote Memory Map: Memory Map [Interactive Map]. <http://bdotememorymap.org/memory-map/>

¹³ Howard J. Vogel, Healing the Trauma of America's Past: Restorative Justice, Honest Patriotism, and the Legacy of Ethnic Cleansing, 55 Buff. L. Rev. 981 (2007). Available at: <https://digitalcommons.law.buffalo.edu/buffalolawreview/vol55/iss3/10>

The Northern Cheyenne once controlled territory that extended from Minnesota to the Rocky Mountains.¹⁴ Then, the Northern Cheyenne began to migrate west in the 1680s before finally being relocated to the Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation in 1884.

Winnebago (Ho-Chunk) Tribe of Nebraska

The Winnebago trace their ancestral roots to central Wisconsin and northern Illinois. The tribe signed their first treaty with the United States government in 1816¹⁵ and successive cession treaties that placed the Winnebago in Minnesota by 1832.¹⁶ Fervor and public sentiment to remove Indians from the exterior boundaries of the State of Minnesota hit an all-time high after the Dakota Conflict. Due to this, and in spite of the fact that the Winnebago had remained neutral in the conflict, the Treaty with the Winnebago, 1837 was nullified by the U.S government and the Winnebago were forced from Minnesota, forever.¹⁷

Anishinaabe (Ojibwe/Chippewa) Tribes

The Anishinaabeg people trace their roots to the East Coast, near the mouth of the Saint Lawrence River. The many bands of Anishinaabe people began to move westward 1,500 years ago due to conflict with neighboring tribes and the Seven Fires Prophecy telling them to travel westward until they came upon lands that allowed for food to grow from the water. The migration inland took place over many centuries and encompassed several stops along the way. These stops required bands to separate, reconnect, and in the process, settle in various areas such as modern-day Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. As they moved into Minnesota, they pushed the Dakota Oyate from the northern woodlands to the southwestern plains.¹⁸

Territory of Minnesota

The 1805 Treaty with the Sioux is a one page document that says the Dakota agreed to give the United States nine square miles at the mouth of the St. Croix River where the Mississippi and Minnesota Rivers converge, including St. Anthony Falls and nine miles up each side of the river. The United States government was to use this land for a military post, and Fort Snelling was subsequently built. The Treaty granted “full sovereignty” to the United States and specified that

¹⁴ White, B. (2016, September 19). “Minnesota was once home to the Cheyenne people, and we still hold our ancestral lands in high regard.” Retrieved June 20, 2020, from <http://www.minnesotahistory.net/wptest/?p=3979>

¹⁵ Treaty with the Winnebago, 1816. June 3, 1816. 7 Stat., 144. Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties. Vol. II (Treaties). Compiled and edited by Charles J. Kappler. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904. Available at: <https://www.nps.gov/efmo/learn/historyculture/upload/Appendix-E-1.pdf>

¹⁶ Treaty with the Winnebago, 1832. September 15, 1832. 7 Stat., 370. Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties. Vol. II (Treaties). Compiled and edited by Charles J. Kappler. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904. Available at: <https://www.nps.gov/efmo/learn/historyculture/upload/Appendix-E-1.pdf>

¹⁷ Treaty with the Winnebago, 1837. November 1, 1837. 7 Stat., 544. Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties. Vol. II (Treaties). Compiled and edited by Charles J. Kappler. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904. Available at: <https://www.nps.gov/efmo/learn/historyculture/upload/Appendix-E-1.pdf>

¹⁸ Minnesota Historical Society. (n.d.). *The Ojibwe People*. Retrieved June 20, 2020, from <https://www.mnhs.org/fortsnelling/learn/native-americans/ojibwe-people>

the Dakota were to be paid \$2000 or an equivalent in goods. At the signing, Lieutenant Zebulon Pike gave \$200 worth of gifts to the Dakota. Although there were seven Dakota leaders involved with the treaty talks, only two signed the treaty. It is doubtful that the Dakota signers understood what they were agreeing to, particularly as the interpreter's present worked on behalf of the United States government. There are questions remaining over whether this treaty is binding to Dakota. The United States promised in Article 3 of the treaty "to permit the Sioux to pass, repass, hunt or make other uses of the said districts, as they have formerly done, without any other exception."¹⁹ This promise was not upheld. The University of Minnesota Twin Cities (UMN-TC) campus is now situated on this Dakota land.²⁰

Additional Dakota land north of the 1805 treaty territory in 1837 was negotiated. The Dakota were compensated far less than the land's estimated \$1.6 million value. After Minnesota became a territory in 1849, the Dakota were coerced to cede most of their land in the 1851 treaties of Mendota and Traverse des Sioux. The terms of the Traverse des Sioux Treaty agreed to pay the Dakota \$1,665,000 for 21 million acres of land, less than 8 cents per acre. However, the federal government kept 80% of this money and paid Dakota the 5% interest on this principal for 50 years.²¹ In the Mendota treaty, the United States agreed to pay the Mdewakanton and Wahpekute bands of Dakota \$1,410,000 for all of their remaining lands in Minnesota and Iowa. Of this amount, \$1,160,000 was to remain in trust with the United States and the interest of 5% was to be paid out over 50 years.²² After ten years, these payments stopped and the Dakota have never been fully compensated for their land.

Dakota Conflict and exile

The first article of the 1851 treaty with the Wahpeton and Sisseton Bands of Sioux is the following:

*It is stipulated and solemnly agreed that the peace and friendship now so happily existing between the United States and the aforesaid bands of Indians, shall be perpetual.*²³

This is not what happened. The reservation lands the Dakota were left with did not give them sufficient hunting grounds to procure meat. The harvest in 1861 was lean, and Dakota were hungry through the winter of 1861-1862. The government was delayed in making its treaty payment in 1862, and the traders were not willing to extend credit to the Dakota. On August 17, 1862, the Dakota fought back against these oppressive conditions. On the verge of starvation,

¹⁹ Treaty with the Sioux, 1805. September 23, 1805. Available at: <https://dc.library.okstate.edu/digital/collection/kapplers/id/26871/rec/3>

²⁰ Minnesota Historical Society. *Looking at the Territory: The Treaty Story*. (n.d.). Retrieved June 20, 2020, from <https://www.mnhs.org/talesoftheterritory/territory/treaty/index.php>

²¹ *Id.*

²² Treaty with the Sioux--Mdewakanton and Wahpakoota Bands at Mendota, 1851. 10 Stats. 954. Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties. Vol. II (Treaties). Compiled and edited by Charles J. Kappler. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904. Available at: <https://dc.library.okstate.edu/digital/collection/kapplers/id/26432/rec/3>

²³ Treaty with the Sioux, Sisseton and Wahpeton Bands at Traverse des Sioux, 1851. 10 Stat. 949. Retrieved June 20, 2020, from http://resources.utulsa.edu/law/classes/rice/Treaties/10_Stat_0949_Sioux.htm

four Dakota men killed five white settlers in a scuffle over food. The next day, the Dakota declared war, which waged for six weeks. Over 600 white settlers died, among them 70 soldiers and another 50 armed militiamen. It is estimated that 75-100 Dakota warriors perished in the fighting. When the war ended, many Dakota headed west, but some stayed with their families.²⁴

Over a period of about five weeks in the autumn of 1862, 392 Dakota men were tried for robbery, rape and murder.²⁵ In an article entitled “The United States-Dakota War Trials: A Study in Military Injustice,” University of Minnesota Law School professor Carol Chomsky concludes the following:

*The trials of the Dakota were conducted unfairly in a variety of ways. The evidence was sparse, the tribunal was biased, the defendants were unrepresented in unfamiliar proceedings conducted in a foreign language, and authority for convening the tribunal was lacking. More fundamentally, neither the Military Commission nor the reviewing authorities recognized that they were dealing with the aftermath of a war fought with a sovereign nation and that the men who surrendered were entitled to treatment in accordance with that status.*²⁶

The commission sentenced 303 men to death and 16 to imprisonment. President Lincoln reviewed the decisions, concerned that the sentences were cruel. He decided that only those “guilty of violating females” should be executed. When authorities reviewed the cases and found only two such men, the scope was expanded to also include those guilty of involvement in civilian “massacres.” On December 26, 1862, 38 Dakota men were hanged at Mankato while 4000 spectators watched them die.²⁷

The Dakota were exiled from their homelands in Minnesota. The United States Congress revoked their treaties with the Dakota in February and March of 1863, thus ending all payments due. In May of that same year, 1300 Dakota people were taken by steamboats on the Mississippi River to St. Louis and then up the Missouri River to Crow Creek reservation. Even those Dakota who had helped white settlers were forced to exile. Ho-Chunk who were living near Mankato were also forced to leave. Three hundred people died during the journey or in the first few months of arriving at Crow Creek reservation. Many of the dead were children suffering from starvation.^{28,29}

²⁴ Minnesota Historical Society. (n.d.). *The U.S.-Dakota War of 1862*. Retrieved June 20, 2020, from <https://www.usdakotawar.org/>

²⁵ Minnesota Historical Society. (n.d.). *The Trials & Hanging*. Retrieved June 20, 2020, from <https://www.usdakotawar.org/history/aftermath/trials-hanging>

²⁶ Chomsky, C. (1990). The United States-Dakota War Trials: A Study in Military Injustice. *Stanford Law Review*. 43(13), Available at https://scholarship.law.umn.edu/faculty_articles/226.

²⁷ Minnesota Historical Society. (n.d.). *The Trials & Hanging*. Retrieved June 20, 2020, from <https://www.usdakotawar.org/history/aftermath/trials-hanging>

²⁸ Minnesota Historical Society (n.d.). *Exile*. Retrieved June 20, 2020, from <https://www.usdakotawar.org/history/aftermath/exile>

²⁹ Steil, M. (2002, September 23). Exiled at Crow Creek. Retrieved June 20, 2020, from http://news.minnesota.publicradio.org/features/200209/23_steilm_1862-m/crowcreek.shtml

III. University of Minnesota and American Indian Tribes of Minnesota

University of Minnesota - Morrill Act

In 1851, when Minnesota was still a territory and the majority of inhabitants were American Indian, a statute was written that the University of Minnesota be established “at or near the falls of Saint Anthony.”³⁰ When Minnesota became a state in 1858, the University was granted constitutional autonomy, allowing for self-governance from the state, a right that was not afforded to Tribal Nations. During the Civil War, the University of Minnesota closed. It reopened in 1867 due to the efforts of John Sargent Pillsbury, who was able to acquire land-grant status.³¹ The Morrill Act was signed into law in 1862, and states were given federal lands to sell in order to fund universities. No other state university system benefited from this land transfer more than Minnesota’s. The intent was to expand access to education beyond the elite class. High Country News studied these land transfers, with funding support from Harvard and Stanford Universities and the Pulitzer Center for Crisis Reporting. According to their database, the federal government gave the state of Minnesota 94,631 acres, for which they paid tribes \$2,309. This equates to one out of every 13 acres redistributed under the Morrill Act. The majority of this land, 92,871 acres, had belonged to the Wahpeton and Sisseton Bands of Sioux.³² When some of these lands were sold, the state raised \$574,430 that formed the principal for the University’s endowment fund. The return on payments to tribes was 251:1. The University leased out some of this land, and this income was combined with additional land grants to form the Permanent University Fund. In 2016, the market value of this fund was \$543 million.³³

The UMN-TC campus sits on traditional, ancestral, and contemporary lands of Dakota people, within walking distance to the Bdote area, which consists of many sacred sites of historic and contemporary Dakota significance, such as Taku Wakan Tipi (Carver's Cave), Mni Sni (Coldwater Spring), and Oheyawahi (Pilot Knob).³⁴

³⁰ Wilkinson, M. S. (1851). Office of the Revisor of Statutes: 1851 Minnesota Territorial Statutes. Ch. 28. § 13. Retrieved June 19, 2020, from <https://www.revisor.mn.gov/statutes/1851/>

³¹ University of Minnesota. (2012, January 27). Land Grant 150: Background. Retrieved June 19, 2020, from <http://landgrant150.umn.edu/background.html>

³² Lee, R., et al. (n.d.). Land Grab Universities: Sioux (Wahpeton and Sisseton Bands). High Country News. Retrieved June 19, 2020, from <https://www.landgrabu.org/tribes/sioux-wahpeton-and-sisseton-bands>

³³ Lee, R., et al. (n.d.). Land Grab Universities: University of Minnesota. High Country News. Retrieved June 19, 2020, from <https://www.landgrabu.org/universities/university-of-minnesota>

³⁴ Minnesota Historical Society. *The Dakota People*. (n.d.). Retrieved June 19, 2020, from <https://www.mnhs.org/fortsnelling/learn/native-americans/dakota-people>

The University of Minnesota Duluth (UMD) campus sits on land that is culturally, historically, spiritually significant to many AI tribes, and has been cared for and called home by Anishinaabe people for thousands of years.³⁵ This land was ceded by the Anishinaabe in the Treaty of 1854.³⁶

The history of the University of Minnesota Morris (UMM) campus is even more troublesome.

IV. Boarding School at Morris

UMM occupies land on which stood The Morris Indian Boarding School, which operated from 1887-1909. The Morris School, like other government residential schools, was built to assimilate Native children. Children as young as five were separated from their families and culture, kept in under-resourced deteriorating facilities, subjected to epidemics, physical, psychological, and sexual abuse.³⁷

In 1909, the same year The Morris School was closed, the Minnesota legislature accepted the facility from the federal government through a land grant agreement that stipulated free tuition to American Indian students.³⁸ The University of Minnesota made plans to open an agricultural school and experiment station on this site. The five remaining buildings were converted to the Western Central School of Agriculture, an alternative to traditional high school tied to the University of Minnesota's St. Paul College of Agriculture in St. Paul. The State quickly stepped in to now provide monetary assistance in the amount of \$221,500 for the much needed renovations and technological enhancements.³⁹ The school quickly became a national leader of agricultural education in the United States.⁴⁰ Beginning in the 1930's, citizens from Morris and Crookston began lobbying for the school to be converted to a college. In 1959, the Board of Regents approved a measure to phase out high school curriculum and begin offering university courses at this site. That same year, the valuation of the buildings and land at \$5 million.⁴¹ Today, the University's holdings associated with UMM has an estimated market value of \$62,503,900.⁴²

³⁵ University of Minnesota Duluth. (2020, January 24). *Land Acknowledgment*. Retrieved June 20, 2020, from <https://www.d.umn.edu/about-umd/campus-history/land>

³⁶Minnesota Indian Affairs Council, the Minnesota Humanities Center, and the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of the American Indian. *1854 Ojibwe Land Cession Treaty*. (n.d.). Retrieved June 20, 2020, from <http://treatiesmatter.org/treaties/land/1854-ojibwe>

³⁷ Ahern, W. (1984). Indian Education and Bureaucracy: the School at Morris: 1887-1909. *Minnesota History*, 49(3), 90. Available at: <http://collections.mnhs.org/MNHHistoryMagazine/articles/49/v49i03p082-098.pdf>

³⁸An Act Making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department, for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes, and for other purposes, for the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, nineteen hundred and ten, H.R. 26916, 60th Cong. § 2 (1909), from <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/60th-congress/session-2/c60s2ch263.pdf>

³⁹ University of Minnesota, Morris. (1998). Historic Buildings of the West Central School of Agriculture: Converted to use by the University of Minnesota, Morris in 1960. *Miscellaneous Campus Publications*. Available at: <https://digitalcommons.morris.umn.edu/miscpubs/9>

⁴⁰ Ahern, W. (1984). Indian Education and Bureaucracy: the School at Morris: 1887-1909. *Minnesota History*, 49(3), 90. Available at: <http://collections.mnhs.org/MNHHistoryMagazine/articles/49/v49i03p082-098.pdf>

⁴¹ The University of Minnesota, 1945-2000. Stanford E. Lehmborg. 2001. University of Minnesota Press. Pages 100-103.

⁴² Stevens County. (2020). *Tax Parcel Viewer*. [ESRI]. <https://stevens-county.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=4fe542d4d598442bb1058b03377aab50>

While the University of Minnesota has accrued a fortune, the legacy of boarding schools for American Indians is intergenerational trauma that continues to this day, hindering educational attainment.⁴³ However, it is not only the residual effects of historic enforced schooling American Indian students must endure. Current educational systems, including postsecondary institutions, make school a hostile space by reproducing the disconnection between culture and learning that traditionally intertwined in American Indian communities. The results show up in the high school graduation rate of AI/AN students in Minnesota, which was 51 percent in 2019, the lowest among any racial/ethnic group.⁴⁴ While UMN boasts an increase in retention among AI/AN students, the 6-year graduation rates for AI/AN students at UMN-TC is a dismal 50%, compared with 83% for all students (UMM AI/AN: 39% All: 58%; UMD AI/AN: 25% All: 50%; Crookston AI/AN: 0% All: 50%; Rochester AI/AN: no data All: 59%) .⁴⁵ We can only begin to change the outcomes for Indigenous peoples by challenging systems, using an Indigenous-lens to critically evaluating policies that persistently fail our students, and by demanding they be replaced with opportunities for everyone to learn about the true history and legacy of institutional colonialism, as well as improve contemporary Tribal-University relations.

American Indian Studies Department first in the nation

Recognizing transculturation as one of the barriers to educational and economic mobility among AI communities, in the 1960s, activists, students, and professors came together to demand change.⁴⁶ They were encouraged by the progress made by Black students after the Morrill Hall Takeover.⁴⁷ In 1969, The American Indian Studies (AIS) program was founded at UMN-TC. It was the first in the nation. AIS at UMN-TC continues to be recognized internationally as a leader in the discipline, offering a BA in American Indian Studies, a BA in Ojibwe Language, and a Graduate Minor in American Indian and Indigenous Studies. A first-of-its-kind Ojibwe language immersion house and a Native Canoe Program focuses on building and strengthening community partnership through traditional watercraft knowledge resurgence are recent developments.⁴⁸ Despite consistent and persistent institutional underfunding and neglected facilities, AIS at UMN-TC continues to grow their enrollment numbers, especially in the Dakota and Ojibwe language programs. AIS students are engaging in rigorous, community-based research and

⁴³ Huffman, Terry. (2001). Resistance Theory and the Transculturation Hypothesis as Explanations of College Attrition and Persistence Among Culturally Traditional American Indian Students. *Journal of American Indian Education*, 40(3).

⁴⁴ Smith, M., & Rademacher, N. (2020, March 05). Minnesota high school graduation rates rise slightly. Retrieved June 20, 2020, from <https://www.startribune.com/minnesota-high-school-graduation-rate-hits-all-time-high-state-says/568518622/>

⁴⁵ National Center for Education Statistics. (n.d.). *College Navigator: University of Minnesota-Twin Cities*. Retrieved June 20, 2020, from <https://nces.ed.gov/collegenavigator/?q=university+of+minnesota&id=174066#retgrad>

⁴⁶ University of Minnesota College of Liberal Arts. (n.d.). *American Indian Studies: History*. Retrieved June 21, 2020, from <https://cla.umn.edu/ais/about/history>

⁴⁷ Burnside, T. (2018, May 14). *Morrill Hall Takeover, University of Minnesota*. Retrieved June 20, 2020, from <https://www.mnopedia.org/event/morrill-hall-takeover-university-minnesota>

⁴⁸ Tynjala, C. (2018, April 16). *Canoes: Indigeneity, Relocation, and Maintaining Tradition*. Retrieved June 21, 2020, from <https://cla.umn.edu/ais/news-events/story/canoes-indigeneity-relocation-and-maintaining-tradition>

presenting at international conferences.⁴⁹ The department is a refuge for AI/AN students enrolled in a broad range of majors, who seek to engage with the interdisciplinary work and research AIS faculty are undertaking. The University of Minnesota could show its commitment to the education of AU students and revitalization in AI communities by supporting a PhD program in AIS, a BA in Dakota language and an immersive Dakota living learning house on ancestral Dakota land.

Repatriation of Human Remains and Other Cultural Items from the Weisman Art Museum

Albert E. Jenks began teaching for the University of Minnesota as a Sociology professor in 1906. He established the first anthropology courses for the university and eventually became the founder (1918) and chair (1918-1938). Jenks was hired by the U.S. government in 1916 “to find the ratios of white-to-Indian blood in a population of Minnesotans to solve a land tenure dispute.” In his efforts, he used skull-measuring indexes to determine “whiteness”, which had already been in disrepute by other leading anthropologists.⁵⁰ It is worth noting that the concept of blood quantum is a relic of western imposed colonialism and assimilation with a lasting impact on the identity and future of AI/AN tribes across Indian Country.⁵¹ In 1928, Jenks recruited the Minneapolis Institute of Arts to co-sponsor archeological excavations in the Southwest (New Mexico); the items that his team dug up are detailed in the following paragraph.⁵²

Enacted in 1990, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) states that human remains and funerary and sacred cultural objects belong to descendants.⁵³ Museums and institutes of higher learning must inventory their collections and repatriate human remains and objects to their rightful owners. The University of Minnesota has not yet completed a full inventory nor repatriated the known individuals or objects in its possession.⁵⁴ Among the collections are artifacts and ancestors held by the Frederick R. Weisman Art Museum (WAM), including 143 associated funerary objects and 2,362 unassociated funerary objects. There are at least 129 individuals associated with the funerary objects held by WAM who are currently housed at MIAC/Hamline University.⁵⁵ The separation of these individuals from their associated

⁴⁹ Tynjala, C. (2019, May 15). *Canoe Rising: Paddling Cloudy Waters*. Retrieved June 21, 2020, from <https://cla.umn.edu/ais/news-events/story/canoe-rising-paddling-cloudy-waters>

⁵⁰ King, L. (2012, January). To touch the past: The painted pottery of the Mimbres people at the Weisman Art Museum, University of Minnesota. *University Museums and Collections Journal*. Volume 4, Issue 4, 2012. Retrieved June 19, 2020, from <https://edoc.hu-berlin.de/bitstream/handle/18452/9361/king.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>

⁵¹ Schmidt, R. W. (2011). American Indian Identity and Blood Quantum in the 21st Century: A Critical Review. *Journal of Anthropology*. Available at: <https://edoc.hu-berlin.de/bitstream/handle/18452/9361/king.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>

⁵² King, L. (2012, January). To touch the past: The painted pottery of the Mimbres people at the Weisman Art Museum, University of Minnesota. *University Museums and Collections Journal*. Volume 4, Issue 4, 2012. Retrieved June 19, 2020, from <https://edoc.hu-berlin.de/bitstream/handle/18452/9361/king.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>

⁵³ Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (U.S. National Park Service). (n.d.). Retrieved June 19, 2020, from <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nagpra/index.htm>

⁵⁴ Hayes, K. (2019, September 15). Letter to THPOs for the concerned SW Tribal Nations summarizing August 13th - 19th, 2019 meeting when representatives from the University of Minnesota Anthropology Department and Minnesota Indian Affairs Council travelled to New Mexico regarding the repatriation of ancestors and belongings from four Mimbres culture sites currently in the possession of UMN/MIAC/Hamline University.

⁵⁵ Cerda, M. (July 16, 2019). Letter from Minnesota Indian Affairs Counsel regarding Mimbres NAGPRA Consultation Meeting.

objects is highly offensive and a direct violation of NAGPRA. It is imperative that the University of Minnesota act quickly to rectify this situation.

University of Minnesota Medical School Research at Red Lake Nation

In the 1960s, the University of Minnesota Medical School undertook studies of bacterial infections and nephritis in children at Red Lake Nation that benefitted scholarship and the US military while harming American Indian children. These studies built on work that Dr. Cecil Reinstein, an Epidemic Intelligence Officer with the Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), had started in 1953. He was sent to the Red Lake Indian Reservation to investigate an epidemic of Acute Poststreptococcal Glomerulonephritis (PSAGN) among American Indian children. In Dr. Reinstein's study, he ended an epidemic and determined that PSAGN was a preventable disease.⁵⁶ The University of Minnesota then performed additional research funded in part by the U. S. Department of Defense, who were concerned about the rates of skin infections amongst soldiers serving in Vietnam.⁵⁷ The purpose of these studies was to monitor and detail the infection and progression of a potentially fatal disease, nephritis, in American Indian preschoolers. Although the children were being regularly monitored, two of them were not treated for infection when it was discovered, but when the illness had advanced into life-threatening nephritis.⁵⁸ Results were presented at a military medical symposium.⁵⁹ These studies failed to provide informed consent. These experiments on children subjects weakened the relationship between the Red Lake Nation and the University of Minnesota, and the University should work to atone for its mistakes.

Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Chippewa & the Cloquet Forestry Center

The Cloquet Forestry Center (CFC) was established in 1909 as an experimental and demonstration forest and is now an entity of the University of Minnesota's College of Food, Agriculture and Natural Resource Sciences (CFANS). The creation of the CFC was a collaborative effort between Professor Samuel B. Green (Head of the University of Minnesota's Forestry School), Henry Oldenberg (Chief Attorney for Weyerhaeuser Companies), Fred Vibert (Mayor of Cloquet and publisher of the Cloquet newspaper, Cloquet Pine Knot), and Rudolph and Frederik E. Weyerhaeuser (connected to several regional sawmills, railroads and logging operations). These individuals successfully lobbied the U.S. Congress to enact the Nelson Act,

⁵⁶ Reinstein, C. R. (1955). Epidemic nephritis at Red Lake, Minnesota. *The Journal of Pediatrics*. Volume 47, Issue 1, 1955. Pages 25-34. Retrieved June 19, 2020, from

<https://www-sciencedirect-com.ezp2.lib.umn.edu/science/article/pii/S0022347655801205>

⁵⁷ Spier, S. and Skoog, S. (1974, September). First Our Land, Now Our Health. *Science For The People*. Retrieved June 19, 2020, from <http://science-for-the-people.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/SftPv6n5s.pdf>

⁵⁸ Ferrieri P, Dajani AS, Chapman SS, Jensen JB, Wannamaker LW. (1970 Oct 15) Appearance of nephritis associated with type 57 streptococcal impetigo in North America: longitudinal observations in a family. *New England Journal of Medicine*. 283(16). Pages 832-6. Retrieved June 19, 2020, from <https://www-nejm-org.ezp2.lib.umn.edu/doi/full/10.1056/NEJM197010152831602>

⁵⁹ Hugh C. Dillon, M.D. and Lewis W. Wannamaker, Skin Infections and Acute Glomerulonephritis: Report of a Symposium. *Military Medicine*. February, 1971, p 122-127. Retrieved June 19, 2020, from <https://academic.oup.com/milmed/article-abstract/136/2/122/4919027>

which established a land allotment system similar to the Dawes Act.⁶⁰ This system allowed for the “opening of the rest of the lands within [the Fond du Lac Indian] reservation to other forms of land disposal, [and] provided a prime opportunity for the establishment of such a demonstration forest near Cloquet.”⁶¹

The research mission of CFC states, “The center hosts long-term and controlled studies that benefit Minnesota’s 17 million acres of commercial forest land.” The realization of this mission has not been to the benefit of the Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Chippewa, despite being within the exterior boundaries of the Fond du Lac Reservation. The University’s continued use of the CFC without consideration of the Fond du Lac Band’s inherent sovereign rights continues to damage the relationship with the tribe and fails to honor the 1854 treaty.⁶²

Genetic research on wild rice

UMN researchers began experimenting with wild rice genome without Tribal consultation in 1999.⁶³ Work continues to this day at UMN’s Kimball Lab, endangering Tribal Nation’s sovereign rights to culturally appropriate foods produced through sustainable methods, which are guaranteed through the White Pine Treaty of 1837.⁶⁴ It also infringes on 1855 usufructuary rights upheld in *Minnesota v. Mille Lacs Band of Chippewa Indians*.⁶⁵ Some in the University seek to recenter wild rice research. For example, Kawe Gidaa-naanaagadawendaamin Manoomin is a Tribal-driven interdisciplinary project studying the environmental stressors on wild rice in the Great Lakes Region.⁶⁶ The project centers AI communities, knowledge, and culture in all decision making processes, and is an example of what UMN can do to reconcile past transgressions and respect Tribal sovereignty. All future research conducted at UMN must respect the personhood granted to wild rice by sovereign nations.⁶⁷

Economic development and jobs provided by tribes, particularly in rural MN

In 2013, the National Congress of American Indians concluded that “significant economic growth” is occurring in Indian Country as tribes shift away from reliance on federal funding. The exercising of sovereignty and self-reliance has diversified revenues. The National Congress of

⁶⁰ Nelson Act of 1889, H.R. 4540, 50th Cong. § 2 (1938)

⁶¹ Allison, J. (1967). The Story of Samuel Green: Part II. *Minnesota Conservation Volunteer*. Vol. 30(176). Pages 21-30.

⁶² Treaties Matter. (n.d.). 1854 Ojibwe Land Cession Treaty Signed September 30, 1854 at Lapointe, WI. Retrieved June 19, 2020, from <http://treatiesmatter.org/treaties/land/1854-ojibwe>

⁶³ Institute for Agricultural Policy and Trade. (2002, May 20). *Native Groups Criticize U of MN’s Wild Rice Genome Research*. Retrieved June 22, 2020, from <https://www.iatp.org/news/native-groups-criticize-u-of-mns-wild-rice-genome-research>

⁶⁴ Raster A, Hill CG. (2017 Jun 1). The dispute over wild rice: an investigation of treaty agreements and Ojibwe food sovereignty. *Agriculture and Human Values*. Vol. 34(2). Pages 267-81. Retrieved June 22, 2020, https://lib.dr.iastate.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1150&context=language_pubs

⁶⁵ *Minnesota v. Mille Lacs Band of Chippewa Indians*. (97-1337) 526 U.S. 172 (1999) Available at: <https://www.law.cornell.edu/supct/html/97-1337.ZS.html>

⁶⁶ University of Minnesota - Twin Cities. (n.d.). *Kawe Gidaa-naanaagadawendaamin Manoomin (First We Should Consider Wild Rice)*. Retrieved June 20, 2020, from <https://manoominpsin-gc.dash.umn.edu/>

⁶⁷ White Earth Reservation Business Committee. White Earth Band of Chippewa Indians. Resolution No. 001-19-009 (Rights of Manoomin) (2018, December 31). <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/58a3c10abebafb5c4b3293ac/t/5c3cdbfe352f53368c1449bf/1547492352265/White+Earth+Rights+of+Manoomin+Resolution+and+Ordinance+combined.pdf>

American Indians states, “In Minnesota, spending by the 11 tribal nations was responsible for \$2.75 billion in economic activity statewide, supporting 41,700 jobs and \$1.35 billion in household income, representing 1.1 percent of the state’s economic output.”⁶⁸ In 2016, Klas Robinson studied the economic impact of American Indian gaming in Minnesota. They found that if all casinos and related economic activities were combined, they would be the 14th largest employer in the state of Minnesota. Further, tourist visits to these combined facilities in Minnesota are second only to the Mall of America.⁶⁹ There is a great deal of economic potential in Indian Country that the University of Minnesota could partner with tribes to develop.

Tribal Sovereignty Institute at Duluth campus

The American Indian Studies Department at the Duluth campus began in 1972.⁷⁰ It offers a B.A. in American Indian Studies, an American Indian Studies Minor, a Master of Tribal Resource and Environmental Stewardship as well as a B.A. and Master of Tribal Administration and Governance. The Department founded the Tribal Sovereignty Institute (TSI) in 2012 to work with American Indian nations on research projects.⁷¹ Together with tribes, TSI developed Tribal-State Relations Training. The mission of the program is “to provide training and education for Minnesota state employees about American Indian tribal governments, histories, cultures, and traditions in order to empower state employees to work effectively with American Indians, and promote authentic and respectful relationships between state agencies and American Indian tribes.”⁷² The training won a Minnesota State Government Innovation Award in 2016 from the Humphrey School of Public Affairs.⁷³ In 2019, 785 participants from 27 state agencies completed the two-day training.⁷⁴

The University of Minnesota could amplify Tribal-State relationships through an expansion of the Tribal Sovereignty Institute across the university system. Partnering with schools like the Law School, Carlson School and Humphrey School could make the University of Minnesota a leader in American Indian law, economic development and public policy. The University of Arizona has the Native Nations Institute with an Indigenous Governance Program. Harvard University has The Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development.⁷⁵ The James E.

⁶⁸ National Congress of American Indians. (2019, February). *Securing Our Futures*. [PDF file]. Publisher: NCAI. Retrieved from http://www.ncai.org/attachments/PolicyPaper_CUFUHjKqIcEhGLtpcwrDyiUgrDggOFUWmxMiRzAFFaxJWsCZDSK_Securing%20Our%20Futures%20Final.pdf

⁶⁹ Klas Robinson. *Economic Impact of Indian Gaming in Minnesota*. August 2016.

<https://mnindiangamingassoc.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/2016-MIGA-ECONOMIC-IMPACT-STUDY.pdf>

⁷⁰ <https://news.d.umn.edu/news-and-events/news/anishinabe-days-2020>

⁷¹ University of Minnesota Duluth (2019, September 13). *American Indian Studies*. Retrieved June 20, 2020, from <https://cla.d.umn.edu/departments/ais>

⁷² UMD American Indian Studies. (2020, May 18). *Minnesota Tribal-State Relations Training*. Retrieved June 20, 2020, from <https://cla.d.umn.edu/departments/american-indian-studies/tribal-relations-training>

⁷³ University of Minnesota. (n.d.). *Minnesota State Government Innovation Award Winning Projects- 2016*. Retrieved June 19, 2020, from <http://sgia.umn.edu/about-program/sgia-award-winning-projects-2016>

⁷⁴ Tribal Sovereignty Institute with the UMD Department of American Indian Studies. (2019). *2019 Tribal-State Relations Training Summary*. [PDF file]. Publisher: State of Minnesota. Retrieved from <https://www.dot.state.mn.us/tribaltraining/pdf/2019%20TSRT%20Summary.pdf>

⁷⁵ The Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development. (n.d.). Retrieved June 20, 2020, from <https://hpaied.org/>

Rogers College of Law at the University of Arizona has an Indigenous Peoples Policy and Law program that offers JD, LLM, and SJD degrees. There is also an Indigenous Law Program at Michigan State University.⁷⁶

Marvin J. Sonosky Chair of Law and Public Policy at University of Minnesota Law School

Marvin J. Sonosky was born in Duluth and graduated from the University of Minnesota Law School. He endowed a chair at the Law School in 1982. He was known for his work with American Indians, but the chair he funded has never been used to study American Indian law. He argued for many land claims against the United States. In his most famous case, he worked for over two decades to get the Black Hills returned to the Lakota. The Supreme Court ruled in their favor in 1980. The Federal Court of Claims awarded Sonosky's firm \$10 million in legal fees in 1981.⁷⁷ The firm he started continues to represent American Indians. According to their website, "Sonosky, Chambers, Sachse, Endreson & Perry, LLP was established in 1976 with a single purpose – to represent Indian tribes. And that is what we continue to do today – we represent tribes across the country in litigation, lobbying, economic development, health care, self-determination and self-government, transportation, tribal government, and more."⁷⁸ It would make sense if the chair in Sonosky's name was dedicated to American Indian law and public policy.

Educating non-American Indian students about tribal sovereignty

There is a knowledge gap among Non-American Indian students when it comes to AI/AN peoples, issues of tribal identity and sovereignty. In a land grant institution residing on Dakota land, there is no curriculum requirement that engages students in current Indigenous issues, sovereignty, or treaty rights. This creates a space where contemporary processes of meaning making are still entwined with the persistent and consistent effects of settler colonialism. The invisibility of Indigeneity in our curriculum renders invisible the daily existence of Indigenous peoples in all of our work, reproducing systemic inequities through the creation of a new generation of professionals who will continue to replicate the legacy of forced occupation. The University can correct this by including an American Indian curriculum requirement for all students.

Special Advisor to the President on American Indian Affairs

The University of Minnesota recently appointed the first Senior Director of American Indian Tribal Nations Relations, Tadd Johnson. As Office of Higher Education Commissioner, enrolled member of Fond du Lac, and UMD alum Dennis Olson stated, after 150 years of negligence,

⁷⁶ Michigan State University. (n.d.). *College of Law: Indigenous Law Program*. Retrieved June 21, 2020, from <https://www.law.msu.edu/indigenous/>

⁷⁷ Saxon, W. (1997, July 21). Marvin J. Sonosky, 88, Lawyer Who Championed Indian Cause. Retrieved June 19, 2020, from <https://www.nytimes.com/1997/07/21/us/marvin-j-sonosky-88-lawyer-who-championed-indian-cause.html>

⁷⁸ Sonosky, Chambers, Sachse, Endreson & Perry, LLP. The Firm. (n.d.). Retrieved June 19, 2020, from <http://www.sonosky.com/about.html>

there is a lot of work to do without resources and staff.⁷⁹ Arizona State University has a Special Advisor to the President on American Indian Affairs along with supporting staff.⁸⁰

Blue Ribbon Committee (American Indian Policy Review Task Force)

Considering the negligence and traumas inflicted by the University of Minnesota against American Indian peoples both intentional and not, a task force should be created that reviews the University's policies towards American Indian Tribes. This task force should comprise the Senior Director of Tribal Nations Relations with support staff and members of the eleven Tribal Nations. The purpose of this task force will be to examine opportunities for the University to improve its relationships with American Indians and to provide consultation on Indigenous-centered policies and procedures.

Ongoing quarterly consultation with American Indian tribes

The University of Minnesota not only lags behind other universities in relationship building and partnerships with American Indian tribes and in studying the laws, policies and economic development affecting American Indians,⁸¹ but is also out of touch with the practices of state government.⁸² Minnesota Executive Order 19-24 requires state agencies to have tribal consultation policies in place.⁸³ Establishing such a committee would align the University of Minnesota to other institutional entities. Tadd Johnson says, "Right now the University of Minnesota is lagging far behind the feds and the state and I can't think of two slower entities to be third place in a race with than the federal government and the state government."⁸⁴

Minnesota statute 135A.12 Subd. 2 mandates that at the request of at least 10 American Indian students, the board of each public postsecondary institution establish an advisory committee in consultation with tribal designated representatives "to meet the unique needs of American Indian people."⁸⁵ The University of Minnesota should work to establish an advisory board with American Indian tribes. Such a committee will have the opportunity for meaningful discussion and actualization of traditional values into relationality, building trust through mutually-beneficial partnerships, research, policies, and practices that center the needs of AI/AN communities, students, faculty, and staff.

⁷⁹ Erickson, A. (2020, March 01). UMD professor hired to foster conversation between tribal nations and university. Retrieved June 22, 2020, from <https://www.wctrib.com/news/education/4976993-UMD-professor-hired-to-foster-conversation-between-tribal-nations-and-university>

⁸⁰ Arizona State University. (n.d.). *Special Advisor to the President on American Indian Affairs*. Retrieved June 19, 2020, from <https://americanindianaffairs.asu.edu/special-advisor>

⁸¹ University of California. (n.d.). *President's Native American Advisory Council*. Retrieved June 21, 2020, from <https://diversity.universityofcalifornia.edu/programs/presidents-native-american-advisory-council.html>

⁸² *Id.*

⁸³ Minn. Exec. Order No. 19-24 (April 4, 2020) Available at: <https://www.leg.state.mn.us/archive/execorders/19-24.pdf>

⁸⁴ Erickson, A. (2020, March 01). UMD professor hired to foster conversation between tribal nations and university. Retrieved June 22, 2020, from <https://www.wctrib.com/news/education/4976993-UMD-professor-hired-to-foster-conversation-between-tribal-nations-and-university>

⁸⁵ Minnesota Statutes 2019, section 135A.12, subdivision 2. Available at: <https://www.revisor.mn.gov/statutes/cite/135A.12/pdf>

Tuition Waiver

Various policies exist at the State, system, and institutional levels which seek to close the opportunity gaps for college completion among American Indians.⁸⁶ For example, Michigan Public Law 174 of 1976 states that public 2- and 4-year postsecondary institutions, as well as Tribal Colleges, shall waive tuition for any student with at least a quarter American Indian blood quantum who resides in and attends school in the state.⁸⁷ The University of Minnesota should expand the tuition waiver at University of Minnesota, Morris to apply system-wide for all students who identify as Indigenous Peoples of Turtle Island (North America) using lineal descent rather than blood quantum.

Room and Board Grant

In an effort to close completion gaps, grants to cover geographically-appropriate costs of living expenses while attending college (room, board, books, transportation, healthcare, childcare if needed)⁸⁸ should be granted to AI/AN students living on and off campus.⁸⁹ The rates of food and housing insecurity among American Indian college students are the highest among any racial or ethnic group, and are a leading cause of attrition among Indigenous students.⁹⁰ The Wokini Initiative at South Dakota State University is a holistic collaboration between SDSU and the nine American Indian tribes who share geography with South Dakota to support AI/AN students.⁹¹ Components include a director, an advisory council to the president, a leadership council to the Wokini director, using revenues from its land grant properties to leverage additional grant funds to support the nine tribal nations of South Dakota, scholarships, and an American Indian Student Center. Funds are used to financially support American Indian students.⁹²

Permanent gathering places for AI/AN students

The University of Minnesota should provide indoor and outdoor spaces on all campuses where AI/AN students may feel welcome, supported, and safe to practice their cultural and spiritual beliefs so that they may reach their fullest potential. These should include, and are not limited to: spaces to pray and smudge indoors, a commitment to maintain Indigenous stewardship of the Native American Medicine Garden; permanent storage for equipment belonging to the Native Canoe Program; allocated free standing space via an American Indian Learning Resource Center

⁸⁶ Centennial School District. (n.d.). *College Tuition Waivers for Native American Students*. Retrieved June 20, 2020, from <https://www.isd12.org/academics-activities/other-learning-opportunities/american-indian-education/college-tuition-waivers>

⁸⁷ Turtle Talk. (2019, March 01). *Michigan Indian Tuition Waiver Materials*. Retrieved June 20, 2020, from <https://turtletalk.blog/resources/grand-traverse-band-history-project/michigan-indian-tuition-waiver-materials/>

⁸⁸ University of Maine. (2015). *University of Maine System: Native American Waiver and Educational Program*. [PDF file]. Publisher: University of Maine. Retrieved from <https://umaine.edu/nativeamericanprograms/wp-content/uploads/sites/320/2017/07/NAWEP-Agreement-2015.pdf>

⁸⁹ *Id.*

⁹⁰ The Hope Center for College, Community, and Justice. (2020, February). *#RealCollege 2020: Five Years of Evidence on Campus Basic Needs Insecurity*. Retrieved June 21, 2020, from https://hope4college.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/2019_RealCollege_Survey_Report.pdf

⁹¹ South Dakota State University. (n.d.). *Wokini Initiative*. Retrieved June 22, 2020, from <https://www.sdstate.edu/wokini>

⁹² South Dakota State University. (2017, January). *The Wokini Initiative: A Strategic Re-investment*. Retrieved June 21, 2020, from <https://www.sdstate.edu/wokini-initiative/wokini-initiative-strategic-re-investment>

on all University of Minnesota campuses integrated with American Indian Studies departments to best support the academic success of Indigenous students, house cultural gathering space, classrooms, a library, and office space, and will serve the entire Indigenous community.⁹³

V. Conclusion

In 2019, University of Minnesota President Joan Gabel invited representatives from the eleven Tribal Nations to discuss “honoring and renewing our shared commitment to partnerships between the Tribal Nations that share geography with Minnesota and UMN.”⁹⁴ While it is not possible to change history, make up for the egregious wrongs committed against the area's Tribal Nations or the University of Minnesota's consistently tumultuous commitment to Tribal relations, the University must take concrete, measurable steps to show the University is committed to reconciliation. Policies and practices in place to collaborate with Federal and State governmental entities must be extended when collaborating with tribes.

⁹³ South Dakota State University. (n.d.). *American Indian Student Center*. Retrieved June 21, 2020, from <https://www.sdstate.edu/american-indian-student-center>

⁹⁴ Humphrey School of Public Affairs. (2019, Oct. 16) Electronic communication sent to Tribal Nations inviting leaders to the Reception in Recognition of Native Nation–University of Minnesota Partnerships event held at the Humphrey School of Public Affairs on Nov. 20, 2019.



INDIAN AFFAIRS COUNCIL

06262020_01

Rick Smith American Indian Learning Center

WHEREAS, the Minnesota Indian Affairs Council Membership consists of representatives of the eleven federally-recognized Indian Tribes located within the State of Minnesota, members of the legislature, commissioners from the state departments, and

WHEREAS, the Minnesota Indian Affairs Council is a liaison between the state and local units of government in the delivery of services to the American Indians in the State of Minnesota, and

WHEREAS, Rick Smith of the Red Cliff Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Band has led the American Indian Learning Resource Center for 33 years at the University of Minnesota Duluth; and

WHEREAS, Rich Smith has helped to recruit and retain American Indian students for over three decades; and

WHEREAS, Rick Smith has spent decades pointing out that being Indian is not like any other group, and that being an American Indian is a political classification and not a racial classification, and that the tribes want their student to have their own resource center; and

WHEREAS, Rick Smith has spent his life helping American Indian students, staff and faculty.

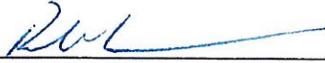
THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the eleven American Indian Tribes of Minnesota hereby respectfully request and authorize that the University of Minnesota Duluth name the American Indian Learning Center after Rick Smith; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Rick Smith American Indian Learning Resource Center should be allowed to stay open to continue the work of Mr. Smith and that the funding of the Center shall always be provided to serve students; and

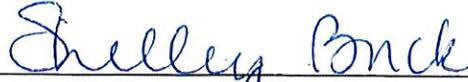
BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the University of Minnesota Duluth should find a person of qualifications similar to Rick Smith and Lea Carr and allow them to retire after years of service to the American Indian people of Minnesota and the University of Minnesota Duluth.

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, that being an American Indian is a political classification and American Indian students should have their own American Indian Learning Resource Center and UMD should carry with providing a culturally sensitive place and American Indian staff to serve students.

CERTIFICATION: We do hereby certify that the foregoing resolution was duly presented and acted upon by a vote of 7 For, 0 Against, 0 Silent at Regular Meeting of the Minnesota Indian Affairs Council, a quorum present, held on February 18, 2020 in St. Paul, Minnesota.



Robert L. Larsen, Chairman
Minnesota Indian Affairs Council



Shelley Buck, Vice Chairwoman
Minnesota Indian Affairs Council



INDIAN AFFAIRS COUNCIL

06262020_02

University of Minnesota Repatriation

WHEREAS, the Minnesota Indian Affairs Council Membership consists of representatives of the eleven federally-recognized Indian Tribes located within the State of Minnesota, members of the legislature, commissioners from state agencies, and

WHEREAS, the Minnesota Indian Affairs Council (MIAC) is a liaison between the state and local units of government in the delivery of services to the American Indians in the State of Minnesota, and

WHEREAS, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) is a federal law that requires the University of Minnesota to repatriate and return any American Indian human remains and funerary objects in its custody to the home tribal communities of the deceased, and

WHEREAS, several of the Native Nations of Minnesota played a direct role in advocating for passage of NAGPRA, including submitting testimony to congressional committees to achieve its passage into law in 1990, and

WHEREAS, despite NAGPRA having the force of law since 1990, the University of Minnesota has failed to comply with the Act for thirty years and has continued to treat deceased American Indian people as university property, which is a modern-day perpetuation of historic policies of genocide and colonization that degraded American Indian people as human beings, and

WHEREAS, despite NAGPRA having the force of law since 1990, the University of Minnesota has failed to comply with the Act for thirty years by continuing to treat sacred funerary objects stolen from the burial sites of our deceased relatives from other tribes as University property for use and display at the University of Minnesota's Frederick R. Weisman Art Museum, and

WHEREAS, MIAC under Private Cemeteries Act (MS 307.08) became the temporary caretaker of the human remains of our deceased relatives, and

WHEREAS, after thirty years of MIAC demanding repatriation and action from the University of Minnesota's Frederick R. Weisman Art Museum, MIAC's custody of our deceased relatives from other tribes no longer seems temporary as the University of Minnesota's Frederick R. Weisman Art Museum has made little to any significant movement or progress in reuniting these people with their sacred funerary objects which would lead to their return to their home reservations, and

WHEREAS, the Native Nations of MIAC view MIAC's continued temporary custody of the human remains of our relatives as enabling the University's continued resistance and failure to comply with NAGPRA.

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that MIAC demands that the University of Minnesota take immediate steps to repatriate our deceased American Indian relatives to their home reservations and return all funerary objects to the Native Nations from which they came, including hiring Native American experts to guide this process, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the University of Minnesota hire Native American experts to guide the repatriation process which must include an inventory of human remains, sacred objects, objects of cultural patrimony and funerary objects at all University of Minnesota campuses and facilities, and

BE IT FURTHER AND FINALLY RESOLVED, that the University of Minnesota shall provide a quarterly report at all future MIAC meetings of all activities and progress related to repatriating our deceased relatives and funerary objects including consultation with the Native American experts guiding the process.

CERTIFICATION: We do hereby certify that the foregoing resolution was duly presented and acted upon by a vote of 7 For, 0 Against, 0 Silent at Regular Meeting of the Minnesota Indian Affairs Council, a quorum present, held on February 18, 2020 in St. Paul, Minnesota.


_____ 

Robert L. Larsen, Chairman
Minnesota Indian Affairs Council

Shelley Buck, Vice Chairwoman
Minnesota Indian Affairs Council



INDIAN AFFAIRS COUNCIL

06262020_03

A RESOLUTION CALLING UPON THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA TO FULFILL ITS OBLIGATIONS TO THE ELEVEN AMERICAN INDIAN TRIBAL GOVERNMENTS WITHIN THE STATE OF MINNESOTA

WHEREAS, the Minnesota Indian Affairs Council Membership consists of representatives of the eleven federally-recognized Indian Tribes located within the State of Minnesota, members of the legislature, commissioners from state agencies;

WHEREAS, the Minnesota Indian Affairs Council is a liaison between the state and local units of government in the delivery of services to the American Indians in the State of Minnesota;

WHEREAS, the University of Minnesota recently began conducting outreach toward the Minnesota American Indian tribes in an attempt to create a system-wide approach toward entering into a new era of relationship-building, partnership and respect for tribal nations as governments, which MIAC welcomes and encourages;

WHEREAS, under the United States Constitution, American Indian tribes are governments with a direct government-to-government relationship with the United States and being a citizen of an American Indian tribe is a political status, not a racial or ethnic status (*Morton v. Mancari 1974*);

WHEREAS, the University of Minnesota is a land grant University pursuant to the Morrill Act of 1862 which allowed tribal lands in Minnesota to be wrongfully taken to build the University of Minnesota and other Universities (see "Land Grab Universities," Lee and Ahtone, *High Country News*, March 30, 2020);

WHEREAS, the University of Minnesota owes its very existence to the taking of 94,439 acres of tribal land from the eleven American Indian tribal governments of Minnesota;

WHEREAS, the University of Minnesota benefitted from the sale and lease of tribal land, and that income became part of the Permanent University Fund, worth \$543,000,000 in 2016;

WHEREAS, like the United States and the State of Minnesota, the University of Minnesota owes special obligations and has responsibilities to the American Indian tribes of Minnesota which have for the most part gone unfulfilled, unrecognized, or ignored and policy-making at its campuses has continued to reflect paternalistic processes steeped in institutional racism;

WHEREAS, while the State of Minnesota and the United States of America have acknowledged formal obligations and responsibilities to American Indian tribal governments, the University of Minnesota has yet to do the same or develop a formal consultation policy treating tribal governments as partners;

WHEREAS, while current University leadership has demonstrated a desire to build positive relationships with the American Indian tribal governments of Minnesota, there exists a long history at the University of Minnesota of past leadership resisting calls to dismantle racist policies that still today allow the University to profit from lands taken from Indian tribes, and the University still lays claim today to tribal lands within the Fond du Lac Reservation which were wrongfully taken from the Band;

WHEREAS, the University of Minnesota has yet to conduct an honest accounting of its own historical actions that, have over the years: (1) perpetuated oppression of, racism toward and discrimination against American Indian people; (2) allowed the University to profit from theft of tribal lands and resources even today; (3) engaged in research for the U.S. Army through the University Medical School which involved tribal members between 1954 and the 1970's; (4) attempted to replicate the DNA of Manoomin without involvement of tribal governments, which in its natural state is sacred to Anishinaabe people; (5) provided inadequate academic, financial and student support services to successfully recruit, admit, retain and graduate American Indian students; and (6) disrespected the sovereignty and self-governance of American Indian tribal governments through failure to consult with tribes about actions impacting tribes.

WHEREAS, along with other public and private educational institutions in Minnesota, the University has been complicit in concealment by omission of Minnesota's dark history of dealings with American Indian tribes, which has resulted in most Minnesotans being uneducated about our shared history and existence as governments;

WHEREAS, it is widely documented that inherent bias in hiring processes and institutional racism permeates higher education nationally, which at the University of Minnesota is reflected by under-representation of American Indian faculty at each of the University campuses and institutes, under-representation of American Indian leadership and administrators, and under-representation of American Indian student support staff;

WHEREAS, one of the most renowned tribal attorneys of the 20th Century, Marvin J. Sonosky, spent his life fighting for tribal rights and endowed a Chair at the University of Minnesota Law School, and the University of Minnesota Law School has never used the Sonosky Chair to research, write or teach about American Indian law or policy;

NOW, THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that MIAC welcomes a new era of relationship building and partnership with the University of Minnesota with the understanding that for this partnership to grow, engaging with Indian tribal governments must occur at the highest level of the University and given the same status and attention as conducting state or federal relations;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the University of Minnesota shall expand the funding and mission of the Tribal Sovereignty Institute (TSI), which will work with tribes on research;

developing materials; and teaching courses that have been prioritized by the tribal leaders and that will benefit the eleven American Indian tribes of Minnesota;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that building authentic new relationships based on trust requires committing to a truthful accounting of the University's historical relationship with and impact on the American Indian tribal governments of Minnesota, including acknowledgment of historical injustices which the University perpetuated and benefitted from, acknowledging the injustices which the University continues to directly and indirectly benefit from today, committing to dismantling institutional racism which directly and indirectly benefits the University, industry and certain other communities at the expense of American Indian tribal governments and people, and;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that MIAC calls upon the University of Minnesota to partner with Indian tribes to create an American Indian Policy Review Task Force (AIPRTF) that will be charged with conducting a truthful historic accounting of the University's past and present policies which have directly and indirectly impacted American Indian tribal governments and American Indian people as described in this resolution, make recommendations of future policies to better serve Indian tribes and people, and that the Task Force shall be comprised of persons nominated by the American Indian tribal governments and persons nominated by the University of Minnesota;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the University will provide staffing and any necessary funding of the Task Force's work, which shall be led by the Senior Director of Tribal Nations Relations and AIRPTF shall complete its work within one year;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the University President and representation from the Board of Regents shall engage in formal consultation with the elected leaders of the eleven American Indian tribal governments at least three times annually through hosting summits with the tribal leaders, as is the practice of the Governor of Minnesota as well as the White House;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the University of Minnesota will partner with the eleven American Indian tribal governments to establish a system-wide tuition waiver for American Indian undergraduate and graduate students at each of its campuses rather than just the Morris campus, similar to the Waiver of Tuition for North American Indians policy in Michigan (Act 174 of 1976) and that that current admission criteria for sought-after student athletes should equally apply to American Indian students;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that because American Indian students are descendants of the tribes from whom land was taken to fund the University and which the University still profits from today, and because of their unique political status as members and citizens of a tribal government, American Indian students are not "multicultural" students but are entitled to their own gathering places, access to tribal elders, access to tutorial assistance, and access to Native American academic and student support counseling such as American Indian Learning Resource Centers (AILRC);

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that AILRC's must be provided on all University of Minnesota campuses and be autonomous from multicultural centers in the same way as International students have their own gathering spaces as representatives of foreign nations with a unique status and issues;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the University will uphold its duty to educate Minnesotans about our shared tribal-state history through requiring that all undergraduates take coursework that builds knowledge and understanding of tribal governments, tribal sovereignty, and our shared history and that all graduate students studying in fields related to public policy, business or law in Minnesota shall be required to take a graduate or law school courses of the same nature;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the University of Minnesota will immediately adopt hiring procedures and policies which identify and remedy search committee bias, conduct aggressive outreach and recruitment of American Indian PhD candidates, and institute other best diversity hiring practices specific to American Indian faculty toward the goal of doubling Native American faculty and professionals within five years;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that lands on the Fond du Lac Reservation which were taken from the Band and are currently used by the University of Minnesota Cloquet Forestry Center should be returned to the Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Indians;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the University of Minnesota should ensure that the Marvin J. Sonosky Chair of law and public policy should be used to fund American Indian law and policy scholarship and teaching to honor the work of Mr. Sonosky; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the University will establish a PhD in American Indian Studies and offer a Dakota language undergraduate degree in Dakota language, as the Twin Cities and Morris Campuses are on Dakota lands.

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, that the University of Minnesota Regents, the President, the Provost, the Vice Presidents, Chancellors, Vice Chancellors and all the University Deans and all upper level executive officers of all campuses must be required to attend the Tribal State Relations Training established by State Executive Order 13-10 and continued by Executive Order 19-24 or similar training.

CERTIFICATION: We do hereby certify that the foregoing resolution was duly presented and acted upon by a vote of 7 For, 0 Against, 0 Silent at Regular Meeting of the Minnesota Indian


Robert L. Larsen, Chairman
Minnesota Indian Affairs Council


Shelley Buck, Vice Chairwoman
Minnesota Indian Affairs Council

TRUTH: A Strategic Analysis of the Morrill Land Grab in Minnesota



Prepared by

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The project on which this report is based was completed in collaboration with the Office of the Senior Director of American Indian and Tribal Nations Relations at the University of Minnesota, as part of a 2021–2022 Resilient Communities Project (RCP) partnership. RCP is a program at the University of Minnesota’s Center for Urban and Regional Affairs (CURA) that connects University faculty and students with Minnesota communities to address strategic projects that advance local resilience, equity, and sustainability.

The contents of this report represent the views of the authors, and do not necessarily reflect those of RCP, CURA, the Regents of the University of Minnesota, or the City of Ramsey.



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Resilient Communities Project

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
Driven to DiscoverSM

The University of Minnesota is committed to the policy that all persons shall have equal access to its programs, facilities, and employment without regard to race, color, creed, religion, national origin, sex, age, marital status, disability, public assistance status, veteran status, or sexual orientation.

Introduction

Throughout this project, we set out to analyze two primary questions with respect to the University of Minnesota's involvement with the Morrill Act, and the long-run fiscal consequences of the land grab:

- *The Morrill Act stipulates that all money made from land sales must be used in perpetuity, meaning those funds still remain on university ledgers to this day. How much interest have these funds accrued over the years?*
- *Using an analysis of the plots identified by Land-Grab Universities [Lee and Ahtone, 2020], is the University still generating a profit from violence-backed cession lands, and if so, how much annually?*

Following an initial examination of the data available as a result of the work done by Robert Lee and Tristan Ahtone (2020), these questions were refined. As of 1904, all land granted to the University of Minnesota via the Morrill Act had been sold. Although the University made a tremendous initial return on these sales, the University does not currently generate revenue as a result of Morrill Act land holdings. However, there are potentially massive indirect profits to the University as a result of the land grab. As the land value must remain on endowment ledgers in perpetuity, the University may garner profit via interest accrued to investments made using Morrill Act land sales. Dependent upon spending ratios¹ from these sale profits, the University had and continues to have access to 117 years of discretionary spending from returns on Morrill Act sale investments. Thus, the bulk of my analysis focuses upon potential levels of such spending available to the University due to potential levels of investment returns.

¹Spending ratio here dictates how much of the investment interest is sold; what isn't spent I treat as money reinvested in the portfolio housing Morrill Act funds.

Methodology

Currently, the University of Minnesota endowment is divided into three broad categories: the Group Income Pool (GIP), Consolidated Endowment Fund (CEF), and Permanent University Fund (PUF). Profits from sales as a consequence of the Morrill Act fall into the PUF, which is comprised of public endowments from federal land grants, as well as mineral taxes, rights, and royalties. According to the University, these assets are used to “match private contributions with the goal of providing substantial financial support for endowed chairs and professorships throughout the University.”² Based upon publicly available information from the state of Minnesota, the PUF had a market value of approximately \$543 million as of 2016.³ Although this available data could be used to reconstruct a general idea of the value of the PUF to the University endowment, the proportion of the PUF made up of Morrill Act profits is unknown, as is the exact return to the portfolio housing these profits. If information can be obtained as to the current division of the PUF, it would be possible to refine estimates of total discretionary spending.

Scaled to 1914,⁴ the University of Minnesota made \$579,430.26 on the sale of 94,439 acres of land, money that was raised for the University endowment. Without complete disclosure by the University of Minnesota of the endowment investment history dating back to 1904, an exact reconstruction of interest accrued from land sales is impossible to calculate. Furthermore, investment patterns for universities overall have shifted since 1904, as have endowment management groups for the University of Minnesota. There is no singular stable return from which to calculate interest accrued to the University as

²<https://controller.umn.edu/treasury-endowments/index.html>

³The 2017 report giving these figures notes that the PUF resulted in \$874,643 of revenue to the University in 2016. However, the report also states this is a significant decrease in revenue from previous years due to the temporary shutdown of mining facilities. It should also be noted that this \$543 million is not an investment portfolio. While Morrill Act profits and other land grab profits may be invested in financial markets; much of the PUF is mineral rights; which explains some of the disconnect between the market value of the fund and the modest recognized returns.

⁴All values provided in the *High Country News* report and dataset are inflation adjusted to 1914. Initial comparisons were adjusted to this year for consistency. All final values provided in figures and analysis are similarly adjusted to purchasing power in 2020.

a consequence of the Morrill Act, nor available yearly data. However, it is possible to construct a range of return and spending estimates, based upon potential market returns and reinvestment patterns. As more data becomes available, the accuracy of these estimates may be refined. With the information available to me, I attempted to provide a framework for streamlining these calculations. This takes the form of an R code, which utilizes asset returns to estimate the current value of land grant profits on University ledgers, as well as the inflation-adjusted sum of the total amount of discretionary spending the University had access to as a result of investment interest.

Within my analysis, a few necessary simplifying assumptions were made. The *High Country News* data set does not give the exact sale date for each individual land parcel. Thus, calculations within my analysis use 1904 as the date from which the University began generating interest. Overall, this could give a slight underestimate of the total level of discretionary spending, as parcels sold earlier may have begun accruing interest before 1904. However, investments in the late 1800's differed significantly from market investments after the turn of the century. Since analysis of this timeframe will be highly speculative, I do not predict this assumption will substantially alter calculated values.

Additionally, the assets used for my analysis (T-Bills, T-Bonds, S&P 500 index fund) were not utilized until the late 1920s. To account for this, averages were taken for T-Bill and T-Bond returns using available data to fill in missing year values. Returns to these assets are nonvolatile and fairly low; therefore, this assumption should not affect final values in any noticeable way. For the S&P 500 index fund, data was only available after 1928. To fill in values from 1904–1928, average yearly market returns were substituted.

Unfortunately, each of the assets used gives a somewhat incomplete account of potential discretionary spending. Based upon current University endowment portfolios, government securities account for a relatively small portion of asset allocations at 8.6%. Private and global equity make up the bulk of the University of Minnesota portfolio, at 29.3% and 41.7%, respectively. Credit and reinsurance account for the rest of the portfolio, making up the remaining

20.4%. Further, recent University of Minnesota endowment returns (since January 1999) have yielded an overall average return of 8.7%. By comparison, the average return to the S&P 500 index was approximately 11.64%, 3.36% for T-Bills, and 5.22% for T-Bonds. Thus, baseline asset returns give only a high and low mark for potential spending. I was unable to find information on returns preceding 1999, so it was difficult to determine a target return figure for the Morrill Act investment profits. Additionally, the asset category allocation of the endowment as a whole is not necessarily emblematic of how the land profits were invested. PUF funds may be invested differently than other components of the endowment, particularly considering the perpetuity clause. Thus, the following code gives a few potential bounds for potential values and spending, and serves as a preliminary estimate. More information may become available in the future, which would allow estimates to be refined.

Code Description

The code has three core asset types: T-Bills, T-Bonds, and returns to the S&P 500. As an extension, I constructed a pseudo portfolio, combining market returns and government securities to target the average return of 8.7% that the endowment has realized since 1999. Using historical data sets, a return to each type was isolated. Scaling the \$579,430.26 land sale profit in 1914 to 1904 dollars, a yearly profit for each asset type was calculated, assuming investment of the entire profit. The variable *spendPercent* accounts for different patterns of reinvestment the University might undertake. For example, setting *spendPercent* to 1 would calculate the current value of the land sale and discretionary spending under the assumption that every year, all investment profits are spent.⁵ Setting *spendPercent* to 0.5 assumes that every year, the University reinvests 50% of the

⁵Within the code, a spending ratio of 1 acts as a bit of a special case. In years where market returns are negative, I set spending to zero. Further, I allow the asset value to appreciate back to the original sale value before allowing discretionary spending to resume. This was not an issue within other investment ratios, as the allowance of some profit reinvestment prevents the value of the land sale from dipping below its original value. The special case code for 100% spending is "LandGrab.R" while the overall code for spending percentages less than 100% is in the file "LandGrab2.R"

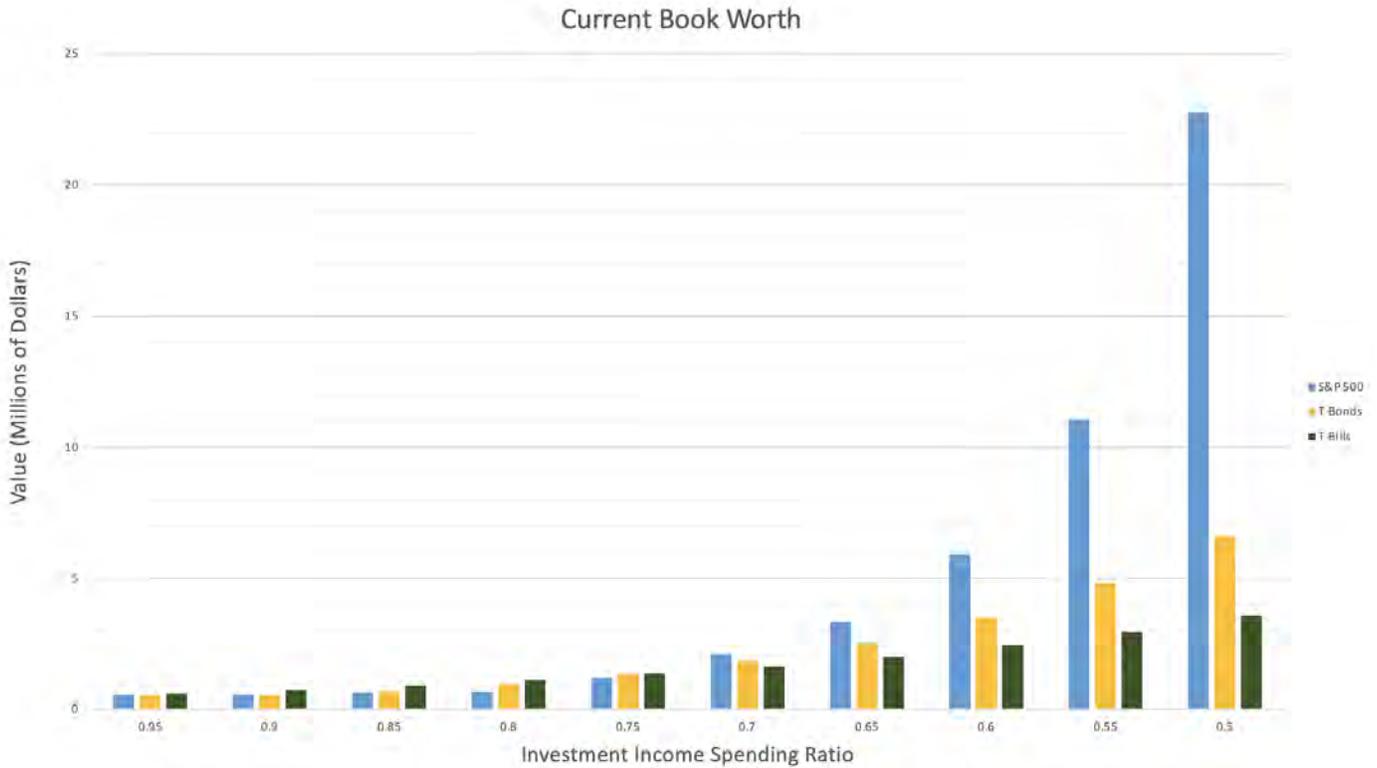
land sale interest back into the fund, allowing for greater profits in subsequent years. Within each of these calculations, if there is a year in which the fund loses value, I set discretionary spending to \$0. This may not be the most realistic assumption, as spending may occur so long as the original value of the land sale remains on University ledgers. However, I make the assumption that University spending in the event of a loss to the Morrill Act component of the PUF would prompt the University to spend from other components of the endowment.

Relative to a chosen spending fraction, I keep track of two variables. The first is *worth___*, which gives the current value of the land sale on University ledgers, for each asset type. The second is *actualSpend___*, which is the inflation-adjusted⁶ sum of yearly discretionary spending undertaken by the University for each asset type. Overall, the *actualSpend___* variable demonstrates the extent to which the University has and continues to profit from cession lands.

Below, I've included an analysis of the aforementioned four asset types and various spending ratios to give a rough estimate of cumulative University profits and expenditures. Future analysis could take into account more asset types if information becomes available regarding the asset allocation of the PUF. Additionally, my analysis assumes that a fixed proportion of investment returns are spent each year; this is likely not the case. Depending on actual returns to the endowment and the financial needs of the University, there may be years in which more or less of the interest accrued from Morrill Act land sales is spent. This is particularly apparent in years when the market experienced a significant downturn, and the endowment potentially lost value. The spending percentage could instead be imputed as a yearly variable to more accurately track the value of interest accrued from the land sale.

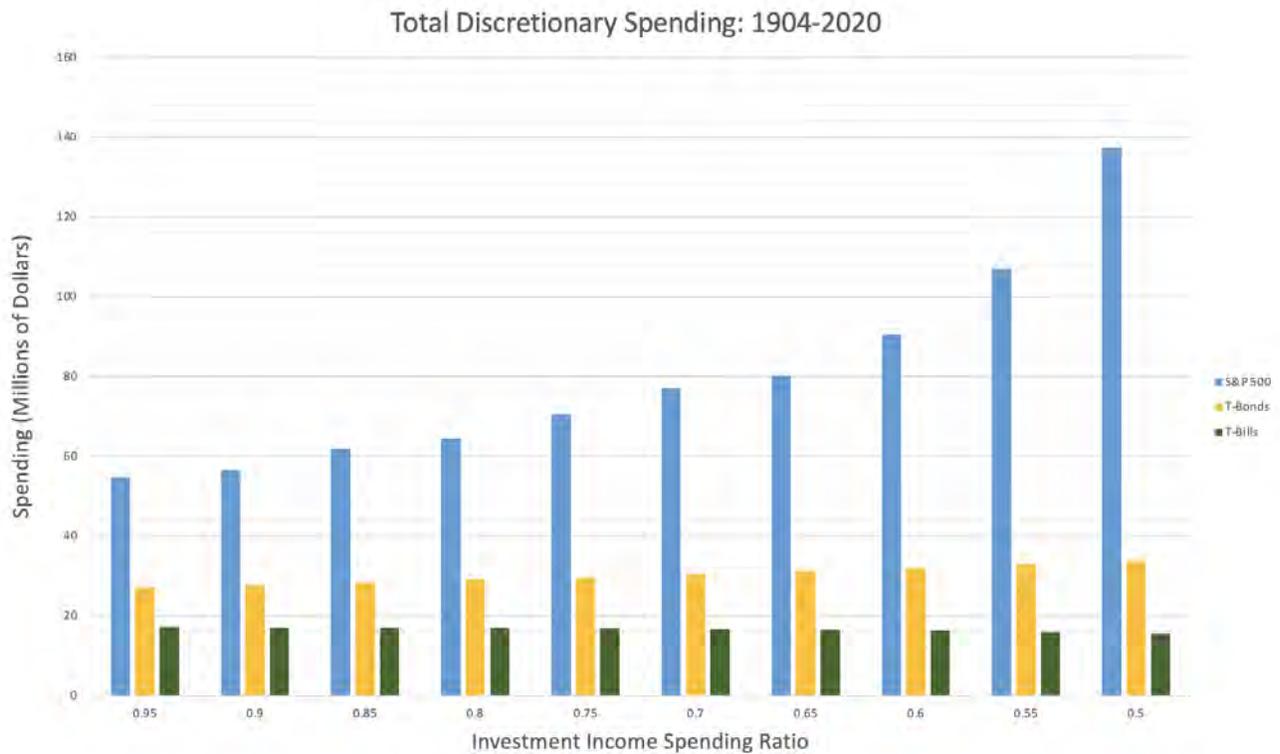
⁶Each historical spending value was adjusted for inflation to reflect purchasing power in 2020.

Figure 1.



At higher reinvestment values, the potential current book value of the land rises dramatically (Figure 1). Since the 2016 value of the entire PUF was approximately \$543 million, certain investment-ratio combinations can be immediately ruled out. As the Morrill Act land sale profits are only one component of the PUF, it is reasonable to assume that the ratio is somewhat lower on the scale. If the fraction of the land sale relative to the PUF were known, it would be possible to target the current book value and estimate an average spending ratio. This will vary with the returns on the sale investment, so information regarding how these profits were allocated to a portfolio would allow the calculation to be further refined.

Figure 2.



With a general idea of the spending ratio, total discretionary spending may be considered in more detail. Assuming a lower spending ratio—anywhere from 0.6 to 0.5—corresponds to tens of millions of dollars in spending from 1904 to today, with higher return investments. It should be noted, however, that these spending levels are highly sensitive to yearly returns. Figure 2 provides only one means of visualizing these spending levels. Using the provided Excel spreadsheets from which these graphs were created, the data can be visualized in other ways.

An additional analysis was run with a constructed asset to match the returns the current endowment portfolio as a whole earns as a yearly average. Overall, this combination asset has an average return of 8.75%, and is an allocation of 55% to the market and 45% to T-Bonds. Results for higher reinvestment ratios and the full span of assets are presented in Figures 3 and 4.

Figure 3.

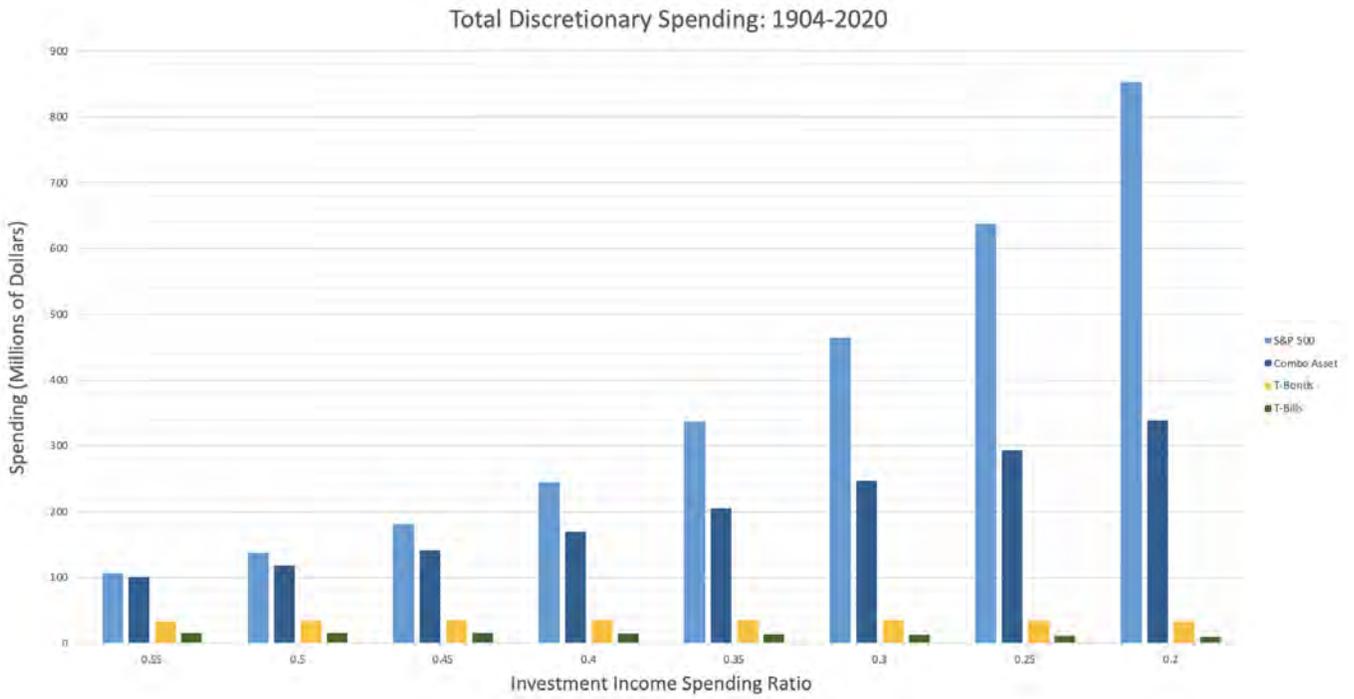


Figure 4.



Although the investment and value patterns may not align with the values reported on the PUF in 2016, the above charts for the combination asset in particular fall under the absolute \$543 million upper limit on the potential value of the land sale. With an approximately 8.7% return, the above spending ratios give reasonable estimates for levels of discretionary spending. Under the assumption that the S&P 500 levels of spending somewhat overshoot levels of discretionary spending, the combination asset provides more reasonable estimates: \$100,664,393 in spending, with a book value of \$17,130,325, as a low estimate; and \$293,338,516 in spending, with a book value of \$396,321,317, as an upper estimate.

In conclusion, although the University has not directly held Morrill Act lands since 1904, the endowment has recognized tremendous returns at multiple potential spending ratios due to compounded interest accrued from the original sale.

Final Deliverables

LandGrab.R

An R file used to estimate discretionary spending and the current book value of Morrill Act profits, under the special assumption that 100% of the profits are sold in each period. It should be noted that considering the current value of the PUF, this is likely not the case. However, it is included for visualization and completion.

LandGrab2.R

An R file used to estimate discretionary spending and the current book value of Morrill Act profits, assuming that the spending ratio of the University is less than 1. The variable *spendPercent* may be used to change the spending ratio of the University; the code will output the aforementioned values for the included variable types. Four assets are included:

- S&P 500
- T-Bills
- T-Bonds
- A combination asset of market returns (S&P 500) and T-Bonds used to target the average 8.7% investment return of the University's endowment as a whole. This combination asset is allocated 55% to the market, and 45% to T-Bonds.

ReturnsCSV.xlsx

The raw data used in the R code calculations. This file may be manipulated to import other variable yearly spending levels or asset types, beyond what was used in the current analysis.

Graphs.xlsx

The file for which R code output was used to visualize spending levels and current book values.

Data Sources

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Lands of the University of Minnesota

Shuping Wang

To better understand how the University benefited from the grabbed land, we need to know: (1) were all lands of the University granted by the federal government; (2) how the University managed the revenue of interest generated from the land. This part summarizes the lands of the University of Minnesota owned and how the University invested the revenue and interest generated from the land.

The land of University of Minnesota consists of two parts: one is donated by the individuals to the University or purchased by the regents of the University; the other ones are granted by the federal government.

On February 13, 1851, the Act of Territorial legislature provided for establishment of a State university. Since then, the University received the land donation from individuals and the University also bought tracts of land from individuals. For example, in 1852, W. A. Cheever, Esq. offered twelve and one-half acres; J. McAlpine, Esq. offered twenty acres near the village; Messrs. W. S. Farnham, C. T. Stinson, R. W. Cummings and H. H. Angell offered sixteen acres; Franklin Steele, Esq. offered four acres of land.

Besides donation, the University also purchased land from individual. For example, on October 21, 1854, the regents paid \$6,000 to buy twenty-five and one-third acres of land from Paul R. George and Joshua Taylor.

The main source of land for University of Minnesota comes from the land granted by the Federal government. Between 1851 and 1857, the United States Congress granted 144 sections of land for support the University of Minnesota. The lands granted by the federal government. Through the sale of these lands between 1868 and 1904, the University raised \$579,431, equivalent to over \$18.4 million in 2021 inflation-adjusted dollars. Most of this value came from lands ceded by the Dakota in 1851.

Permanent University Lands

The 1851 Charter for the University of Minnesota created a perpetual fund that is known as the "Permanent University Fund" (PUF). All the revenue from the federal granted lands, as well as permanent university fund lands, is deposited into the PUF. The revenue comes from the selling the lands, leasing the lands for natural resources like iron ore and mineral, making investments secured by the lands or natural resources in it. A significant portion of the permanent university fund lands contain valuable deposits of iron ore and taconite. The lands were first leased for natural iron ore exploration and mining in 1891, with the first substantial revenue from royalties occurring in 1917. Now, Permanent university lands are managed by the Department of Natural Resources (DNR). Currently, the land base is 25,910 acres of surface and minerals, and 21,070 acres of minerals only.

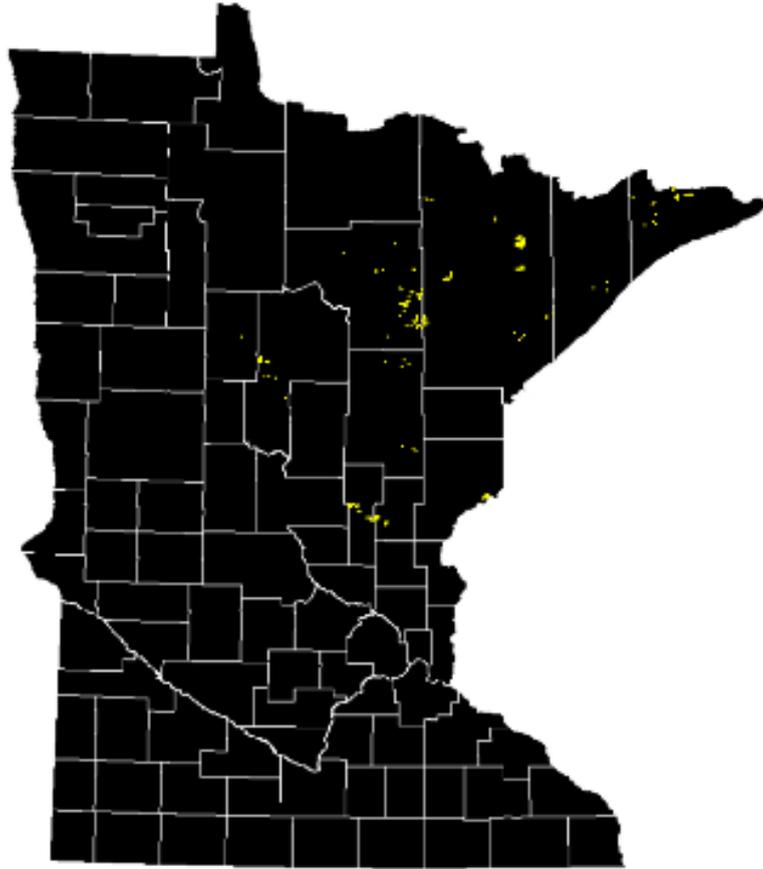


Figure 1. Location of Permanent University Fund Lands, source: Minnesota's Permanent University Land and Fund

Revenue generated from permanent university fund lands are used in different way in its early years and recent years. In the early years, income from the investment of the revenue in the PUF was used to reduce debt incurred in establishing the university. In more recent years, the income was used for professorial chairs. Starting with Fiscal Year 1993, the revenue from management of the permanent university fund lands has been split among four accounts of the PUF:

- (1) the endowed chair account
- (2) the endowed mineral research account
- (3) the endowed scholarship account
- (4) the endowed Mesabi Range Account (created on January 1, 2013)

Revenue often would be distributed within accounts. For example, all revenue received after July 1, 1992 from royalties for mining permanent university fund lands under state mineral leases is split equally between the mineral research account and the endowed scholarship account. So to look deeper into the how the University managed the one specific revenue, more than one account should be considered.

The interest generated from the Permanent University Fund accounts is used as follows:

- (1) Endowed Chair Account interest is used to provide endowment support for professorial chairs in academic disciplines.
- (2) Endowed Mineral Research Account interest is allocated to the Duluth and

Coleraine facilities of the Natural Resources Research Institute for mineral and mineral-related research, including mineral-related environmental research.

- (3) Endowed Scholarship Account interest is distributed each year through the Iron Range Scholarship Program. The scholarships are distributed for scholastic achievement to freshman, who are Minnesota residents, attending any of the four campuses of the University of Minnesota.
- (4) Endowed Mesabi Range Account Income is used for operating a mining, metallurgical, or related engineering degree offered through the University of Minnesota at the Mesabi Range Community and Technical College, and for scholarships for students to attend the program.

To sum up, the revenue from the land comes from selling, leasing and investing the land or natural resources in it. The revenue and interest from the land are distributed on endowment support for professional chairs, financial support for students and related research.

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Towards Recognition and University-Tribal Healing (TRUTH) Project

The Permanent University Fund:
Land Grants and Mineral Leases

Capstone Team:
Danielle Fuecker, Audrianna Goodwin, Henry Paddock, Madeline Titus

July 2022

Executive Summary

TRUTH Project and Capstone Project Background

In 2020, the Minnesota Indian Affairs Council (MIAC) passed a series of resolutions calling for the University of Minnesota to be in better relations with the eleven Tribal Nations that share geography in Minnesota. The result was the formation of the Towards Recognition and University Tribal Healing (TRUTH) Project. The goal of the Truth Project is to investigate the current and historical relationship between Tribes and the University of Minnesota through a series of research projects. This portion of the TRUTH research was done by a graduate capstone team through the University of Minnesota's Humphrey School of Public Affairs.

Capstone Project Purpose

The purpose of this research is to provide a preliminary historical and financial analysis of the University of Minnesota's Permanent University Fund, its sources of revenue, and its allocation of those funds. While another research group from the Center for Urban and Regional Affairs (CURA) provided more analysis of the sale of land-grant lands from the Morrill Act of 1862, our capstone team focused on the following research question:

In addition to the land itself, resources have also been taken. Is there a monetary value that we can associate with this resource extraction/hoarding?

Our goal was to put a figure on the mineral extraction revenue the University has collected from the land-grant lands; additionally, we investigated how that revenue has been allocated both within the University and throughout Minnesota.

Findings

Many different types of resources have been extracted from land grant lands that are retained by the University of Minnesota, notably the timber and mining industries. Within the mining industry, we focused on the leasing of mineral rights on land-grant land. Without adjusting for inflation, the revenue created by iron and taconite mineral leases between 1890 and 2022 totaled:

- \$191,875,315

This estimate is likely close to half a billion dollars when adjusted for inflation, and it does not include any profit made from investing that money over time. A deeper economic analysis is needed to confirm this estimate. The 2020 PUF total, which includes mineral leasing, timber, land sales, royalties on iron, etc. was:

- \$591,119,846

Through archival research, we also found that the PUF was investing in colonial municipalities from very early on in Minnesota's history as a state. Those municipalities were able to use PUF money for capital projects, and they paid interest back into the PUF. This circulation of wealth did not benefit any of the Tribal Nations whose land those municipalities occupy today.

Implications

The appropriation of these lands from Native tribes and their granting to the University of Minnesota has shifted hundreds of millions, if not billions, of dollars of wealth from tribes to the University. Today, the revenue of the PUF has been used to:

- Pay University of Minnesota debts
- Invest in municipal bonds across the state
- Fund scholarships, professorships, and research related to mining

These funds from these lands, despite the land's origins, have not been used to directly invest in Native people. We believe our findings justify the recommendations that follow:

1. The University of Minnesota should fund a comprehensive self-study to confirm and expand on our exploratory investigations. This self-study should include exhaustive documentation of the allocations to and earnings within the Permanent University Fund and all other funds stemming from Tribal lands, including documentation of investments in settler or colonial municipalities and determining whether any investments in Tribal financial instruments ever has occurred.
2. The University of Minnesota should complete documentation and mapping of all land-grant lands. This effort can build on CURA's effort to map land-grant parcels that remain in the Fund. The CURA mapping provides both a foundation and example of the work needed to fully understand this history of land expropriation.
3. The University of Minnesota should increase use of PUF funds to support Native students, staff, and faculty including, but not limited to, full tuition with the inclusion of non-academic supports, as well as additional Native student and faculty resources. In addition, the creation of endowed chairs for Native professorships, and research grants for Native students, are just some of the suggestions that arose from our interviews in the parallel report.
4. The University of Minnesota should explore perpetual restitution for Tribal Nations. As documented, the University invested in municipal bonds for more than 100 years with money that came from Native land – the University should explore options, like low-interest bonds, to circulate some of the expropriated wealth back into the Tribal Nations.
5. The University of Minnesota should explore and integrate financial investments in Tribal communities as part of its PUF investment portfolio.

Full Report

Acknowledgement

Miigwech (Thank You) to the TRUTH team, who have helped craft ideas, offer feedback, and take the opportunity to directly engage with our research. Thank you to Dr. Greg Lindsey, our Capstone professor, for his patience and guidance in the research process and for proofreading countless drafts. Lastly, thank you to all the professionals, professors and representatives of Tribal Communities including who we interviewed. This project would not be possible without your wisdom, insight, and willingness to share with the Capstone team.

TRUTH Project Background and Goals

This capstone project is part of a larger research project, called the Towards Recognition and University-Tribal Healing (TRUTH) Project. It is a "Minnesota Transform" initiative (funded by Andrew W. Mellon Foundation), led by the University's Senior Director of American Indian Tribal Nations Relations, Tadd Johnson, with leaders of 11 of the federally-recognized Minnesota Tribes. The TRUTH project has partnered with the Resilient Communities Project (RPC) at the Center for Urban and Regional Affairs (CURA) to offer additional student research for the project, including this capstone project. The TRUTH Project's goal is to offer a "community-led participatory research designed to give Tribes the opportunity to tell, in their words, the history of relations between their Tribal Nation and the University of Minnesota."

This report results from research done for a capstone project through the University of Minnesota's Humphrey School of Public Affairs, in partnership with RCP, as part of the larger TRUTH Project. This capstone project has the stated goals:

- To build a shared truth within the University that acknowledges the harms inflicted on Indigenous people so that reconciliation and redress may occur.
- To provide an economic analysis that can serve as the foundation for systems change within the University and Tribal Relations.

There are a number of research groups working on this project. Several of the groups, including this capstone group, investigated "land grants", which were Congressional acts, in which land that had been dubiously acquired from Tribes by the federal government was granted to states and state institutions as a form of funding. One of two research questions our team of researchers investigated was:

- In addition to the land itself, resources have also been taken. Is there a monetary value that we can associate with this resource extraction/hoarding?

This report – *The Permanent University Fund (PUF): Land Grants and Mineral Leases* – summarizes findings related to this research question, focused specifically on the mineral lease revenue from PUF land-grant lands and the PUF itself. Our parallel report – *University Relationships with Tribal Nations: Opportunities for University Action* – focuses on what our peer universities are doing in the realm of University-Tribal relations, and what the University of Minnesota can learn from them.

Methodology

This report is the result of exploratory research into lands held by the University of Minnesota in the Permanent University Fund, and sources of continuing income from Tribal Lands. Our methods consisted of reviewing the literature, conducting archival research, and GIS data analysis.

Literature Review

The Truth Project as a whole was borne out of the High Country News *Land Grab Universities* report. Through extensive mapping of 99% of the land granted through the Morrill Act of 1862, this report exposed the massive generation of wealth for university endowments through expropriated Native lands [1]. Building off of that work, the Center for Urban and Regional Affairs (CURA), further mapped and analyzed the Morrill land granted within the boundaries of Minnesota, and the returns it generated for the University [2] [3]. The next step in this exploration was for our team to investigate whether the University was still profiting off of land-grant lands, specifically through the extraction of resources. Our team closely investigated the additional Minnesota-specific land-grants of 1851 and 1857 that contributed to the endowment of the University. We found that the University still monetizes the remaining parcels of those lands through mineral leasing and, thus, continuing the generation of wealth from the land grants.

Archival Research

Conducting research in both the Minnesota Historical Society and University of Minnesota archives was especially important for investigating the Permanent University Fund. This fund holds money generated from land-grant lands, whether from sale of those lands or from extracting resources from those lands, plus the earnings from those lands. All the findings in this report come from the following archival sources.

From the Minnesota Historical Society:

1. *Biennial Report of the State Auditor to the Legislature of Minnesota, fiscal years ending in 1906-64* [4]
2. *Minnesota State Auditor Ledgers: Funds 1864-1882* [5]
3. *Minnesota State Board of Investment Ledger, 1917-1935* [6]

From the University of Minnesota archives:

1. *Permanent University Fund. Central Files records Boxes 95 and 96* [7]
2. *Forest Lands and Permanent University Fund, 1959-1971* [8]
3. *University of Minnesota Board of Regents Dockets, 1984-1990* [9]

It should be noted that other sources could be available, but were not identified or obtained during the course of this semester-long project.

All pictures taken from both the Minnesota Historical Society and the University of Minnesota Archives are available at the link provided at the end of this report.

GIS Data Analysis

Much of the recent data on the PUF lands and revenue are maintained by the Minnesota Department of Natural Resources (DNR), which manages the PUF lands and their revenues. Contained within the DNR database were:

- the locations of the remaining PUF land parcels that had not been sold
- the origin of those lands (i.e. congressional land grant)
- The location of current and past mineral leases on DNR-managed land parcels

Our team was able to compare these parcel locations and leases with:

- Maps of Native land territories
- Maps of Tribal land cessions
- Minnesota municipal, county, and state boundaries

Lastly, the DNR also produced a report on the mineral lease revenue for each year since 1890 [10] that informed the financial significance of the mineral leases on land-grant lands held within the PUF.

Historical Context of Land Grants and Mineral Leasing

Minnesota is home to both the Dakota and Ojibwe peoples. In the 19th century, U.S. settlers, backed by the U.S. military, began settling the Minnesota Territory. The U.S. offered treaties to Dakota and Ojibwe tribes, often using interpreters paid by the U.S. Government. Many of these treaties paid Tribes a small fraction of what their land had been valued at by the U.S. Government. Signing bonuses were also given to Tribal leaders as an incentive. The threat of U.S. military action was always a factor in these negotiations, as well. Additionally, the U.S. often violated the terms of these treaties, even after its coercive and strong-handed negotiation tactics had led to very favorable treaty terms for the U.S. [11] Ultimately, these treaties negotiated the cession of Native lands to the U.S. government. These ceded lands were then granted to state governments as various land grants in the following decades [12].

Figure 1 illustrates the territory ceded by treaties with Tribal Nations, overlaid with the land from those cessions that remains in the University of Minnesota's land holdings today. Table 1 shows a brief overview of the land cession treaties that provided land for the 1851 and 1857 land grants, as well as for the Morrill Act of 1862 [13].

Figure 1: UMN Land-Grant Lands vs Lands Ceded by Tribes

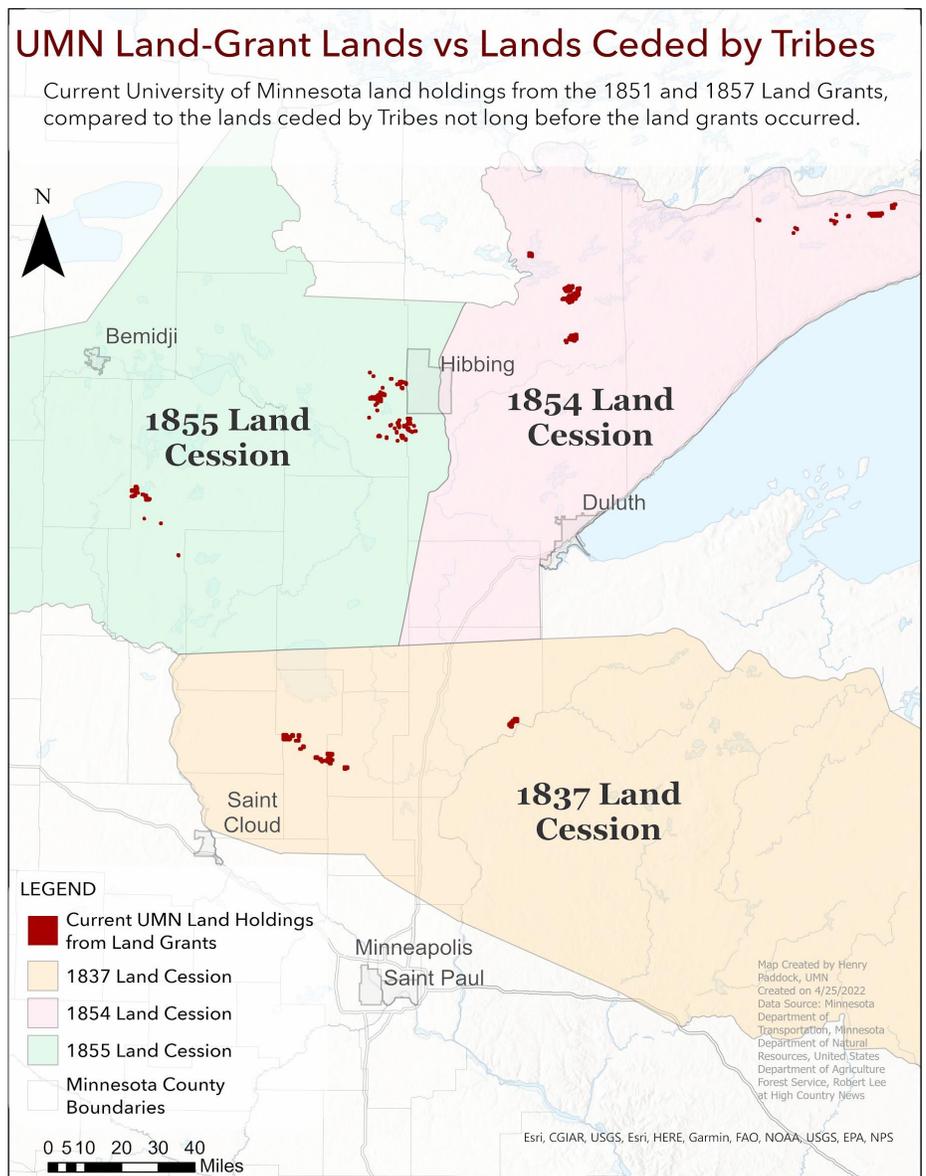


Table 1: Land Cession Treaties that Supplied Land-Grants to UMN¹

Year	Land Cession Treaty	Treaty Description	Supplied 1851 and 1857 Land Grant Land	Supplied 1862 Morrill Act Land*	Current UMN Holdings in PUF	Notes
1837	Ojibwe "Pine Treaty" of 1837 Dakota Treaty of 1837	Together these treaties ceded large swaths of what is now east-central MN and western WI	Yes; total acreage ceded by this treaty and subsequently granted is tbd		~6,398.15 acres	US Gov was interested in logging white pine on this territory, as well as copper mining; presence of mineral deposits was noted in preparation of the Ojibwe Treaty
1847	Ojibwe Mississippi Treaty Ojibwe Pillager Treaty	Ojibwe people ceded land in central MN to create a buffer between them and the Dakota people		1,760 acres of land ceded by Ojibwe people in these treaties were then granted to UMN through the Morrill Act	None - all Morrill Land was sold	Ojibwe ceded this land to create a buffer between them and Dakota people; US Gov purchased it to cede to Ho-Chunk and Menominee people, but when they did not relocate it was ceded back to US Gov
1851	Dakota Traverse des Sioux Treaty Dakota Mendota Treaty <i>UMN Charter and Permanent University Fund Established</i>	Dakota ceded most of their land, covering largely SW and central MN; while they were promised a large sum of payment, little was received		92,871 acres of land ceded by Dakota people in these treaties were then granted to UMN through the Morrill Act	None - all Morrill Land was sold	By the time these treaties were signed, the fur trade was declining; fur traders pushed treaty negotiations, and much of the money that was promised to the Dakota people was appropriated instead to the traders
1854	Ojibwe 1854 Treaty	Ojibwe people ceded the Arrowhead Region of MN	Yes; total acreage ceded by this treaty and subsequently granted is tbd		~2,151.27 (+7,662.64**) acres	This land session came after surveyors found a vein of copper in the area, and pressured government officials to open it to mining; after it was taken, the expected rush of miners never developed
1855	Ojibwe 1855 Treaty	Ojibwe people ceded large portions of north-central MN	Yes; total acreage ceded by this treaty and subsequently granted is tbd		~5,685.09 (+7,662.64**) acres	US Gov wanted increased access to logging and mining in this area
Total			92,106 Acres Granted to UMN	94,631 Acres Granted to UMN	21,897.15 Acres Still Held by UMN	PUF 2020 Total: \$591,119,846

*Acres granted to MN. Morrill Act of 1862 also granted scrip land in MN to other states for their universities; scrip land was taken through all the above land cession treaties

**There are 7,662.64 acres of land grant land in current-day St. Louis County, which spans both the 1854/1855 cession areas

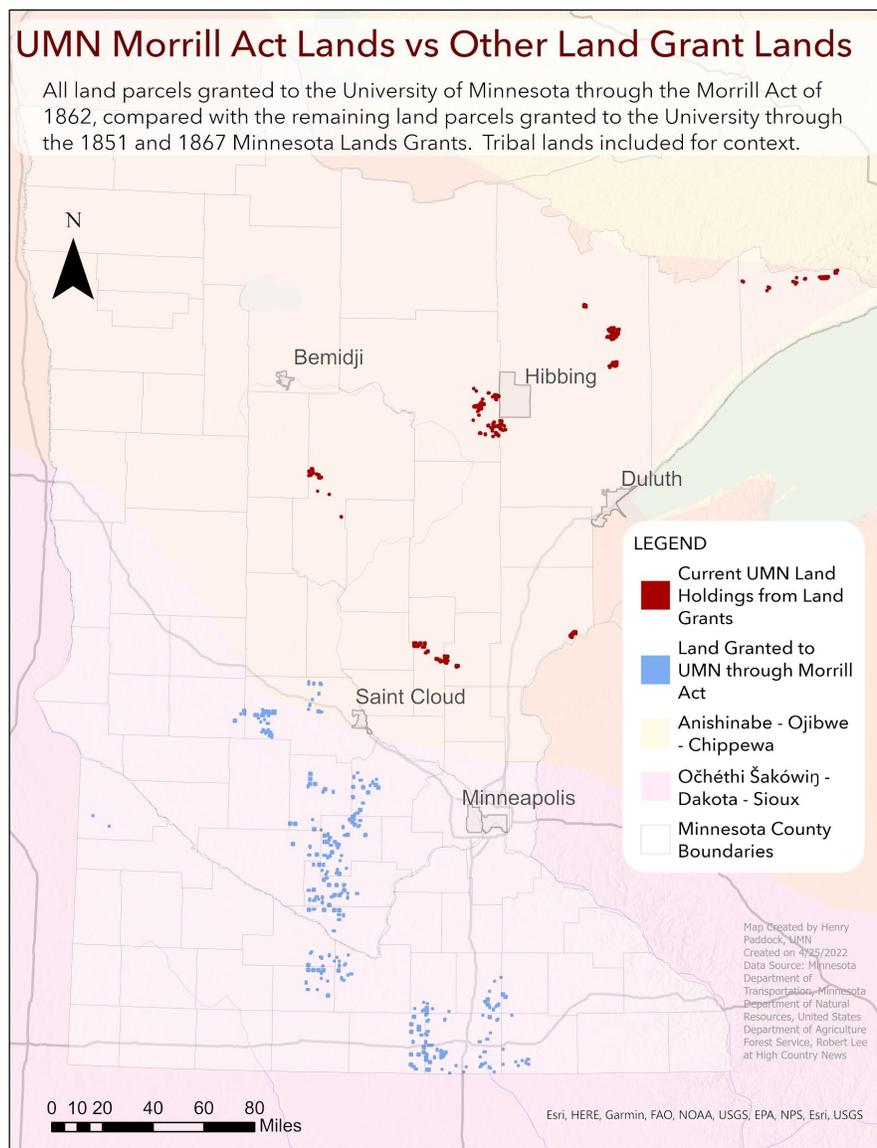
Bolded treaty names indicate that at least one of the signers for the US was a UMN Regent either at the time of, or after, the signing

In 1851, President Millard Fillmore approved a land grant of 72 sections (46,080 acres) to be held by and to support the founding of the University of Minnesota in the Minnesota Territory. As Minnesota began to petition for statehood in 1857, several members of the board of regents lobbied congress to double the land grant (an additional 72 sections of land) for the University as a provision in Minnesota Enabling Act. University of Minnesota was also granted 94,631 acres of land through the Morrill Act of 1862, which granted land to public universities for the purpose of opening agricultural science and mechanical arts programs. In total, congress granted Minnesota 186,791 acres of land between 1851 and 1862 [14]. These lands, and all the revenue made from the land – largely land sales and resource extraction revenue – were put in the Permanent University Fund (PUF), making up a portion of the University endowment.

¹ More in-depth information and timeline found here: <https://treatiesmatter.org/treaties/land>

The lands granted to Minnesota had come from the cessions put into effect by treaties recently signed with Dakota and Ojibwe Tribes. As noted above, these treaties were coerced from these Tribes through threats of violence, desperation, bribes, and misdirection. The tribes did not retain the mineral rights on these lands after their sale; However, the University did retain these mineral rights after UMN sold most of these lands after the land grants [15]. These lands would be essential in paying off University debts, and allowing the University to open its doors in 1869. The revenue from these lands and their mineral rights would also serve as a massive source of income for the University, and continues to provide millions of dollars to the PUF annually. Figure 2 shows both Ojibwe and Dakota lands in Minnesota, overlaid with parcels of ceded land granted to the state of Minnesota through the Morrill Act of 1862 – all of which has been sold – as well as the remaining parcels of land from the 1851 and 1857 land grants. The majority of the Morrill Act land was taken from Dakota land cessions, while the remaining parcels from 1851 and 1857 are from Ojibwe land cessions.

Figure 2: UMN Morrill Act Lands vs Other Land Grant Lands



Permanent University Fund

The Permanent University Fund was established in the University of Minnesota's Charter in 1851 to hold the proceeds from sales of land and resources extracted from all land granted to the state for support of a university. According to the Charter, this fund is to be held in perpetuity and any interest and earnings accrued on it is to be used in support of the university [16]. The fund has been invested in various sources from at least 1869 [5], and while the principal must remain, the returns on investing that principal are essentially spending money for the university. From its establishment until the year 1963, the PUF was managed by the State Auditor office;

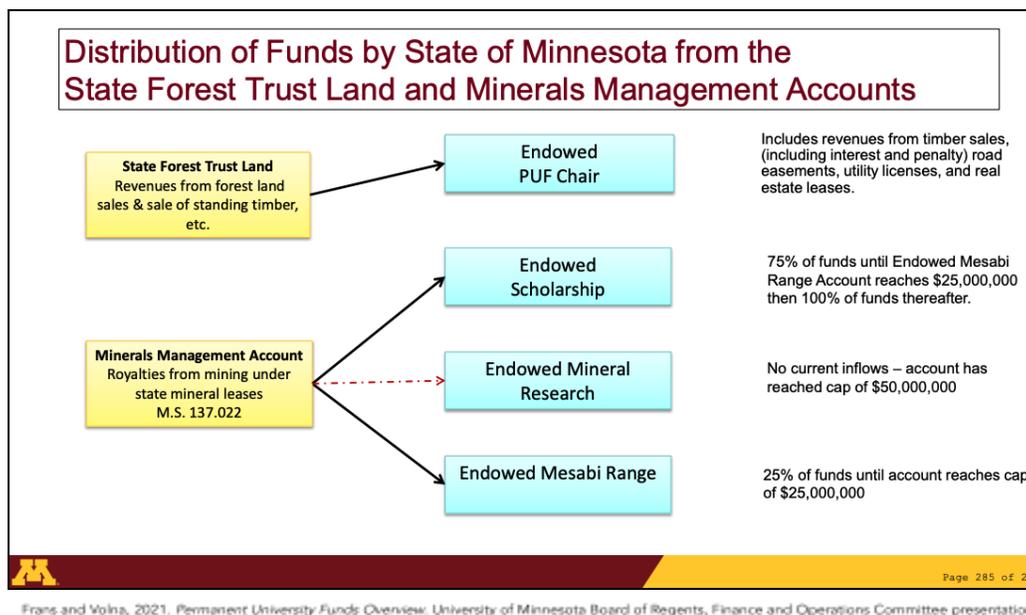
management was legislatively transferred to the University of Minnesota Board of Regents in 1963 [17], which still controls investment of the fund today. Today, all remaining PUF lands are managed by the Department of Natural Resources (DNR), which retains 20% of the revenues made off of the land, and resources extracted from the leases. The remaining 80% is used by the Board of Regents to support the University [18].

When researching the contents and growth of the PUF, the Minnesota Historical Society archives provided a comprehensive account between the years of 1906 and 1963. Biennial reports from the State Auditor to the Minnesota Legislature documented the different streams of income into the fund, as well as a brief overview of the investments of the fund [4]. These reports show that between 1906 and 1922, the different modes of profit into the PUF were through sales of PUF land, sales of timber on those lands, mineral permits and leases on the land, royalties on the iron ore mined from those lands, and profits on sales of bonds. After 1922, an occupation tax on iron ore was instituted on a state level, which contributed to all state trust funds on a flat-rate basis [19]. While these records provide a complete accounting of revenues from land holdings, they do not report the returns on any investments made from the PUF, which also is important to understanding how much disposable income the University has been able to spend from the original expropriated lands and resources. By the end of the Auditor reporting in 1963, the PUF had reached a total of \$47,282,147.96 – which, when adjusted for inflation, is equivalent to \$446,722,042.96 in 2022 – and about 40% of the that total was made up of royalties from iron ore mined on PUF lands.

After the management of the PUF was turned over to the UMN Board of Regents, it is difficult to find similarly detailed reports that show the contents of the fund. The University of Minnesota archives have Board of Regents reports and minutes from about 1985 to 1990, but reports on the PUF were framed more as reporting on an investment portfolio, rather than documenting what sources of income were making up the fund [9]. After 1990, the PUF was consolidated with other endowment funds and invested as a group, and finding exact, PUF-specific, information is difficult. Future research should build on this work by examining the investment portfolios to determine the growth of this fund via returns on investment.

From 1851 to 1993, all income made from investing the principal of the PUF was used to reduce the debt that was incurred in establishing the university. Specifically, in 1856 the Legislature authorized the University Board of Regents to issue \$5,000 in bonds to use towards the payment of debt on campus, and \$10,000 in bonds for erecting buildings and paying mortgage on university-owned lands. [20] After 1993, all PUF revenue was split into endowment accounts, starting with three and adding a fourth in 2013. These funds, illustrated below in a slide from a Board of Regents Finance and Operations Committee presentation (Figure 3), now hold all proceeds from sales of PUF lands, sales of timber, leasing mineral rights and royalties on mining on PUF lands [21]. The Board of Regents is legislatively mandated to produce biennial reports on these endowment accounts. The next report is expected this year (2022).

Figure 3: Board of Regents Finance and Operations Committee Presentation Slide



As of 2020, the PUF total was \$591,119,846, which makes up about 40% of the University of Minnesota's total endowment.

Through archival and mapping research, two main takeaways have emerged during this semester that will be covered below: continued profit by way of mineral rights and leasing on PUF lands, and using the PUF to invest in and circulate wealth throughout colonial cities and counties from very early in Minnesota's history as a state.

PUF Lands and Mineral Rights

The PUF holds the remaining land-grant lands – referred to here as the PUF lands – and the revenue made from these lands. Of the original 186,791 acres of land granted to the University, 25,840 acres remain as of 2020, with an additional 20,824 acres of mineral rights from the PUF lands since sold. These lands are almost entirely from the 1851 and 1857 land grants, with the exception of land-grant lands that were exchanged for new acres of land. The University of Minnesota Board of Regents was instrumental in choosing the lands they were granted, and sought specifically to acquire timber lands from which to create revenue [13]. Some of the PUF lands have been exchanged for new lands since the land grants. These newly-obtained lands, while part of the PUF lands, were not included in any maps to keep the

focus of this report on lands directly acquired through the land grants. All of the lands acquired from the Morrill Act of 1862 had been sold before the mineral leasing began, and, thus, none of these lands remain in the PUF today.

The remaining PUF lands are located largely in the Northeastern quadrant of the state, on traditional Ojibwe lands. The acreage, broken down by county, is distributed as such:

St Louis County:	9,467.20 acres
Itasca County:	4,584.92 acres
Mille Lacs County:	2,970.92 acres
Cook County:	2,673.30 acres
Kanabec County:	2,227.23 acres
Cass County:	1,971.05 acres
Pine County:	1,200.00 acres
Lake County:	415.33 acres
Aitkin County:	290.44 acres
Hubbard County:	40.00 acres

The mineral rights on the remaining PUF lands are a significant source of income for the PUF. Since 1891, when the mineral rights on the PUF lands were first leased, Iron and Taconite leases from PUF lands have accrued \$191,875,315 in revenue, \$168,044,960 of which have been deposited into the PUF (the difference has been used for the DNR's administrative costs related to land management) [10]. These numbers are *not* adjusted for inflation, so the value of each year's revenue converted to 2022 dollars would be significantly higher – more than *half a billion dollars*, roughly. This figure does *not* include any other revenue made from these lands, such as land sales, other non-iron/taconite mineral leases, or returns made from re-investing these revenues over 130 years.

PUF Funds and Transfer of Wealth

From at least 1869, the PUF has been used to invest in municipal bonds throughout the state [5][6]. By 1884, the Permanent University Fund had purchased \$277,000 – roughly \$8.1 million when adjusted for inflation – of Minnesota Adjusted Bonds [14]. By July 31, 1912, the PUF had purchased \$637,444 in municipal bonds – about \$19 million when adjusted [14]. With the limited time to do this research, the latest example of a municipal bond that was found was from 1975. The later examples also displayed low interest rates, from about 2-4% [7]. When the PUF purchases bonds from cities and counties, the University is both earning revenues to support the University's mission and supporting the municipalities as they undertake capital projects to serve their local populations (so long as the municipalities made their payments to the university). Those municipalities then pay back into the PUF with interest, constituting returns to the fund. With over a century of investing in the cities and counties of Minnesota

from very early on in Minnesota's statehood, it's evident that the PUF funds derived from Tribal lands and resources extracted from those lands have been important to the growth of the colonized state. The circulation of wealth from the University to the municipalities of MN and back does not include the Tribal Nations whose land those municipalities now occupy. From what was available in the archives, there were no investments in Tribes by way of municipal-type bonds. This, to us, represents a large transfer of wealth from Tribal Nations to colonizers.

As the management of the PUF changed hands, the reporting and documentation of municipal bonding as we found it also changed. Below are two examples of how this information was presented. On the left, a 1945 State Auditor report from the Minnesota Historical Society archives shows total amounts loaned to each county on aggregate – a total of about \$3.1 million (almost \$50 million when adjusted for inflation to 2022) was loaned to municipalities around the state [4]. When looking through the university archives, the documentation was of individual bonds and bond notices to municipalities. The photo on the right shows a 1956 loan to Martin County of \$3,400, which resulted in payments back to the PUF totaling \$24,698.38 by 1970 [7]. The individual bond documentation in the University archives is large, and future research should look into how much money was loaned to cities and counties as well as how much the returns generated for the University of Minnesota. Again, none of the sources we reviewed included evidence that any PUF funds were loaned to, or invested in, Tribal Nations.

STATE AUDITOR OF MINNESOTA

Trust Fund and Municipal Bond Fund Loans to Political Subdivisions—By Counties
June 30, 1945

COUNTY	Swamp Land Fund—382	Permanent Public Aid—583	Permanent University Fund—583	Total Trust Fund Loans	Municipal Bond Fund Loans M. S. 46-47618	Total By Counties
Aitkin	474,678.00	872,419.62	83,949.00	\$1,331,046.62	86,343.10	\$1,417,389.72
Anoka	13,000.00	24,000.00		37,000.00		37,000.00
Becker	3,500.00	81,800.00		85,300.00		85,300.00
Beltrami	32,500.00	11,200.00	1,000.00	44,700.00		44,700.00
Benton	13,000.00	11,200.00	20,000.00	44,200.00		44,200.00
Bleu River	124,700.00	11,200.00	4,000.00	140,000.00		140,000.00
Blue Earth	23,500.00	94,700.00		118,200.00	21,247.84	139,447.84
Brown		15,000.00	16,000.00	31,000.00		31,000.00
Carlton	3,800.00	113,000.00	20,000.00	136,800.00		136,800.00
Cass		74,000.00	20,000.00	94,000.00	43,643.84	137,643.84
Chippewa	102,400.00	80,000.00	27,500.00	210,000.00		210,000.00
Chisago	63,800.00	80,000.00		143,800.00		143,800.00
Clay		82,500.00	8,500.00	91,000.00	14,000.00	105,000.00
Cleburne	20,000.00	30,700.00	37,400.00	88,100.00		88,100.00
Cook	3,527.00	68,000.00	12,500.00	84,027.00	4,200.00	88,227.00
Crow Wing	13,000.00	78,000.00	48,200.00	139,200.00		139,200.00
Dakota	19,000.00	214,000.00	120,000.00	533,000.00		533,000.00
Dodge	7,000.00	112,000.00	62,000.00	281,000.00		281,000.00
Douglas	26,300.00	181,000.00	3,000.00	210,300.00		210,300.00
Faribault	4,000.00	82,700.00	4,000.00	90,700.00		90,700.00
Fillmore	3,000.00	119,000.00		122,000.00		122,000.00
Goodhue	25,000.00	60,200.00	112,000.00	197,200.00		197,200.00
Grant	7,000.00	78,000.00	16,000.00	101,000.00		101,000.00
Hennepin	12,200.00	308,500.00	182,000.00	602,700.00		602,700.00
Houston		31,900.00	37,000.00	68,900.00		68,900.00
Hubbard		7,000.00	6,000.00	13,000.00		13,000.00
Isanti	1,800.00	8,800.00	29,000.00	39,600.00		39,600.00
Itasca	4,200.00	40,700.00	148,000.00	193,000.00	750.00	193,750.00
Jackson	3,000.00	22,600.00	29,000.00	54,600.00		54,600.00
Kenosha	9,300.00	135,200.00	6,000.00	150,500.00		150,500.00
Kennett		22,600.00	23,000.00	45,600.00		45,600.00
Kittling	3,775.00	62,400.00	37,600.00	103,775.00		103,775.00
Kookinging		15,000.00	4,000.00	19,000.00		19,000.00
Lac qui Parle	111,500.00	80,300.00	33,500.00	225,300.00	7,000.00	232,300.00
Lake	1,500.00	31,000.00		32,500.00		32,500.00
Lake of the Woods	1,000.00	78,500.00		79,500.00		79,500.00
Le Sueur	12,000.00	172,500.00		184,500.00		184,500.00
Lyon		26,400.00	2,000.00	28,400.00		28,400.00
McLeod		12,000.00	82,500.00	94,500.00		94,500.00
Mahonman	16,300.00	1,000.00	2,000.00	19,300.00	3,000.00	22,300.00
Marshall	28,400.00	28,075.00	28,200.00	84,675.00		84,675.00
Marshall	38,900.00	17,000.00	10,000.00	65,900.00		65,900.00
Martin		12,000.00	10,000.00	22,000.00	2,000.00	24,000.00
Mill Lake		38,000.00	33,000.00	71,000.00		71,000.00
Morrison	16,000.00	48,700.00	4,000.00	68,700.00		68,700.00
Murray		28,100.00	18,000.00	46,100.00		46,100.00
Murray		62,100.00	13,000.00	75,100.00		75,100.00
Nobles		42,900.00	52,000.00	94,900.00		94,900.00
Nobles	56,500.00	79,000.00		135,500.00	27,500.00	163,000.00
Norman		89,000.00		89,000.00		89,000.00
Olmitz	9,000.00	249,875.00	48,650.00	307,525.00	2,500.00	310,025.00
Otter Tail		44,200.00	5,900.00	50,100.00		50,100.00
Pennington		213,065.00	15,900.00	228,965.00		228,965.00
Pine	79,000.00	41,200.00	61,200.00	181,400.00	500.00	181,900.00
Pine	250,975.00	13,065.00	15,900.00	279,940.00		279,940.00
Plymouth		179,000.00	19,000.00	198,000.00		198,000.00
Polk	11,200.00	51,800.00	51,000.00	114,000.00		114,000.00
Pope		15,000.00	51,000.00	66,000.00		66,000.00
Ramsey	88,000.00	271,575.00	9,000.00	368,575.00	1,500.00	370,075.00
Red Lake		11,600.00		11,600.00		11,600.00
Redwood	105,000.00	87,200.00	49,500.00	241,700.00		241,700.00
Redwood		296,000.00		296,000.00		296,000.00
Renoville						
Rice		121,000.00		121,000.00		121,000.00
Rice		41,000.00	18,000.00	59,000.00		59,000.00
Roseau		271,850.00	1,813,400.00	4,085,250.00		4,085,250.00
St. Louis	463,750.00	271,850.00	2,600.00	738,200.00		738,200.00
Stearns	56,000.00	65,000.00		121,000.00		121,000.00
Stearns		67,000.00		67,000.00		67,000.00
Stearns	47,000.00	406,910.00	17,000.00	470,910.00		470,910.00
Stearns	32,200.00	4,500.00		36,700.00		36,700.00
Stevens		94,000.00	8,100.00	102,100.00		102,100.00
Swift		403,750.00	15,500.00	419,250.00	4,500.00	423,750.00
Todd	1,400.00	88,800.00		90,200.00		90,200.00
Traverse		39,800.00		39,800.00		39,800.00
Wabasha	1,095.00	20,800.00	2,900.00	24,800.00	6,500.00	31,300.00
Wadena		24,000.00	28,000.00	52,000.00		52,000.00
Wadena		103,000.00	4,000.00	107,000.00		107,000.00
Washington		21,500.00	7,500.00	29,000.00		29,000.00
Watson		72,800.00	7,500.00	80,300.00		80,300.00
Wilkin		62,000.00	7,500.00	69,500.00		69,500.00
Winona		24,000.00	22,500.00	46,500.00		46,500.00
Wright	1,500.00	73,100.00	65,500.00	140,100.00		140,100.00
Yellow Medicine						
Total All Counties	\$2,154,858.00	\$10,236,684.62	\$3,111,889.00	\$15,482,432.22	\$18,488.80	\$15,641,921.02

STATE AUDITOR OF MINNESOTA

MARTIN COUNTY, UNIVERSITY FUND

Statement of principal and interest of State loans due July 1, 1970 :

MUNICIPALITY Balance of Loan Date of Bonds Bond No. Principal Interest Total

County of Martin \$ 3,400.00 2-3-56 14 \$ 1,700.00 \$ 102.00 \$ 1,802.00

PAID BY COUNTY: AUDITOR'S WARRANT NO. 7193/5
RECEIVED 6/30/70 DEPOSIT # 2 AMT \$24,698.38

PERMANENT UNIVERSITY FUND \$ 1,700.00
GENERAL FUND \$ 102.00
Total \$ 1,802.00

If the foregoing is in agreement with your records please issue warrant payable to State Treasurer of Minnesota for the total amount due and transmit to State Board of Investment, 203 State Administration Building, St. Paul, Minnesota. Redacted warrant will constitute receipt.

If the foregoing is not in agreement with your records please advise this office in detail at once.

WILLIAM J. O'BRIEN State Auditor
Original signed by A. O. WHITESIDE

Implications

To summarize these findings:

1. The University of Minnesota has made over \$190 million dollars from the mineral leases on land-grant lands, not counting land grant sales. These revenues:
 - are *not* adjusted for inflation.
 - do *not* account for any of the other ways this land has been used for profit.
 - do *not* include the returns on investments made with this money over 130 years.
2. This revenue has been used to provide financing to settler municipalities throughout the state for more than a century.
3. No evidence that financing or loans went to Tribal Nations was discovered.
4. Until 1993, income from investments of the PUF were used to pay off university debts.
5. Today, earnings from mineral-leasing revenues help to resource mining-related professorships, scholarships, and research.

These findings are significant for beginning to picture just how much the University of Minnesota has benefited from the expropriation of Native land and the displacement of Native people. The university now has an opportunity to implement projects, policies, and practices that continue this work and create change for Native students, faculty, and communities. Our recommendations include:

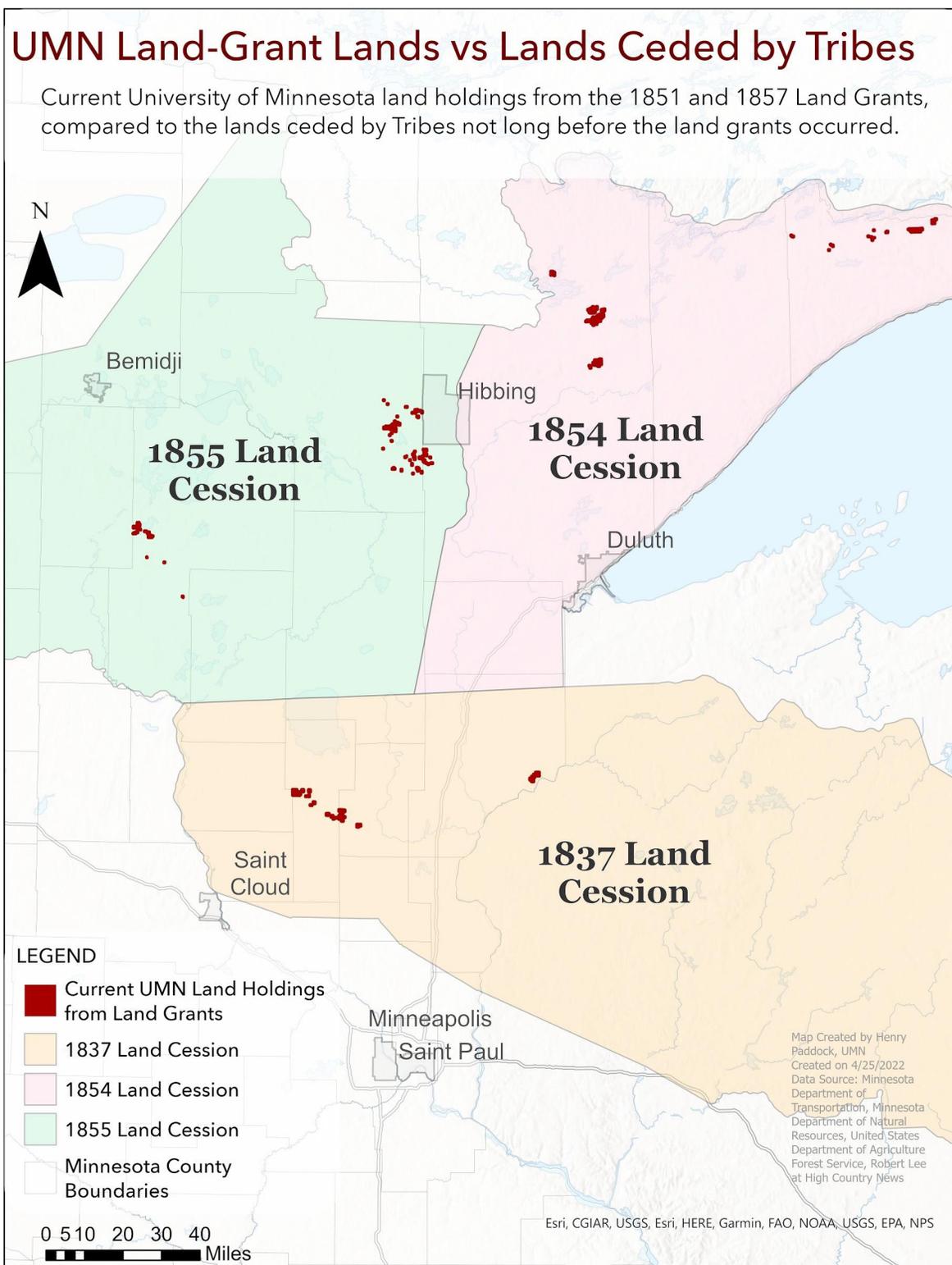
1. The University of Minnesota should fund a comprehensive self-study to confirm and expand on our exploratory investigations. This self-study should include exhaustive documentation of the Permanent University Fund and all other funds stemming from Tribal lands, including documentation of investments in settler or colonial municipalities and determining whether any investments in Tribal financial instruments ever has occurred.
2. The University of Minnesota should complete documentation and mapping of all land-grant lands. This effort can build on CURA's effort to map land-grant parcels that remain in the Fund. The CURA mapping provides both a foundation and example of the work needed to fully understand this history of land expropriation.
3. The University of Minnesota should increase use of PUF funds to support Native students, staff, and faculty including, but not limited to, full tuition with the inclusion of non-academic supports, as well as additional Native student and faculty resources. In addition, the creation of endowed chairs for Native professorships, and research grants for Native students, are just some of the suggestions that arose from our interviews in the parallel report.
4. The University of Minnesota should explore perpetual restitution for Tribal Nations. As documented, they invested in municipal bonds for more than 100 years with money that came from Native land – they should explore options, like low-interest bonds, to circulate some of the expropriated wealth back into the Tribal Nations.
5. The University of Minnesota should explore and integrate financial investments in Tribal communities as part of its PUF investment portfolio.

Opportunities for Further Research

In addition to preceding five recommendations, we also identified five opportunities for additional research. This research is important to documenting fully the history of the University of Minnesota's relationship with the 11 sovereign Tribal Nations. This research, which could be included in the self-study we have recommended, includes:

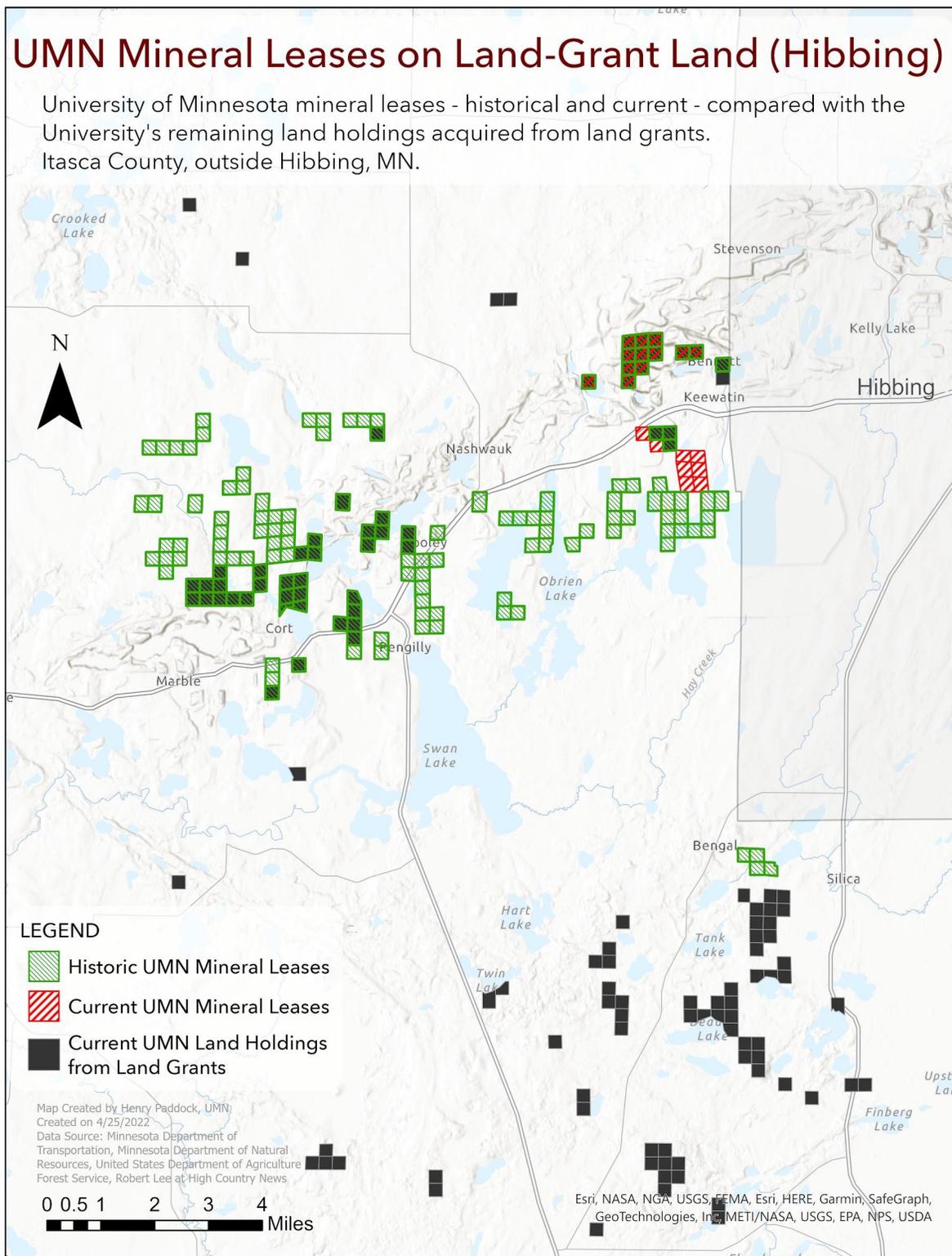
1. Maps of all lands granted to the University of Minnesota, not just the remaining ones.
2. Maps of the ownership of all state-owned mineral rights, not just the ones being leased.
3. Calculations of the value of all land sales from lands granted to the University of Minnesota.
4. Calculations of the value of the returns on reinvestment of PUF funds over 130 years.
5. Research on other state trust funds, such as the Permanent School Fund, that also stem from Tribal land.

Maps



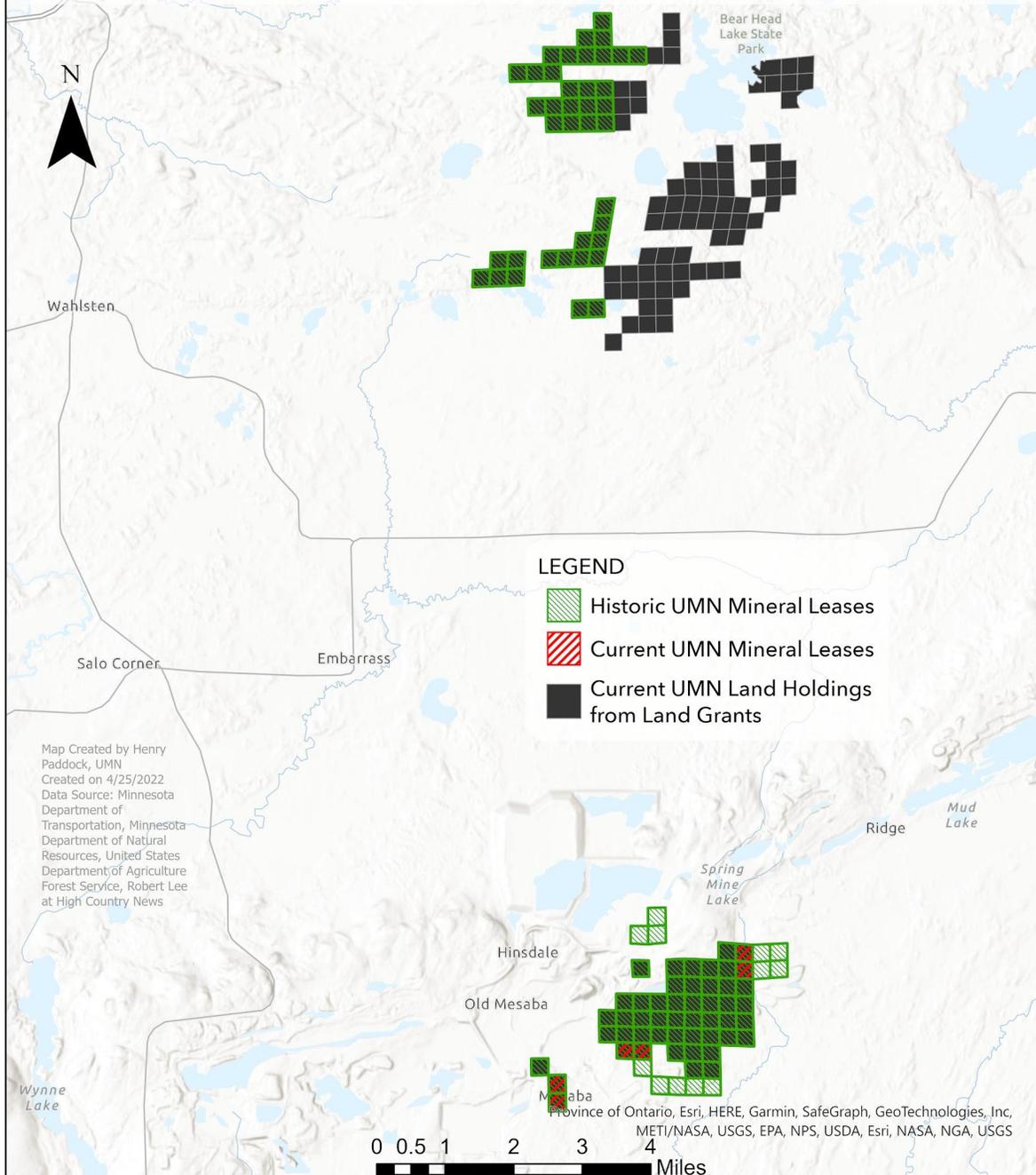
UMN Mineral Leases on Land-Grant Land (Hibbing)

University of Minnesota mineral leases - historical and current - compared with the University's remaining land holdings acquired from land grants. Itasca County, outside Hibbing, MN.



UMN Mineral Leases on Land-Grant Land (Babbitt)

University of Minnesota mineral leases - historical and current - compared with the University's remaining land holdings acquired from land grants.
St Louis County, between Embarrass and Babbitt ~50 miles north of Duluth, MN.



Epilogue

Being able to contribute to this project provided our team of researchers an opportunity to engage with our client and interviewees in a way that utilized a combination of western and Indigenous Research Methods and ways of knowing. Through our research we were able to learn from one another and with one another about some of the often overlooked and untold histories of the relationship that colonial institutions have with Tribal Nations. Centering the voices of those that the research directly affected was critical to the relationship building with our client and partners that took place over the course of the semester. Through this relationship building we were able to foster connections that positively affected our ability to gather the data in a way that can begin to repair some of the harms that have been committed throughout history. Our team of researchers hope that any future research with tribal partners will honor Indigenous Research Methods and cultural protocols.

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Sources for GIS Maps

Name	File Type	Source	Use	Link
"State Surface Interests Administered by MNDNR or by Counties"	Geo-database (.gbd)	Minnesota Department of Natural Resources	Queried by fields: Land Type (LANDTYPE), Means of Acquisition (MEANSACQ), to find University Trust Lands, acquired through Congressional land grants	Click Here
"State Mineral Leasing"	Geo-database (.gbd)	Minnesota Department of Natural Resources	Queried by fields: Land Class (ML_SU_LANDCLASS) for both "active_minlease" and "historic_minlease" layers to find University-owned mineral leases	Click Here
"Tribal Land Cessions in the United States"	Geo-database (.gbd)	US Department of Agriculture Forest Service	Geographic/Historic Context, queried by location, intersect with "mn_county_boundaries", extracted each observation into a separate layer for better visualization	Click Here
"Morrill Act of 1862 Indigenous Land Parcels Database"	Shapefile (.shp)	High Country News "Land-Grab University" Article Public Database	Geographic comparison with other land-grant lands, queried by "University" field to find Morrill land-grant lands given to the University.	Click Here

"Territories"	Geo JavaScript Object Notation (.geojson)	Native Land Digital	Geographic/Historic Context, queried by location, intersect with "mn_county_boundaries", extracted each observation into a separate layer for better visualization.	Click Here
"County Boundaries, Minnesota"	Shapefile (.shp)	Minnesota Department of Natural Resources	Geographic context, used for "select by location" to narrow my data to Minnesota only.	Click Here
"City, Township, and Unorganized Territory in Minnesota"	Shapefile (.shp)	Minnesota Department of Transportation	Geographic context, hand queried relevant cities for reference on maps.	Click Here

Towards Recognition and University-Tribal Healing (TRUTH) Project

University Relationships with Tribal Nations:
Opportunities for University Action

Capstone Team:
Danielle Fuecker, Audrianna Goodwin, Henry Paddock, Madeline Titus

July 2022

Executive Summary

TRUTH Project and Capstone Project Background

In 2020, the Minnesota Indian Affairs Council (MIAC) passed a series of resolutions calling for the University of Minnesota to be in better relations with the eleven Tribal Nations that share geography in Minnesota. The result was the formation of the Towards Recognition and University Tribal Healing (TRUTH) Project. The goal of the Truth Project is to investigate the current and historical relationship between Tribes and the University of Minnesota through a series of research projects. This portion of the TRUTH research was completed by a graduate capstone team through the University of Minnesota's Humphrey School of Public Affairs.

Capstone Project Purpose

The purpose of this research is to understand the extent of the relationship between universities across the United States and the Native American Tribes with whom they share geography in the present day context of United States Territorial boundaries. Our central research question was:

To what extent are other U.S. universities evaluating and addressing harms done to their Tribal populations? What level of support have those projects received from their institutions? What barriers or pushback did they encounter?

Our goal, ultimately, is to offer the TRUTH Project several potential avenues to propose to the University to improve University-Tribal relations, backed by experiential knowledge and effective practices of the University's peer institutions.

Findings

This research project involved a series of interviews with Tribal relations officials at other Universities around the country to explore different avenues of how the University of Minnesota might improve its relationships with Tribes. We observed several key themes in approaches universities are taking in building University-Tribal relations, and we were able to use those to offer several opportunities the University of Minnesota might explore to better their relations with Tribal Nations.

1. **Land Acknowledgements** - The University of Minnesota has created a land acknowledgment that was approved by all 11 Tribal Nations, but that has not been formally adopted. This land acknowledgement should be adopted and viewed as a crucial first step in relationship-building.

2. **Tuition Support** - The University of Minnesota Morris offers free tuition to any member of a Tribe or descendant of a member in the U.S. and Canada. This program could be expanded to the entire University of Minnesota System.
3. **Tribal Relations Office Location** - The University of Minnesota does have a Senior Advisor to the President for Native American Affairs in the president's office, which is essential for influencing how the University engages with Tribes from top University leadership. However, the position and its department are in their infancy and need continued funding and access to the President and other key decision-makers in the University.
4. **Admission Identification** - The University of Minnesota's methods that enable students to identify as Tribal members are limited. The University could expand its methods to include Tribal-affiliation identification to better support Native student recruitment and retention and to build better relationships with the Tribes represented at the University.
5. **Academic Programming** - The University of Minnesota could expand its American Indian Studies Program and Ojibwe Language Program to the Master's and PhD level, as well as granting more access to research and archival resources held by the University to students and Tribal members outside the University.
6. **Recruitment and Retention of Native Staff and Faculty** - The University of Minnesota could expand its resources to support Native students and faculty, who are underrepresented in the institution. A University that puts resources into making Native Students and staff feel welcomed and supported can attract and maintain more Native students and faculty and build deeper relationships with Tribes.

Implications

The University of Minnesota can implement several concrete changes to build stronger relationships with the Tribes. The University of Minnesota can learn from, and improve upon, the strategies, projects, and programs implemented at its peer institutions. This research will hopefully provide the TRUTH Project with potential paths forward in Tribal relations with the University of Minnesota, given the difficult history of the University's relationship with Tribes.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In 2020, the Minnesota Indian Affairs Council (MIAC) passed a series of resolutions calling for the University of Minnesota to evaluate and improve upon their relationship with the eleven Tribal Nations that share geography in Minnesota. The TRUTH Project is a result of those resolutions, and this capstone research is only part of a large, grassroots, Native-led research initiative. Our project is in collaboration with the University of Minnesota's Office of American Indian Tribal Nations Relations, and the Resilient Communities Project (RCP). Miigwech (Thank You) to the TRUTH team, who have helped craft ideas, offer feedback, and take the opportunity to directly engage with our research. Thank you to Dr. Greg Lindsey, our Capstone professor, for his patience and guidance in the research process and for proofreading countless drafts. Lastly, thank you to all the professionals, professors and representatives of Tribal Communities including who we interviewed specifically: Dr. Nicky Belle, Dr. Eric Cheyfitz, Honorable N. Levi Esquerra (Chemehuevi), Dr. Steve Gavazzi, Dr. Willy Kauai (Native Hawaiian), Dr. John Low (Pokagon Band of Potawatomi Indians), David Lowery (Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina), and Dr. Jason Younker (Coquille Nation). This project would not be possible without your wisdom, insight, and willingness to share with the Capstone team.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research is to understand the extent of the relationship between universities across the United States and the Native American Tribes whom they share geography with in the present day context of United States Territorial boundaries. The data from this research was gathered from ten universities across the United States including the University of Minnesota. Our central research question was: *To what extent are other U.S. universities evaluating and addressing harms done to their Tribal populations? What level of support have those projects received from their institutions? What barriers or pushback did they encounter?* Through these interviews we observed key themes such as: land acknowledgements, Tribal office location, tuition support, demographic reporting of Native American students and faculty, academic programming, and institutional will. Our final analysis summarizes university best practices for university action such as: Adopting a university-wide land acknowledgement with Tribal approval, expanding the UMN Morris affinity-based tuition waiver, improving admissions data collection, expanding academic programming for American Indian Studies, recruiting Native staff and faculty, and increasing administrative funding and student support.

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INTRODUCTION

The article in *High Country News*, by Robert Lee and Tristan Ahtone titled, “Land-grab Universities: Expropriated Indigenous land is the foundation of the land-grant university system” was instrumental in reaching audiences and sparking conversations about the foundations of many U.S. institutions and the role of colonization in the creation of the elite universities. The information contained in this article was from research conducted by Tristan Ahtone, Robert Lee, Kalen Goodluck, Geoff McGhee, and Margaret Peace and was published March 30, 2020. The research team reconstructed and found about 10.7 million acres taken from nearly 250 tribes, bands and communities through over 160 violence-backed land cessions, a legal term for the giving up of territory.¹ This research, as well as a series of Minnesota Indian Affairs Council (MIAC) resolutions in 2020, prompted the creation of the Towards Recognition and University-Tribal Healing (TRUTH) Project in order to examine the University of Minnesota’s past, present, and future relationships with Tribal Nations.

The University of Minnesota’s American Indian Tribal Nations Relations Office and the Resilient Communities Project (RCP) have partnered together to conduct research to be included in the TRUTH Project. We are a team of four researchers at the University of Minnesota, Humphrey School of Public Affairs, and this work comprises one part of our final capstone project before finishing our graduate programs. During the previous semester, another group of researchers conducted an economic analysis of the Morrill Act of 1862, and the wealth it transferred to the university^{2,3}. In our related report, *Permanent University Fund: Land Grants and Mineral Leases*⁴, we built on this by examining the wealth generated for the university from retaining mineral rights on land-grant lands, as well as looking at the role this money played in the development of the state. After this documentation of the wealth generated from displacement, genocide, and lands stolen from Native people, we are now asking “what’s next?” for the University of Minnesota’s relationship with Tribal Nations. There are 11 federally recognized Tribal Nations within the colonized boundaries of Minnesota: the Bois Forte Band of Chippewa, the Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Chippewa, the Grand Portage Band of Lake Superior Chippewa, the Leech Lake Band of Ojibwe, the Lower Sioux Indian Community, the Mille Lacs Band of Ojibwe, the Prairie Island Indian Community, the Red Lake Band of Chippewa Indians, the Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux Community, the Upper

¹ Lee, R., Ahtone, T., Pearce, M., Goodluck, K., McGhee, G., Leff, C., ... & Salinas, T. (2020). Land grab universities: A high country news investigation. *High Country News*. <https://www.hcn.org/issues/52.4/indigenous-affairs-education-land-grab-universities> Retrieved: May 11, 2022

² Bozich, M. (2022). TRUTH: A Strategic Analysis of the Morrill Land Grab in Minnesota. *University of Minnesota Resilient Communities Project*. Toward Recognition and University-Tribal Healing Project. Unpublished as of July, 2022. Available from the Center for Urban and Regional Affairs’s Resilient Communities Project: <https://www.cura.umn.edu/programs/local-government/resilient-communities-project>

³ Malone, K. (2022). TRUTH: A Strategic Analysis of the Morrill Land Grab in Minnesota. *Center for Urban and Regional Affairs & University of Minnesota Resilient Communities Project*. Toward Recognition and University-Tribal Healing Project. <https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/d402092609d44ab7bac2ead074e7f9c5>

⁴ Fuecker, D., Goodwin, A., Paddock, H., & Titus, M. (2022). The Permanent University Fund: Land Grants and Mineral Leases. *University of Minnesota Resilient Communities Project & University of Minnesota Humphrey School of Public Affairs*. Toward Recognition and University-Tribal Healing Project. Unpublished as of July, 2022. Available from the Center for Urban and Regional Affairs’s Resilient Communities Project: <https://www.cura.umn.edu/programs/local-government/resilient-communities-project>

Sioux Community, and the White Earth Band of Ojibwe. Further, bands of Dakota people were forcibly displaced from the state; it's on their land that the University of Minnesota Twin Cities is located today.

This research report aims to answer the following question: *To what extent are other U.S. universities evaluating and addressing harms done to their Tribal populations? What level of support have those projects received from their institutions? What barriers did they encounter?* A sub-question we sought to answer was: *How does the University of Minnesota compare? Are there any effective practices to be explored?* To answer these questions, we conducted key informant interviews with university practitioners from across the United States and qualitatively analyzed them to identify common themes and practices across peer institutions. We then developed a list of actionable recommendations that have the potential to better University-Tribal relations, with the caveat that Tribal Nations *know* what they need and should be the ones to choose which university actions would be meaningful to them. The following sections of this report detail our research design and methodology, our data collection processes, our findings, and our recommendations that come from the findings.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Design

University Relationship with Tribal Nations: Best Practices for University Action is a qualitative study using key informant interviews with purposefully selected university practitioners. The goal of this research is to present a comparison of effective practices with comparable universities as well as introduce new concepts being done by universities that have developed more substantial relationships with their local Tribes. To address our research question we conducted interviews with practitioners from ten universities; we reached out to eleven universities, however one did not respond to our inquiry.

As part of our design we recognized that our positionality and identity matters when conducting interviews and gaining access. Three of the four researchers are white/non-Native, and one is Native American – she conducted the interviews, while the others took notes. Eight out of the eleven individuals interviewed identified as Native, and it was important to us to conduct these interviews with a degree of humility and sensitivity, knowing that these are difficult and traumatic topics to discuss. Our interviews were conducted with individuals with extensive knowledge on Tribal Nations and who are highly professionally educated.

Sampling

We used purposeful sampling to have universities that were comparable to the University of Minnesota through various metrics (Table 1). We were interested in their land-grant status, whether they received Mellon funding, their geographic location, and whether they were also BIG10 universities. Before interviewing, we conducted preliminary research into the universities that were to be sampled. The following review of peer universities summarizes how they received Tribal land, the people who historically lived on the land, the current highest position dealing with university-Tribal relations, any academic or student

programs relating to Native/Indigenous studies, the current university-reported Native student enrollment, and any other information we thought was important to the context of the institution.

To keep our sample consistent with the High Country News (HCN) article that documented Morrill Act land, all institutions were searched for in their database to determine their land-grant status. This is notable because some universities, like the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, report themselves as being a Morrill Land-Grant university but are not documented as having received 1862 land or scrip in the HCN database⁵. Using this metric, 6 peers received Morrill 1862 land, including the University of Minnesota. We were also interested in institutions who had received similar funding to the TRUTH Project. Minnesota Transform received a grant from the Mellon Foundation "to support a Just Futures Initiative project⁶." When assembling our sample, we looked for universities who had received Mellon Funding for any initiatives aimed at Native American studies, as well as those who received grants for Just Futures Initiatives projects without specifying which project the money would go to⁷.

Table 1 presents the final list of universities that were selected, and why they were selected.

Table 1: Sampled Universities and their Characteristics⁸

	HCN - Morrill Land-Grant Recipient	BIG10 Athletic Conference	Notable Relationships and Programs with Native Populations*	Private University	Public University	Mellon Funding for Native American Initiatives
Brown University				x		x
Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT)	x			x		x
Cornell University	x			x		**
Indiana University		x			x	
Ohio State University	x	x			x	
University of Wisconsin	x	x			x	**
University of Arizona	x		x		x	
University of Hawai'i at Mānoa			x		x	
University of Oregon			x		x	**
University of Minnesota, Twin Cities	x	x			x	x
<i>University of Michigan</i>		x			x	x

* Identified by client or by literature review

**Institution received Mellon grants "to support a Just Futures Initiative project" - which is what MN Transform received to fund the TRUTH Project - but did not specify what project the grant funded

Also of note in the sampling process was the geographic context in which the land was colonized. We wanted to have a variety of positionalities reflected in the analysis of peer

⁵ Lee, R., Ahtone, T., Pearce, M., Goodluck, K., McGhee, G., Leff, C., ... & Salinas, T. (2020). University/Tribal Land Database. <https://www.landgrabu.org/universities> Retrieved: May 11, 2022

⁶ <https://mellon.org/grants/grants-database/grants/university-of-minnesota-at-twin-cities/2009-09181/> Retrieved: June 29, 2022

⁷ https://mellon.org/grants/grants-database/?grantee=&q=&s=&n=&e=&w=&z=2&lat=22.7231920&lon=-73.9529910&per_page=25 Retrieved: June 29, 2022

⁸ *University of Michigan did not respond to our requests for an interview*

institutions; for example, Hawaii's history of being illegally annexed by the United States informs the present state of the relationship between Native Hawaiians and the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Similarly, the continental East Coast's history of being violently colonized very early in the history of the United States informs Tribal relations at Brown, Cornell, and MIT. In the midwest context, the University of Wisconsin system was important to consider because some Tribal Nations span the colonized border between MN and WI, and the two states' universities have tuition reciprocity. Cornell was also of particular interest because of the sheer amount of Morrill land granted to them, nationally and within the boundaries of Minnesota.⁹

Recruitment

We identified various people who worked either wholly or partially on university-Tribal relations. The sample was a mix of administrators and faculty and did not contain any students. Roles ranged from Native American student support to Senior Advisor to the President. Initial contact emails were sent on March 1st, 2022 (Appendix 1), and interviews were conducted from March 22nd, 2022 until May 5th, 2022. All interviews were conducted via zoom, and were recorded for the TRUTH team's reference; the recordings are not to be shared outside the TRUTH team, per the consent form (Appendix 2). The interview guide (Appendix 3) includes practical questions about the person's position, the University's relationship with Tribes, and administration's/public's response, as well as evaluative questions about the power dynamics at play, barriers to productive University-Tribal relationships, and effective practices/recommendations.

Data Collection & Analysis

Interviews were scheduled for 2-hour slots and were recorded. Interviewees received the consent form and a copy of the interview guide for reference. With our limited time, we were able to create contact notes for each interview instead of transcribing them. Contact notes were then sent back to each interviewee for additions, edits and final approval. After interviewees approved the notes, they were uploaded into Atlas.ti, a software package designed for analysis of interviews, focus groups, and texts, and qualitatively analyzed.

Future Research

In the future, more universities should be interviewed about their relationships with co-located Tribal Nations. We were limited in the number of universities we could speak with because of our 4-month time constraint. Our interviewees identified other universities, like the University of Connecticut, as well as other key Native population areas, such as Alaska and the continental South, that would be of interest to this project.

⁹ <https://www.hcn.org/issues/52.11/latest-cornell-university-addresses-stolen-indigenous-land-in-new-project> Retrieved: June 29, 2022

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Our results include short descriptions of peer institutions that participated in interviews, as well as the results of those interviews. The short summaries below include a brief history of each University that was interviewed as well as their current highest position dealing with university-Tribal relations, any academic or student programs relating to Native/Indigenous studies, the current university-reported Native student enrollment, and any other information we thought was important to the context of the institution.

Brown University

Receipt of Tribal Land. Brown was the first land-grant institution in what is now Rhode Island. The governor accepted funds from the sale of 120,000 acres¹⁰ expropriated from the Kiowa People, located in the Kansas territory.¹¹

Tribes Historically in State. The land that is now Rhode Island was historically the home of the Pequot, Narragansett, Niantic Eastern, Nipmuc, and Wampanoag peoples.

Current Office. DEI: The Native American and Indigenous Studies Initiative (NAISI) office is staffed by Indigenous people from in and outside of the United States. They are responsible for program development and student engagement services, and the office also hosts research and community fellows as well as a rotating Tribal community member in residence.

Programs of Note. NAISI received a \$700,000 grant from the Mellon Foundation to develop an undergraduate concentration in Native American and Indigenous Studies. There is also an involved student organization for Native students, Native Americans at Brown, who successfully pushed for recognition of Native and Indigenous students and an official Indigenous People's Day designation.^{12,13} There is currently no land acknowledgement statement for the university. Brown's president, Christina Paxson, established a working group in March 2021 and received five recommendations the following year. No announcement or follow up of recommendations has been posted.¹⁴

Current Native Enrollment. Reporting of enrollment demographics varies; in one report there is no reporting of Native student enrollment due to "data privacy" issues, but they also report elsewhere that there are 114 self-identified undergraduate Native students and 32 self-identified Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander students.¹⁵

Additional Insights. While Brown received the initial land-grant, it was transferred to the University of Rhode Island in 1894, and Brown is no longer considered a land-grant university.

¹⁰

<https://www.brown.edu/about/history/timeline/brown-becomes-land-grant-university#:~:text=In%201863%2C%20Brown%20became%20Rhode%20government%20under%20the%20Morrill%20Act> Retrieved: April 12, 2022

¹¹ <https://www.uri.edu/about/history/detailed-history/> Retrieved: May 11, 2022

¹² <https://www.brown.edu/news/2016-02-02/indigenous> Retrieved: May 11, 2022

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ <https://www.brown.edu/academics/native-american-and-indigenous-studies/land-acknowledgment> Retrieved: April 12, 2022

¹⁵ <https://www.brown.edu/academics/native-american-and-indigenous-studies/undergraduate> Retrieved: May 10, 2022

Cornell University

Receipt of Tribal Land. Cornell received almost 1 million acres of land from the Morrill Act of 1862, making it the largest beneficiary of the land-grant. It was estimated that this expropriated land gave Cornell's endowment almost \$6 million by the year 1914 – about \$150 million when adjusted for inflation.¹⁶

Tribes Historically in State. The land that is now New York was historically the home of the Abenaki, Cayuga, Erie, Laurentian, Mohawk, Mohican, Mohegan, Munsee, Oneida, Onondaga, Poospatuck/Unkechaug, and Seneca peoples. Cornell sits specifically on Cayuga land.

Current Office. The only office that works on Native and Indigenous issues, and on Tribal relations, is the American Indian and Indigenous Studies Program (AIISP), an academic program that offers undergraduate and graduate minors in American Indian and Indigenous Studies. This program's staff and faculty are very vocal about Cornell's blatant disregard of their history with Native peoples. In a series of blog posts called the "Cornell University and Indigenous Dispossession Project," they document interactions with administration, ongoing results from research and also include resources such as text articles, opinion pieces, video lectures and panels, and audio podcasts.¹⁷

Programs of Note. Besides AIISP, there are two undergraduate student groups and one graduate student group for Native students at Cornell.

Current Native Enrollment. According to 2021 reporting, out of 4,739 total undergraduate students, there are 43 students who self-identify as Native, making up about 0.9% of the undergraduate student body.

Additional Insights. At first glance, there seems to be little administrative recognition of Cornell's role in the genocide and displacement of Native American peoples, active dismissal of the wealth generated from Native land, and little support for beginning a process of reconciliation with Native peoples impacted by the university. The university endorses a false history of its foundation, claiming that Ezra Cornell and his telegraph company were entirely responsible for establishing Cornell, instead of acknowledging that they were the largest recipient of Native land through the Morrill Act.¹⁸ This is also apparent in two separate land acknowledgements associated with the University. One was put out by the institution itself and acknowledges that "Cornell University is located on the traditional homelands of the Gayogohó:nq' (the Cayuga Nation)," and the other one, created by AIISP, additionally emphasizes that "Cornell's founding was enabled in the course of a national genocide by the sale of almost one million acres of stolen Indian land under the Morrill Act of 1862" and states that the university has provided no restitution to the Native peoples impacted.¹⁹

¹⁶

<https://cornellsun.com/2020/04/24/cornells-land-grant-heritage-a-sinister-tradition/#:~:text=Cornell%20was%20the%20largest%20beneficiary,inaugurate%20the%20college%20in%201865>. Retrieved: May 11, 2022

¹⁷ <https://blogs.cornell.edu/cornelluniversityindigenousdispossession/>. Retrieved: May 9, 2022

¹⁸ <https://live.alumni.cornell.edu/greatestgood?v=61721766fa4ec9002fd57966>. Retrieved: May 11, 2022

¹⁹ <https://cals.cornell.edu/american-indian-indigenous-studies/about/land-acknowledgment>. Retrieved: May 9, 2022

Indiana University

Receipt of Tribal Land. Indiana University(IU) was founded in 1820 by a state legislative act, and is not considered a land-grant university. While they have a land acknowledgement for the institution, the process by which the university was built on the land of Native peoples is not clear.

Tribes Historically in State. The land that is now Indiana was historically the home of the myaamiaki (Miami), saawanwa (Shawnee), Bodwéwadmik (Potawatomi), Lenape (Delaware), Wea, Piankashaw, and Eel River peoples. While the state currently has one federally recognized tribe, they do not have their headquarters in Indiana.²⁰

Current Office. DEI: The First Nations Educational and Cultural Center (FNECC) works on Tribal relations at IU. Along with drafting a land acknowledgement for the university, they also host an annual Powwow that celebrates Native traditions and dancing with a multigenerational lens. The 2022 Powwow welcomed the University President, and this was the first time a sitting president joined the event.

Programs of Note. The FNECC partners with the department of American Studies, which offers a minor in Native American and Indigenous Studies for both undergraduate and PhD students. Other on-campus resources include the American Indian Studies Research institute, the Mathers Museum of World Cultures, and the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) Program.²¹ The FNECC is also promoting a campaign called “indigenize Indiana!” that aims to empower Native presence, and to raise money for Tribal Nations’ language and culture departments²².

Current Native Enrollment. According to the university’s public reporting, there are 13 undergraduate students and eight graduate/professional students who identify as American Indian. Further, within the selection option of “two or more races,” 380 students selected American Indian as part of the multiracial category.²³

Additional Insights. Beginning in the 1930’s Indiana University was party to the exhumation of the remains of 700 Native American people from a site called Angel Mound, located in Evansville, Indiana. IU’s role in Angel Mound was to assist in the collection of Native bodies and artifacts that were then kept and displayed rather than returned to the Tribes they belonged to. Angel Mound has been the official field school location for archaeology since 1945.²⁴ While the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) was passed in 1990 and required that Tribal remains be returned, Angel Mound remains were not fully returned until 2021.

²⁰ <https://www.pokagonband-nsn.gov/our-culture/history> Retrieved: May 12, 2022

²¹ <https://americanstudies.indiana.edu/research/native-american-indigenous-studies.html> Retrid May 9, 2022

²² <https://firstnations.indiana.edu/land-acknowledgement/indigenize-indiana-shirts.html> Retrieved April 19, 2022

²³ https://uirr.iu.edu/doc/facts-figures/enrollment/diversity/ipeds-base-sets/1-IU_BI_base_2021.pdf Retrieved: April 19, 2022

²⁴ <https://www.indianamuseum.org/blog-post/guest-blog-celebrating-80-years-of-archaeology-at-angel-mounds-state-historic-site/> Retrieved: May 11, 2022

Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT)

Receipt of Tribal Land. MIT was one of the first universities to benefit from the Morrill Act, and received 366,111 acres of scrip from across the country²⁵.

Tribes Historically in State. Traditional unceded territory of the Wampanoag Nation.

Current Office. DEI with Distinguished Native Faculty position.

Programs of Note. MIT has active academic courses and student groups include MIT's American Indian Science and Engineering Society and Native American Student Association.²⁶

²⁷

Current Native Enrollment. MIT's undergraduate and graduate demographic information is a tab on the registrar's page however is locked to the general public.²⁸

Additional Insights. Former MIT president, Francis Amasa Walker was author and Head of US Office of Indian Affairs which wrote and promoted the "Indian Question" which was a series of treaties that justified the killing and forcibly removed Tribal Nations from their land to distant reservations. As David Lowery was quoted in an article saying, "Walker might be the face of Indian genocide and it is troubling that his name is memorialized at MIT".²⁹ MIT names genocide in their land acknowledgement that was written by MIT Indigenous community, including students, staff, visiting scholars, and alumni, as well as officials from local Tribal organizations and staff from the ICEO and the Office of Intercultural Engagement. The land acknowledgement is a work in progress and in the process of revision.³⁰ This Spring of 2022, current MIT President Reif will be writing a letter detailing how MIT will move forward with the revelation of a historical project on MIT's impact on Native communities.

The Ohio State University (OSU)

Receipt of Tribal Land. OSU resides on land ceded in the 1795 Treaty of Greenville and the forced removal of tribes through the Indian Removal Act of 1830. Ohio received 4,411 parcels of land, about 630,000 acres spread out over 14 states.³¹

Tribes Historically in State. OSU does not have a school-wide, formal land acknowledgment. We were told by the interviewees that the Tribes listed on the DEI website are inaccurate. The following tribes were believed to have lived in the territory of Ohio: Shawnee Tribe, the Ojibwa Tribe (also called the Chippewa Tribe), the Delaware Tribe, the Wyandot Tribe, the Eel River Tribe, the Kaskaskia Tribe, the Iroquois Tribe, the Miami Tribe, the Munsee Tribe, the

²⁵ <https://www.landgrab.org/universities/massachusetts-institute-of-technology> Retrieved: May 11, 2022

²⁶ <http://web.mit.edu/aises/www/#:~:text=About%20Us.for%20our%20students%20and%20allies>. Retrieved: June 29, 2022

²⁷ <https://nasa.mit.edu/native-american-student-association> Retrieved: June 29, 2022

²⁸ <https://registrar.mit.edu/stats-reports/enrollment-statistics-year/all> Retrieved: May 12, 2022

²⁹ <https://www.wbur.org/news/2021/10/15/mit-francis-amasa-legacy> Retrieved: April 4, 2022

³⁰ <https://iceo.mit.edu/land-acknowledgement/> Retrieved: May 12, 2022

³¹

<https://pulitzercenter.org/stories/interactive-see-lands-sold-fund-ohios-land-grant-universities#:~:text=In%20Ohio%2C%20land%20grant%20funds,term%20for%20giving%20up%20territory> Retrieved: June 1, 2022

Seneca-Cayuga Tribe, the Ottawa Tribe, the Piankashaw Tribe, the Sauk Tribe, the Potawatomi Tribe, the Seneca Tribe, and the Wea Tribe.³²

Current Office. At the time of this research, there was no official office dealing explicitly with University-Tribal relations. Some voluntary work in this space was being done by faculty in DEI and other academic offices.

Programs of Note. There is a growing collaboration between two centers: the Newark Earthworks Center and the Humanities Institute. Newark Earthworks Center(NEC), is an academic research center that promotes research in all aspects of Indigenous lives and accomplishments. NEC connects faculty and students to experiences and promotes university-Tribal relations. The collaboration is “lead with research and follow with advocacy” and has been acquiring research-oriented funding and following up with advocacy at the university for recognition and new policy. Most of the funding gain for the collaboration is through grants and outside sources.

Current Native Enrollment. System-wide, 49 students identify as Native, about 0.1% of the student population.³³

Additional Insights. There are no federally recognized tribes that reside in Ohio.

University of Arizona

Receipt of Tribal Land. The University of Arizona received 143,564 acres of land through the Morrill Act of 1862, with which they raised an endowment of \$449,624. This land was “purchased” for a total of \$354 dollars – less than one cent per acre.³⁴

Tribes Historically in State. The land that is now Arizona was historically home to many Tribal Nations and peoples, including the Chemehuevi, Cocopay, Quechan, Mojave, Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, Hualapai, Halchidhoma, Maricopa, Southern Paiute, Southern Ute, Navajo, Dilzhe’e Apache, Chiricahua, San Carlos Apache, White Mountain Apache, Akimel O’odham, Tohono O’odham, Hia C-ed O’odham, Hope, Tewa, Zuni, and Yaqui peoples³⁵. Tucson, where the university is located, is historically the home to the O’odham and the Yaqui Tribal Nations.³⁶

Current Office. In 2020, the university hired their first Senior Vice President for Native American Advancement and Tribal Engagement.³⁷

Programs of Note. The University of Arizona’s American Indian Studies program offers Ph.D., M.A., J.D./M.A., and Graduate Certificates in Higher Education, Natural Resources Administration & Management, and Native Nation Building. Besides that, there are many other academic programs aimed at American Indian studies, such as the Collaboratory for Indigenous

³²

[https://ohiohistorycentral.org/w/American_Indians#:~:text=From%20these%20missionaries%2C%20historians%20know,Myaamia%20\(in%20western%20Ohio\)](https://ohiohistorycentral.org/w/American_Indians#:~:text=From%20these%20missionaries%2C%20historians%20know,Myaamia%20(in%20western%20Ohio)) Retrieved: May 26, 2022

³³ https://live-facts-osu.pantheon.io/sites/default/files/documents/2022/02/Ohio_State-Statistical-Summary-2021_2022_v2.pdf Retrieved: June 1, 2022

³⁴ <https://www.landgrabu.org/universities> Retrieved: May 11, 2022

³⁵ <https://heard.org/education/arizona-indian-communities/> Retrieved: July 6, 2022

³⁶ <https://news.arizona.edu/story/uarizona-land-acknowledgement-illustrates-commitment-indigenous-students-communities> Retrieved: July 1, 2022

³⁷

[https://president.arizona.edu/person/n-levi-esquerre#:~:text=Levi%20Esquerre%20\(Chemehuevi\)%20is%20the,consonance%20with%20the%20strategic%20plan](https://president.arizona.edu/person/n-levi-esquerre#:~:text=Levi%20Esquerre%20(Chemehuevi)%20is%20the,consonance%20with%20the%20strategic%20plan) Retrieved: June 29, 2022

Data Governance, the Indigenous Governance Program, the Indigenous Peoples Law and Policy Program, and more.³⁸

Current Native Enrollment. As of fall 2021, there were 1,659 Native students total, making up about 3.4% of the student body.³⁹

Additional Insights. The University of Arizona has some of the better demographics reporting for Native students of the institutions we've looked at. They note Tribal affiliation, as well as the Native makeup of freshman classes, transfer students, etc.

University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

Receipt of Tribal Land. The history of the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa is complex, and the mode of colonization was different than that of the mainland universities we reached out to. While officially labeled a Morrill Act land-grant institution founded in 1907, public education on the islands goes back to the Hawaiian Kingdom. Before the occupation of Hawaii, the monarchy had established robust education infrastructure that was then retrofitted to fit the vision of occupiers⁴⁰. The monarchy was illegally overthrown, and the United States annexed the territory – despite a petition against annexation signed by 21,269 Native Hawaiians – due to its strategic location and agricultural potential.⁴¹ All of the lands on which the University of Hawaii system sits were taken without treaty or payment, and now make up one of the largest US Navy bases in the Pacific.

Tribes Historically in State. Native Hawaiians are the indigenous people of the Hawaiian Islands.

Current Office. The University of Hawai'i at Mānoa has a Native Hawaiian Affairs Program Officer who is located in the Office of the President.

Programs of Note. The Hawai'inuiākea School of Hawaiian Knowledge was established in 2007, and it consists of the Kamakakūokalani Center for Hawaiian Studies, Kawaihuelani Center for Hawaiian Language, Ka Papa Lo'i O Kānewai Cultural Garden, Native Hawaiian Student Services. It is the *only* college of indigenous knowledge at any US Research 1 institution.⁴² Because of consolidation with a K-12 Hawaiian outreach program, the Kamakakūokalani Center hosts K-PhD programming. Over the summer, this department will be offering 19 courses for credit, free of charge, for Hawaiian students. Most of the initiatives put on by the Kamakakūokalani Center are externally funded.

Current Native Enrollment. There are about 1,900 Native Hawaiian undergraduate students and 700 Native graduate students at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.⁴³

Additional Insights. The Native Hawaiian Student Services office supports student activism. Student activists are currently most visible in opposition to the Thirty Meter Telescope on Mauna Kea.

³⁸ <https://naair.arizona.edu/campus-resources/academic-educational-programs> Retrieved: June 29, 2022

³⁹ <https://naair.arizona.edu/native-students/demographics-equity-diversity-inclusion/student-demographics> Retrieved: June 29, 2022

⁴⁰ Interview with University of Hawaii contact

⁴¹ <https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/hawaii-petition> Retrieved: June 29, 2022

⁴² <https://manoa.hawaii.edu/hshk/> Retrieved: June 29, 2022

⁴³ <https://manoa.hawaii.edu/nhss/> Retrieved: June 29, 2022

University of Oregon

Receipt of Tribal Land. The University of Oregon was founded in 1859 as required by Congress to establish a public university.⁴⁴ While it is not considered a typical land grant university, some of its founding endowment has ties to Morrill Land granted to the state of Oregon.⁴⁵ The Morrill Act of 1862 granted the state of Oregon 90,000 acres of land⁴⁶; while most of the resulting endowment money went to Oregon State University, the state appropriated \$30,000 of the endowment for the creation of the University of Oregon. The remaining \$27,500 of the endowment came from the Eugene community.⁴⁷

Tribes Historically in State. The state of Oregon currently have 9 federally recognized Tribal Nations that represent the descendants of those who first lived there: the Burns Paiute of Harney County, the Confederated Tribes of Coos, Lower Umpqua and Siuslaw Indians, the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde, the Confederated Tribes of Siletz, the Confederated Tribes of Umatilla Reservation, the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs, the Cow Creek Band of Umpqua Indians, the Coquille Indian Tribe, and the Klamath Tribes.⁴⁸ For a more detailed list of the Tribal Nations that first lived on the land that is now Oregon, see Appendix 4

Current Office. In 2014, the university hired their first formal liaison to the nine federally recognized tribes of Oregon, the Assistant Vice President and Advisor to the President on Sovereignty and Government to Government Relations.⁴⁹

Programs of Note. The University of Oregon offers a major in Native American and Indigenous Studies. They offer both conventional and language tracks in this program.⁵⁰ For incoming Native students, they offer a week-long pre-college program in order to break down barriers and help them get comfortable in a new city. The University also has the Many Nations Longhouse which is a culturally significant structure for people to gather. Native student groups on campus include the Native American Student Union, the Native American Law Student Association, and the Indigenous Women's Wellness Group.

Current Native Enrollment. Currently, University of Oregon has 71 students who are citizens from federally recognized tribes. About 185 students self-selected as Native but are not members of a tribe. The Native students make up .5% of the student population, which is a deficit based on state population, where the Native people make up 1.2% of the state population.

Additional Insights. The University of Oregon has a generally good reputation among Tribal affairs personnel for building relationships with Tribal Nations, and that was part of the reason we chose to reach out to them.

University of Wisconsin

⁴⁴ <https://www.uoregon.edu/our-history> Retrieved: May 16,2022

⁴⁵ <https://around.uoregon.edu/content/historical-money-coming-uos-way> Retrieved: May 16, 2022

⁴⁶ <https://library.uoregon.edu/universityarchivesfaq> Retrieved: May 16, 2022

⁴⁷ See note 42

⁴⁸ <https://www.oregon.gov/dhs/ABOUTDHS/TRIBES/Pages/Tribes.aspx> Retrieved July 6, 2022

⁴⁹ <https://president.uoregon.edu/content/jason-younger-join-uo-tribal-liaison#:~:text=Jason%20Younger%20will%20join%20the.and%20Government%20to%20Government%20Relations>. Retrieved: June 29, 2022

⁵⁰ <https://nativestudies.uoregon.edu/> Retrieved: May 30, 2022

Receipt of Tribal Land. The University of Wisconsin received 235,530 acres of Native land through the Morrill Act of 1862, and raised an endowment of \$303,439 with it⁵¹.

Tribes Historically in State. The land that is now Wisconsin was historically home to the Chippewa, Dakota, Fox, Ho-Chunk, Housatonic, Illinois, Iowa, Iroquois, Kickapoo, Mahican, Mascouten, Menominee, Miami, Missouri, Munsee, New York Indians, Noquet, Ojibwe, Oneida, Oto, Ottawa, Potawatomi, Sauk, Stockbridge, Tionontati, Winnebago (Ho-Chunk and Hochungra), and Wyandot peoples, as well as the Bad River Band of Lake Superior Chippewa, Lac Courte Oreilles Band of Lake Superior Chippewa, Red Cliff Band of Lake Superior Chippewa, Lac du Flambeau Band of Lake Superior Chippewa, Sokaogon (Mole Lake) Band of Lake Superior Chippewa, St Croix Band of Lake Superior Chippewa, and Stockbridge-Munsee Band of the Mohicans.

Current Office. The University of Wisconsin has a Director of Tribal Relations, who was hired in 2019.

Programs of Note. The American Indian Studies department offers a certificate program⁵². There are also a number of student groups, such as Wunk Sheek, the Indigenous Law Students Association, Alpha Pi Omega, and more.

Current Native Enrollment. According to 2020 reporting, there were 112 Native American students total in the student population⁵³.

Additional Insights. The University of Wisconsin was an important institution for us to look into because there are Tribal Nations that span the borders between MN and WI, and because the Universities of Minnesota and Wisconsin have tuition reciprocity.

University of Minnesota, Twin Cities

Receipt of Tribal Land. The University of Minnesota received 94,631 acres of land through the Morrill Act of 1862, and sold that land to raise a total of \$579,430 for their endowment. The federal government paid the Tribal Nations \$2,309 total for this land.⁵⁴

Tribes Historically in State. The land that is now Minnesota was historically home to the Dakota and Anishinaabe/Ojibwe people.

Current Office. The University of Minnesota hired Karen Diver as the inaugural Senior Advisor to the President for Native American Affairs in 2021. Before hiring someone for this role, Tadd Johnson served as the Senior Director of American Indian Tribal Nations Relations. Both of these positions are meant to serve as liaisons between the University of Minnesota system and the 11 Tribal Nations.

Programs of Note. The Department of American Indian Studies program offers a major as well as Dakota & Ojibwe Language Program⁵⁵. There are also five student groups, such as Circle of Indigenous Nations (COIN), American Indian Student Cultural Center (AISCC), American Indian Cultural House, American Indian Science and Engineering Society (AISES), and Canoe Rising.⁵⁶

⁵¹ <https://www.landgrabu.org/universities> Retrieved: May 11, 2022

⁵² <https://amindian.wisc.edu/certificate-program/> Retrieved: June 29, 2022

⁵³ <https://registrar.wisc.edu/enrollment-reports/> Retrieved: June 29, 2022

⁵⁴ <https://www.landgrabu.org/universities> Retrieved: June 29, 2022

⁵⁵ <https://cla.umn.edu/ais/undergraduate/degree-programs-and-courses> Retrieved: June 10, 2022

⁵⁶ <https://cla.umn.edu/ais/undergraduate/clubs-and-organizations> Retrieved: June 10, 2022

Current Native Enrollment. University of Minnesota Native student population is 729 for the Twin Cities campus and 1416 system-wide.⁵⁷
Additional Insights.

⁵⁷ <https://idr.umn.edu/reports-by-topic-enrollment/enrollments> retrieved: May 16, 2022

Themes Identified in Interviews

Qualitative analyses of our interviews identified six thematic areas or topics: Land Acknowledgement; Tribal Office location; Tuition Support; Student & Faculty Demographics Collection/Reporting; Academic Programs; and Native American Tribes, Faculty, & Students. Table 2 summarizes how the University of Minnesota compares to its peer institutions in these themes, and the full discussion of our quantitative analysis follows.

Table 2: University Snapshot Comparison

	Land Acknowledgement	Tuition Support	Office Location	Admissions Identification	Academic Programs	Native Student Population (Univ. Reported)	Native Faculty Population (Interview Reported)	Number of Federally Reconciled Tribes in State
Brown University	no	no	Academic	self-identify	-	146	11	1
Cornell University	other	no	Academic	self-identify	Minor	90 or 310	10	8
Indiana University	Univ. Created	no	DEI/Academic	self-identify	Minor	21-50 or 500	<5	2
Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT)	Tribe Created	no	DEI/Academic	self-identify	-	35	2	2
Ohio State University	no	no	No Office	self-identify	Minor	50	7	0
University of Arizona	Tribe Created	no	President's Office	tribally-identify	PhD	1659	70	22
University of Wisconsin	no	no	President's Office	tribally-identify	Masters	2700	8% or ~130	-
University of Hawai'i at Mānoa	yes	no + other	President's Office	self-identify	Major	71 citizens, 180 non-tribal citizens	7 citizens, +	10
University of Oregon	Tribe Created	Legislative + other	President's Office	tribally-identify	certificate	112-450	9	11
University of Minnesota, Twin Cities	no	no *	President's Office	self-identify	Major	729 (T.C.), 1416 (system wide)	-	11

*with the exception of UMN Morris

Land Acknowledgement:

Land acknowledgments are formal statements that situate an event or building on land that was originally inhabited by Indigenous people. According to the Native Governance Center, they should be genuine, accurate, and well-researched, while also centering present-day Native communities and followed by meaningful action.⁵⁸ However valuable they may be in acknowledging past wrongs, they tend to be viewed skeptically by Tribal Nations unless accompanied by other, more meaningful action. As described by Dr. Jason Younker, Advisor to the President on Sovereignty and Government to Government Relations at University of Oregon, "a land acknowledgment is like someone who just stole your car and drives up next to you in it, waves and says 'I just want to acknowledge that I have your car' and drives off still." Land acknowledgments should be used to move the university forward and to recognize that the removal of Native people and the expropriation of their land via treaties –

⁵⁸ <https://nativegov.org/news/a-guide-to-indigenous-land-acknowledgment/> Retrieved June 29, 2022

which were often broken – provided the base for many university endowments and allowed their existence. Land grant universities have a particular responsibility to adopt land acknowledgements because of the direct connection from the disposition of Native land to the creation of the institution.

Six of the nine peer institutions have a land acknowledgement, created both with and without Tribal input. We found the most robust practice for university land acknowledgements is that they be written with local Tribal input and not solely written and approved by the university. Land acknowledgements should accompany research into the Indigenous peoples who historically lived on the land that the university is located on, as well as the method by which those people were removed or dispossessed – such as the Morrill Act of 1862. The University of Arizona’s land acknowledgement is a basic example of what form they can take, with the caveat that they don’t acknowledge their land grant status:

“We respectfully acknowledge the University of Arizona is on the land and territories of Indigenous peoples. Today, Arizona is home to 22 federally recognized tribes, with Tucson being home to the O’odham and the Yaqui. Committed to diversity and inclusion, the University strives to build sustainable relationships with sovereign Native Nations and Indigenous communities through education offerings, partnerships, and community service.”

University of Arizona’s Senior Vice President for Native American Advancement and Tribal Engagement, Honorable Nathan Levi Esquerra, consulted with the two local Tribes in drafting and writing the statement, which was completed over the course of 11 meetings. Land acknowledgements must be met with substantial follow up and partnership with local Tribes to build relationships that are mutually beneficial.

We found that in situations where university staff wrote their land acknowledgment without Tribal input, they often contained errors. For example, Ohio State University’s published land acknowledgement within their Office of Diversity and Inclusion names at least one Tribal Nation that is not historically connected to Ohio. However, Ohio State University and the University of Wisconsin, have no official university accepted land acknowledgement for the entire school.

Tribal Office Location:

Office location, while bureaucratic in nature, is key in determining political and institutional will. Tribal Nations have inherent sovereignty that lacks recognition when the office is located in a diversity, equity, inclusion (DEI) office. While indigeneity is counted as if it is a racial/ethnic identity, the relationship between identity and power is unique to Indigenous peoples because of their Tribal sovereignty and citizenship. The analogy is that if a head of state, such as the Prime Minister of New Zealand, visited a university, they would be received by the president of the university, not the DEI dean or vice president. Tribal relations need to be considered in the same way, because they are sovereign nations. Proximity to power was a key concept that emerged in the interviews when discussing the initiatives and institutional will of a university. With a direct reporting relationship to the president, the ability to create and propose change is much greater than having a multi-step process of change that often gets

caught up in committees or bureaucratic initiatives. Executive level Tribal leadership and Tribal relations positions are necessary for sovereignty recognition and Tribal/University relationship building.

In our comparison, four offices were located in DEI spaces, and four offices were located in the president's cabinet or office. Cornell does not have an office for Tribal relations or a representative. They do, however, have a faculty committee that advocates for the creation of such an office and for other substantial policies that would better Native representation. While Cornell staff and students are strong advocates, they lack the proximity to power necessary to create lasting change and have to compete with other versions of university founding history.

Tuition Support:

Across universities, there is limited, if any, tuition support or waivers for Native students. The University of Minnesota's Native American Promise Tuition Program, while perceived as a tuition waiver for all Native students, has income and citizenship qualifications. It should be noted that programs based solely on Tribal enrollment/citizenship, and not including Tribal lineage, are subscribing to the concept of blood quantum requirements⁵⁹, which were imposed by the federal government with the goal of diminishing Tribal populations^{60,61}. Because of the income requirements, the Native American Promise Tuition Program is a needs-based scholarship, and is not an affinity-based waiver. Additionally, Dakota people who were removed from the Minnesota state borders do not qualify for the program, regardless of ancestral heritage and land confiscation. The University of Minnesota Morris, on the other hand, has a broad sweeping, affinity-based tuition waiver that is based on lineage. The requirements are the following: "a direct descendant of a parent or grandparent, an enrolled member, or a direct descendant of a tribally verified member of a federally recognized American Indian tribe, Alaskan Native Village, or Canadian First Nation, other than parent or grandparent".⁶² Tuition support is not just Minnesota specific, but across the entire United States and Canada because of the campus' history as a boarding school.

Only two other peer institutions offered some form of tuition support. University of Hawai'i offers a program where Native Hawaiian Faculty teach courses and incorporate Hawaiian ways of being and knowledge into core courses which are only offered to Native Hawaiian students in the summer for free. While this is not direct tuition financial support, students receive college credits and build relationships with other Hawaiian students and faculty. University of Oregon offers support through the Oregon State Legislature, who passed an allocation of funds that supplements the cost of attendance (which includes room and board) after other federally funded and private scholarships are applied. Students must apply for the program, and the legislature has only approved funding for one year with the intention

⁵⁹ *Depends on the Tribal Nation; some nations are voting to amend their citizenship requirements to eliminate blood quantum. As of this report, most blood quantum policies are still in place.*

⁶⁰

<https://www.startribune.com/determining-citizenship-minnesota-chippewa-face-historic-blood-quantum-vote/600177367/#:~:text=Since%201961%2C%20membership%20in%20the%20kept%20by%20the%20federal%20government>. Retrieved: June 22, 2022

⁶¹ <https://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2018/02/09/583987261/so-what-exactly-is-blood-quantum> Retrieved: June 22, 2022

⁶² <https://policy.umn.edu/morris/amindianwaiver> Retrieved: June 1, 2022

to reevaluate. The scholarship is affinity based on citizenship, but is only applicable to federally recognized tribes which excludes seven additional tribes in Oregon.

Student & Faculty Demographics Collection/Reporting:

Student and faculty demographics collection and reporting was often the hardest question for interviewees to answer with most responses being wide ranging or paraphrased inaccurately. Six of the 10 universities enable students to self-identify as Native or American Indian. Multi-racial reporting is often limited or races are prioritized and ultimately reported as one. For many universities, such as Brown University, race-ethnicity records vary in reporting. For “American Indian or American Alaskan” the website states “number is not posted due to data privacy”. However, in the same data table, Brown reports by number of students in federally recognized tribes. For example, 10 students identify as Cherokee and five identify as Chippewa, with other Tribes such as Navajo and Sioux numbers not reported for data privacy.⁶³ In addition to that reporting, the Native American and Indigenous Studies Initiative page reports “114 undergrad students self-identified as American Indian and Alaska Native and 32 undergraduates who self-identified as Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islanders”. This is evidence that Native enrollment numbers vary across university departments and reports, and that self-identification data is not handled in a uniform way. Many other university practitioners expressed that the collection of Native demographic information led to wide ranging estimates, and ultimately weren’t very accurate.

University of Oregon’s Dr. Jason Younker pioneered a new form of data collection and reporting for Native Students. He wanted to know what tribes incoming freshmen belonged to in order to better welcome them. Younker met with the Director of Admissions and added a series of questions for Native students who self-identified to also add Tribal affiliation and citizenship. When the University of Oregon implemented the Tribal and Citizenship affiliation, the university Native population dropped significantly, which to Younker represented a more accurate count of Native students. This characterization allows for Oregon administration to know which communities students are coming from as well as potential outreach areas for relationship building, recruitment, and retention.

This similar implementation has been repeated with the Common Application for general college admission, and at other universities, including University of Arizona and University of Wisconsin-Madison. The result has been more accurate numbers and use of the data to better inform Native staff who support Native students.

Academic Programs:

Academic programs were evaluated as a measure of institutional support and funding. Universities, such as the University of Arizona and the University of Hawai’i, who offer graduate degrees have some of the most robust academic and student programs compared to the other institutions. Self-critique within institutions allows for robust research and the evolution of an institution. Often indigenous studies also provide a deeper dive and historical understanding of Tribal relations to the university because of the inherent historical relationship.

⁶³ <https://diap.brown.edu/data/diversity-dashboards/student-data/graduation-rate-race-ethnicity> Retrieved: June 1, 2022

A key consideration that was discussed in the University of Minnesota interview was intergenerational teaching and learning. Most programs were targeted for traditional, right out of high school students, where the vast majority of Native students might not be 'traditional' students. Often academic programs incorporate a living-learning community where students live together in shared housing. However, at University Minnesota, the living-learning communities have few students interested in living in the house and excludes any students with families or elders who could also be residents in the community and teach.

Native American Tribes, Faculty, & Students:

The idea of cultural erasure was prevalent in many of our interviews. As seen in the comparison table, the number of federally recognized Tribes that reside in the state can also be an indicator of cultural erasure. In the interview with David Lowry, the Distinguished Fellow in Native American Studies at MIT, he described the "east/west of the Mississippi" difference in colonization. He described how colonization east of the Mississippi – earlier in the colonization of what is now the United States – resulted in cultural genocide and absolute removal of Native peoples, while the later colonization west of the Mississippi occurred through Westward Expansion and resulted in widespread displacement and the creation of reservations through treaties. Encyclopædia Britannica offers a map of reservations and shows the stark contrast on the east and west sides of the Mississippi River (Appendix 5). This theme of cultural erasure was especially prominent for the universities on the east coast, with anecdotes from Brown, Cornell, and MIT about how little visibility Native people have in general, let alone at the universities. Colonization was so thorough that Indiana and Ohio Universities, whose land belonged to the myaamiaki (Miami), saawanwa (Shawnee), Bodwéwadmik (Potawatomi), Lenape (Delaware), Wea, Piankashaw, Wyandotte, Ottawa, Seneca, and Eel River peoples, currently have no federally recognized tribal headquarters in the state, with the state of Ohio having no federally recognized tribes at all.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ See note 32. Retrieved May 26, 2022

Policy Implications and Conclusions

For each key theme that we analyzed from our conversations with university practitioners, there is an actionable opportunity for the University of Minnesota to better University-Tribal relations and to begin to reconcile with the genocide and ill-gotten wealth in their history. These suggestions are not to be prescriptive; we do not want to recreate the patronizing attitudes that universities and governments have had towards Tribal Nations. These should be considered effective practices from peer institutions, and Tribal Nations can choose to bring any, some, or none, of these suggestions to the table with the university. The key opportunities follow, and are summarized in Table 3.

Table 3: Key Themes and Opportunities for Change

Key Theme	Opportunity for UMN
Land Acknowledgement	Adopt university-wide land acknowledgement with <i>input</i> and <i>approval</i> from Tribal Nations
Tuition Support	Expand the affinity-based Morris tuition waiver to entire UMN system, and offer other non-academic supports
Tribal Relations Office Location	Keep this position in the President's office, foster a Nation-to-institution relationship
Admissions Identification	Expand admissions demographics data to include Tribal Affiliation, Tribal Lineage, Citizenship
Academic Programming	Build up the American Indian Studies program to be an intergenerational Master's/PhD program
Native Students and Faculty	Confirm number of Native students and faculty; focus on Native student and faculty recruitment and retention

Key Theme – Land Acknowledgements:

Peer University Practices: Seven of the nine peer institutions interviewed had university-wide land acknowledgements. The University of Minnesota does not. Three of the seven had land acknowledgments written *by* and *with* the co-located Tribal Nations, which we deem a best practice. The three universities who have Tribe-created land acknowledgments, Indiana University, University of Arizona, and University of Oregon, also all have regular meetings between the Tribes and the university Presidents. The Presidents of Indiana University and

University of Oregon meet with Tribal Chairs twice a year, and the President of the University of Arizona has quarterly meetings with Tribes.

Current UMN Practice: There is no university-wide land acknowledgment. We learned in our interview with a University of Minnesota practitioner that there has been a land acknowledgment approved by all 11 federally recognized Tribal Nations, and that it has been tied up in committees pending institutional approval.

Opportunities for UMN: The statement approved by the Tribes should be adopted. We recommend that this statement be viewed as a critical *first step* in this process of reconciliation. This process could also lead to sustained relationships with Tribal Nations. We would advocate for the University of Minnesota to match its peers both in adopting a land acknowledgement and in putting in the effort to maintain meaningful relationships with Tribal Nations.

Key Theme – Tuition Support:

Peer University Practices: Two peer institutions offered some sort of tuition assistance for Native students. The University of Hawai'i at Mānoa runs a summer program where Native Hawaiian faculty teach core courses to Hawaiian students, incorporating Hawaiian ways of knowing into the course materials. These courses are offered for credit and free of charge to Hawaiian students. The Oregon state legislature passed a budget that will provide Native students the cost of attendance at the University of Oregon, after other federally available scholarships are applied. This scholarship is only funded for the next fiscal year at this point.

Current UMN Practice: The President of the University of Minnesota announced the system-wide Native American Promise Tuition program in 2021, but it is not an affinity-based waiver; a 100% waiver of tuition is only available to people whose families make \$75,000 or less annually, and the scholarship is not available for families making over \$125,000. This program also does not include people from the Tribal Nations who were forcibly removed from the boundaries of Minnesota. The University of Minnesota, Morris, on the other hand, offers a true affinity-based tuition waiver for any Native student. They need to be either enrolled in a Tribal Nation or be the descendant of someone enrolled, and they can be from any American Indian Tribe, Alaskan Native Village, or Canadian First Nation.⁶⁵

Opportunity for UMN: The University of Minnesota has the opportunity to be a national leader and to go above and beyond the tuition assistance that its peer institutions provide by expanding the Morris tuition waiver to the entire system. As has been well-documented, the University of Minnesota generated, and continues to generate, large amounts of wealth from stolen Native lands and resources. The University has the opportunity to use this money to help those whose land they sit on.

Key Theme – Tribal Relations Office Location:

Peer University Practices: Four of the institutions have a Tribal-Relations position within the President's office. Our key informants identified this as an effective practice; having a direct line to the President both provides Tribal Nations with the position and privilege that their sovereignty warrants, and provides the university with the opportunity to keep up a

⁶⁵ See note 59. Retrieved: June 29, 2022

collaborative and effective relationship. We also know that being located in the President's office is about being in close proximity to people who can assert their *institutional will*, and make lasting change.

Current UMN Practice: The University of Minnesota hired its inaugural Senior Advisor to the President for Native American Affairs in 2021.

Opportunity for UMN: The University of Minnesota should keep their newly created position, and should put money and time into fostering a Nation-to-institution relationship with Tribal Nations.

Key Theme – Admissions Identification:

Peer University Practices: Two peer institutions utilized Tribal affiliation when recording admissions demographics, instead of solely doing self-identification. The Universities of Arizona and Oregon both allow students to select whether they identify as Native American as well as what Tribal Nation they are affiliated with. The practitioners we interviewed from these two institutions highlighted the importance of knowing where their Native students were coming from, and what Tribal Nations the university should build up their relationships with. We heard from east coast practitioners that, because of their geographic context of colonization, there is a high amount of cultural erasure of Tribes who called those states home. Even though they did mostly self-identification, they expressed the desire to know whether there are any Native students from local Tribal communities, especially given the violent history of early colonization on those lands.

Current UMN Practices: The University of Minnesota, to our knowledge, does only self-identification and it does not make the numbers very accessible.

Opportunity for UMN: The University of Minnesota should expand admissions demographics data to include Tribal Affiliation, Tribal Lineage, and citizenship for Native students. This could help identify which Tribal Nations are most/least represented at the University, and which Nations the University needs to build up relationships with.

Key Theme – Academic Programming:

Peer University Practices: Only one of our peer institutions has American Indian Studies academic programming up through a PhD program, and that is the University of Arizona. One more institution has a Master's degree opportunity, which is the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. This metric was important for us to look at, as it gives us a sort of proxy measurement of institutional support and funding. Along with academics, many of our interviewees stressed the importance of Native people having access to research and archival resources held by the University, whether that be through increased efforts in digitizing archived primary and secondary sources on Native American Tribes and history, or through more opportunities for people who are not students to get access to archives. For example, Indiana University grants "research-affiliate" status to people who are not in the IU system so they can get full access to the university archives, libraries, JSTOR/other online journals, etc.

Current UMN Practice: The University of Minnesota only programs up through a Bachelor of Arts in American Indian Studies or in Ojibwe Language.

Opportunity for UMN: The University of Minnesota should grow the American Indian Studies program to include Master's of Arts and PhD programs, and to do so with the help of Native students and faculty. They should also look into the IU "research-affiliate" program – this model could be used at the University of Minnesota to make research more accessible to non-UMN affiliated Native people.

Key Theme – Recruitment and Retention of Native Students and Faculty:

Peer University Practices: Native students and faculty are underrepresented at all peer institutions, including the University of Minnesota. The first steps the University should take is to confirm how many Native students are currently enrolled and evaluate institutional policies for recruitment and retention of those students. A common theme in our interviews was that *representation matters* when talking about recruiting and retaining Native students. It's important for students to have the experience of being taught by someone who looks like them, thinks like them, etc., and for that reason the University should focus efforts on recruiting Native staff and faculty. Feeling connected to University staff and faculty leads to better retention of Native students, and helps them to build the confidence that they can excel at this institution. This key theme intersects with all of the other ones; the Universities that have more, and better, supports in place for Native students, and devote more institutional power to Native students and faculty, have higher numbers of Native students enrolled. While we can't conclude causality, we can imagine it is easier to leave home and attend university for a Native student who feels like they are *wanted there*. Having access to research, culturally specific buildings/gathering spaces, Native staff who can help them navigate a large city-based and majority white institution, etc. are all things that came up in our interviews that have helped to make those schools more accessible to Native students, and to support them all the way through graduation.

To conclude, there is one overarching theme that was present throughout each interview, one that is essential to the success of any of the above best practices: *institutional will*. Having supportive leadership and an administration that utilizes its power within the institution as a catalyst for change is *necessary* for beginning the process of reconciliation. This has been reflected already in the changes that came with the new President, Joan Gabel, and that is encouraging. As new information comes to light about just how much the University profited off of indigenous land and Native genocide, this effort must be sustained and amplified by the administration, in consistent collaboration with the Tribal Nations.

Epilogue

Being able to contribute to this project provided our team of researchers an opportunity to engage with our client and interviewees in a way that utilized a combination of western and Indigenous Research Methods and ways of knowing. Through our research we were able to learn from one another and with one another about some of the often overlooked and untold histories of the relationship that colonial institutions have with Tribal Nations. Centering the voices of those that the research directly affected was critical to the relationship building with our client and partners that took place over the course of the semester. Through this relationship building we were able to foster connections that positively affected our ability to gather the data in a way that can begin to repair some of the harms that have been committed throughout history. Our team of researchers hope that any future research with Tribal partners will honor Indigenous Research Methods and cultural protocols.

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In order to use exactly what peer Universities shared about their Tribal Relations, we sourced directly from their websites. In lieu of traditional referencing, below are web-archived links to their websites as they were when we accessed them between April and July of 2022. Sources outside of direct university webpages are cited above.

Brown University:

[/web/20220630003122/https://www.brown.edu/about/history/timeline/brown-becomes-land-grant-university](https://web/20220630003122/https://www.brown.edu/about/history/timeline/brown-becomes-land-grant-university)

<https://web.archive.org/web/20220630003437/https://www.uri.edu/about/history/detailed-history/>

<https://web.archive.org/web/20220630003627/https://www.brown.edu/news/2016-02-02/indigenous>

<https://web.archive.org/web/20220630003934/https://www.brown.edu/academics/native-american-and-indigenous-studies/land-acknowledgment>

<https://web.archive.org/web/20220630004043/https://www.brown.edu/academics/native-american-and-indigenous-studies/undergraduate>

<https://web.archive.org/web/20220701192020/https://diap.brown.edu/data/diversity-dashboards/student-data/graduation-rate-race-ethnicity>

Cornell University:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20220630004346/https://blogs.cornell.edu/cornelluniversityindigenousdispossession/>

<https://web.archive.org/web/20220630004435/https://live.alumni.cornell.edu/greatestgood?v=61721766fa4ec9002fd57966>

<https://web.archive.org/web/20220630004532/https://cals.cornell.edu/american-indian-indigenous-studies/about/land-acknowledgment>

Indiana University:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20220630004818/https://americanstudies.indiana.edu/research/native-american-indigenous-studies.html>

<https://web.archive.org/web/20220630004939/https://firstnations.indiana.edu/land-acknowledgment/indigenize-indiana-shirts.html>

https://web.archive.org/web/20220630005029/https://uirr.iu.edu/doc/facts-figures/enrollment/diversity/ipeds-base-sets/1-IU_BL_base_2021.pdf

Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT):

<https://web.archive.org/web/20220701170101/http://web.mit.edu/aises/www/>

<https://web.archive.org/web/20220701170500/https://nasa.mit.edu/native-american-student-association>

<https://web.archive.org/web/20220701170806/https://registrar.mit.edu/stats-reports/enrollment-statistics-year/all>

<https://web.archive.org/web/20220701171142/https://iceo.mit.edu/land-acknowledgment/>

Ohio State University:

https://web.archive.org/web/20220701172557/https://live-facts-osu.pantheonsite.io/sites/default/files/documents/2022/02/Ohio_State-Statistical-Summary-2021_2022_v2.pdf

University of Arizona:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20220701172719/https://president.arizona.edu/person/n-levi-esquerra>

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<https://news.arizona.edu/story/uarizona-land-acknowledgment-illustrates-commitment-indigenous-students-communities>

University of Hawai'i at Mānoa:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20220701185238/https://manoa.hawaii.edu/hshk/>

<https://web.archive.org/web/20220701185332/https://manoa.hawaii.edu/nhss/>

University of Oregon:

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<https://web.archive.org/web/20220701190216/https://nativestudies.uoregon.edu/>

University of Wisconsin:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20220701190308/https://amindian.wisc.edu/certificate-program/>

<https://web.archive.org/web/20220701190441/https://registrar.wisc.edu/enrollment-reports/>

University of Minnesota, Twin Cities:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20220701190658/https://cla.umn.edu/ais/undergraduate/degree-programs-and-courses>

<https://web.archive.org/web/20220701190754/https://cla.umn.edu/ais/undergraduate/clubs-and-organizations>

<https://web.archive.org/web/20220701190856/https://idr.umn.edu/reports-by-topic-enrollment/enrollments>

University of Minnesota, Morris:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20220701191745/https://policy.umn.edu/morris/amindianwaiver>

Appendix 1: Initial Contact Email

Good Morning XXXXXX,

My name is Madeline, I am working with the University of Minnesota's American Indian Tribal Nations Relations Office and the Resilient Communities Project (RCP), on the [Towards Recognition and University-Tribal Healing \(TRUTH\) Project](#). "At the heart of this truth-telling project is community - led participatory research designed to give Tribes the opportunity to tell, in their words, the history of relations between their Tribal Nations and the University of Minnesota."

We are interested in learning about your experience, and the ways in which your institution is building relationships to recognize its role in injustices towards American Indians, more specifically the appropriation of land and resources, more specifically the appropriation of land and resources through the Morrill act of 1862. Would you be interested in talking about your experience with XXXX University and its work regarding the recognition of injustice and relationship-building with American Indian communities? We will use the information gathered for a final report including interviews from 10 other universities that will be available to you.

If you have any questions, please reach out to our team!

Best Regards,

Audrianna, Dani, Henry & Madeline

Appendix 2: Interview Consent Form

TRUTH Project: University Comparison
Interview Consent Form

I, _____, volunteer to participate in an informational interview as part of the University of Minnesota's American Indian Tribal Nations Relations Office and the Resilient Communities Project (RCP), on the [Towards Recognition and University-Tribal Healing \(TRUTH\) Project](#). I understand that the purpose of this interview is to ascertain the University's relationship with Tribal Nations.

If you have any questions regarding the form and the interview process please contact Madeline Titus, interview coordinator, at titus118@umn.edu .

1. I understand that my participation in this project is voluntary, and that it will not affect my current or future relations with the University of Minnesota. I understand that I will not be paid for my participation. I may withdraw and discontinue participation at any time without penalty. If I decline to participate or withdraw from the interview this will not affect my current or future relations with the University of Minnesota.

2. I understand that most interviewees will find the discussion interesting and thought-provoking. If I feel uncomfortable in any way during the interview session, I have the right to decline to answer any question or to end the interview.

3. I understand that my participation involves being interviewed by a graduate student or team of graduate students from the University of Minnesota, via tele-conferencing software Zoom. The interview will last approximately two hours. Notes will be written during the interview and the interview will be recorded for analysis purposes and to provide quotations for the report. The recording will not be made public and only the people working on the TRUTH Project will have access to the recording.

4. I understand that the student will write a paper reporting on the interview. Information

will all be de-identified unless every participant agrees to have their names be published. All direct quotes will be sent for final approval, as well as a copy of the draft report. Because of the specialized work and expertise of some interviewees, interview content may be potentially associable with individuals even if those individuals are not identified directly. In such cases, anonymity cannot be guaranteed. If I do not wish to have information or quotes identified by name, position/title, or university, or any other identifying information, I will state my preference at the conclusion of the interview. The graduate student(s) will ask for preference at the conclusion of the interview.

5. I have read and understand this Interview Consent Form provided to me. I have had all my questions answered to my satisfaction, and I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

Statement of Consent:

- I have read and received a copy of the above information and I consent to be interviewed.
- I would like to receive a copy of the final report and emailed to:

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Signature(s) of interviewer: _____ Date: _____

PRINT NAME OF INTERVIEWER(s): _____

Appendix 3: Interview Guide

TRUTH Project: University Comparison Interview Guide

Overview

1. Go over consent process
2. Start recording after consent
3. Factual questions
4. Break if needed
5. Evaluative questions
6. Concluding questions and remarks

Factual Questions:

- Can you tell us a little about yourself?
- Can you begin by telling me about the work your university is doing in relation to tribal nations?
 - What office is it located in? How does it fit into the University hierarchy?
 - How many people are involved in this project/initiative?
 - How many are paid staff?
 - Are there any partnerships across departments/schools?
 - Roles and responsibilities within the department?
 - When did this process first begin?
 - Have you published any reports that you can share with us?
- The TRUTH project is exploring many facets of the University of Minnesota's history with MN's Tribal Nations, and our group is specifically looking at the monetary value of both the land and resources that benefitted the University from the Morrill Act of 1862 through the present day. Is this similar to what your project is looking at, or are you taking a different approach?
- Which tribes originally occupied the land the university resides on?
- Are there any current initiatives being done by the university similar to the TRUTH Project (understanding legacy of land grant universities)
- What student resources are specific to tribal nations and their citizens and/or Native students?
 - Do you know how many native students attend the university?
 - How many Native staff, and faculty are at the university?
 - How is the university addressing power imbalance when conducting research with Tribal Nations, extracting knowledge, and culturally relevant topics?
- Have you heard of the High Country News Article that came out in 2020 about land grant universities and has it been referenced in any work?
 - Was your project initiated after this High Country News article came out? If so, what policies were in place before-hand in your university-tribal relations, and have any new ones been implemented since the article?

Evaluative Questions:

- What is the current state of the relationship between your university and tribal nations?
 - How is this relationship maintained?
 - Are there any routine/regular meetings/exchanges/events that have been established in order to continue building relationships?
- How was this process perceived by administrators?
- How was this process perceived by the public?
- What barriers exist between implementation and desired outcomes?
- Recommendations or best practices learned?
- Do you have any Native student groups and what is your perception of them?

Concluding Questions

- Specific to conversation and further clarifications
 -
- Any questions for us?
- Would you like to be identified by name, title, university in our report or unidentified?

Appendix 4: Tribal Nations Historically in Oregon

We found that the recording of Tribal Nations who have historical connections to the land that is now Oregon fluctuated by source, which is why we reported above only the current-day federally recognized Tribal Nations. Here we list the Tribal Nations that various sources say have connection to the land^{66,67,68}.

(Current day Tribe/Confederated Tribes) → (Historical Tribes/Bands the current day consists of)

Burns Paiute Tribe → The Wadatika Band of Northern Paiutes

Confederated Tribes of Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw Indians → Hanis Coos, Miluk Coos, Lower Umpqua Tribe, and Siuslaw Tribe

Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde → over 30 Tribes/Bands; include bands from the Kalapuya, Molalla, Chasta, Umpqua, Rogue River, Chinook, and Tillamook Tribes

Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians → over 30 Tribes/Bands, including Clatsop, Chinook, Klickitat, Molala, Kalapuya, Tillamook, Alsea, Siuslaw/Lower Umpqua, Coos, Coquille, Upper Umpqua, Tututni, Chetco, Toloway, Takelma, Galice/Applegate, and Shasta peoples.

Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation → Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla peoples

Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs → Warm Springs, Wasco, and Paiute Tribal Nations

Cow Creek Band of Umpqua Tribe of Indians → Cow Creek Band of Umpqua

Coquille Indian Tribe → the Coquille Indian Tribe

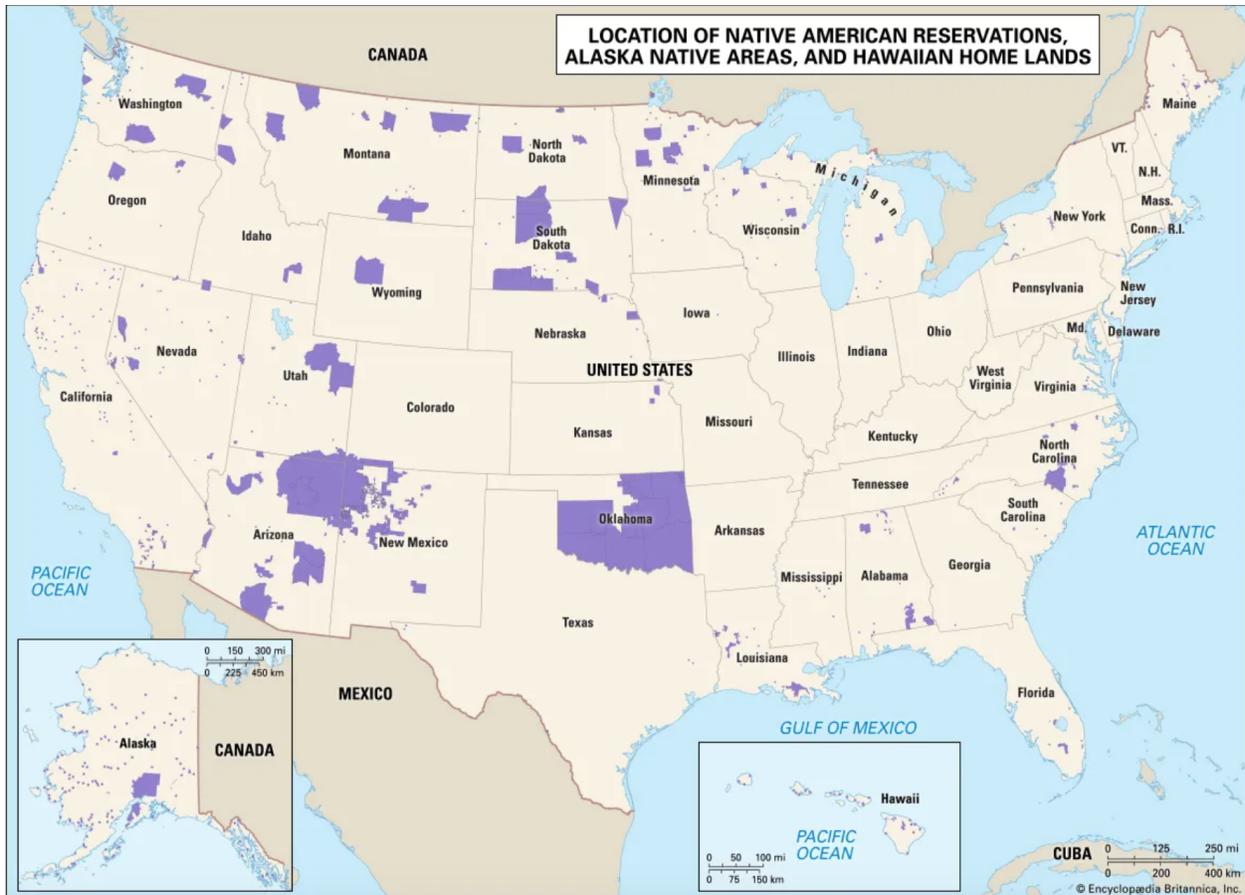
Klamath Tribes → Klamath, Modoc, and Yahooskin-Paiute peoples

⁶⁶ https://guides.library.oregonstate.edu/ld.php?content_id=63812137 Retrieved July 6, 2022

⁶⁷ <https://www.ctsi.nsn.us/introduction/> Retrieved July 6, 2022

⁶⁸ https://www.coquilletribe.org/?page_id=49 Retrieved July 6, 2022

Appendix 5: Map of American Indian Reservations, Alaska Native Areas, and Hawaiian Home Lands



© Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc./Kenny Chmielewski

<https://kids.britannica.com/kids/assembly/view/179430> Retrieved: June 1, 2022

Community Assistantship Program

**Where the Food Grows on Water: Continuance of
Scientific Racism and Colonialism**

Where the Food Grows on Water: Continuance of Scientific Racism and Colonialism

Prepared in partnership with
White Earth Reservation Tribal Archives

Prepared by
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University of Minnesota
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Findings Summary:

The purpose of this project was to determine the impacts of historic anthropological and current agricultural research done at the University of Minnesota on the Anishinaabe. The University of Minnesota has been inextricably involved with the land thefts that occurred at White Earth near the turn of the nineteenth century and the collapse of the wild rice industry on all of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe reservations in the late twentieth century. The involvement these racist, colonialist projects demonstrate the ways in which prejudice has and continues to pervade the University. Western Science has been implicitly involved in both of these issues. The agenda of Western science is in no way neutral or universal but instead is grounded in a specific cultural tradition. The cases of land theft and wild rice showcase the inherent bias in Western science and allow an opportunity to evaluate the underlying agenda that Western science has and continues to support. Concerns of Anishinaabeg regarding the effects of the hybridization and genetic research on manoomin (wild rice) being conducted by researchers at the University of Minnesota have grown rapidly in the past several years. This work details those apprehensions and explores their basis. It also investigates the ways in which the research on manoomin is a continuation of colonialism as well as demonstrative of a larger pattern of scientific racism at the University of the University of Minnesota.

Where the Food Grows on Water: Continuance of Scientific Racism and Colonialism

Preface:

I would like to begin by thanking those who have provided guidance, support and inspiration for this project: Hanah Gurno, Winona LaDuke, Joe LaGarde, Naomi Scheman, and Paul Schultz.

Introduction:

Concerns of Anishinaabeg in Minnesota and the surrounding regions regarding the effects of the hybridization and genetic research on manoomin or wild rice being conducted by researchers at the University of Minnesota have grown rapidly in the past several years. This work details those apprehensions and explores their basis. It also investigates the ways in which the research on manoomin is a continuation of colonialism, as well as demonstrative of a larger pattern of scientific racism present at the University of Minnesota.

Historical Background/Traditions

When the Anishinaabeg were living somewhere near the Great Salt Water of the East seven prophets came to the people and instructed them if they did not move they would be destroyed; thus the great migration of the Anishinaabeg began. The journey proved to be long and taxing on the people. After seven major stopping places the people reached their destination—“*the place where the*

food grows on water.” Manoomin or wild rice is the food that grows on water and is a unique gift from the Creator.¹ *“Wild rice is consequently a very special gift, with medicinal as well as nutritional values—a belief reflected in the Ojibway use of wild rice as a food to promote recovery from sickness as well as for ceremonial feasts.”*² It would be difficult to over-emphasize the significance of manoomin for the Anishinaabeg. White Earth Anishinaabe and Tribal Historian Andrew Favorite has told of the value manoomin holds: *“Wild rice is part of our prophecy, our process of being human, our process of being Anishinaabe. It tells us, in those prophecies, that we’ll find the food growing out of the water when we reach our homeland. We are here because of the wild rice. We are living a prophecy fulfilled.”*³

Anishinaabeg comprehend manoomin as spiritual entity, which is used in ceremony as well as for food and trade. *“Any effort to over-harvest or commercialize wild rice has met with failure. Manoomin has always been generous to those who gather and use her in a respectful way.”*⁴ Commercial exploitation of manoomin by non-Indians is generally viewed by the Anishinaabe as a desecration. It is customarily considered acceptable for Anishinaabe and other Indigenous peoples to sell some extra manoomin after they have secured

¹ Benton-Banai, Edward The Mishomis Book: The Voice of the Ojibway, (Indian Country Communications: Hayward, 1988), 94-102.

² Venum, Thomas, Jr. Wild Rice and the Ojibway People, (Minnesota Historical Society Press: St. Paul, 1988), 62.

³ Favorite, Andrew quoted in Clancy, Frank “Wild Rice Case Study,” unpublished, 2002, 5.

⁴ Benton-Banai, 101-102.

an adequate supply for their families. Manoomin has been part of the traditional seasonal economy of the Anishinaabe since they were given the responsibility of caring for it by the Creator. Manoomin was often traded with the French and English and continues to be traded with Americans. Indeed, demonstrative of the value of manoomin it is notable the treaty signers took care to reserve lands with manoomin as well as the right to continue to harvest on those territories ceded. Despite declining prices, it continues to be a significant source of income for many. However, as I will discuss below, manoomin, one of the most important resources to the Anishinaabe is losing accessibility. Several factors including the desire of non-Indians to exploit and claim ownership to this resource is resulting in limited access and eradication of manoomin.⁵

Manoomin has a special significance in many traditional Anishinaabe stories, which are told both during ricing and the time when the ground is frozen. *“In these stories, wild rice is a crucial element in the realm of the supernaturals and in their interactions with animals and humans; these legends explain the origin of wild rice and recount its discovery by a culture hero.”*⁶ The following story tells how Wenabozhoo or Nanaboozhoo, the cultural hero of the Anishinaabe, was introduced to wild rice.

“. . . One evening Nanaboozhoo returned from hunting but he had no game. . . As he came towards his fire, there was duck sitting on the edge of his kettle of boiling water. After the duck flew away, Nanaboozhoo

⁵ Vennum, 1
Smith, Charlene L. and Howard J. Vogel “The Wild Rice Mystique: Resource Management and American Indians’ Rights as a Problem of Law and Culture.” William and Mitchell Law Review Vol 10, 1984, 755.

⁶ Vennum, 58.

looked into the kettle and found wild rice floating upon the water, but he did not know what it was. He ate his supper from the kettle, and it was the best soup he had ever tasted. Later, he followed in the direction the duck had taken, and came to a lake full of manoomin: wild rice. He saw all kinds of ducks and geese and mud hens, all the other water birds eating the grain. After that, when Nanaboozhoo did not kill a deer, he knew where to find food to eat. . .”⁷

Other stories tell how manoomin provides nutritional sustenance for the Anishinaabeg.

“Only the old ones speak of how the people suffered during the hungry-time. It occurred in the late winter or early spring. . .when snow covered the ground and the supply of stored food dwindled. This was a time of starving for many. It was a time when babies cried desperately for food. Mothers wept in despair, and fathers turned their backs to hide their tears. It was a time when grandmothers crooned for their grief, and grandfathers remembered all the years of hungry-times. But the old ones also say that Great Spirit saw how the people suffered and pitied them. So Great Spirit blessed the people with a gift of mahnomen (wild rice), the food that grows on water. Soon people found rice growing in many shallow lakes and rivers. Not only was rice provided, but with it came the knowledge to preserve this food through the entire circle of seasons. So the hungry time was eliminated. There are several versions of how this occurred but I like to think that the knowledge came through holy dreams that blessed the sleep of certain people.” (emphasis original)⁸

Although manoomin can be planted, the traditional belief of many Anishinaabe is that the spirits carry this task.⁹ It is commonly believed that if the Creator wants the manoomin to grow it will, and attempting to seed what has been given might result in the spirits’ destroying the plants as punishment. Other Indigenous nations have similar beliefs surrounding manoomin. A Menominee

⁷ LaDuke, Winona “The Wild Rice Moon” Whole Earth Winter (1999): 78.

⁸ Dunn Anne M. “The Gift of Mahnomen” in When Beaver was Very Great: Stories to Live By (Mount Horeb, Wisconsin: Midwest Traditions, Inc, 1995), 126.

⁹ Beliefs surrounding manoomin vary slightly among various communities and in some cases a limited amount of manoomin has been planted but nonetheless a stigma surrounding transforming manoomin into a Western style crop persists.

Chief, Nio'pet, told Dr. Albert Jenks that his people did not need to sow rice because it would follow them wherever they went. Indeed, he told of how Shawano Lake had never had manoomin until his people moved there and similarly when they were banned from Lake Winnebago the rice that had been plentiful there all but disappeared.¹⁰ Similarly, Bill Johnson related that the belief that had been passed down to him was that manoomin was created for the Anishinaabe people. The people had not planted manoomin because it was put in Nett Lake as well as other lakes and rivers when the land was formed for the Anishinaabe. He also stated that humans cannot plant manoomin. At times there is very little manoomin but when the spirits want it, it grows again.¹¹

There is growing concern that both research focused on domestication, hybridization, and genetics will adversely affect the natural stands of manoomin, and that these types of research are inappropriate, disrespectful, and demonstrative of continued colonization. The Minnesota Chippewa Tribe has made their position on genetic research regarding manoomin clear. In a letter to then University of Minnesota President Mark Yudoff, then Minnesota Chippewa Tribe President Norman Deschampe wrote: *"We object to anyone exploiting our treaty wild rice genus for pecuniary gain. The genetic variants of wild rice found naturally occurring on the waters in the territories ceded by the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe. . .are a unique treasure that has been carefully protected by the*

¹⁰ Venum, 65, 68-69
Smith and Vogel, 751.

¹¹ Venum, 65-66.

people of our tribe for centuries. Rights to the rice has been the subject of treaty, and is a resource that enjoys the federal trust protection. Our members harvest the rice not only for personal sustenance and religious ceremonies, but for commercial purposes as well." The letter continued: "*We are of the opinion that the wild rice rights assured by treaty accrue not only to individual grains of rice, but the essence of the resource.*" The right to the manoomin that grows on the waters of the Anishinaabe was specifically and carefully reserved in treaties, although most Anishinaabe consider it an inherent right.¹² In response to this letter President Yudof replied that researchers are working to "improve" various qualities of manoomin and those researchers assured him that "*there is virtually no risk to wild rice stock native to the reservations.*"¹³ Yudof also directed Dr. Larson, Associate Dean of Research at the College of Agriculture, Food and the Environmental Sciences (COAFES), to meet with Deschampe to "*reach a satisfactory resolution of the concerns you (Deschampe) raise.*"¹⁴ Only negligible meetings with no significant outcomes have taken place. Requests for information regarding the funding, involved faculty and staff, and patents held or pending addressed to Dr. Beverly Durgen, Associate Dean for Research and Outreach in COAFES, were acknowledged only after a rally to protect manoomin was held at the University of Minnesota in May of 2002.¹⁵ On June 11, Dean

¹² Deschampe, Norman W., letter to Mark Yudof, September 8, 1998.

¹³ Yudof, Mark, letter to Norman W. Deschampe, no date.

¹⁴ Yudof, Mark, letter to Norman W. Deschampe, no date.

¹⁵ White, Gerald, Leech Lake Commissioner, letter to Dr. Beverly Durgen, Associate Dean for Research, January, 30, 2002.

Charles Muscoplat, currently Dean of COAFES, send a letter to Joe LaGarde stating that the information requested would be “supplied by the University’s Records and Information Management Department per University of Minnesota procedures.”¹⁶ Although the information might be approaching, the wait continues.

University of Minnesota Research on Manoomin:

The University of Minnesota has put a great deal of time and resources toward the domestication of manoomin. There have been many projects designed to discover the best conditions and means to turn manoomin into a cultivated, Western style crop. Some of the projects have been: Nitrogen and Mineralization and Availability in Flooded Peats, Seed Tensile Strength and Variability in Wild Rice, and Cultivated Wild Rice Paddies and Their Relationship to Waterfowl in Northwestern Minnesota.¹⁷ Numerous other projects have been focused on disease resistance, insects, and paddy soil fertility.¹⁸ “Studies at the University of Minnesota have focused almost exclusively on the plant itself. They have provided a scientific rational for state regulation of the wild rice season and the development of paddy grown rice.”¹⁹

LaDuke, Winona, member of the White Earth Band of Chippewa, letter to Dr. Beverly Durgen, Associate Dean for Research, May 2002.

¹⁶ Muscoplat, Charles letter to Joe LaGarde, June 11, 2202.

¹⁷ Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station, Minnesota Wild Rice Research-1995 (St. Paul: University of Minnesota, 1995), x.

¹⁸ Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station, Progress Report of 1974 Wild Rice Research (St. Paul: University of Minnesota, 1975), x.

¹⁹ Smith and Vogel, 745.

A Study of Wild Rice in Minnesota provided a chronology of the efforts of the University of Minnesota, the Minnesota State Department of Conservation and other public agencies involved in manoomin research since 1939 to domesticate and create hybrid varieties of manoomin. The following chronology illustrates that while there was difficulty in getting initial support to explore the possibility of domesticating manoomin eventually financial support was secured.

“1939—The Wild Rice Law was established by the Minnesota Legislature with the purpose of providing organization and control of the wild rice harvest. The commissioner of Conservation was named responsible for developing and carrying out this program.

1940-1941—A survey of wild rice stands was made as a part of carrying out the responsibilities of the Wild Rice Law. During this period of time, 150 stands of wild rice were opened to harvest by the public.

1942—B. L. Johnson of the Department of Botany at the University of Minnesota prepared a report which envisioned a breeding program that would take 17 years to bring improvement in wild rice.

1944—Dr. John B. Moyle, Division of Game and Fish, Minnesota Department of Conservation, published in the Journal of Wildlife Management an article entitled, “Wild Rice in Minnesota”. This article brought fourth all of the biological information then known about the specie.

1951—The Minnesota Committee on Wild Rice was established, with Dr. Donald Lawrence of the Department of Botany at the University of Minnesota, as Chairman. The purpose was to set up a state wide organization to study wild rice. Nothing ever developed from this committee.

1954—Alfred Rogosin prepared a mimeographed report entitled “An Ecological History of Wild Rice.” This summarized biological information on wild rice.

1955—A technical committee on wild rice was organized and several meetings held. A research program was formulated but no source of funds were granted.

1956—A University application for research grant from Resources for the Future, Washington, D.C., received encouragement but no funds were granted.

1959—Assistance of Senator Humphrey was obtained to request funds from the U.S. Department of Agriculture for new crop development. There is some indication that this request failed because of opposition from those interested in domestic rice.

1960—Commissioner Selke proposed a wild rice research program to be funded by a special appropriation from the Minnesota Legislature. Funds were not available.

1963—Funds in the amount of \$16,000 were made available to the Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The purpose was to make a survey of the current and potential wild rice production, processing and marketing on the White Earth, Nett Lake, and Red Lake Indian Reservations in Minnesota, and the Mole Lake and Bad River Indian Reservations in Wisconsin. Reports of these surveys are available in mimeograph form at the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The studies were undertaken by Mr. Erwin Brooks, then a Graduate Research Assistant in the Department of Agronomy and Plant Genetics, University of Minnesota.

1964—Prior to the 1965 Legislative Session, a request was made to the Agricultural Experiment Station to provide information to Representative Everett Battles of Warroad. He proposed to enter this as request before the Legislature so that funds could be appropriated for wild rice research at the University of Minnesota. A proposal was prepared after consultation with several department heads having interest in such a proposition. The proposal became the base of two bills, H.F. 424 and companion bill, S.F. 537. The bills proposed an appropriation of \$100,000 for the biennium ending June 30, 1967. Many discussions were held with individual legislators but no funding was made available. However, there was an addition to the General Agricultural Research Appropriation Law indicating that the University should undertake research on wild rice. At that time a decision was made to study germination problems with this specie.

1965—The Manomin Development Company was organized for the purpose of developing varieties of improved wild rice. They requested support from the Economic Development Administration and were granted \$185,000 for a two-year period in 1966.

1966—The Iron Range Resources Commission requested the University of Minnesota to make a proposal which they then submitted through the Economic Development Administration. No commitment was ever made. The decision to fund the Manomin Development Company and the receipt of the University of Minnesota proposal came at about the same time.

1967—The University of Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station made a major request to the 1967 Legislature after thorough internal discussion. The request was for \$104,000 for the first year of the biennium, and \$111,000 for the second year. The proposal made to the Legislature indicated that support of the program in a sense, would commit the Legislature to a total approximating \$200,000,000 over a ten year period. It was assumed that the first efforts would deal with breeding, especially the problem of shattering and physiology studies. Also attention would be placed on insect and disease resistance. A considerable amount of discussion was held with many groups in the Legislature with respect to the merits of this program as against other major requests. In addition,

there was registered resistance on the part of the Wild Rice Harvesters Association and certain elements in the Department of Welfare. There seemed to be some conflict as to the real purpose behind the proposal that could have meaningful impact on the economic growth of Minnesota, and especially that area where wild rice is well adapted.

1967—The Minnesota Resources Commission held a hearing in Grand Rapids, August 11, 1967. Considerable testimony was heard. The general consensus indicated little encouragement for the development of paddy rice enterprises.

1967—During 1967 a proposal was submitted to the Upper Great Lakes Commission for possible funding. Dean Sherwood O. Berg has made a request for USDA support to Secretary of Agriculture, Orville Freeman.”²⁰

After years of research and experiments the University of Minnesota has largely achieved its goal of domesticating manoomin. They claim to have “created” several strains of manoomin. These are the strains by year and name given to the variety: 1968 Johnson, 1970 M1, 1972 M2, 1974 M3, 1978 Netum, 1983 Voyager, 1985 Meter, 1992 Franklin, 2000 Petrowske Purple. These varieties are selected for uniformity and non-shattering capacity, which aid in mechanical harvesting techniques, and male sterility, which prevents the crop from reseeding itself and thus simultaneously creates both higher yields and seed dependence.²¹ Questions as to uniqueness of these varieties have risen because the characteristics do exist in natural stands. Tribal biologists have begun the process of determining how prevalent these characteristics are in natural stands.²²

²⁰ Edman, 19-21, pages 21-24 detail other proposals that were not funded.

²¹ White Earth Land Recovery Project “Threats to Manoomin” brochure, spring 2002.

²² White Earth Land Recovery Project, Wild Rice Committee, Biology division meeting June 24, 2002, Fond du Lac Nation.

By 1980, Minnesota's cultivated manoomin crop reached 2.3 million processed pounds. Some Minnesota processors began a two thousand-acre development in California to escape the irregular returns from natural manoomin. California rice farmers quickly responded to the idea of cultivated manoomin, which generally brought twice the profit of the rice they had previously grown. With a few modifications to their already established paddies they were in business. California quickly began to out-produce Minnesota; by 1986 they raised twice as much manoomin as Minnesota. Thus, it seems that so far not only has California has been the major beneficiary in the research done on at the University of Minnesota on manoomin funded by Minnesota tax dollars but thousands of Minnesota Anishinaabeg have experienced economic losses as a result.²³

This cultivated manoomin has flooded the market and stabilized the usually variable supply of natural manoomin. In 1986, 10 to 11 million pounds of cultivated manoomin were produced. This abundance of manoomin caused the price of natural manoomin to drop dramatically, hurting many Anishinaabe families who depended on the seasonal income manoomin provided them.²⁴ Uncle Ben's, Green Giant, and General Foods have developed products that contain a mix of cultivated manoomin and other kinds of rice. These mixed products contain only 12 to 18 percent cultivated manoomin.²⁵

²³ Venum, 244.

²⁴ Venum, 241, 244-251.

²⁵ Venum, 240-241.

There is a prominent concern among the Anishinaabe that cultivated varieties of manoomin, developed at the University, will infect natural manoomin stands and damage them. Indeed, because of the proximity of the manoomin paddies, some suspect that biopollution has already occurred. University researchers argue that there is minimal risk for cultivated varieties of manoomin to invade natural stands for several reasons. They believe that because of the fragile nature of the wild rice pollen it does not have the ability to travel any “real distance.” In addition, cultivated manoomin is bred for paddy conditions and would consequently have a more difficult time surviving in natural environments. Yet, they admit that it is possible that the cultivated manoomin could contaminate natural stands.²⁶ The effects of genetic research and biopollution with corn have been quick and devastating. “It took only five years for the point of origin of the corn genome to be contaminated by genetic alteration.”²⁷ There is concern that manoomin could face a similar fate.

Implicit in making manoomin into a cultivated crop has been the creation of strains of manoomin suited for this venture. Toward this end, mapping the genome of manoomin became a goal for the researchers at the University of Minnesota. Some of the projects that have worked on this goal are: Wild Rice Breeding and Germplasm Improvement, and the Wild Rice Molecular Genetic Marker Progress Report. The genetic map has been completed and the impacts

²⁶ Clancy, 20.

²⁷ White Earth Land Recovery Project, Wild Rice Committee, Fond Du Lac, January, 24, 2002.

have already been felt. The result has been the patenting of manoomin, something unthinkable to many Anishinaabeg.²⁸

University researchers emphatically state that they are not introducing new genes but are simply breeding plants as they have done with other crops for many years. They desire to make manoomin more efficient, reliable, and disease resistant, which they argue is for the public good.²⁹ Indeed, because they are helping “advance” western style agriculture, they may argue that they are serving the public good and therefore fulfilling the mission of a land-grant institution.³⁰ The major problem with this rationale is, that if this research is for the “public good,” then clearly, the researchers do not consider Anishinaabe a part of the public, as they have been significant losers in this research agenda. This is one instance in which institutional racism plays a primary role. The ways in which the research agenda itself excludes alternate ways of understanding and systems of knowledge is implicitly racist. The only form of research considered legitimate is that which is western. The research done at the University of Minnesota has benefited non-Indian farmers and caused the price of natural manoomin, harvested primarily by Indians, to drop dramatically. In addition, many Anishinaabeg feel that manoomin cannot be “improved” because it is perfect in its natural state and that trying to do so involves arrogance, condescension, and disrespect.

²⁸ Minnesota Wild Rice Research - 1995, University of Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station, miscellaneous publication 89-1996.
United States Patent, 5,955,648.

²⁹ Clancy, 16-17.

There is an inherent bias in Western science that assumes authoritative neutrality. The very manner in which Western scientists interact with their research subjects, be it with respect, marvel, cruelty, or degradation, depending on the subject (plant, animal, or human) is indicative of Western culture. The treatment culturally constructs the subject as an object of knowledge. It is becoming increasingly difficult to maintain Western science is an apolitical, unbiased, system of knowledge.³¹ Critics have charged that racist and Euro-centric concerns/agendas have, indeed, shaped both the questions that have been asked by Western science and the answers that have been provided.³² “Western sciences clearly have been and continue to be complicit with racist, colonial, and imperial projects.”³³ There are numerous examples of this phenomenon, but of special relevance here are the ways in which western science was used not only as means but as justification for the theft of land from the Anishinaabeg. Through the early twentieth century (and with some continuance today) Western science claimed that there were different levels of “civilization,” indeed, different levels that racial groups could achieve. Not surprisingly, Europeans were rated highest on these levels and American Indians were placed significantly lower. *“The people of the United States now had*

³⁰ Clancy, 18-19.

³¹ Stepan, Nancy Leys and Sander L. Gilman, “Appropriating the Idioms of Science: The Rejection of Scientific Racism” in Harding, Sandra ed. The “Racial” Economy of Science: Toward a Democratic Future, (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1993), 172.

³² Harding, Sandra ed. Introduction to The “Racial” Economy of Science: Toward a Democratic Future, (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1993), 17.

³³ Ibid, 3.

scientific reasons to account for Indian failures and to explain and justify American expansion."³⁴

Regardless of the intentions of those doing genetic research on manoomin, they cannot control all of the consequences. A cultivated manoomin company in California has already utilized research and breeding done at the University of Minnesota to take out a patent on a variety of manoomin.³⁵ Researchers who have worked to make manoomin a cultivated crop did not foresee the industry's moving to California, but that does not change the consequences. The demand for detachment and objectivity in Western science creates a separation of thinking and feelings in researchers. This in turn promotes a moral detachment, which is reinforced by the very structure and hierarchy of Western science. This creates an atmosphere in which scientists can work on all kinds of questionable, unscrupulous projects with indifference to the consequences that might result.³⁶ This approach is vastly different from the Anishinaabe approach, which involves a strong connection between thinking and feeling. Larry Jourdain, Anishinaabe living in Koochichiing, Ontario, advises: "*The longest journey you will ever make is from your head to your heart. Start making*

³⁴ Horsman, 152-160, 168.

³⁵ White Earth Land Recovery Project "Threats to Manoomin" brochure, spring 2002.
NorCal Wild Rice, United States patent: 5,955,648.

³⁶ Levins, Richard and Richard Lewontin, "Applied Biology in the Third World: The Struggle for Revolutionary Science in Harding, Sandra Ed. The "Racial" Economy of Science: Toward a Democratic Future, (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1993), 315.

it. When you make that connection, you will know what Anishinaabeg are talking about.”³⁷

Research and the Relationship between Anishinaabeg and the University of Minnesota:

The relationship between Indigenous people and various researchers has been quite tenuous. Vast amounts of research have been carried out on or about Indigenous people without regard for the outcome. Indeed, the work of many anthropologists has been criticized as useless and, in fact, harmful. The knowledge “gathered” by researchers is taken from Indigenous communities and published with the academic world but it is not always shared with the community the work came from. The researcher, as opposed to the community, then becomes the “expert” and the authority, which denies the knowledge and wisdom located within communities.³⁸

“More important for our purposes, while not forgetting the horrors of some scientific behavior, is the impact of scientific doctrine on the status of Indians in American society. Regardless of what Indians have said concerning their origins, their migrations, their experiences with birds, animals, lands, waters, mountains, and other peoples, the scientists have maintained a stranglehold on the definitions of what respectable and

³⁷ Tornes, Beth “Traditional diet and healing through shared visions: Elders conference held in Lac du Flambeau” Ojibwe Akiing 9-30-1997 V. 1; N. 9 p. 7.

³⁸ Deloria, Vine Jr. Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969), 78-100.

reliable human experiences are. The Indian explanation is always cast aside as a superstition, precluding Indians from having acceptable status as human beings, and reducing them in the eyes of educated people to a prehuman level of ignorance.”³⁹

There are growing concerns about the historic and current role and function of scholars/scientists in the creation and implementation of federal Indian policy and the relationship of American Indians to academia. Not coincidentally, the vast amounts of research have favored the United States and in turn caused spiritual, emotional, and economic damage to Indian people.

“Science has often been used as a justification to propose, project, and enact racist social policies.”⁴⁰

Exemplifying how western science can be used to promote racist agendas are the cases of land theft at the White Earth Reservation. Western science had a direct effect on the colonization and theft of hundreds of thousands of acres of land held by the Anishinaabeg. Anthropologists became embroiled in cases of land fraud on the White Earth Reservation. Soon after reservation lands were divided up into individual portions it became necessary to determine who was a “full-blood” and who was a “mixed-blood” because blood quantum and competency were directly connected in legislation passed by the United

³⁹ Deloria, Vine Jr. Red Earth White Lies: Native Americans and the Myth of Scientific Fact (Golden, Colorado: Fulcrum Publishing, 1997), 7.

⁴⁰ Dennis, Rutledge m. “Social Darwinism, Scientific Racism, and the Metaphysics of Race” in the Journal of Negro Education vol. 64, no. 3, 1995, 243.

States.”⁴¹ Full-bloods and minors were deemed legally incompetent and thus it was not permissible for them to sell their allotments; adult mixed-bloods, on the other hand, were competent and had the ability to sell their land. University of Minnesota Board of Regents member and United States Congressman Knute Nelson sought to advance the agricultural economic interests of Euro-Americans and in 1889 introduced “An Act for the Relief and Civilization of the Chippewa Indians of Minnesota.”⁴² The passage of the Nelson Act resulted in an astonishing amount of fraud and corruption culminating in losses in the millions for the Anishinaabeg.⁴³

Conflicting understandings of who was a “full-blood” and who was a “mixed-blood” caused confusion and ultimately resulted in the disregard for Anishinaabeg definitions of themselves. Dr. Albert E. Jenks, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Minnesota, and Dr. Ales Hrdlicka, curator of the Division of Physical Anthropology at the Smithsonian Institution, came to White Earth to physically examine the Anishinaabeg and determine their blood quantum; despite the fact that the Anishinaabeg of White Earth did not consider percentages of White blood and Anishinaabe blood a determining factor in who was deemed a full-blood and who was considered a mixed-blood. Rather, for the Anishinaabeg the distinction was cultural and reflective of life ways. If a person

⁴¹ Beaulieu, David “Curly Hair and Big Feet: Physical Anthropology and Implementation of Land Allotment on the White Earth Chippewa Reservation” American Indian Quarterly, Fall 1984, 282.

⁴² Beaulieu, 285

⁴³ Beaulieu, 285-286.

lived a traditional Anishinaabe lifestyle then he/she was Anishinaabe, if a person adopted a Euro-American lifestyle then he/she was classified as a mixed-blood.⁴⁴

While on a leave of absence from the University of Minnesota, Jenks worked for an attorney for the lumber companies and adamantly claimed he could indisputably determine full-bloods from mixed-bloods through various physical examinations, including a cross-section hair analysis. Dr. Jenks worked with Dr. Hal Downey from the Department of Animal Biology in the College of Sciences, Literature, and Arts at the University of Minnesota on the hair tests. In addition to hair analysis Dr. Jenks and Dr. Hrdlicka performed several other physical tests to determine blood.⁴⁵ Blood quantum became the critical determiner in most of the cases, while other significant evidence was ignored. Judge Page Morris went so far as to dismiss cases even before they began based on his personal impression and assessment of the plaintiff's physical characteristics as they stood before him.⁴⁶

"It is a rare moment in the historiography of the relationship of anthropology and the other social science to American Indians to find an

⁴⁴ Beaulieu, 282,288.

Weil, Richard H. "Destroying a Homeland: White Earth, Minnesota" American Indian Culture and Research Journal 13:2 (1989) 71-73.

Meyers, Melissa The White Earth Tragedy: Ethnicity and Dispossession at a Minnesota Anishinaabe Reservation, 1889-1920 (University of Nebraska Press: Lincoln, 1994), 118-128.

⁴⁵ Beaulieu, 282, 293-298.

⁴⁶ Beaulieu, 286-296.
Youngbear-Tibbetts, 106-108.

example where the colonial nature and political purposes and the uses of academic enterprise seems so obvious and direct.”⁴⁷

This cases raises many questions as to the ways in which “scientific” knowledge is created, and used for social purposes. Similarly the case involving research on wild rice, incidentally also directly connected to the University of Minnesota, is another example of the ways in which Anishinaabe ways of knowing were denied efficacy and relegated to the categories of the primitive and non-scientific. In the land fraud cases University of Minnesota experts’ understandings of full-blood and mixed-blood were considered scientific fact and the ways in which the Anishinaabeg classified themselves was unscientific, negligible, and irrelevant. Currently, the University of Minnesota experts are again asserting their dominance over Anishinaabe ways of knowing. Researchers have been “creating” hybrid strains of manoomin (wild rice) as well as mapping its genome. Anishinaabeg insist manoomin is a living spiritual entity and that humans do not have the authority to change this gift from the Creator.

The Western view of plants and nature as available for the manipulation and domination by humans is not a neutral idea but an idea that is firmly grounded in Western culture. In fact, it is reflective of Christianity. The Anishinaabe view of plants and nature is also culturally grounded. It is believed that humans are dependent on plants, animals, and nature and that we can learn from them. Plants are living beings with spirits not unlike humans and animals. “In essence each plant being of whatever species was a composite being,

⁴⁷ Beaulieu, 282.

possessing an incorporeal substance, its own unique soul-spirit. It was the vitalizing substance that gave to its physical form growth, and self-healing.”⁴⁸ The clear difference in these ways of knowing is likely to cause conflict unless both groups afford each other both open communication and, most importantly, respect. Yet, Western science has not been willing to allow room for any valid understandings accept its own, causing numerous problems.

The very essence of research as Western peoples conduct it is deserving of careful evaluation. Linda Smith challenges people to consider the “complex ways in which the pursuit of knowledge is deeply embedded in the multiple layers of imperial and colonial practices”⁴⁹ Indeed, the current research being conducted on manoomin is an example of a colonial practice. The patents on manoomin are a form of colonization. The ownership of such a sacred living being is not considered possible by many Anishinaabe people, but dominant society does not recognize those concerns or ways of knowing and continues to pursue ownership of something that has never been given to them.⁵⁰

The research on manoomin done at the University of Minnesota has not benefited Anishinaabe society in any way. In fact, it has caused the prices for manoomin to collapse, resulting in lost income for Anishinaabe ricers.⁵¹ This

⁴⁸ Johnston, Basil Ojibwe Heritage (University of Nebraska Press: Lincoln, 1990) 33-34.

⁴⁹ Smith, Linda Tuhiwai Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples (Zed Books Ltd.: New York, 1999), 2.

⁵⁰ White Earth Land Recovery Project, Wild Rice Committee, Fond Du Lac, January, 24, 2002.

⁵¹ Vennum, 251-254.

reflects the wider problem of research being used to serve the interests of the colonizing society in western academia. “*Research is one of the ways in which the underlying code of imperialism and colonialism is both regulated and realized.*”⁵² Regulation occurs through the formal rules of scholarly disciplines and those institutions that support them, both state and private. Imperialism and colonialism are realized through the various representation of the other in scholarly and popular works.⁵³

The research genetic and hybrid research currently being conducted at the University of Minnesota demonstrates clear refutation of alternative ways of knowing. Smith has described this practice as “research through imperial eyes.” This approach assumes Western ideas about the most fundamental things are the only ideas that are rational and hold value. It is an approach that “*conveys an innate sense of superiority and an overabundance of desire to bring progress to the lives of Indigenous peoples—spiritually, intellectually, socially, and economically.*”⁵⁴ In this case the Western view of manoomin as a plant that is available for the control, manipulation, and domination by humans does not allow room for the idea that manoomin is a perfect gift from the Creator, and the knowledge that it is itself a living spiritual entity deserving of respect and honor. This form of research performed at the University of Minnesota assumes an

⁵² Smith, 7-8.

⁵³ Smith, 7-8, 22.

⁵⁴ Smith, 56.

ownership over everything.⁵⁵ In this case, Western researchers assume they have the right to research manoomin. Recently, at a meeting focused on the potential implications for the Anishinaabe communities and what strategies should be undertaken regarding this problem, an Anishinaabe audience member asked: “Did they (University researchers) ask the Creator, did they ask Wenaboozhoo if they could do this research?”⁵⁶

The rationale the researchers have provided for their work on the domestication and hybridization of manoomin sounds hauntingly familiar to many Anishinaabeg. After all, it was not long ago that the justification for the theft of millions/thousands of acres of land was because Euro-American immigrants could “improve” the land, that they could certainly make better use of it than the Anishinaabeg. They repeatedly stated that the Anishinaabeg were not utilizing the land properly. In their eyes the Anishinaabe were wasting the land because they were not stripping it of natural resources and using it for western-style agriculture. This dismissal of the Anishinaabe ways of understanding land and resource management as primitive is remarkably similar to the discounting of Anishinaabe ways of understanding manoomin. Western science promises to “improve” manoomin: will this be the same “improvement” that has devastated the lands of the Anishinaabe? Also central to the land theft was scientific racism. Western science had determined that American Indians were racially inferior to Europeans, but the question remained whether that state was permanent or

⁵⁵ Smith, 56.

⁵⁶ White Earth Land Recovery Project, Wild Rice Committee meeting, Fond Du Lac, January 24, 2002.

capable of alteration. This controversy about the nature of the presumed racial inferiority of American Indians was of “*key importance in the controversy over American expansion.*”⁵⁷

Western science presents itself as neutral, universal, and not culturally connected, when it is in fact, firmly grounded in a very specific set of cultural ways of knowing.⁵⁸ Western science has a bias toward industrial and commercial purposes. It sees natural diversity as chaos in need of regulation and control and human-made things as enhanced and orderly.⁵⁹ One of the University of Minnesota researchers’ goals is to create a uniform western style crop, which they see as “improvement.” What they fail to understand is that “improvement” is a contextual, not a neutral term.⁶⁰ “Improvement” means one thing to paddy manoomin producers and entirely another for Anishinaabe (and other Indigenous people) who hand harvest natural manoomin. For Anishinaabe the value of manoomin is in its biodiversity; this diversity has allowed the Anishinaabe to be able to depend on it regardless of disease and weather, because even if one variety is attacked by disease or does not respond favorably to the environmental

⁵⁷ Horsman, Reginald “Scientific Racism and the American Indian of the Mid-Nineteenth Century” American Quarterly, vol. 27, issue 2 (May, 1975), 153-155.

⁵⁸ Semali and Kincheloe, What is Indigenous Knowledge and Why Should We Study It?, 21-22.

⁵⁹ Shiva Vandana, Monocultures of the Mind: Perspectives on Biodiversity and Biotechnology (Zen Books Ltd.: New York, 1993), 23-24.

⁶⁰ Monocultures of the Mind, 71.

conditions the other varieties will survive and a supply of manoomin is assured.⁶¹ “*The extinction of people’s livelihoods and sustenance is closely connected with erosion of biodiversity.*”⁶² Cultural diversity and biological diversity are inherently connected. The Western desire to eradicate biological diversity in favor of monocrops is explicitly connected to the ways in which the West has been invested in assimilating Indigenous peoples and creating a monoculture.⁶³

The University of Minnesota is a large institution with innumerable programs and projects. It is difficult to summarize the overarching relationship with American Indian communities. Concerns about research and other projects involving American Indians have long been cause for apprehension and concern to American Indian people. The impacts of various research initiatives at the University have been vast, and the continued and potential impacts are impossible to predict. In a letter to Mark Yudof the American Indian Advisory Board recommend that “the University provides information to all departments and the other campus’s that when issues/projects involving American Indians are raised that they can use the American Indian Advisory Boards at each campus to review or gather information providing the University and it’s researchers with a more complete picture before commitments are made.”⁶⁴ It remains to be seen if action will be taken in this direction.

⁶¹ White Earth Land Recovery Project, Wild Rice Committee Meeting, Fond Du Lac, January 24, 2002

⁶² Monocultures of the Mind, 146.

⁶³ Monocultures of the Mind, 65.

⁶⁴ Yvonne Novack, Co-Chair of the American Indian Advisory Board, letter to University of Minnesota President Mark Yudof, 11 February 2002.

Ethical Responsibility of the University of Minnesota:

President Lincoln signed the Morrill Act into law on July 2, 1862. While Universities were once focused on gains of individuals, between 1865 and 1890 they took on, among other new goals, public service. Land-grant institutions took the lead in developing public service initiatives, thus adding a new mission to higher education. Controversial but included in this goal was allowing the public to give direction to universities. The idea was that it was the public that had created these institutions and should therefore shape their agendas. Related to this was the idea that there should be a wide dissemination of knowledge from land-grant institutions and thus research and knowledge created at the University would be shared to allow everyone to benefit.⁶⁵

The specific goals and responsibilities of the land grant institutions have been diverse and, at times, oppositional. Extension service became an integral part of fulfilling the public service element of land-grant institutions. Extension work was ideally expected to help universities develop partnerships with the public. In the early twentieth century, the University of Minnesota saw extension as a way to circulate information of their activities beyond the current students. Agriculture and youth development became the focus of extension work. The goal was for farmers to influence the agenda of researchers and both groups would benefit from each other's insights. The focus became to "help people help

⁶⁵ Peters, Scott J. Cooperative Extension and the Democratic Promise of the Land-Grant Idea. (University of Minnesota: Minnesota Extension Service and Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, 1996), 14-18.

themselves.” Individual accomplishments rather than public gain became the reality of extension work. *“Their focus was less on developing public life than on using public life as a tool to improve the private circumstances of farmers.”*⁶⁶

*“. . . the accelerating development of technical expertise, the need to increase agricultural production during the Depression and World Wars, and pressures to take on service functions tended to pull extension away from its educational and civic missions.”*⁶⁷

Ethical standards are implicit to the land-grant mission because they are designed to ensure responsible and conscientious research. There are indications that the University of Minnesota has high ethical standards. The preamble of the Code of Conduct approved by the Board of Regents reads:

*“The University of Minnesota is committed to the highest standards of professional conduct, therefore all members of the University community are expected to adhere to the highest ethical standards of professional conduct and integrity. The values we hold among ourselves to be essential to responsible professional behavior include: honest, trustworthiness, respect and fairness in dealing with other people, a sense of responsibility toward others and loyalty toward the ethical principles espoused by the institution. It is important that these values and the tradition of ethical behavior be consistently demonstrated and carefully maintained.”*⁶⁸

Christine Maziar, former Vice President for Research and Dean of the Graduate School, supported responsible research saying *“We’re here to advance the University of Minnesota and make sure we have an institution that we who are working here can be proud of, that our students who are graduating can be proud of, and most importantly that the citizens of the state of Minnesota can be proud*

⁶⁶ Peters, 27-31.

⁶⁷ Peters, 32-33.

⁶⁸ University of Minnesota Board of Regents Policy, Code of Conduct adopted July 12, 1996. www.research.umn.edu, 2-26-02.

of.”⁶⁹ Indeed, the University of Minnesota received a high ranking among public research institutions from “The Center” at the University of Florida; yet it has created and carried out several highly questionable research projects.⁷⁰ Some citizens of Minnesota and graduates of the University of Minnesota are not happy with the research being conducted on manoomin. They have asked for it to stop due to ethical questions including concerns with infringement on sovereignty.⁷¹ If the University of Minnesota is truly concerned with ethical standards they will respect the wishes of the Anishinaabe and others who have raised ethical concerns.

As a land grant institution, the University of Minnesota has a responsibility toward the public. The question is whether the University is willing to count the American Indian people of Minnesota and elsewhere as a part of the public. To be precise, American Indians are citizens of the United States and therefore have a legitimate claim to be included in the public. Yet it seems the University is still in the process of determining their responsibility toward American Indians. Former Associate Dean for Research in COAFES, Dr. Larsen told the St. Paul Pioneer Press: “*The University of Minnesota says it respects Indians but also*

⁶⁹ Maziar, Christine M. Vice President for Research and Dean of the Graduate School, www.research.umn.edu, 2-26-02.

⁷⁰ New Research Ranking Puts ‘U’ Among Nation’s Elite Public Research Universities www1.umn.edu/urelate/newsservice/newsrelease/01_08rankings.html, 2-26-02.

⁷¹ White Earth Land Recovery Project “Threats to Manoomin” brochure, spring 2002.

must respect farmers who rely on scientific advancement for their future.”⁷²

Clearly the University of Minnesota does respect farmers (whom Larsen implies are non-Indians) because it has done vast amounts research that has benefited them. Simultaneously, it has done little to benefit Anishinaabeg (and other Indigenous peoples). It is time for the University of Minnesota to stop saying they “respect Indians” and to start showing it. While Larsen does not think that Indians rely on “scientific advancement” like farmers (i.e.-non-Indians), in reality, Anishinaabeg are supportive of scientific advances in areas such as Global Positioning Systems technology, water quality management, and resource preservation. As the original landholders American Indians have a special and significant relationship with public, land-grant institutions.

In addition to the responsibility of the University, individual scientists/researchers have a social responsibility as well. *“Scientists should avoid causing harms to society and they should attempt to produce social benefits. Scientists should be responsible for the consequences of their research and they should inform the public about those consequences.”⁷³* Academic and social responsibilities are multifaceted and entail that scientists have a duty to conduct socially valuable research, to inform the public as to their research, and to consider the possible and probable effects of their research. Some scientists reject the notion of social responsibility and claim to pursue knowledge for its

⁷² Ruble, Renee “Minnesota: American Indians Faulting wild rice genetic research” Pioneer Press May 21, 2002 (www.twincities.com/mld/pioneerpress/living/education/3303270.htm?te.../printstory.js)

⁷³ Resnik, David B. The Ethics of Science: An Introduction (New York: Routledge, 1998), 63.

own sake. Even when this is their aim, however, there are numerous reasons why scientists should take responsibility for the impacts their research has on the public. Although not all impacts of research are predictable, often times many are foreseeable and scientists can be held responsible for those effects that were anticipated. As professionals, scientists have a duty to promote advantageous and avert detrimental consequences of research projects. Scientists are expected to create socially responsible goods and products and are afforded a trust, responsibility, and authority.

Socially responsible research benefits everyone and honors the public trust. As members of society scientists have a moral obligation toward that society. By conducting responsible research scientists can fight the negative images of the socially irresponsible scientist.⁷⁴ The manoomin case is chance for scientists to fight negative imaging and uphold their obligations to the public.

Scientists have done many positive things for society such as alerting the public to environmental concerns such as the hazards of pesticides, overpopulation, and pollution. In fact, some scientists are environmental activists and others have devoted their careers to exposing “junk science.”⁷⁵ This demonstrates the commitment and willingness of many scientists to be socially responsible. The research being done on the domestication of manoomin is another area in which scientists should be held to social responsibility. Scientists must consider the potential outcomes of the domestication of manoomin and

⁷⁴ Resnik, 63-64.

⁷⁵ Resnik, 147-148.

their reasons for supporting this. Their desire to “improve” manoomin is based on the value system of Western society and assumes a right to do research that fails to consider the interests of others.

Cultural Impacts:

Manoomin is connected to the spiritual health of the Anishinaabe. I can only speculate as to the potential cultural impacts of the eradication of manoomin, as we have known it, but they would be vast.

Western science and Western systems of knowledge classify other forms of knowledge as “unscientific” and “primitive” and simultaneously proclaims itself as “modern” and “advanced,” thereby creating a hierarchy that places Western views at the top.⁷⁶ “If we, as Indian people, are forced to reject our own indigenous knowledge and our ways of thought to participate in science, then we will be that much closer to cultural extinction.”⁷⁷ Indeed, some Anishinaabe fear that should manoomin cease to exist in the form that it has been known for thousands of years, so too would Anishinaabe people be in jeopardy of extinction. White Earth Anishinaabe Joe LaGarde has commented: “*We stand to lose everything. That’s what we’re looking at—the future of our people. If we lose our rice, we won’t exist as a people for long. We’ll be done too.*”⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Monocultures of the Mind, 9-11.

⁷⁷ Pewewardy, Cornel “Indigenous Consciousness, Education and Science: Issues of Perception Language” in Science and Native American Communities: Legacies of Pain, Visions of Promise ed. James, Keith, (University of Nebraska Press: Lincoln, 2001) 21.

⁷⁸ Joe LaGarde quoted in Clancy, 9.

Economic Impacts:

Research on manoomin has steadily increased at the University of Minnesota, through the support of public tax dollars. This research has simultaneously helped the manoomin industry's move to California and devastated the economy of natural manoomin. "By 1986 California was out producing Minnesota two to one, benefiting from research performed near the natural habitat of the species and funded with Minnesota tax dollars."⁷⁹

In a report titled, Wild Rice: Production, Prices, and Marketing, the University of Minnesota acknowledged that cultivated manoomin has had economic impacts saying: "The advent of cultivated wild rice had a substantial effect on actual harvesters of lake wild rice as well."⁸⁰ The wholesale price for manoomin was \$4.44 per pound in 1967 and declined to \$2.68 per pound in 1976. Although there was increased demand for manoomin in these years it was outstripped by the increases in production. Prices did rise in the late 1970s but this was due to United Wild Rice, Inc. controlling prices for which the Attorney General of Minnesota charged them with violating the state's antitrust statute. They settled out of court on March 4, 1981.⁸¹ The report went on to encourage the "Reevaluation of Minnesota Lake Wild Rice Regulation," which described how Minnesota lake wild rice regulations had remained unchanged despite the great

⁷⁹ Venum, 244.

⁸⁰ Winchell, Elizabeth H. and Reynold P. Dahl Wild Rice: Production, Prices, and Marketing. (University of Minnesota: Agricultural Experiment Station, 1984), 6.

changes in the wild rice industry. The report blamed the traditional harvesting methods for “stifling” the “development” of Minnesota’s lake rice industry. “If present policies are continued by the Minnesota DNR and the Indian reservations, Minnesota’s lake wild rice industry will become increasingly non-competitive.”⁸² The report stated that while cultivated wild rice production requires large amounts of capital and “sophisticated business acumen,” lake wild rice production requires “less capital and experience.”⁸³ This clearly shows bias toward western style agriculture and devalues Indigenous systems of agriculture. It places all value on economic profit, to the point of exploitation of manoomin. In addition it fails to consider the potentially devastating environmental impacts of cultivated manoomin.⁸⁴

Even the early years when the state was still evaluating if it would be favorable to be involved with the domestication of manoomin there were concerns about the potential impacts of this action. At a meeting of the Minnesota Resources Commission on August 11, 1967 there was a great deal of discussion regarding the state of Minnesota’s involvement in the production of cultivated wild rice. Mr. Holbert remarked that for the Minnesota legislature to appropriate money for the domestication of manoomin would be “a little less than idiotic” because it would likely end the near monopoly on manoomin held by Minnesota in the manoomin industry. Kenneth Morgan testified that if manoomin

⁸¹ Winchell and Dahl, 6-8.

⁸² Winchell and Dahl, 35.

⁸³ Winchell and Dahl, 35.

was domesticated many people could grow it and then the price would decrease dramatically.⁸⁵ These remarks show there was an awareness and concern for how the natural manoomin industry could be radically changed by domestication.

Despite the economic losses that have been sustained by traditional Anishinaabe ricers these issues cannot be reduced to a simple dollar amount. As Anishinaabe biologist John Persell has explained: “*You have to understand that aside from being a primary food source, the rice has spiritual associations with the traditional Ojibwe culture and its connection to Mother Earth. You can’t separate that from the economics of it.*”⁸⁶

Conclusion:

The current and past research on manoomin conducted by the University of Minnesota is a continuation of racist, colonialist objectives. It exploits Indigenous people and resources for the economic benefit of dominant society and denies the efficacy of and disregards Anishinaabe ways of knowing. Venum has quoted Chief Peter Kelly of Ontario: “*Manomin belongs to the Anishinaabeg. . . Wild rice is our tradition, our right. It is non-negotiable.*”⁸⁷ There is no desire to compromise academic freedom of researchers but we do insist that the ethical

⁸⁴ White Earth Land Recovery Project, Wild Rice Committee Meeting, Fond Du Lac, January 24, 2002.

⁸⁵ Edman, Robert R. A Study of Wild Rice in Minnesota Staff Report: Minnesota Resources Commission, 1969, 76.

⁸⁶ Persell, John quoted in Pitter, Peter “A Rice by Any Other Name: The University of Minnesota’s Genetic Research on Wild Rice Goes Against the Grain” City Pages vol. 21 no. 1034, 9-27-00 (www.citypages.com/databank/21/1034/article9005.asp).

⁸⁷ Kelly, Peter quoted in Venum, 283.

standards that have been set by the Board of Regents as well as those within the scientific community be followed. We are asking that the rights and belief systems of the Anishinaabe and other Indigenous groups be respected. The web site the University has created to inform people about research claims in bold letters: “**University of Minnesota research changes lives and improves communities.**”⁸⁸ This standard must be adhered to because of the obligations the University of Minnesota has as a land-grant institution but also because the University of Minnesota has a commitment to high ethical standards. The Anishinaabeg await an answer to whether they will be deemed part of the public, if they are deserving of being treated with respect and fairness.

“By its nature, the university has to be judged above all by its ability to produce inclusive knowledge; that is, knowledge in the interest of all human beings.”⁸⁹

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⁸⁸ www1.umn.edu/systemwide/research2.html, 2-26-02.

⁸⁹ Fleming, Marie “The Inclusive University and the Problem of Knowledge” in Academic Freedom and the Inclusive University ed. Sharon E. Kahn and Dennis Pavlich (UBC Press: Vancouver, 2000), 128.

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Report and Recommendations from the Mimbres Advisory Group to President Joan Gabel and Executive Vice President and Provost Rachel Croson

Executive summary-

The following report comes with the unanimous endorsement of the University committee appointed in the fall of 2020 by President Joan Gabel and Executive Vice President and Provost Rachel Croson. The detailed response to the president's October 7, 2020, charge memo (excerpted on p. 4) is prefaced by historical information about the anthropological excavations that removed the Mimbres materials and human remains from their southwestern burial sites, together with an account of the disposition of those materials and remains after their removal to Minnesota (pp. 5-13). Also included for context is a discussion of the requirements of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) and a sketch of the history of the University's response to NAGPRA (pp. 13- 20).

In detailed response to the specific directives of the president's charge memo, the report describes the compilation of the physical inventory of objects and human remains and the data reconciliation project undertaken to provide provenience information for everything included in the physical inventory (pp. 20-25). An assessment of the adequacy of this cataloging effort was obtained through consultation with a NAGPRA program officer, Melanie O'Brien, and Dr. Ryan Wheeler (Director of the Peabody Andover Museum).

The complicated history of University tribal notifications and consultations is discussed, including the truncated process of notifications undertaken in the 1990's and the later more sustained discussions initiated by members of the University and the Minnesota Indian Affairs Council (MIAC) shortly before the formation of this advisory committee. The advisory committee built on this later work and sought consultations with twenty-eight tribes (pp. 25-34). While the consultation process is not yet complete, a pattern has emerged of the Western Pueblo tribes expressing the strongest sense of cultural affiliation. The committee has also heard an affirmation by those tribes (and others more distantly connected) of a willingness to collaborate and coordinate with one another on repatriation. Additional discussions can be completed after the submission of the notice to repatriate and the publication of inventory, and the committee urges this course of action.

The advisory committee further recommends that the University collaborate with MIAC to file a joint notice and inventory (pp. 33-34).

The report discusses in detail the evidence used to determine cultural affiliation, outlining the categories of evidence that are noted in NAGPRA—“geographical, kinship, biological, archaeological, anthropological, linguistic, folkloric, oral traditional, historical or other relevant information or expert opinion”— and then describing how both tribal consultations and peer-reviewed research findings (supplying geographical, archaeological, biological, linguistic, and oral traditional evidence) were deployed in this process to determine cultural affiliation (pp. 34- 47).

In light of the evidence presented, the advisory committee recommends that the listing of tribes as culturally affiliated with the Mimbres be broadly inclusive, excluding only those consulted tribes that have explicitly denied affiliation. An ordered list and the grounds for each tribe’s inclusion are provided (pp. 47-49).

Finally, the advisory committee includes a number of additional recommendations (pp. 49-51) concerning:

- 1) The importance of a swift submission of our inventory and notice and the desirability of filing jointly with four other museums known to hold associated ancestors and materials—the University of Colorado Boulder Natural History Museum, the Milwaukee Public Museum, and the Science Museum of Minnesota, as well as MIAC.
- 2) The need to supply support for the process of repatriation and burial, along with culturally appropriate care for any items not repatriated
- 3) The need for a UMN system-wide repatriation policy and support for future efforts, including the urgent need for a system-wide directive to inventory collections that may be currently held by campuses, schools, and departments.

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Charge from President Gabel:

Within the October 7, 2020 charge memo, the following specific tasks were given to the committee:

First, assess the appropriateness of the process employed by WAM and the Department of Anthropology to catalogue the Mimbres objects and, with the advice of a knowledgeable outside consultant(s), confirm the accuracy and completeness of the resulting catalogue as well as the categorization of the objects therein.

Second, consult with all Tribal Nations that are, or likely to be, culturally affiliated with the Mimbres objects or lineally descended from the Mimbres. Because the consultation duty under NAGPRA rests with the University, the University will notify all of the tribes that are, or are likely to be, culturally affiliated (or by virtue of the provisions of NAGPRA should be included in that group) as well as the tribes tied to the archeological sites from which the Mimbres objects were uncovered using a recommended NSP form that will notify the tribe and provide a process and timeline for consultation. Your guidance will be valuable to ensure all potential claimants are reached.

Third, taking into account the evidence and perspectives from the consultation process, the opinions of outside experts and consultants from varied points of view, and your own research and inquiry, assess the cultural affiliation, or lack thereof, of any tribal nation to the Mimbres people.

Fourth, make a recommendation as to any tribe or tribes that you believe are culturally affiliated with the Mimbres, along with your reasonings and factual basis, to the Provost.

Hopefully, your report will be unanimous, but if not, allow those not concurring with the majority in whole or in part to provide their own conclusions and recommendations.

History of the collection:

This inventory is being undertaken in a very complex collection. The complexity arises from the history of its acquisition and care (or lack thereof) over the decades rather than any complexity of cultural affiliation. It is therefore crucial to outline this history in order to clarify the efforts that are required of us today.

UMN Anthropology excavations: Anthropology Department founding faculty member Albert E. Jenks became interested in the archaeology of the Southwest on a “scouting trip” in 1927. The following year he secured funding from the Minneapolis Institute of the Arts to sponsor his participation, along with four students, in an excavation organized jointly by the School for American Research (today the School for Advanced Research), the Santa Fe Museum (today the Museum of Indian Arts and Culture) and the University of New Mexico under the direction of Wesley Bradford. Jenks and his students stayed in New Mexico from June through September of that year, excavating at several Mimbres River Valley sites (which were classified as “Mimbres Culture” sites, being in the type-site region) including Cameron Creek and Warm Springs, while also participating in lab work and classroom learning. Students’ field notebooks documented 159 burials excavated, 109 bowls, and 105 other types of objects, which was only a portion of the total work at the sites. While we lack a definitive field inventory, MIA publications indicate that fifteen packing crates of materials were shipped to them at the end of July.¹ An October 13, 1928 *Minnesota Daily* article stated that the “expedition brought back 3,000 pounds of objects, among which the most valuable were an ornamental carved bone dagger and a rare type of desert grasshopper carved in jadeite...Most of the skeletal material will be placed in the anthropology laboratory in Folwell Hall and the rest of the finds will be reconstructed and placed on exhibition at the Minneapolis Institute of Arts.” However, because of the collaborative nature of this excavation, it is difficult to discern what proportion these reports represent of the whole project, or how decisions were made to split the remains among participants. In a summary of an SAR Board of Directors meeting it was noted that “The interchange by museums of material was one of the topics. Insistence was placed upon New Mexico retaining for its own institutions such objects for laboratories and museums as are unique, but placing no obstacles in the way of sending out of the state duplicates and replicas for exchange to all parts of the world, where they would become of great value in interesting men and women of means in the resources of the state.”² Prior to the excavation, MIA had its own ideas about how the materials would be split, reporting “All

¹ *Bulletin of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts*, Vol. 17, No. 20, May 19, 1928; *Bulletin of MIA*, Vol. 17, No. 31, Dec. 1, 1928.

² *El Palacio*, Vol. 25, Nos. 8, 9, 10, 11, 1928 - page 148.

material found will be divided in the proportion of three-quarters to the Minneapolis Institute of Art, and one-quarter to the Museum of Santa Fe."³

In 1929, Jenks returned to New Mexico to begin his own excavations at the site of Galaz Ruin, located on a privately owned ranch. The nature of his agreement with the property owner is unknown, but the expedition was funded through private donor funds channelled through the University, and with continued contributions from MIA. Six students (including Lloyd Wilford) accompanied Jenks and his wife Maud to conduct excavations from late June to early September. This work was documented in detailed field notes and diaries, indicating that they uncovered 363 human burials, 332 bowls, and 289 artifacts. Anthropology department accession records indicate that all the documented bowls and other material culture items taken from the site were sent to the University or MIA, but also indicate only a minor proportion of the human remains were sent. A review of daily field records suggests that Jenks's team was taking only those human remains they deemed to be of a sufficient state of preservation. However, all of the burial items which accompanied those individuals were removed.⁴ This is important to note as it relates to the characterization of funerary objects under federal law. It is also important in that it indicates the fundamental irreparability of these burials to any state close to their original resting place.

The following year, 1930, Jenks opted to travel to Europe in search of sites and artifacts which he deemed of greater antiquity, but he sent Lloyd Wilford, formerly a student and now a lab assistant, back to the Galaz site to run excavations with two other young men. As they had in the previous year, this small group hired several Mexican men as laborers on the excavations, spending the month of July at Galaz before scouting additional sites in the area and moving on to the Hudson Ranch site for three weeks in August. Over the course of this field season, they documented the excavation of 174 human burials, 323 bowls, and 193 other artifacts.⁵

Minnesota archaeologists returned to New Mexico for a last expedition in 1931 with Jenks, at the Galaz site primarily but with side expeditions to the Mimbres Hot Springs site and the Mattocks/Maddox site described in field notes and diaries. The crew of five spent over three months excavating, this time documenting a total of 458 human burials, 520 bowls, and 375 other artifacts. The field diary of Lloyd Wilford that year noted the casual practice of gifting excavated bowls to property owners and other settler residents who interacted with the archaeologists. He also noted in October that Jenks

³ *Bulletin of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts*, Vol. 17, No. 20, May 19, 1928.

⁴ *Minnesota Daily* reporting, May 4th, 1929, May 18, 1929, June 1st, 1929, June 21st, 1929; *MIA Bulletin*, Vol. 19, No. 33, Dec. 6, 1930; Jenks Research Fund documents, in University Archive (UMN), Lloyd Alden Wilford Papers; field records from 1929.

⁵ *MIA Bulletin* Vol. 19, No. 5, February 1, 1930; *MN Daily* Jan. 14th, 1930; field records from 1930.

had received a telegram notifying him that “a Moratorium had been declared by our backers and to stop all further commitments.”⁶ With the loss of funding, Jenks turned his attention thereafter to Minnesota archaeology (where funding was available) and never returned to New Mexico. He also never completed a comprehensive report of his work in New Mexico, so the field notes and diaries remain the most detailed information we have of what was done.

This source of records has been critical in our efforts to reconstruct the associations of human remains with funerary objects and to understand the scope and scale of the excavations. They are also very important in understanding the motivations and assumptions of Jenks and his crew. For example, field diaries of the Minnesota excavators indicate that they set goals for the number of bowls they hoped to find at each site, and that they exceeded those goals. In his 1931 journal, Lloyd Wilford noted that Jenks grew frustrated with one of their side expeditions (the Maddox site) because it yielded neither burials nor bowls, and they abandoned their work there shortly thereafter: “He is disgusted with the poor pickings and plans on moving.”⁷ This is notable as evidence of the primary goals of their excavations (bowls), an attitude more characteristic of the antiquarian archaeology of the previous century in which collecting was an objective unto itself, rather than being driven by specific research questions. By contrast, the discipline of anthropology, of which archaeology is a subdiscipline in the US, was broadly guided by a holistic concept of culture as espoused by Franz Boas; as such, historical reconstructions necessarily must be contextual, and a culture cannot be understood through a narrow perspective on one trait or material.⁸ In this framework, only through careful contextual data collection and comparison through time and across space could anthropologists analyze and interpret culture process and change. Despite this proclaimed ethos, Walter Taylor’s scathing 1948 critique of American archaeology showed that most archaeologists only did the former - endless collection and description. In his own writings, Jenks made assertions of his own work as relevant to such large questions of culture and evolution, but in examining those publications his interpretations are only loosely (at best) grounded in specific data and material

⁶ Field records from 1931, particularly the diary of Lloyd Wilford (scan page 32).

⁷ Comments of this nature may be found in most of the crew members’ field diaries, but see in particular Lars Hakkerup’s 1930 diary; Wilford quote is in his 1931 diary, on scan page 33.

⁸ Franz Boas, 1896, “The Limitations of the Comparative Method of Anthropology,” *Science*, New Series, Vol. 4, No. 103 (Dec. 18, 1896), pp. 901-908; 1920, “The Methods of Ethnology,” *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 22, No. 4 (Oct. - Dec., 1920), pp. 311-321. Unfortunately Boas included human remains in this holistic perspective, casually noting their acquisition without consent. He was quoted in the Bieder report to Congress as saying “it is most unpleasant work to steal bones from graves, but what is the use, someone has to do it.” Robert E. Bieder, “A Brief Historical Survey of the Expropriation of American Indian Remains,” Senate Hearing on S. 1021 & S. 1980 (1990). Original quote in Boas Family Papers (1886-1933), Library of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

evidence.⁹ Even by the 1930s this was viewed as poor research practice and ethically unacceptable, and occurred at the cusp of a major shift in theoretical paradigms in anthropological archaeology. Thus we may assess Jenks's approach to archaeology as neither wholly unusual, nor as the leading edge of the field. His evident commitments to eugenics¹⁰ are another indicator of how his scholarship was mired in the thought of an earlier and ethically challenged paradigm.

Curation at UMN Anthro: Although the University of Minnesota archaeologists never completed any analytical work on the results of their excavations, their "finds" were recorded in the Anthropology department's accession book. A most immediate and notable difference between field records and the accession book is in the number of ancestral remains which arrived at UMN. While 1154 human burials were documented as excavated in the field notes, only 152 records of human remains appeared in the accession book, none of which were cremation remains. A master's student analysis of the Galaz individuals in 1968 gave the number of individuals as 98 and included the observation that "much of the material was poorly preserved and was simply discarded at the site (Wilford personal communication)."¹¹ The opposite was the case for both bowls and other material items which increased in numbers over what had been documented in the field. For these items, the lack of field documentation meant that the provenience information, beyond the site it came from, was lost. Beyond the accession book, little evidence is available to shed light on the care given to these remains over the next several decades. After Jenks's retirement in 1938, Lloyd Wilford became the sole archaeologist in the department and as such would have had oversight of the collections. In 1940, Wilford corresponded with a Kentucky archaeologist who apparently inquired about the Mimbres materials at UMN. Wilford wrote that "we have about 500 bowls here, and the Art Institute in Minneapolis has about 600 bowls." As noted earlier, bowls and artifacts from the 1928 excavation were curated at MIA, but not in these numbers, suggesting that many items were loaned or transferred back and forth between the two institutions. Many records in the accession book do note items as

⁹ Walter Taylor (1948), *A Study of Archaeology*. Southern Illinois University Press. See also Bruce G. Trigger (2006) *A History of Archaeological Thought (2nd edition)*. Cambridge University Press; examples of Jenks's publications which fit this pattern of poorly constructed scientific explanation include (1921) "The Relation of Anthropology to Americanization," *The Scientific Monthly* 12(3):240-245 (generalizing an "American" character to which immigrants and other outsiders must be assimilated); (1931) "The Significance of Mended Bowls in Mimbres Culture." *El Palacio* 31: 153-172 (generalizing a pan-cultural valuation of fine art based on a small number of mended vessels); and (1916) *Indian White Amalgamation: An Anthropometric Study*, Studies in the Social Sciences no. 6 (University of Minnesota Press) in which he asserted the ability to determine degrees of "Indianness" based on physical traits.

¹⁰ Minnesota Historical Society Manuscripts Collections-P1628-Dight, Charles Fremont, 1856-1938. Papers.-Eugenics Files: Correspondence and Misc., undated and 1920-1928.-Box 5. Among his published scholarship see the 1921 article "The Practical Value of Anthropology to the Nation" (*Science* New Series, Vol. 53, No. 1364, pp. 147-156) as an example.

¹¹ James Provinzano 1968. *The Osteological Remains of the Galaz Mimbres Amerinds*. Masters thesis, University of Minnesota Anthropology Dept: page 7.

moved to MIA in 1939 or 1940 with no record of their return. However, in 1958, shortly before Wilford's own retirement, MIA formally deaccessioned the remainder of their UMN-excavated Mimbres materials, which at the time mostly were identified as from the 1928 excavations. In the late 1970s, researchers from the Mimbres Foundation, which conducted later excavations at the Galaz site, photographed the complete collection of artifacts and acquired copies of the field notes to produce a monograph about Galaz.¹² This documentation serves as a period-specific inventory. Other items listed as transferred to MIA from the Anthropology department were later included in the 1992 transfer from the Anthropology department to the Weisman Art Museum. The takeaway from this records search is that the records are quite fragmentary. It is fortunate then that most bowls and artifacts were marked in some way with a field-assigned number. While this is not ideal treatment for the items themselves, it has allowed us to re-associate items which were lost to the records.

Parts of this collection have been sent to other institutions beyond MIA. While we must presume that some transfers were not documented, or the records are lost, there are transfer records preserved relating to the actions of another faculty member. In 1955, Elden Johnson, a former student of Wilford who subsequently studied at Yale, left a position at the Science Museum of Minnesota to join the University and would go on to join the faculty as Wilford's replacement. That year Johnson gave three Mimbres pots to the Yale Peabody Museum. The Science Museum of Minnesota holds accession records documenting 20 Mimbres objects received as gifts from UMN Anthropology in 1959 and 1962. In 1964, Johnson exchanged 12 Mimbres pots for Peruvian materials in a trade with the Milwaukee Public Museum; and two years later traded 25 Mimbres pots for 27 Peruvian objects with the private collector Bernard Brown of Milwaukee. A number of these pots have subsequently been traced to the Princeton Art Museum, the Fenimore Art Museum, and possibly the Shoji Hamada Memorial Mashiko Sankokan Museum. Finally in 1970 Johnson authorized the transfer of 66 Mimbres bowls to the University of Colorado, Boulder in his largest trade, receiving 41 items from sites in Colorado, Utah, Mexico, and other unspecified Southwest locations.¹³ After this transaction, there were no additional documented transfers outside the University, although Johnson loaned 15 Mimbres items for a travelling exhibition organized by the American Federation of Arts between 1984 and 1986. While we have not found

¹² Roger Anyon and Steven A. LeBlanc (1984), *The Galaz Ruin: A Prehistoric Mimbres Village in Southwest New Mexico*. Maxwell Museum of Anthropology and the University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

¹³ Many of these items originated from Cannonball Ruin, located on federal land (Canyon of the Ancients National Monument), and have subsequently been returned for repatriation following a request from the Bureau of Land Management staff in 2013. Most of the documentation referenced here is in Anthropology Dept files, with some corroborating correspondence at the Science Museum of Minnesota and the University of Colorado Boulder Natural History Museum.

documentation of the return of these items, they are known to currently be located at the University.

Until the 1980s, the human remains were not documented in any transfers or other correspondence, though the Galaz ancestors were analyzed by a master's student, and 33 individual skulls were used in a dental study.¹⁴ In the late 1980s, as a consequence of advocacy by the then-Minnesota Indian Affairs Intertribal Board (thereafter the Minnesota Indian Affairs Council - MIAC), the state's law regarding private cemeteries was expanded to afford particular protection for American Indian burials (Minnesota Statutes Section 307.08). In its implementation, the Minnesota Indian Affairs Council was designated the sole agency for care and return of any previously excavated Native remains. In 1987, MIAC formally requested the deaccession and transfer of those remains at the University, and by 1989 Elden Johnson had completed his inventory and deaccession, and had begun the transfer to Hamline University which had a cooperative agreement with MIAC to facilitate the repatriation of those remains. This transfer included the Mimbres ancestors, but not their associated funerary objects.

The transfer of Mimbres funerary objects and other items occurred in 1992, when the Anthropology department agreed to transfer care to the Weisman Art Museum. The museum at that time was anticipating its move into its current Gehry-designed building but was still in Northrop Auditorium. The documentation of the transfer included an item-level inventory of approximately 1,100 pottery vessels, but the agreement also noted "hundreds of peripheral Mimbres materials: worked bone, tools, beads, bracelets, etc." The agreement stated that no human remains were to be included. The agreement referred to two prior Anthropology department inventories in 1983 and 1990 and stated that a number of objects were identified as missing in those audits. One topic which was conspicuously absent from the agreement was the institution's responsibility to comply with the requirements of NAGPRA, although the Anthropology department did complete its own inventories of other collections under its care. Meeting minutes from the WAM Accessions Committee in the year preceding the transfer indicate that the museum staff was acutely aware of the law and its potential to mandate the return of the collection. This compliance requirement will be addressed more thoroughly below.

Curation at WAM: Following the formal transfer, Mimbres items were physically transferred either via Northrop or directly to the new museum building. The museum coordinated a major exhibit in 1996 titled *To Touch the Past: The Painted Pottery of the Mimbres People*, and published an exhibit catalog. In planning the exhibit, WAM staff

¹⁴ Provinzano 1968; Joel D. Rudney, Ralph V. Katz and John W. Brand (1983), "Interobserver Reliability of Methods for Paleopathological Diagnosis of Dental Caries." *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 62: 243-248..

consulted with JJ Brody, an art historian who was considered an expert in Mimbres pottery, and several Native artists. These consultations likely served multiple purposes, including getting a sense of the likelihood that the collection would be subject to repatriation claims as was discussed in the Acquisitions Committee meetings. As will be discussed further below, however, these consultations are insufficient for compliance with NAGPRA. In terms of the day-to-day care of the collection, the WAM catalog indicates that the pottery which was individually inventoried in transfer agreement was accessioned accordingly, using the short descriptions from that inventory as metadata but with no additional contextual information from the field notes which were transferred with the collection. Any additional items not on that inventory were not cataloged, and therefore were neither accessible for NAGPRA inventory purposes nor available for research. The WAM director's correspondence indicates that there was indeed researcher interest in the collection, and a small number of items had been on display in the museum until last year.

The WAM Registrar of Collections had, in the meantime, prepared a summary of the museum's holdings of Native American items and notified Tribes, following the model and tribal lists used by the Harvard Peabody Museum. As will be discussed more fully below, this constitutes the first requirement for compliance with NAGPRA. Within the next few years, tribal officials responded to the notifications, most declaring a lack of cultural affiliation or interest in further information, and in one or two instances making a visit to the museum.¹⁵ However, the Hopi Tribe and the Pueblo of Zuni responded with affirmative statements of their affiliation with Mimbres culture sites and ancestors. Roger Anyon, the Zuni Heritage and Historic Preservation Office Director at that time, wrote that the repatriation process would require a long period of collaboration, and that the extended time required was in no way a sign of Zuni disinterest.

“It is important for you to understand, at the outset, that the removal of human remains, associated funerary objects, unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and items of cultural patrimony from their original context into the collections of museums and other institutions places a great burden on the Zuni Tribe. Zuni is faced with making identifications, assessments, and difficult decisions about items that should not have been taken from their proper place and context. Taking these steps is not a simple matter.”¹⁶

The Hopi Tribe similarly requested that the museum open a consultative relationship, following up directly at several points over the next decades.

¹⁵ Museum files documenting these responses include correspondence with the Apache Tribe of Oklahoma, the Cocopah Indian Tribe, the Fort Mojave Indian Tribe, the Gila River Indian Community, the Hualapai Tribe (in collaboration with the Havasupai Tribe), the Navajo Nation, the Oneida Nation, the Pueblo of Laguna, Santa Clara Pueblo, and the Yavapai-Prescott Tribe.

¹⁶ October 9, 1995 letter to WAM Registrar, on file.

MIAC also attempted to elicit the engagement of the museum in a consultation process grounded in their ongoing care of the associated ancestral remains. In their own NAGPRA compliance process in the 1990s, MIAC learned from tribes including the Hopi and the Zuni that returning the human remains could not occur without their associated funerary objects. WAM staff received encouragement to follow up, in correspondence from the Anthropology department, the Minnesota Office of the State Archaeologist, and the National NAGPRA office, with the inventory required for associated funerary objects. Robert Stearns of the National NAGPRA office noted, in a letter copied to WAM director Lyndel King,

“Objects in the possession of the Frederick R. Weisman Art Museum that can be identified as having been placed intentionally as part of a death rite or ceremony of a culture with human remains in the possession of the Minnesota Indian Affairs Council should be considered as associated funerary objects. It is unclear from the Frederick R. Weisman Art Museum’s submissions if it is aware of the possible association between the ceramic pots and bowls and other cultural objects in its collection and the human remains currently in the possession of the Minnesota Indian Affairs Council. I suggest that you contact the Frederick R. Weisman Art Museum to share field notes and other information regarding these collections that would help coordinate the inventory processes at the two institutions.”¹⁷

Therefore, a substantial duty of care by the museum for the collection needed to go beyond the physical care of objects to also investigate their associations, as was requested by MIAC. It does not appear that this investigation was undertaken. Neither does it appear that the museum responded to the requests for consultation and communication from Zuni Pueblo or the Hopi Nation. The WAM director did, however, seek legal counsel on multiple occasions regarding the museum’s obligations¹⁸; the legal stance of their subsequent actions will be discussed further below in the “Legal context” section.

Because of the specific duty of care engendered by NAGPRA along with a broader concern that care of the collection also requires care of contextual information on it, MIAC staff contacted Anthropology professor Kat Hayes. Invoking the assertion in the transfer agreement that the Department of Anthropology may keep a duplicate set of records related to the collection, Hayes requested in 2016 that the field notes archived at WAM be reproduced in digitized form. The collections registrar received approval to do so and had the archived books scanned in 2018. In the process of locating the requested documents, the Registrar discovered that a great quantity of transferred Mimbres material had never been cataloged or properly archived or curated. Using the information in the digitized field records, Hayes and several Anthropology staff and

¹⁷ April 18, 2002 letter from Robert Stearns to Jim Jones (MIAC), on file at WAM Registrar.

¹⁸ WAM Registrar files.

students established the specific associations of the funerary objects at WAM, including those associated with the ancestors under care of MIAC. Based on this evidence, the museum finally began its comprehensive inventory in the summer of 2019. Around the same time, the University's Office of General Counsel and Executive Vice President and Provost were alerted that the museum was out of compliance with federal law.

Legal context: overview of NAGPRA

In 1990, Congress passed the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act. This law represents human rights legislation in that it acknowledges that Native Americans have historically not received equal protection under the law and that the ongoing legacy of that injustice has been a major source of deep historical and cultural trauma for Native people. The focus of the law is on the rights of possession of Native human remains and the belongings those individuals were buried with. Unlike other populations in the United States, the burial sites of Native people had not been protected under common law, and in many cases had been instead classified as Federal property under the provisions of the 1906 Antiquities Act. It is also abundantly documented that even prior to that Act, agents of the federal government desecrated Native graves as a matter of policy. The 1868 Surgeon General's Order, for example, "directed army personnel to procure Indian crania and other body parts for the Army Medical Museum."¹⁹ Such collection also took place at the behest of early physical anthropological science, most notably by Samuel Morton who solicited the submission of hundreds of crania for a thoroughly discredited study of racial differences.²⁰ As Jenks and the UMN excavations demonstrate, burial desecration has historically been given wide latitude under the frame of scientific investigation. In a settler colonial society, this has been one among many forms of Indigenous dispossession.

Although Native communities have long known of the desecrations of their burial sites, the impetus for NAGPRA reached a critical stage in the 1980s when Tribes saw in stark terms the scale of the theft of their dead. It was widely communicated at that time that the Smithsonian Institution alone held over 18,500 Native ancestors. Organizing and advocacy among groups such as the Native American Rights Fund and the Association on American Indian Affairs with legislators led first to the National Museum of the

¹⁹ Jack F. Trope and Walter R. Echo-Hawk (1992), "The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act: Background and Legislative History." *Arizona State Law Journal* 24(1): 35-77. See pp. 39-40.

²⁰ See David Hurst Thomas, *Skull Wars: Kennewick Man, Archaeology, and the Battle for Native American Identity* (Basic Books, 2001); Pamela L. Geller, 2020, "Building Nation, Becoming Object: The Bio-Politics of the Samuel G. Morton Crania Collection," *Historical Archaeology* 54(1): 52-70; Bieder Senate report. Of note, many of these crania are still in the possession of the Penn Museum, see <https://www.penn.museum/sites/morton/>

American Indian Act in 1989, which created the museum and required the entire Smithsonian Institution to inventory all of its Native American holdings, including human remains, and to begin consultations with Tribes for their appropriate return or care if return was not possible of those holdings. Drawing from this model, NAGPRA was passed the following year, applicable to collections in any federal agency or museum (defined as any repository which has ever received federal funding) and to the protection of burial sites on any federal or tribal lands. The salient points of the law for this case are as follows:

- Section Five outlines the requirements for museums and federal agencies to complete item level **inventories** of their holdings to report any **Native American human remains and associated funerary objects**. Associated funerary objects are defined as those items known to have been associated with a human burial where the location of the human remains is known to be or potentially in a museum or federal agency. The code of federal regulations gives a process for submitting a preliminary inventory to the National NAGPRA Office, but an inventory is not considered complete under the law without conducting tribal consultations to make a determination of cultural affiliation.
- Section Six outlines the requirements for museums and federal agencies to produce **summaries** of their holdings which are Native American **unassociated funerary objects** (known or reasonably assumed to be burial-associated but without an institutional location of the human remains), **sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony**. Museums and agencies must send their summary notices to any Tribe which may be culturally affiliated. Museums and agencies are required to provide complete information on any item in the summary to any Tribal representative who subsequently requests it.
- Section Seven states that, subsequent to the publication of these inventories and summaries, tribes may request the return of human remains, associated funerary objects, unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects and objects of cultural patrimony. In the case of human remains and associated funerary objects, the museum must return them to any claimant tribe determined in the inventory to be culturally affiliated, following the publication of a Notice of Intent to Repatriate and a short period to allow for other tribes to challenge the claim. Disputes are mediated through the National NAGPRA office. Determination of cultural affiliation should be made via the “preponderance of evidence” from sources including “geographical, kinship, biological, archaeological, anthropological, linguistic, folkloric, oral traditional, historical, or other relevant information or expert opinion.” No one type of evidence is considered more significant than the others.

In sum, the law created a process of disclosure, information sharing, and unconditional return of Native American ancestors, funerary objects, and other objects of cultural patrimony. This is without regard for the conditions under which the objects were acquired, and is an acknowledgement of the vast scale of dispossession which has historically occurred. The law also proactively protects Native burial sites on both federal and tribal lands.²¹

The idealized process for compliance would be:

- Prepare initial inventory/summary of items in the institution known or suspected to be Native American human remains and cultural patrimony. This preliminary inventory or summary is shared with the National NAGPRA office and with any federally recognized Tribes potentially affiliated.
- The institution then initiates consultation meetings. These consultations serve to A) establish whether the Tribe preserves traditional knowledge (also referred to as oral tradition) or had other information documenting their connection or affiliation with items in the inventory/summary, and B) determine the appropriate NAGPRA category for items in the inventory/summary. This may include, for example, knowledge of the location of associated human remains, excavation or provenience records, or cultural knowledge which identifies objects as sacred.
- Using the knowledge gained through the consultation process and any other available evidence, the institution completes the inventory or summary with a determination of cultural affiliation with one or more federally-recognized Tribal Nation. The notice of the completed inventory or summary is then published in the Federal Register.
- Upon publication of the completed inventory or summary, culturally affiliated tribes may formally request repatriation of any items or human remains. When the institution receives these requests, they must publish a notice of intent to repatriate. If no conflicting requests are received, the repatriation must proceed within 90 days of receipt of the request.

From a procedural perspective there are some notable weaknesses to the law that have been raised in the current case. First, NAGPRA is largely applicable only to the repatriation requests of federally recognized tribes.²² This is enacted via the determination of cultural affiliation for any ancestors or inventoried items, which is restricted to federally recognized tribes. Aside from the damaging consequences this has for tribal sovereignty, this restriction has sometimes led institutions to resist

²¹ A number of states also have unmarked burial protection laws extending to state lands and, in some statutes, to privately owned land. Minnesota is an example of the latter (MN Statute 307.08).

²² A rule exception has been made, via Section 10.11, to allow for non-recognized tribes to claim human remains which are otherwise listed as “culturally unaffiliated”, a status which often reflects the fact that the tribe which is in fact affiliated lacks federal recognition.

completing their cultural affiliation determination, if their research has identified both recognized and unrecognized tribes as being affiliated. This, however, is an issue which Tribal Nations themselves have worked to address, through collaborations between tribes, and therefore such situations should not prevent an institution from completing their inventories.

The regulations of the law also make several ungrounded assumptions that have made its implementation less effective than it might have otherwise been, and have been an issue in the case under discussion. First, there has been a lack of regulatory follow-through on the consultation requirements, leaving institutions without external pressure to complete the requirement. Many institutions have accordingly postponed this work indefinitely, to the extent that nearly 60% of all inventory reporting since the enactment of the law are yet incomplete.²³ Second, the regulations presume that collections are kept together and the law does not require inter-institutional consultation for the purpose of correctly identifying funerary objects as associated or unassociated. It is frequently the case, however, that museums and universities disaggregated and traded items that were associated in burial contexts, as occurred at the University of Minnesota. Third, and related, the regulations presume that institutions have maintained adequate documentation of their collections, particularly as these relate to items received from private collectors. It is therefore an article of faith in NAGPRA submissions that institutions have been thorough in their research on the items in their possession. These regulatory weaknesses are only overcome by institutional will to do thorough research accountable to the spirit of the law,²⁴ and by the filing of allegations against the institution which triggers an investigation.

UMN Twin Cities compliance with NAGPRA: after the passage of NAGPRA, the University acknowledged its requirements to inventory and report its holdings of Native ancestors, funerary objects, and cultural patrimony. It was not within the purview of this investigation to fully research the university process, but some historical knowledge of this process was needed to determine the disposition of various items. A Committee on the Repatriation of Cultural Properties was formed to provide oversight, chaired by Tom Trow of the CLA Dean's office. Although the committee ostensibly would have assisted in any university unit which had remains subject to inventory or summary, their focus was almost entirely on the Anthropology department, and exercised no oversight

²³ Aggregated data on NAGPRA filings to date is available [here](#).

²⁴ See D. Rae Gould, 2015, "NAGPRA, CUI and Institutional Will," in *The Routledge Companion to Cultural Property* (J. Anderson and H. Geismar, eds.), pp. 134-151. Routledge, New York; Margaret M. Bruchac, 2010, "Lost and Found: NAGPRA, Scattered Relics, and Restorative Methodologies," *Museum Anthropology* 33(2): 137-156..

elsewhere.²⁵ The university applied for a grant from the NAGPRA program for inventory completion in 1995, but was not awarded the funds.²⁶

At the time of the transfer of the Mimbres items to the museum, WAM staff was notified that they would be required to complete their own inventory, while the Department of Anthropology also did so though reported no Mimbres items. The focus of efforts appeared to be on the Anthropology items which were associated with human remains from Minnesota sites, and resulted in an agreement to transfer those items to MIAC for reburial inclusion.²⁷ A similar agreement was not discussed, however, for the Mimbres items. A summary of holdings at WAM was submitted to the National NAGPRA Office in 1993, and copies were sent to 44 tribes, using a list produced by the Harvard Peabody Museum. As noted above, the museum did receive some inquiries from tribes, including ones which positively asserted their cultural affiliation with Mimbres ancestral sites.

In this process there were several failures of compliance with NAGPRA. First, the museum filed a summary only, when inventory was also required according to information contained in records in its possession specifying that particular items were associated funerary objects. In addition, the summary appears to have been based on the printed inventory of items transferred from the Anthropology department and was not updated based on a physical inventory. Had such an inventory occurred, the several bundles of cremated human remains should have been reported on an inventory. Second, the museum did not complete tribal consultations as required by law, as notification of the summary does not constitute consultations. Third, the museum failed to provide information to the Hopi Tribe upon specific requests for information in 2000 and 2014.²⁸

Although NAGPRA does not require museums to consult with other repositories, correspondence files at both WAM and MIAC show that staff at MIAC's Cultural Resources Division, the Minnesota Office of the State Archaeologist, the Anthropology department, and indirectly the National NAGPRA Office repeatedly requested that WAM

²⁵ Tom Trow, personal communication, May 13, 2021. It appears also that some significant portion of the Mimbres collection (and ancestral remains) was still physically located in the Anthropology department through 1997, with correspondence indicating that WAM staff assumed they would only take on the "high-value" pottery. All items were, however, referenced in the WAM summary notification of 1993, and transfer documents from Anthropology to WAM included them (email correspondence on file).

²⁶ Melanie O'Brien, NAGPRA Program Officer in the Department of the Interior, personal communication Sept. 10, 2021.

²⁷ The Anthropology department went on to transfer all of its Minnesota-based collections to the Minnesota Historical Society as the state repository of archaeological collections in 2000.

²⁸ Records of the summary reporting process and correspondence from tribes can be found in the WAM Registrar files.

coordinate with MIAC on their NAGPRA filing by identifying funerary objects associated with the individuals MIAC reported.

Risk/Results of non-compliance with NAGPRA:

Institutional failure to comply with NAGPRA does carry the risk of both civil penalties and damage to the reputation and standing of the institution. Regulations provide a process for allegations of non-compliance to be filed with the National NAGPRA Office, which would then trigger an investigation. Should the investigation substantiate the allegations, fines may be levied (compounded daily) for ongoing non-compliance. The federal oversight office also has discretion to consider aggravating factors, such as the scale and significance of the collection, the time of non-compliance, and multiple points of non-compliance, in the application of penalties. Penalties may be in the form of monetary fines, up to and including barring the institution from receiving any additional federal funding until such time as it complies with the regulations.

The risks extend beyond federal penalties and loss of future funding, however. Native Nations and communities already regard museums and universities as colonial institutions which not only do not have their best interests at heart but also compound their trauma by regarding human remains and funerary objects as property. Failure to comply with NAGPRA may be viewed as an institution's disregard for social justice, and may dissuade acclaimed scholars from associating with it. Museums and universities have been prominently featured in national media with increasing frequency for failures to repatriate, prompted by the activism of students and advocacy organizations (just two recent examples are the Harvard Peabody Museum, and the Penn Museum).²⁹ In such cases, institutions are recognized as leaning into the weaknesses of the law's regulations and oversight in order to avoid complying with the spirit of the law. Public perception has shifted in the past decade, however, to see this as inflicting ongoing trauma on tribes and more broadly inculcating conflict with tribal nations and allies.

In the case of the WAM, the public perception consequences are already evident. Per WAM staff, a number of artists and local communities have refused to work with WAM because of their knowledge of the circumstances. In the past year, there has been growing press attention, particularly following an open letter by the graduate students in the UMN Anthropology Department regarding the collection.³⁰ Although MIAC has been painfully aware of the circumstances of the collection for decades, they have recently issued a resolution making the University's satisfactory completion of an inventory and

²⁹ Recent reporting on [Harvard](#) and [Penn](#)

³⁰ See [Minnesota Daily](#), Oct. 20, 2020; [The Art Newspaper](#), Nov. 9, 2020; [Star Tribune](#), Dec. 31, 2020; [KOB-4 News](#) New Mexico, Jan. 5, 2021.

repatriation a specific condition of the effort to build or repair relationships between the University and the tribes of the state. Finally, the widespread knowledge of the collection and its context of acquisition have made it all but certain that allegations will be filed if the inventory process is not completed satisfactorily, by MIAC, the Hopi Tribe, or individuals within the University itself.

Finally it is worth pointing out that under the current federal administration, we now not only have the nation's first Native American Secretary of the Interior - Deb Haaland, who is a citizen of the Pueblo of Laguna - but also the administration is making many specific overtures to Tribal nations to discuss pathways to restore relationships, under Executive Order 13985. Of particular concern to many Tribes are efforts to strengthen the laws protecting their cultural heritage including NAGPRA.³¹

Institutional examples of policy upholding spirit of NAGPRA

Beyond the adherence to the specific letter of the law, which is above acknowledged to be flawed, there are examples of how institutions may uphold the spirit and intent of NAGPRA that can guide our actions. A key framing to these examples is their adoption of what has been termed "institutional will" or commitment to repatriate all human remains and funerary objects, and by extension to respect and support tribal sovereignty.³²

At the University of Massachusetts Amherst, a campus-wide NAGPRA policy adopted in 2018 called for the goal of repatriating all human remains and funerary objects, and set standard requirements for every unit and department on campus to conduct inventory and reporting. The policy creates a staff position to act as coordinator for these inventory processes as well as liaise with tribal nations. It also places a moratorium on the use of any reported material for research or teaching purposes until the disposition of those materials is resolved via tribal consultation.³³ The University of California is in the process of adopting a policy with similar values, and which specifically cites the standards of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples ("the right to the use and control of their ceremonial objects; and the right to the Repatriation of their ancestral Human Remains") and of free, prior, and informed consent as requisite for research collections.³⁴ This policy change is notable especially because the University

³¹ See for example the letter to President Biden from the Pueblo of Zuni governor, Val Panteah, Sr., July 1, 2021 (on file in the Anthropology Dept).

³² Gould 2015.

³³ https://www.umass.edu/anthro/sites/default/files/assets/umass_amherst_nagpra_policy_-_march_2020.pdf

³⁴ UC interim policy text available [here](#); see also 6 United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, G.A. Res. 61/295, Article 12, 1, U.N. Doc. A/RES/61/295 (Sept. 13, 2007).

of California system is documented as one of the nation's largest holders of reported human remains which are as yet incomplete either in tribal consultations or in return.

Individual museums have also recently provided promising examples of changing institutional will. While this could be an extensive discussion, we cite here only two for purposes of demonstrating potential models for the University of Minnesota. First, the Museum of Us (formerly the Museum of Man) in San Diego has within the past few years developed a set of “decolonizing initiatives,” including their Colonial Pathways approach which determines whether individual items in their collections meet the standard of free, prior, and informed consent in their acquisition. The aim of such a policy is to subject those items which do not meet the standard to a NAGPRA-like process of tribal or other community consultation and repatriation if requested.³⁵ A second example is the recent and ongoing shift by the Illinois State Museum, which is the repository of all state archaeological collections, to place a moratorium and recall on all Native American human remains until such time as tribal consultation and determination of disposition is completed.³⁶ Like the UC system, the Illinois State Museum is one of the largest repositories of unrepatriated Native ancestral remains in the country, making their shift in policy a major institutional undertaking.

Examples such as these help us to not only chart an appropriate path forward in the case of the Mimbres items but also for other collections and practices that are in need of reconsideration. One of the positive outcomes we advocate for is that the University of Minnesota adopt new policy and protocols demonstrating institutional will supportive of repatriation and tribal sovereignty.

Charge task 1: Status and accuracy of inventory

Description of process: The inventory undertaken at the University consists in two major efforts, the physical inventory of objects and human remains, and the data reconciliation which provides the most accurate provenience information possible for everything in the physical inventory. These inventories are documented in two separate database systems: the WAM catalog, used for the tracking of specific objects, and an Elevator-platform database named Mimbres Sites Reconciliation (MSR), designed for secure sharing of collection information in tribal consultations. These are described separately, but are undertaken cooperatively and simultaneously, particularly with respect to the databases.

³⁵ The Museum of Us policy may be found [here](#).

³⁶ Cinnamon Catlin-Legutko, ISM Director, personal communication Feb. 4, 2021; see also [this statement](#) on the ISM Collections page.

The **WAM inventory** has been undertaken by the Registrar of Collections and supporting staff/project interns. The material transferred from the Anthropology department that had not been cataloged by the museum was housed at the WAM off-site storage facility and has been stored together over the years. Knowledge of the location of these uncataloged materials has been transmitted through staff in the Registrar of Collections position. The material had not been cataloged in the museum's database and so staff relied on institutional knowledge and original documentation provided by the anthropology department and handwritten cataloging conducted before the material physically moved to the museum (done by WAM) to indicate the amount and type of material.

All items or groups of items found in the associated storage were photographed, museum-specific data (ie material type, known cultural, temporal, and provenience associations) and any potentially significant markings relating to field records were recorded, measurements were taken and recorded, catalog numbers were assigned, and the item was rehoused as needed. The exceptions to this process were any materials identified as human remains (in this case, several bundles of cremation remains, individual teeth, and small bone elements or fragments). As these were identified, the MIAC Osteology Repository staff were notified and the remains were transferred to them directly.

Once the onsite inventory of items is finished (predominantly accessioned and cataloged items) staff can compare the set of records to the field records and transfer inventory documentation to assess whether there is any material unaccounted for. Any unaccounted for items will need to be investigated. In some cases, this material might be misidentified in the database or is an FIC (found-in-collection object) that staff has yet to reassociate with more specific provenience information.

The final step in the process will be to comb through all storage areas. 3D objects are stored in certain areas, and while it is not difficult to go shelf by shelf, drawer by drawer, cabinet by cabinet to rule out any outliers, it is time-consuming. Although a similar sweep of storage areas was conducted early in the inventory, staff are now very familiar with the material, labels, and numbering systems associated with the collection, making it easier to identify objects that could have been missed in the beginning.

The **data reconciliation** process has been undertaken through the Anthropology department, beginning with the digitization and transcription of all the historic field and inventory records of the materials excavated by Jenks and his crew. These records included "master lists" which assigned field numbers to each human burial and most

bowls and artifacts, noted associated burials or bowls, dates, and excavator name.³⁷ The latter piece of information provided a link to the corresponding descriptions recorded by the excavator in their individual notes. Field-assigned numbers were combined with an accession number to create a unique identifier which was either inked upon the object or written on an associated tag or container later. Field diaries were also useful in identifying broader contextual information that could resolve uncertainties in the case of either missing field numbers or conflicting numbers.

Using these records, we created the MSR database with records for every object and burial recorded in the field notes as well as any objects documented in later lab or accession records. For human remains, these records were shared with the MIAC Osteology Repository staff to identify those ancestral remains they maintain care of (for example, comparing field descriptions of an individual's age category or sex). These records in turn informed the NAGPRA category assigned to each object documented in the WAM inventory.

Each record includes all known provenience information (site name, location on site), excavation information (date, name of crew member, any description provided in the field notes of the individual, object, or context), current location as well as transfer history. In cases where the identification of the object's provenience and association are in doubt, or where documents contain conflicting information, an explanation of this uncertainty is included. The records have attachments of any images of the object and single related documents, and include links to each field book it appears in with a list of all page numbers to reference. In short, each object or human burial record includes every piece of contextualizing evidence the researchers have located which is relevant.

The records do not include identification of the archaeological culture or style³⁸ of the objects as this database is not for archaeological research purposes. The sites and their cultural associations are not in any way in doubt, thus it is unnecessary to add this level of information for single objects. The identification of the objects as associated with the Mimbres archaeological culture has been long established and is thoroughly

³⁷ The 1928 records did not include a master list. However, all field excavator's notes included notation of the numbers assigned to each burial and artifact. This provided provenience information for most items, but a few were evidently not excavated by UMN students, and therefore were not captured in these records.

³⁸ An archaeological culture is distinct from a cultural identification by an affiliated community, in that it is defined solely by archaeologists as a set of material culture and features defining a pattern seen at a set of excavated sites. Archaeological cultures by definition do not draw upon evidence of self-identification, for example from linguistic evidence or orally transmitted history. "Mimbres" is the name given to the culture because of the geographic proximity of the sites identified earliest to the Mimbres River, although later-discovered sites with similar characteristics are proximal to the Rio Grande River. Culturally affiliated communities would refer to the area differently, defined by their historical knowledge of ancestral migrations through the area.

covered in the 1984 volume *The Galaz Ruin*³⁹ by Roger Anyon and Steven LeBlanc, and in other literature cited in the section on cultural affiliation below. The primary goal in the inventory records is to establish the NAGPRA category of each item (through its documented association with burials) and to provide a description of the item which would be most helpful to tribal officials in their assessment of cultural connection and appropriate disposition.

The data reconciliation process has yielded a high degree of accuracy in establishing the provenience and associations of the human remains and funerary and other objects that have been identified in the physical inventory. It has also, however, made it possible to identify what objects were once included in the complete inventory but are no longer at the university. Although not strictly required by NAGPRA, the data reconciliation team has proceeded from an ethical obligation to relocate the latter, particularly when they are known to be associated with the human remains cared for by MIAC. To date we have identified a number at other institutions, including the University of Colorado Natural History Museum, the Milwaukee Public Museum, the Science Museum of Minnesota, the Yale Peabody Museum, the Princeton Art Museum, and the Laboratory of Anthropology at the Museum of Indian Arts and Culture (Santa Fe, New Mexico) holding associated items. Consultations with each of these institutions have helped to provide additional contextualizing documentation, as well as clues to where else the team might look. In the process of these consultations, the repositories which currently hold funerary items associated with the ancestors at Hamline (Univ. of Colorado, Milwaukee Public Museum, and the Science Museum of Minnesota) have agreed to pursue a process to facilitate their return with the ancestors. Each institution has provided documentation to confirm their possession of the identified funerary items.⁴⁰

Assessment of the accuracy and appropriateness of the inventory process: For this assessment, the committee chose to seek expert disinterested external review. Because the federal NAGPRA program is charged with oversight of all inventory filings, we requested a review from their program officer, Melanie O'Brien.

A meeting for review and consultation was scheduled for September 10, 2021 via Zoom, attended by Melanie O'Brien and the three primary coordinators of the inventory process, Kat Hayes (Anthropology), Matt Edling (Anthropology Lab and Collections manager), and Rosa Corral (WAM Registrar). UMN participants shared a detailed

³⁹ Roger Anyon and Steven A. LeBlanc (1984), *The Galaz Ruin: A Prehistoric Mimbres Village in Southwest New Mexico*. Maxwell Museum of Anthropology and the University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

⁴⁰ Correspondence with the institutions and their provided documentation of the associated funerary items is on file with the Anthropology department.

description of the history of the collection and its current disposition to the best of our knowledge, and the specific inventory process, including tribal consultations to date.

O'Brien observed that while the splitting/dispersal of the collection was unusual (especially with the human remains at MIAC with funerary objects at WAM), it is not a unique circumstance. With respect to our efforts to reunite human remains with their AFOs, she informed us, at that time, that while we cannot file a joint inventory we can jointly file the Notice of Intent to Repatriate, with whatever institutions are involved.⁴¹ The NAGPRA office is available to consult with UMN OGC on this process. She reminded us that the university is currently at great risk with the extent of our non-compliance, but also that institutional actions taken in good faith would indemnify the institution from that risk. Her review was therefore related to both the legal benchmarks and those standards which are beyond the requirements but would be viewed as good-faith efforts.

Legal regulations require that we complete the inventory using all the available documentation, including any studies done of the collection. Research and physical inventory beyond this, such as we have undertaken, is at the institution's discretion, excluding destructive sampling. **In this respect, our described inventory process has both met and exceeded the requirements of the law.**

Regarding a specific question about the categorization of Associated Funerary Objects (AFO) (as opposed to Unassociated Funerary Objects), O'Brien noted the correctness of items documented as associated with ancestral remains at Hamline as AFOs. In addition, the wording of the law's definition of AFO is "with or near" human remains; and the placement of those objects may be at the time of burial or after. Hayes asked a follow-up question regarding the status of human remains of unknown location-- that is, what is the appropriate course of action when we do not have clear documentation to determine whether the individuals who are not at Hamline were either left in-situ or are instead currently at another institution (given that both Cameron Creek and Galaz were also excavated by other researchers). O'Brien responded that in such circumstances we may regard those funerary objects as potentially associated and can report them as associated on the inventory. She noted that in the case that any other institution had conducted excavations at the same sites or in the same area, they may have reported human remains that are potentially associated. We are not obligated to consult with those institutions to determine a positive association prior to reporting items as

⁴¹ In a subsequent meeting with representatives from MIAC, Ms. O'Brien noted that the circumstances of this case warranted a different approach. She will approve the rescinding of MIAC's 2002 notice and inventory in order to allow filing a joint inventory. By extension, other repositories with associated funerary items may also collaborate in the joint filing. This plan is greatly appreciated by the consulted Tribes.

associated. Furthermore, she reminded us of the risks to the institution of delaying the completion of the inventory for such investigations, while an expedient completion is evidence of good-faith efforts. To support our determinations, however, she provided us with a complete list of reported human remains held in museums which were removed from the immediate vicinity of the UMN-excavated sites.

In sum, O'Brien commented that the description of our inventory process appears to be appropriate, and that the categorization of items as associated as we discussed earlier was at the discretion of the institution as long as we are entirely transparent about the basis for our decisions, and understand the role of good faith efforts in that process. She did urge, however, greater expedience to our work. She further recommended to us that in our tribal consultations we be entirely clear and open about our stance towards repatriation and cultural affiliation, as it can help in expediting the discussions. She also encouraged us to contact institutions which had faced similar circumstances to learn from their process, recommending Ryan Wheeler (director of the Peabody Andover Museum) in particular.

On October 1, 2021, Prof. Hayes and Ms. Corral met with Ryan Wheeler for additional consultation regarding our inventory process. Dr. Wheeler has managed many inventory filings and repatriations of collections; and similar to the case at UMN, the Andover collections were often excavated in the early 20th century and had been split among many institutions. After hearing our description of the process at UMN to date, he commented that we appeared to be doing all that we should, and offered helpful suggestions for collaborating with other institutions holding associated remains in order to facilitate the repatriation process. This included pursuit of a joint inventory, with the inventory reflecting the larger collection of items and each repository jointly named. A joint inventory reduces the consultation and request for repatriation burden on the Tribes, and simplifies the process for the repositories which might otherwise wish to coordinate the transfer of funerary objects prior to the filing of an inventory.

Charge task 2: Tribal consultations

The goal of tribal consultations is to provide information about the items in the inventory, to engage tribal officials in a discussion about their sense of affiliation to the ancestral remains and items (oral tradition), and to learn the appropriate identifications of items in the collection under the categories defined in NAGPRA. The initiation of consultations is required for the completion of the inventory and for the determination of cultural affiliation.

Process: As described earlier, institutions must initiate communications with tribal nations with a notification to most likely affiliated tribes, but must follow up with sustained discussions. The WAM Registrar initially sent notifications to tribes based on a list generated by the Harvard Peabody Museum which also holds Mimbres remains. Some of these originally contacted tribal offices did respond, and those who unambiguously asserted in correspondence that their tribe is culturally affiliated (Hopi Nation and Zuni Pueblo) have been contacted again. In addition, we also prioritized the eight tribes that have already been listed as culturally affiliated on MIAC's 2002 completed inventory (Hopi Nation and Zuni Pueblo are among these). Finally, we have also included those tribes which are geographically proximal to the Mimbres region. In each case an initial request for a meeting was sent to the Tribal Historic Preservation Office or its equivalent, with follow-up phone messages. Prof. Hayes, in collaboration with MIAC Cultural Resources staff, initiated consultation meetings in August 2019 with in-person visits. Since this committee has been charged, we have continued to request consultation meetings. In this process, we must be respectful of the extremely busy schedules of the THPOs; in the best of times these offices are frequently understaffed, and with pandemic conditions the response time is even longer. However, the ubiquity of video conferencing has also facilitated the process of meeting. For the in-person meetings, we have adhered to a protocol of offering gratitude for the time and expertise of the tribal officials with a gift of wild rice.

Consultation meeting summaries:

Pueblo of Acoma (POA)- Prof. Hayes contacted the POA THPO, Todd Scissons, in July 2019 and scheduled a meeting for August 16 at their offices. The meeting was attended by Hayes, MIAC representatives Melissa Cerda and Desiree Haggberg, and UMN graduate student Emily Briggs. Mr. Scissons was provided with a comprehensive update on the inventory process, both in written reports and oral presentation. He asked why the University was so late in addressing their legal compliance, and requested that he be updated on our progress, particularly as related to the re-assessment of the human remains as knowledge of the ancestral remains is needed for planning the appropriate protocols for reburial. In addition, Mr. Scissons noted that his office and other tribes' THPOs would likely need to visit the museum to view the items in assessing cultural affiliation. In light of this he recommended a system of full transparency regarding the scope of the collection, as many tribes have experienced working with museums which attempted to hide items from them. Hayes and her colleagues assured Mr. Scissons that they were working on a system of online, secured data sharing. Finally, Mr. Scissons suggested that the issue of this collection should be presented to the intertribal All Pueblo Council of Governors.

Of note, Mr. Scissons also addressed the POA perspective on claims for reburial of the Mimbres ancestors. He confirmed that ancestral remains should not be reburied without their associated funerary objects. He noted that while POA would collaborate with their related tribes on reburial, POA was at that time developing a new protocol for reburials which could not occur in their original location (for reasons of either access or security) by designating an area on the reservation land for the purpose. This is of course a decision for the tribes to arrive at collaboratively. As promised, following the meeting a consultation summary was sent to Mr. Scissons a month later.

The POA THPO was contacted by the chair of the current committee, Karen Hanson, in the spring of 2021 for follow-up. That office requested that we send updates and current information on the status of the inventory prior to scheduling another consultation meeting via videoconference. Information was shared, but a meeting has not yet been scheduled.

Pueblo of Laguna (POL) - The POL THPO was contacted in July 2019 to request a consultation meeting. The head of the THPO, Rick Smith Sr., agreed to a scheduled time August 15 to meet in his offices; the meeting was attended also by Paul Pino (Chair of the THPO Advisory Committee) and Steve Edder (POL Director of Environmental Resources) along with the UMN and MIAC visitors. Tribal officials were offered the written and oral summary of the inventory process at UMN, then were asked what additional information POL officials would need from the University to come to an understanding of their cultural affiliation to the Mimbres ancestors and funerary objects. POL officials mourned the disturbance of the ancestors, and noted that it is not their practice to participate in reburial processes, though they support the proposal of an inter-tribal repatriation claim. They also asserted that POL representatives should visit with the collection at WAM to help identify items which are sacred objects, and which may require specific care procedures. They offered a pointed critique of the museum's failure to consult with tribes earlier.

The UMN and MIAC attendees (Hayes, Cerda, Haggberg, and Briggs), promised to keep the POL THPO apprised of the inventory process, share information, and coordinate opportunities for a site visit. A summary update was sent a month later, and their office will be apprised of updates.

Pueblo of Pojoaque - The THPO for Pojoaque was contacted in July 2019 with a request to meet, but no response was received. UMN and MIAC representatives (Hayes, Cerda, and Haggberg) decided to visit their offices while in the area in August and Dr. Bruce Bernstein (THPO Director) very kindly spent time talking with us. We gave some background on our work, and discussed whether Pueblo of Pojoaque would

want involvement with a repatriation claim. Dr. Bernstein indicated that Pojoaque would be unlikely to be directly involved as they do not consider themselves directly affiliated with the Mimbres region, but he was very interested in keeping apprised of the process of collaboration that this case would take. A summary of the consultation meetings by UMN and MIAC representatives was sent to Dr. Bernstein a month later.

The Advisory group met with Dr. Bernstein remotely in early 2021, though less in his capacity as THPO for Pojoaque than in his expertise as a museum professional who had recently contributed to a collaboration on the care of a Mimbres collection. He advised the committee to assemble a small intertribal group of experts to guide our work.

Pueblo of San Ildefonso - A meeting request was sent to the THPO in July 2019, with no response. The visiting UMN and MIAC representatives visited their offices while in the area and were informed that the position of THPO director was then vacant, so in lieu of a meeting they left a written report on the inventory with contact information. In April 2020 Prof. Hayes received an email from the new THPO director, J. Michael Bremer, who wrote: "While we have an interest in the disposition of the materials and are supportive of communities with more direct affiliation we do not feel there is a need to participate actively in consultation although we greatly appreciate being kept in the loop and would appreciate being advised of the progress of the work but have no immediate needs for information or action."

Zuni Pueblo - Zuni THPO Kurt Dongoske was contacted with a meeting request in July 2019. He responded that Zuni had long asserted an affiliation with Mimbres culture, and that the appropriate protocol for such a discussion was with the Zuni Tribal Council. He scheduled this meeting for UMN and MIAC representatives for August 19. At that meeting, UMN and MIAC representatives provided written and oral presentation of the inventory process. Tribal Council members asserted their traditional knowledge of their cultural connection to the Mimbres culture. They inquired about the reasons why the University's inventory was so delayed. Lastly, Tribal Council members described their hope and expectation that the repatriation process would occur as a collaboration among related tribes, but that they would also welcome opportunities to build relations with the Minnesota tribes represented by MIAC. The UMN and MIAC representatives left assurances of follow-up with Mr. Dongoske. A summary of the consultation meetings was sent the following month.

In 2021, Advisory Committee chair Karen Hanson contacted Mr. Dongoske to request a follow-up meeting via video conference with tribal officials and the Advisory Committee. Mr. Dongoske coordinated this meeting with himself and Tribal Councilman Arden

Kucate representing Zuni Pueblo on February 11. After introductions, Chair Hanson conveyed an apology for the University's failure to address this situation in a timely and respectful manner, and asked for guidance on how to move forward. Councilman Kucate asked for details on the status of the ancestors and associated items, and Mr. Dongoske inquired about associated funerary objects which had been transferred to other institutions; these inquiries were addressed by Prof. Hayes. Councilman Kucate described the Zuni historical and spiritual connection to the landscapes including the Mimbres region, and the tribe's history of efforts to repatriate ancestors even prior to NAGPRA's enactment. Both shared that there are likely items in the museum's possession that may be a danger to museum staff in the absence of culturally specific guidance from affiliated tribes, and recommended open communication and transparency in the future to appropriately care for those items even if they are not requested for repatriation. All agreed to work together moving forward in the hopes of rebuilding relations between the tribe and university, well beyond the immediacy of repatriation.

Mr. Dongoske has more recently been consulted regarding whether a joint inventory was a good pathway forward from the Zuni Pueblo perspective. He wholeheartedly agreed that it is.

Hopi Tribe - In July 2019, Prof. Hayes sent information and a request for consultation to Terry Morgart, the NAGPRA coordinator of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office. In his initial response, Mr. Morgart shared correspondence that the HCPO had sent to the museum in 2014 requesting the repatriation of the Mimbres funerary objects and noted that they had never received a response beyond acknowledgement of the letter. A meeting was scheduled for August 13 at their offices, attended by UMN and MIAC representatives (Hayes, Briggs, Cerda, and Haggberg), Mr. Morgart, and Stewart Koyiyumtewa (Director of HCPO). The UMN and MIAC representatives provided an update on the inventory process and acknowledged the repeated requests received by the University which were effectively ignored. Mr. Koyiyumtewa reaffirmed the Hopi Tribe's traditional knowledge that the Mimbres area is culturally significant in some clans' migration histories, and that repatriation of the ancestral remains would require them to be reunited with their funerary objects. The group discussed the efforts required of the University to facilitate the desired repatriation, including collaboration with related tribes, locations for reburial, and sharing of information and updates. A month after the meeting, a summary report of all the consultation meetings was provided to HCPO.

In January 2021, a second meeting via video conference was scheduled between HCPO and the UMN Advisory Committee. Mr. Koyiyumtewa and an HCPO associate,

Joel Nicholas. After introductions, Chair Hanson offered an apology for the lateness of the university in addressing its obligations, and asked what guidance the Hopi Tribe could give the committee to complete the work. Mr. Koyiyumptewa advised coordination with other tribes, particularly the Pueblo of Acoma, the Pueblo of Laguna, and the Zuni Pueblo. He also advised, in accordance with their preference to rebury as close to the original location as possible, that the committee contact the US Forest Service supervisor of the Gila National Forest to inquire about reburial there, as the closest public land. He described the burden that the reburial would place upon him and his associates, not only because of the historical trauma of the treatment of the ancestors, but also the time and effort in attending to proper protocol and the cultural prohibitions on them, following the reburial, from engaging in agricultural production. Mr. Koyiyumptewa provided detailed information on actions the university can take to help them bear this burden. The committee has promised to provide regular updates and communication on our process, and committee members asked Mr. Koyiyumptewa to consider whether there are other ways that the university can build a more positive relationship with the Hopi Tribe in the future.

Pueblo of Santa Ana (Tamaya) - Summary information and a request for consultation was sent to the THPO in December 2021. The THPO Monica Murrell responded with an affirmation that Santa Ana recognizes affiliation, and agreed to schedule a call. The call was attended by Ms. Murrell, Prof. Hayes, and Senior Advisor Karen Diver on January 5, 2022. After introductions, Prof. Hayes provided a historical summary of the University's actions, and update on the status of the inventory and notice filing. Ms. Murrell confirmed that Santa Ana regards the Tribe as affiliated with the Mimbres region according to their traditional knowledge of their migrations. She asked about our consultation outcomes, and about discussions regarding how to repatriate and rebury the ancestors. Although Santa Ana would not participate in reburial procedures, she asserted that the Tribe supports those who will.

Pueblo of Isleta - Summary information and a request for consultation was sent to the THPO for POI in July 2019, with a follow-up phone call and email by Prof. Hayes. No response was received. The committee chair and Hayes have sent additional updates and requests by phone and email for consultations in 2021, but have not yet received a response.

Ysleta del Sur Pueblo - The THPO was contacted by Chair Hanson in spring 2021. At their request, summary information was shared April 2021. Follow-up requests for consultation were sent by Prof. Hayes in November 2021. The committee will follow up.

Pueblo of Zia - Summary information and a request for consultation was sent to the THPO for POI in July 2019, with a follow-up phone call and email by Prof. Hayes. No

response was received at that time. Chair Hanson contacted the THPO in spring 2021, and, at their request, summary information was shared April 2021. Follow-up requests for consultation were sent by Prof. Hayes in November 2021. The committee will continue to follow up.

Pueblo of Jemez - A summary of the inventory and a request for consultation was sent to the THPO by Prof. Hayes in December 2021. Follow-up calls and emails have been sent, but with no response as yet. A representative of the committee will continue to follow up.

Pueblo of San Felipe - A summary of the inventory and a request for consultation was sent to the THPO by Prof. Hayes in December 2021. Follow-up calls and emails have been sent, but with no response as yet. A representative of the committee will continue to follow up.

Pueblo of Santa Clara - A summary of the inventory and a request for consultation was sent to the THPO by Prof. Hayes in December 2021. Follow-up calls and emails have been sent, but with no response as yet. A representative of the committee will continue to follow up.

Pueblo of Santo Domingo -A summary of the inventory and a request for consultation was sent to the THPO by Prof. Hayes in December 2021. Follow-up calls and emails have been sent, but with no response as yet. A representative of the committee will continue to follow up.

Pueblo of Tesuque - A summary of the inventory and a request for consultation was sent to the THPO by Prof. Hayes in December 2021. Follow-up calls and emails have been sent, but with no response as yet. A representative of the committee will continue to follow up.

Ohkay Owingeh - A summary of the inventory and a request for consultation was sent to the THPO by Prof. Hayes in December 2021. Follow-up calls and emails have been sent, but with no response as yet. A representative of the committee will continue to follow up.

Pueblo of Cochiti - A summary of the inventory and a request for consultation was sent to the NAGPRA representative in the Dept. of Natural Resources by Prof. Hayes in December 2021. Follow-up calls and emails have been sent, but with no response as yet. A representative of the committee will continue to follow up.

Pueblo of Nambe - A summary of the inventory and a request for consultation was sent to the Governor by Prof. Hayes in December 2021. Due to leadership changes, corrected requests have subsequently been sent. No meetings have been coordinated as yet. A representative of the committee will continue to follow up.

Pueblo of Picuris - A summary of the inventory and a request for consultation was sent to the Governor and Tribal Programs Administrator by Prof. Hayes in December 2021. Follow-up calls and emails have been sent, but with no response as yet. A representative of the committee will continue to follow up.

Pueblo of Sandia - A summary of the inventory and a request for consultation was sent to the NAGPRA representative (the Environment Director) by Prof. Hayes in December 2021. Follow-up calls and emails have been sent, but with no response as yet. A representative of the committee will continue to follow up.

Pueblo of Taos - Consultation with Taos representatives was initially undertaken by MIAC in the late 1990s, and subsequently Taos was included in their 2002 completed inventory as culturally affiliated. We will re-affirm this affiliation in the current submission, but have also provided updated information on the status of this inventory process to the Governor in December 2021.

Tohono O'odham - Prof. Hayes sent information and a request for consultation to the Tohono O'odham THPO in July 2019. She received an email response from Peter Steere, THPO Director, on July 24 which stated "The Tohono O'odham Nation does not claim affiliation to Mimbres Culture sites in New Mexico." Given this response, no further consultation is required.

Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community of the Salt River Reservation - A summary of the inventory and a request for consultation was sent to the THPO by Prof. Hayes in December 2021. Follow-up calls and emails have been sent, but with no response as yet. A representative of the committee will continue to follow up.

Ak Chin Indian Community of the Maricopa Indian Reservation - A summary of the inventory and a request for consultation was sent to the Tribal Chair and the Him-Dak Eco-Museum Director by Prof. Hayes in December 2021. Follow-up calls and emails have been sent, but with no response as yet. A representative of the committee will continue to follow up.

Mescalero Apache Tribe - The THPO was contacted by Chair Hanson in spring 2021 and, at their request, summary information was shared April 2021. Follow-up requests

for consultation were sent by Prof. Hayes in November 2021. A representative of the committee will continue to follow up.

Jicarilla Apache Nation - A summary of the inventory and a request for consultation was sent to the THPO by Prof. Hayes in November 2021. Follow-up calls and emails have been sent, but with no response as yet. The committee will continue to follow up.

White Mountain Apache Tribe - Summary information and a request for consultation was sent to the THPO by Prof. Kat Hayes in November 2021. THPO Mark Altaha responded “we’ve reviewed the consultation letter and the information provided, and we’ve determined the these items are not affiliated with the White Mountain Apache tribe, and will not have an impact to the tribe’s cultural heritage resources and/or traditional cultural properties. At this point we would like to defer all future correspondences in regards to the repatriation efforts to the Mescalero Apache tribe of New Mexico.” Given this response, no further consultation is needed.

Fort Sill Apache Tribe of Oklahoma - FSAT was contacted because a significant number of their population are Chiricahua Apache people, and a 1978 Indian Claims Commission determination (discussed below) asserted that the Mimbres River/southern Rio Grande area is considered to be Chiricahua ancestral land. Prof. Hayes sent summary information and a request for consultation to the FSAT NAGPRA contact in November 2021.

Summary of consultations to date: While the consultation process is not yet complete, we have initiated contacts per the requirements of the law with twenty-eight Tribes. Among the consultations we have advanced with, a clear pattern is emerging of Western Pueblo tribes (Hopi, Zuni, Acoma, and Laguna) expressing the strongest sense of cultural affiliation according to their traditional knowledge. Other Pueblo nations have indicated a more distant connection, or more generally a spirit of support for their related communities which are connected to repatriate. Those tribes most closely affiliated have all expressed willingness to collaborate and coordinate to assure the return of ancestral remains and associated funerary items. In addition, these affiliated tribes have indicated a sense of urgency regarding the proper identification and care for other items in the care of WAM, and would like to collaborate with the museum to that end. Additional discussions are needed regarding what items, if any, should additionally be included with the ancestors based on their proximity to the burial locations. These may be completed after the submission of the notice and inventory, however.

Consultations/collaborations with MIAC: Although consultation and collaboration with the Minnesota Indian Affairs Council is not required for the NAGPRA inventory process,

they are a key stakeholder in our work. The current Advisory Committee has not directly consulted with MIAC. However, Prof. Hayes has collaborated with the MIAC Cultural Resources division staff throughout the inventory process, and, as noted above, participated in joint tribal consultation meetings in 2019. In this capacity, MIAC has been informally apprised of the work of the Advisory Committee. More formally, and at their request, we have submitted quarterly updates on the university's progress to the MIAC executive board. After meeting jointly with Melanie O'Brien, NAGPRA program officer, we have found a path to allow UMN and MIAC to file a joint notice and inventory. The Advisory Committee strongly recommends this path.

Charge task 3: Consideration of all evidence of cultural affiliation:

According to NAGPRA, the determination of cultural affiliation may consider evidence from "geographical, kinship, biological, archaeological, anthropological, linguistic, folkloric, oral traditional, historical, or other relevant information or expert opinion." No one type of evidence is weighed greater than another, and the preponderance of the evidence may be considered sufficient for inclusion of a Tribal Nation as culturally affiliated. In this instance, the advisory committee has considered available published and peer-reviewed research detailing geographical, archaeological, biological, and oral traditional evidence, though the oral tradition expressed in tribal consultation meetings is weighed equally with these other lines of evidence. While we consider each in separate sections, it is notable that many studies combine different types of evidence, and thus may be considered more relevant.

Oral tradition: We have reviewed published documentation of tribal oral tradition relating to the significance of the Mimbres region as part of their historical, cultural, and spiritual landscape. This documentation should not be given greater weight than oral tradition transmitted via consultation meetings. Such documentation tends to be skewed towards tribes which have been active in land claims cases, have well-established collaborative relationships with research archaeologists, or otherwise have a history of permitting anthropological researchers access to their community. Some tribes have avoided these circumstances, and even those which have collaborative relationships may have withheld traditional knowledge which is deemed inappropriate for sharing or publishing.

Hopi Nation: Although regarded as a single recognized tribal nation, Hopi political life is structured by clan affiliation and the contemporary villages, and the traditional knowledge of historical migrations is similarly understood by clan-village networks.

Within the contemporary reservation there are two sets of clans, the Motisinom who originated in the same region they now live, and the Hoopq'yaqam (or Nùutungkwisinom), who relate their origin and early tenure far to the south in Palatkwapi, until a time of unrest sent them on the long journey ending at the mesa villages of the Motisinom.⁴² Hopi people recognize Hopitutskwa (Hopi land) as extensive to all areas where their ancestral migrations led them, with memory embedded physically in the form of ancestral sites of occupation and belongings. That area therefore accounts for all 32 of the migrating Palatkwapi-associated clans' histories, not as a singular group but as a multitude of clans on different pathways prior to their arrival at the mesas where they became Hopi. When place-names from different clans' traditional knowledge are mapped, the extent of Hopitutskwa ranges widely from Chaco Canyon and the Grand Canyon to the Gulf of California and into Mexico.⁴³ Documentation related to land claims cases speaks to clan migrations from southern Nevada, Mesa Verde, the Kayenta region, the Zuni region originating in Mogollon southern New Mexico, Sinagua, and later the Rio Grande area.⁴⁴

In another form of traditional knowledge, Hopi cultural consultants have identified a wide range of pottery motifs from archaeological areas including the Mogollon as consistent with contemporary ritual practices, and which may be traced through pottery traditions across southern Arizona and southwestern New Mexico.⁴⁵ Traditional knowledge in Hopi Nation across clans tends to identify religious practice, including the katsina ceremony which is practiced across Western Pueblo tribes, as the most important form of cultural continuity, rather than specific material culture or other material practice. While anthropologists have previously asserted that the Hopi were most closely tied to Hohokam and Ancestral Pueblo archaeological regions, Hopi oral tradition does not distinguish those as culturally isolated areas, and asserts instead migration paths across those areas as well as Mogollon⁴⁶, of which the Mimbres culture sites are part.

⁴²Wesley Bernardini and Severin Fowles, 2010. "Becoming Hopi, becoming Tiwa: two Pueblo histories of movement." In Margaret Nelson and Colleen Strawhacker (editors), *Movement, Connectivity, and Landscape Change in the Ancient Southwest*, pp. 253-274. University Press of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado; T.J. Ferguson and Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh, 2006. *History is in the Land: Multivocal Tribal Traditions in Arizona's San Pedro Valley*. The University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

⁴³Saul L. Hedquist, Maren P. Hopkins, Stewart B. Koyiyumptewa, Lee Wayne Lomayestewa, and T.J. Ferguson, 2018. "Tungwiniwpi Nit Wukwlawayi (Named Places and Oral Traditions): Multivocal Approaches to Hopi Land." In *Footprints of Hopi History: Hopihiniwtiput Kukveni'st* (eds. L.J. Kuwanwisiwma, T.J. Ferguson, and C. Colwell), University of Arizona Press (Tucson), pp. 52-72.

⁴⁴Florence Hawley Ellis, 1967. "Where Did the Pueblo People Come From?" *El Palacio* 74(3): 35-43. Citing pp. 36-37

⁴⁵Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006: 135-144.

⁴⁶Kurt E. Dongoske, Michael Yeats, Roger Anyon, and T.J. Ferguson, 1997. "Archaeological Cultures and Cultural Affiliation: Hopi and Zuni Perspectives in the American Southwest." *American Antiquity* 62(4): 600-608. Citing p. 604.

Zuni Pueblo: Cultural affiliation to archaeological sites and regions is understood in Zuni traditional knowledge to be marked by continuities of material culture and language, especially as are related to religious practice. While the full accounting of traditional knowledge is available only to members of specific religious orders, non-Zuni researchers have been privileged to share a basic secular understanding of their origins and migrations.

Zuni people emerged from the Grand Canyon (Chimk'yana'kya deya'a) and began their migrations towards the Middle Place, first via the Little Colorado River. Along this pathway the people were presented with a choice of two eggs, from which hatched two different birds to lead them along divided paths. Contemporary Zuni people descend from those who chose to follow the raven toward the Middle Place (Zuni Pueblo), while another group followed a parrot which led them south into Mexico. Although the Zuni recognize this division, they count the "Lost Others" or Ancient Ones Who Journeyed to the Land of the Everlasting Sun as their ancestors. Pueblo architecture at sites in the San Pedro Valley, adjacent to the southern Mogollon and Mimbres region, marked part of the trail of the Lost Others.⁴⁷ Zuni cultural consultants see painted pottery motifs and icons from this area, which are shared with those found on Classic Mimbres pottery, as evidence of shared religious values and practice.⁴⁸ As observed by collaborators, "Zuni think most of the designs on Hohokam and Salado pottery in the San Pedro Valley relate to religious themes of rain, clouds, lightning, and agriculture" (p. 170).

Other Pueblo Tribes: As both Hopi and Zuni oral tradition indicate, the Southwest history is characterized by migration and communities parting ways or amalgamating. Other Western Pueblo tribes are related in complex ways, but their oral traditions are less well-documented in anthropological literature. We must rely more on their assertions of affiliation in consultation meetings, as documented above. There are, however, a few Indigenous scholars and non-Native researchers who have described traditional historical knowledge which corresponds to the migration stories related earlier, as well as degrees of relatedness to one another.

For example, Tessie Naranjo, Tewa of Santa Clara Pueblo, explored the difference between an archaeological focus on specific sites and dates and the Pueblo historical focus on movement within broader bounded areas. "Movement is a part of us. Explanations are not necessary - only stories which remind, acknowledge, and honor the power and force of movement. People have moved from place to place and have joined and separated again throughout our past, and we have incorporated it into our songs, stories, and myths because we must continually remember that, without

⁴⁷ Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006: 151-161.

⁴⁸ Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006 :169-175.

movement, there is no life.”⁴⁹ Across many Pueblo communities, origin stories cite the place of emergence from the underworld as located to the northwest (most often the Grand Canyon), with journeys which lead through periods living in a wealthy society that became untenable in its departure from traditional practice, prompting disaggregation and further migration.⁵⁰ Such narratives resemble that of the Hopi clans descendant of Palatkwapi, but more definitely located to the north, and potentially describing Mesa Verde or Chaco Canyon society. Interestingly, archaeologists attribute a similar pattern, of population and wealth aggregation followed by dispersal due to unsustainable conditions, to the Mimbres culture area (see section below on archaeological evidence). Another commonality across traditions is that migrations are never linear movement from origin to present location, but may circulate widely and even circuitously,⁵¹ although there are some traditions, especially among Eastern Pueblos, that movement was in all directions *except* north.⁵²

Apache/Ndee affiliated tribes: Our focus here is on Western Apache or Ndee peoples and Mescalero and Chiricahua Apache peoples who situate themselves within an area circumscribed by four sacred mountain peaks and which encompass the Mimbres River/southwest New Mexico area. Although the specific mountains differ among the tribal groups, they commonly occur within the same ranges in Arizona, New Mexico, and Mexico. Oral tradition clearly asserts an Apache/Ndee association with the region, but the temporality of that association is conflicted. Some traditions note their presence in the region prior to Spanish colonization, but also acknowledge that others preceded them. “Apache people differentiate between their ancestors, the Nohwizá’yè (Departed Apache People) and the occupants of ancient archaeological sites, the Nałkídé (Ancient Ones).”⁵³ This distinction is easily made with archaeological sites as Apache/Ndee tradition asserts a practice until recently of effacing their traces of occupation, in part as a mode of community defense. Thus sites with substantive above-ground remains, like masonry or adobe structures, are recognized as built by Ancient Ones. Whether or not they regard themselves as related to the occupants of a site, Ndee people nonetheless understand them to be historical and culturally important places which should not be disturbed.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Tessie Naranjo, 1995. “Thoughts on Migration by Santa Clara Pueblo.” *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 14: 247-250.

⁵⁰ Hawley Ellis 1967: 38-43.

⁵¹ For example see Wesley Bernardini, 2005, “Reconsidering Spatial and Temporal Aspects of Prehistoric Cultural Identity: A Case Study from the American Southwest.” *American Antiquity* 70(1): 31-54.

⁵² Hawley Ellis 1967: 43.

⁵³ Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006: 225.

⁵⁴ Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006: 226; see also M. Jean Tweedie, 1968, “Notes on the History and Adaptation of the Apache Tribes.” *American Anthropologist* 70(6): 1132-1142; M.E. Opler, 1935, “A Note on the Cultural Affiliations of Northern Mexican Nomads.” *American Anthropologist* 37(4-1): 702-706.

O'odham affiliated tribes: O'odham language dialects are distinctly tied to Mesoamerica with remarkably little linguistic variation,⁵⁵ and their oral traditions recount conflicting narratives of origin in the southern Arizona Hohokam region. More specifically, some traditions assert Hohokam ancestors while others describe warfare and defeat of Hohokam peoples. In either narrative, as with most oral tradition, the timing of the arrival or conquest is not specified, but particular place names associated with the conquest narratives that have been archaeologically investigated situate the time of conflict in 1300s, postdating the Mimbres area sites.⁵⁶ As Teague points out, there are a number of close parallels between these narratives and those of the Hopi clans who trace their journey through Palatkwapi, and both recount the destruction of a society grown too large and distant from foundational spiritual practice. Whether O'odham people were among the Hohokam or the conquering new arrivals, their patterns of settlement and material practices were drastically different from the patterns of the Hohokam sites.⁵⁷ As with the Hopi in-migrating clans, O'odham people could be considered affiliated with the Mogollon/Mimbres region sites as they journeyed from southerly regions.⁵⁸ However, Tohono O'odham THPO officials have communicated that they do not recognize specific affiliations with Mimbres culture sites.

Geographical: To assess geographical association we drew from the information learned from oral traditions, the contemporary proximity of tribal reservations to the sites, and the mapped determinations of the Indian Claims Commission while it was active. The area of the Mimbres archaeological culture sites in southwest New Mexico does not have any reservations in immediate proximity, but within 200 miles⁵⁹ are the following (those with specific oral tradition connecting to the Mimbres region bolded; note also that reservations are not coterminous with cultural affiliations due to federal relocations and forced aggregations of populations):

- Mescalero Reservation (Apache)
- San Carlos Reservation (Apache)
- Fort Apache Reservation (Apache)
- Tohono O'odham Nation Reservation and San Xavier Reservation

⁵⁵ See Jane H. Hill, 2017, "Historical Linguistics" in *The Oxford Handbook of Southwest Archaeology* (eds. B Mills and S. Fowles), pp. 123-136, Oxford University Press (publication date reflects online release). There follows a more extensive discussion below on linguistic evidence.

⁵⁶ Lynn S. Teague, 1993, "Prehistory and the Traditions of the O'odham and Hopi." *Kiva* 58(4): 435-454. See pp. 439-444.

⁵⁷ It has been argued that this is also correlated with changing environmental conditions; Chris Loendorf and Barnaby V. Lewis, 2017, "Ancestral O'odham: Akimel O'odham Cultural Traditions and the Archaeological Record." *American Antiquity* 82(1): 123-139.

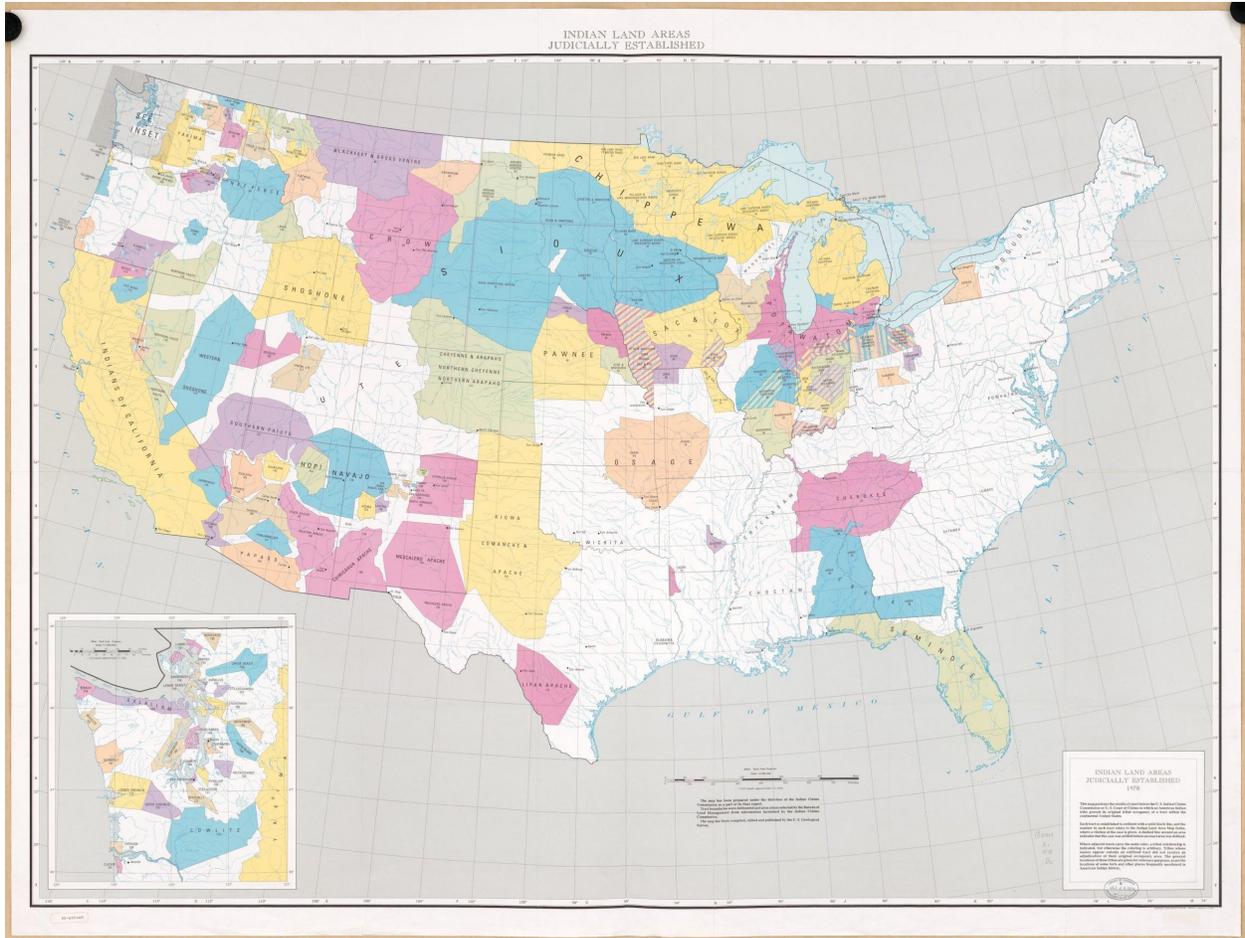
⁵⁸ This comparison has been broadly made in Teague 1993, though she did not specifically reference the Mimbres River region.

⁵⁹ The buffer of 200 miles is not based on any particular requirement under the law, but was selected as a proximity encompassing the tribal nations which have already asserted their cultural and historical affiliation with the Mimbres culture.

- Ak Chin Indian Community of the Maricopa (Ak Chin) Indian Reservation
- Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community of the Salt River Reservation
- Gila River Indian Reservation
- **Zuni Reservation and trust lands**
- Navajo Reservation and trust lands
- **Hopi Reservation**
- **Acoma Pueblo and trust lands**
- **Laguna Pueblo and trust lands**
- Isleta Pueblo

Several additional Pueblo nations' reservations are located just beyond this distance. While oral tradition indicates the multiple ancestral relationships among Pueblo nations, thus far in consultations have asserted only widely shared traditions connecting their communities to the Mimbres region.

In addition, a 1978 Indian Claims Commission map indicating the successful claims made under its tenure shows that the entire southwest New Mexico region was associated with Chiricahua Apache people. This particular claim “represents payment for more than 15 million acres of land in New Mexico and Arizona taken without compensation on September 4, 1886, when Apache Chief Geronimo and his followers surrendered to the United States forces” ([BIA press release, June 3, 1975](#)). Whether this claim extends to sites of occupation dating one thousand years prior must be established through consultations with the two tribal nations which include Chiricahua Apache descendants, the Mescalero Apache tribe and the Fort Sill Apache tribe of Oklahoma.



Indian Land Areas Judicially Established 1978 by the Indian Claims Commission. Note that there are two claims established in the southern half of New Mexico, Chiricahua Apache and Mescalero Apache. The Mimbres River region is in the area covered by the Chiricahua Apache claim. Map published by the U.S. Geological Survey.

Archaeological: Because this collection was acquired via archaeological excavation, it might seem logical that archaeological evidence would have great specificity to establish its affiliation with contemporary tribes. Ironically, though, the nature of archaeological research design has made this form of evidence somewhat equivocal for this purpose. A short overview of the history of archaeological theory, and especially its utilization in the Southwest, illustrates this point. In the earliest years of American archaeological research (late 19th and early 20th centuries), anthropologists used a more holistic approach in that archaeology was articulated with ethnological work, which included the documentation of oral traditions. They used what has been termed the direct historical approach in the early 20th century to trace cultural continuity and change from extant Native communities back in time through older sites, and were thus greatly interested in traditional knowledge of migrations and origins.

Unfortunately, this research occurred in the framework of an assumed declension and inevitable disappearance of Native communities while ignoring or minimizing the role of colonialism in the process. In the Southwest, colonization came in waves of Spanish, Mexican, and American oppression. In some instances, anthropologists assumed that the living Native people could not be related to the rich and complex material remains of earlier villages. Later 20th century archaeologists rejected the integration of oral tradition in their interpretations, and focused instead on in-situ cultural systems. Their goal was largely not to understand the trajectory of specific cultures, but instead to understand a generalizable theory of cultural function and change. The effects of this praxis were mixed; “although processual archaeology credited Native people for their remarkable technological achievements, the unwavering archaeological commitment to empirical positivism ultimately served to alienate living Native peoples from their own history.”⁶⁰

Fortunately, in the Southwest, more recent archaeological research on migrations has returned to oral tradition as a significant source of knowledge, and recognizes that complex and interconnected Indigenous histories characterize the Southwest rather than simple lineal descent of isolated populations. Germaine to our current inquiry, Cameron and Ortman point out “that material culture continuities of any particular type are not a necessary correlate of migration. Although the existence of such continuities does constitute supportive evidence, the converse is not necessarily true due to the extent to which material culture is embedded in social and political processes.”⁶¹ In other words, archaeological evidence can never be taken as a complete and independent historical record in the context of such complex migrations.⁶²

Recognizing that material culture is only one vector of cultural affiliation, what is the supportive evidence of material continuities? The sites excavated by Jenks are

⁶⁰ Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006:10; see also Bruce G. Trigger, 2006, *A History of Archaeological Thought, Second Edition*. Cambridge University Press.

⁶¹ Catherine M. Cameron and Scott G. Ortman, 2017, “Movement and Migration,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Southwest Archaeology* (eds. B Mills and S. Fowles), pp. 716-728 (cited p. 720), Oxford University Press (publication date reflects online release). Excellent summaries of the history of Southwest archaeology may be found in Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh, 2010, *Living Histories: Native Americans and Southwestern Archaeology*, AltaMira Press; and Severin Fowles and Barbara Mills, 2017, “On History in Southwest Archaeology,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Southwest Archaeology* (eds. B Mills and S. Fowles), pp. 3-73, Oxford University Press (publication date reflects online release). See also Margaret C. Nelson and Michelle Hegmon, 2001, “Abandonment Is Not as It Seems: An Approach to the Relationship between Site and Regional Abandonment.” *American Antiquity* 66(2): 213-235 (on site-based vs regional study in understanding population movements.) On the integration of oral tradition and archaeology to understand migration histories, see Bernardini and Fowles, 2010; and Wesley Bernardini, 2018, “Visual Prominence and the Stability of Cultural Landscapes,” in *Footprints of Hopi History: Hopihiniwtiput Kukveni’st* (eds. L.J. Kuwanwisiwma, TJ Ferguson, and C Colwell), University of Arizona Press (Tucson), pp. 73-89.

⁶² See also Dongoske et al 1997.

categorized as Mimbres, as the dominant component of the culture-area termed Mogollon. Mimbres sites are archaeologically characterized as farming villages of increasing size and population density from ~500 CE through the “Classic” Mimbres phase of ~1000-1150 CE. In the latter phase, villages built above-ground pueblo architecture and produced the stylistically distinctive black-on-white pottery (along with plain and corrugated unpainted wares). The Mimbres culture is considered to be fairly insular, as interpreted from a remarkable uniformity of practice across sites, but the villages did participate in trade networks as shown by local presence of materials like copper, marine shell items, and macaws likely from Mexico, as well as the identification of iconic Mimbres Black-on-White pottery on sites across a much broader area (the Hohokam region to the west and Chaco Canyon to the north). Archaeologists generally agree that Mimbres culture ended around 1150 CE, although a more accurate description would be that the uniform set of practices and iconic material culture production changed, somewhat abruptly. Nelson and Hegmon assert that post-1130 CE, the Mimbres area was not abandoned, but people did reorganize into smaller, dispersed settlements, and some material practices, especially the distinctive painted pottery, changed.⁶³ In addition, the population density of the Mimbres region declined greatly from its Classic period peak levels.

This change is relevant for our understanding of cultural affiliation in that there are two distinct types of continuity we must consider: the continuity of a population (kinship and geographic residence) and the continuity of ideas and practices (culture). Although the dating of sites in the area shows continued occupation, it was by a much smaller population (Anyon and LeBlanc 1984 identify these occupations as post-Classic, Black Mountain, and Cliff phases). Archaeologists have thus also hypothesized the nature and direction of Mimbres area peoples’ dispersal to other areas. Noting that the termination of the Classic Mimbres corresponds to a similar change at Chaco Canyon, some scholars have speculated that environmental depletion and drought in the context of high population densities caused societal “collapses.” However, a more recent assessment of the environmental data in combination with oral tradition has led other Southwest archaeologists to characterize the causes as a combination of environmental and ideological change, a resilient response to social conditions that were deemed to be unsustainable.⁶⁴ Ultimately, such movement, as a continuous cycle of social adaptation, was not uncommon.⁶⁵ In short, archaeological interpretation suggests that during periods of aggregation there was much interregional trade and exchange, and during subsequent periods of dispersal, there was likely extensive mixing of populations in their smaller and mobile communities. It is worth a reminder, though, that while there is

⁶³ Nelson and Hegmon 2001.

⁶⁴ Michael Wilcox, 2010, “Marketing conquest and the vanishing Indian: An Indigenous response to Jared Diamond’s *Guns, Germs, and Steel* and *Collapse*,” *Journal of Social Archaeology* 10(1): 92-117.

⁶⁵ Cameron and Ortman 2017.

extensive archaeological research in this area, it has limits in its relevance to cultural affiliation. These interpretations correspond to the overall historical understanding derived from oral traditions, but lack the specific connections to contemporary communities which oral traditions provide.

Archaeological theories do also address the question of cultural continuities in the sense of persistently transmitted ideas and values, through visual media including the painted pottery most famously associated with the Mimbres sites. Crown has theorized that Mimbres pottery images contributed to the cultural development of kachina ideology arising from Salado archaeological culture in regions to the west of Mimbres.⁶⁶ This idea corresponds well to the Zuni traditional knowledge identifying painted motifs relating to “rain, clouds, lightning, and agriculture”⁶⁷ as reflecting their religious values. There are several comparative studies of sites and pottery which suggest the migratory pathways for the transmission of such values. Clark et al posits the role of Salado polychrome pottery, associated with multiethnic communities across southern Arizona and southeastern New Mexico in the 1300s CE, in transmitting shared beliefs. They note that local populations absorbed migrants from Kayenta and Tusayan regions to the north, yet the diversity of peoples expressed a sense of unity through widely shared pottery motifs.⁶⁸ In addition, earlier excavations in regions northwest of the Mimbres River area by archaeologists Paul Martin and John Rinaldo found supporting evidence for their hypothesis that Mogollon people (including Mimbres culture) were ancestral to Hopi and Zuni peoples, based on the recovery of pottery sequences beginning with well-established Mogollon types and ending with types historically associated with Zuni and Hopi communities. They also noted a continuity of particular architectural forms (masonry pueblos and kiva structures) in these smaller settlements.⁶⁹ These sites were located within the same area of the Salado polychrome pottery tradition, but dating one to two centuries earlier.

The archaeological evidence thus presents strongest connections in terms of shared cultural values and practices with Hopi and Zuni people, but in showing a complex history across Pueblo communities of migration through periods of coalescence and

⁶⁶ Patricia L. Crown, 1994. *Ceramics and Ideology: Salado Polychrome Pottery*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque,

⁶⁷ Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006:170; illustration of motifs page 172.

⁶⁸ Jeffery J. Clark, Deborah L. Huntley, J. Brett Hill, and Patrick D. Lyons, 2013, “The Kayenta Diaspora and Salado Meta-identity in the Late Precontact U.S. Southwest.” In *The Archaeology of Hybrid Material Culture* (J.J. Card, ed.), pp. 399-424. Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale; see also Loendorf and Lewis 2017 on this sequence of changes as related to Akimel O’odham oral tradition.

⁶⁹ Paul S. Martin and John B. Rinaldo, 1947. “The Su Site Excavations at a Mogollon Village Western New Mexico: Third Season 1946.” *Publications of the Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Series* 32(3): 275-382; 1960, “Table Rock Pueblo Arizona.” *Fieldiana Anthropology* 51(2): 131-298; Paul S. Martin, John B. Rinaldo, and William A. Longacre, 1961, “Mineral Creek Site and Hooper Ranch Pueblo: Eastern Arizona.” *Fieldiana Anthropology* 52: 1-181.

dispersal, cultural affiliations with many other tribal nations cannot be dismissed. Other Western Pueblo communities in particular, including Acoma Pueblo and Laguna Pueblo, share ties with Hopi and Zuni. Those affiliations must be considered in relation to other lines of evidence, first and foremost oral tradition but linguistic and ethnohistoric evidence is also appropriate to contextualize the archaeological record.

Lastly, we consider the archaeological evidence of Apache/Ndee communities with Mimbres culture sites, given their geographic proximity and the connection established by the Indian Claims Commission to the entire southwest New Mexico area. As noted above, Apache oral tradition is somewhat conflicted on the question of origination versus later arrival in this area; and linguistically Apache people are tied to the Athapaskan language family which is predominantly located far to the north. Archaeological evidence of Apache presence in the region is complicated by their historically more nomadic lives, leaving fewer or more ephemeral material traces on the landscape.⁷⁰ However in some areas, such as the more northerly Rio Grande, there is both ethnohistoric and archaeological evidence that some Pueblo communities have long had interactions and strategic entanglements with their more nomadic Apache neighbors.⁷¹ Although such evidence certainly does not suggest that Apache or Ndee peoples were contemporaneous with the Mimbres sites, it does raise the possibility that Apache communities may regard a Pueblo past as now a part of their own.

Linguistic: For this section we draw from an excellent recent overview on historical linguistics in the Southwest.⁷² Because we do not know the language spoken by residents of the Mimbres sites, historical linguistics can only offer indirect evidence of cultural affiliation. In particular, this research can help to clarify the degrees of historical relatedness between contemporary communities, the connections of various communities to geographies of origin, and to some degree the time-depth of those origins and connections (based on the principle that increasing linguistic variation indicates longer time-spans). Hill observes that historical linguistic analysis reflects both longitudinal change (evolution through time and descent) and lateral change (language borrowing and exchange through social interaction).⁷³ In the Southwest, with much historical migration, coalescence and dispersal of communities, both types of change are continually in effect.

⁷⁰ Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006: 198-199; Sarah A. Herr 2013, "In Search of Lost Landscapes: The Pre-reservation Western Apache Archaeology of Central Arizona," *American Antiquity* 78(4): 679-701; Severin Fowles and B. Sunday Eiselt. 2019. "Apache, Tiwa, and Back Again: Ethnic Shifting in the American Southwest," in *Movement and Becoming in the American Southwest* (eds.S. Duwe and R. Pruecel), pp. 166-194. University of Arizona Press.

⁷¹ Fowles and Eiselt 2019.

⁷² Hill 2017.

⁷³ Hill 2017: 123.

The linguistic diversity of the region does not correspond in any neatly patterned way with the archaeologically-defined regions of Ancestral Pueblo, Hohokam, and Mogollon. Language family groupings related to the regions under consideration are:

- Uto-Aztecan, related to Mesoamerican languages (includes Hopi, O'odham, Paiute and Ute)
- Keresan, origin not sufficiently researched though hypothesized as linked to Caddoan, Iroquian, or Uto-Aztecan (includes Acoma and Laguna of Western Pueblos; Cochiti, San Felipe, Santo Domingo, Zia, and Santa Ana of Eastern Pueblos)
- Kiowa-Tanoan, also under-researched but hypothesized as related to Uto-Aztecan as part of a larger Central Amerind family (includes Towa, Tewa, and Tiwa-speaking Eastern Pueblos)
- Na-Dene/Athapaskan, related to far northern languages such as Tlingit and many in the Northwest Territories: "may be linked anciently to the Yeniseian languages of Siberia," (Hill 2017: 127). Includes Apachean and Navajo languages.
- Zuni Pueblo language is an isolate, unrelated to any of the above.

The theorized family origins of these language groups connect fairly well with oral traditions of origins in the broad distinction between emergence and migration from the north versus the south.

Hill also describes numerous examples of both loan-words and linguistic diffusion (the spread of particular forms of pronunciation or functional discourse patterns). With respect to the latter, she notes many instances of sharing between Keresan, Zuni, Tanoan, Tewan, and Towan; this sharing suggests that the distinction between Eastern and Western Puebloan groups is not absolute, but more likely has been a more fluid interaction sphere. Similarly, borrowing is evident between Tewa and Jicarilla Apache, and between Hopi, Navajo, and Western Apache.⁷⁴

Loan words are perhaps the most significant marker of cultural affiliation, however, particularly in the spread and variety of terms related to Katsina/Kachina practice.⁷⁵ Such terms may be found across the Pueblo tribes' languages. This form of sharing may be most significant in relation to the Mimbres culture, when taken in the context of the visual motifs and religious values detailed in both material culture and oral tradition.

In sum, scholarship on historical linguistics is indirect evidence at best for our assessments. It does, however, correlate with other evidence of migration, interaction, and shared values of multiple Southwest tribal communities.

⁷⁴ Hill 2017: 127-128.

⁷⁵ Hill 2017: 128.

Biological: The use of biological research in the determination of cultural affiliation is problematic, despite the fact that it is by law considered one of the acceptable lines of evidence. As Schillaci and Bustard note, the use of biological data without context provided by oral tradition or other forms of evidence has little to no relation to shared cultural identity, and with inconsistent population-level comparisons evidence such as ancient DNA becomes so capaciously inclusive as to be useless.⁷⁶ In some NAGPRA cases, unfortunately, physical remains may be the only available evidence. That is not the case here, however we have included a summary of studies relevant to Mimbres culture sites in the spirit of comprehensiveness. It is important to also recognize that the tribal nations who assert their cultural affiliation likely would not have consented to such studies had they been given the opportunity.

Biological studies of Mimbres people focused on questions of relatedness fall into two groups: comparisons of phenotypic traits, and genetic studies. Among the former there have been studies of dental traits to compare Mimbres with Eastern and Western Pueblo populations⁷⁷ and with Chihuahuan/Casas Grande populations.⁷⁸ The conclusions drawn from these studies were rather equivocal, in that the Mimbres population displayed a fairly high degree of trait variability, which appears to correlate with a clinal variation - that is, variation within the expected geographic relatedness, as Mimbres is situated between the Ancestral Pueblo and Casas Grande areas. These studies do not point to clear lineages among their sampled populations.

Available genetic studies have focused on mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA) which is maternally inherited and forms the basis for genetic haplogroups (matrilineages) used for tracing population genetics. In these studies, relatedness is demonstrated by similarities in haplogroup frequencies, or the proportions of haplogroups represented in mtDNA. For context, all ancestral Native American populations are represented by five haplogroups; and while there are many permutations for frequencies of these five variables, migration and interaction render very fine-grained perspectives on genetic lineages difficult. In other words, mtDNA studies are not for tracing specific lineal descent, but rather modeling population-scale movements over longer periods of time. Snow et al (2011) analyzed ancient DNA extracted from 46 Mimbres individuals and compared the resulting haplogroup frequencies to both aDNA samples from other

⁷⁶ Michael A. Schillaci and Wendy J. Bustard, 2010, "Controversy and Conflict: NAGPRA and the Role of Biological Anthropology in Determining Cultural Affiliation." *PoLAR: Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 33(2): 352-373.

⁷⁷ S.A. LeBlanc, C.G. Turner and M.E. Morgan, 2008. "Genetic Relationships Based on Discrete Dental Traits: Basketmaker II and Mimbres." *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 18: 109-130.

⁷⁸ Christy G. Turner, 1993, "Southwest Indian teeth." *National Geographic Research and Exploration* 9(1): 32-53; Christy G. Turner and Jacqueline A. Turner, 1999, *Man Corn: Cannibalism and Violence in the Prehistoric American Southwest*. The University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.

Southwest and Northern Mexico archaeological sites as well as data from contemporary Indigenous populations in the US Southwest and Mesoamerica. Their general conclusions were:

“The Mimbres bear many similarities with populations in the Southwest... The haplotypes of the Mimbres cluster with the modern Zuni, Akimel O’odham, Tohono O’odham, and other Southwestern populations, suggesting population continuity in the Southwest. ...There is also some evidence for gene-flow with Mesoamerica... between the resident population and a relatively few immigrants.”⁷⁹

In other words, haplogroup frequencies generally correspond with the complex and multidirectional migration histories described in both oral tradition and archaeological evidence. Relevant to our concerns, this study also strongly supports the assertion that Mimbres peoples did not disappear from the Southwest, but instead are related to contemporary communities. A later study by Morales-Arce et al (2017) extended the comparison to Casas Grande/Pacquimé individuals from Northern Mexico somewhat later than Mimbres sites date to, suggesting that at least some post-Mimbres migrations may have led south, although not further than Northern Mexico.⁸⁰

In summary, the biological studies relating to Mimbres people and their genetic relationships both prior to and post-Mimbres broadly support interpretations of interactions within the broader geographic Southwest. While these studies do not speak specifically to cultural affiliation, their perspective on population movements does correlate with other types of evidence which do have more direct relevance to questions of cultural continuity.

Charge task 4: Recommendations

The committee is unanimous in the following recommendations:

Determination of cultural affiliation: All of the Tribes discussed above have at least some evidence of connection with the Mimbres region. These Tribes may be grouped also by their cultural and linguistic affiliations to one another. These include Western Pueblos (Hopi, Zuni, Acoma, Laguna); Eastern Pueblos (Isleta, San Ildefonso, Jemez, Taos, and other Tewa/Tiwa/Towa speakers, as well as Keresan speakers such as Cochiti, San

⁷⁹ Meradeth Snow, Harry Shafer, and David Glenn Smith, 2011. “The relationship of the Mimbres to the other southwestern and Mexican populations.” *Journal of Archaeological Science* 38: 3122-3133. Quote on pg. 3131.

⁸⁰ Ana Y. Morales-Arce, Meradeth H. Snow, and Jane H. Kelly, 2017. “Ancient mitochondrial DNA and ancestry of Pacquimé inhabitants, Casas Grandes (A.D. 1200-1450).” *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 163: 616-626.

Felipe, Santo Domingo, Zia, and Santa Ana); O'Odham communities (Ak Chin, Tohono, Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community); and Apache (Mescalero, Jicarilla, Fort Sill, White Mountain). Of these related communities, the **Pueblo Tribes** (particularly the Western Tribes) both assert traditional knowledge of their connections to the Mimbres peoples and have correlating additional lines of evidence, including geographic, archaeological, oral traditional, and (acknowledging the weakness of its relevance) biological. Eastern Pueblo groups may recognize either a more distant relation or no affiliation, yet are still connected through linguistic, archaeological, and geographic relations. However, excepting in instances when the Tribe explicitly denies affiliation, none have evidence which in the balance weighs against their affiliation.

O'Odham/Pima Tribes may reasonably be presumed to be affiliated based on oral tradition, archaeological evidence, some biological relatedness, and geographic proximity. Excepting in instances when the Tribe explicitly denies affiliation, none have evidence which in the balance weighs against their affiliation. **Apache Tribes** share a geographic connection to the Mimbres region and landscape. Our approach to the final determination should be as inclusive as possible of those Tribes with any evidence of connection, even in cases where we have not been able to discuss more extensively their own recognition of shared group identity.

We therefore recommend the cultural affiliation determination be listed as follows.

- 1) The Hopi Tribe, Zuni Pueblo, Pueblo of Acoma, and Pueblo of Laguna must be included. We have found substantial evidence of shared group identity, and each asserts their affiliation.
- 2) All other Pueblo nations are culturally associated to varying degrees, as they are culturally and politically related to one another. Pueblo of Isleta, Pueblo of Pojoaque, Pueblo of San Ildefonso, and Pueblo of Taos should be included given their inclusion in the MIAC 2002 inventory which will now be included in our submission. In addition, the related Pueblo Tribes of Ohkay Owingeh (NM), Pueblo of Cochiti (NM), Ysleta del Sur Pueblo (TX), Pueblo of Jemez (NM), Pueblo of Nambe (NM), Pueblo of Picuris (NM), Pueblo of San Felipe (NM), Pueblo of Sandia (NM), Pueblo of Santa Ana (NM), Pueblo of Santa Clara (NM), Pueblo of Santa Domingo (NM), Pueblo of Tesuque (NM), and Pueblo of Zia (NM) may be reasonably included regardless of the status of our consultations to date due to their shared Pueblo identity which is demonstrated in oral tradition, geographic proximity, linguistic and archaeological evidence.
- 3) O'Odham Tribes are culturally and linguistically distinct from Pueblo nations, but do share similarities of oral tradition relating to migrations, as well as geographic proximity and some evidence of biological relatedness. Those O'odham nations which have not declined an acknowledgement of cultural affiliation should be

listed: Ak Chin Indian Community and the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community.

- 4) Those Apache (Ndee) Tribes with current or historical geographic connection with the Mimbres region should be listed if they assert traditional knowledge and responsibilities for the sites of the region. These should include (until affiliation is declined) the Mescalero Apache Tribe, the Jicarilla Apache Nation, and the Fort Sill Apache Tribe of Oklahoma.

Expedient completion and submission of joint notice and inventory: As strongly encouraged by the federal NAGPRA program officer, we recommend that the University complete its notice and submit the inventory as soon as possible. In addition, we strongly recommend filing the inventory jointly with the four other museums (per NAGPRA definition) known to hold associated ancestors and their specific belongings: the Minnesota Indian Affairs Council, the University of Colorado Boulder Natural History Museum, the Milwaukee Public Museum, and the Science Museum of Minnesota. This joint filing will significantly expedite the process the Tribes will engage in to return the ancestors because they will need only to file one request rather than five. In addition, this inventory will include those funerary objects which were associated with ancestors who we do not currently know the location of. In the event that the locations of those ancestors are discovered in the future, the University will not be obligated to file another inventory. This will reduce the burden on Tribes in future repatriations.

Obligations for anticipated claim to repatriate: Based on our tribal consultations, the university should fully expect one or more Tribe to request repatriation of the ancestors and their associated belongings. The consulted Tribes will come to consensus on which will take the lead for reburial. Reburials are both emotionally taxing and monetarily expensive, requiring coordination of disparate belongings, appropriate transportation, the arrangement for a safe and appropriate reburial location, and the support of those who perform the ultimate recommitment. The committee recommends that the University be prepared to support the return and reburial process in the following ways:

- Support dedicated staff/faculty time to see the process through. The consultation process, with Tribes and with other institutions, has taken and will take a substantial amount of work time. We recommend that some compensation (either reallocation of job responsibilities or overload augmentation) be given to those who will provide consistent, knowledgeable, and collaborative effort.
- Contribute coordination effort to arrange a burial location. The preference would be for a location close to the sites from which the ancestors came. Gila National Forest is the closest federal land to the Mimbres sites and

has accommodated reburials in the past. University representatives should take the lead in coordinating a request for the Mimbres ancestors to be interred there. If this is not a viable option, we should take direction from the requesting Tribes to locate and accommodate acceptable alternatives.

- The cost of preparing all items and human remains for return, and their respectful transportation to the reburial location be borne by the University. The national NAGPRA program does have a grant program to help with these costs but given the scope of the return, it is unlikely that it can cover the entire cost.
- At the time of reburial, the individuals who undertake this taxing process will need transportation and lodging costs covered, and the committee recommends that UMN bear these costs. The University should also make an effort to provide gifts acknowledging respect and gratitude for their work. The MIAC Board can recommend what is appropriate for the latter.
- For items which are not associated with the ancestors at Hamline and are therefore less likely to be returned right away, the Weisman Art Museum should be prepared to support culturally appropriate care of those items under a cooperative care agreement with the Tribes.

Develop UMN system-wide policy and support for future repatriation/rematriation efforts:

The Mimbres collection is not an isolated instance within the university. Many departments and researchers' facilities hold both physical and intellectual property which was obtained without the standard of **free, prior, and informed consent** from Indigenous peoples and communities. While some are potentially burial related (for example, the Medical School maintains a large collection of human remains of poorly known origin), many items may fall into the NAGPRA-defined categories of *cultural patrimony* and *sacred objects*. Yet, as we discovered in the investigation of the University's compliance efforts in the 1990s, only the smallest fraction of departments were asked to inventory their internal collections. Many field-based sciences and social sciences have histories of collecting from Native lands and communities.

We strongly recommend that the University anticipate and embrace the ethos of return and with it the opportunity to provide restorative justice and build positive relationships with Indigenous communities. This will require both policy (calling for more systematic inventory and greater transparency regarding collections) and resources (funding and personnel to engage in the necessary work). At the bare minimum, the University allocate resources to insure that one or more staff positions is dedicated to NAGPRA

compliance and coordination. Additionally, the University should require all academic units to implement and report internal inventories, and to work with NAGPRA compliance staff on any materials of concern. We believe that creating these policies, staff supports, and resources will be a key component to the work of building trust and strengthening our relationships with the Tribal Nations of the state.

Unanimously approved and respectfully submitted by the Mimbres Advisory Committee:

Karen Hanson (retired Executive Vice President and Provost), Chair

Kat Hayes (Anthropology, American Indian Studies)

Brenda Child (American Studies, American Indian Studies) (Red Lake Ojibwe)

Karen Mary Davalos (Chicano and Latino Studies)

Christine DeLisle (American Indian Studies)

Greg Donofrio (School of Architecture)

Michael Gaudio (Art History)

Jody Gray (Director, Office of Diversity and Inclusion, CFANS) (Cheyenne River Lakota)

Joan Howland (Law)

Jean O'Brien (History, American Indian Studies) (White Earth Ojibwe)

Interim Statement of Intent*
Department of Earth & Environmental Sciences
University of Minnesota-Twin Cities

The University of Minnesota Twin Cities (UMN-TC) campus and its Department of Earth and Environmental Sciences occupy stolen Dakota lands that were acquired through legalized land theft and the government-mandated dispossession and exile of the Dakota people from the state of Minnesota. Because our campus works closely with facilities and other UMN campuses that occupy Dakota and Ojibwe land, much of our work also takes place on Ojibwe lands attained through similar histories of legalized land theft and removal. Our Department not only owes its existence and origins to this history of land theft and Dakota and Ojibwe dispossession and removal in Minnesota, but also recognizes that our past, ongoing and future departmental functions have been made possible by these legacies of settler colonial violence.

Additionally, we acknowledge that disciplines within the Earth and environmental sciences, including geology, have facilitated and supported past and ongoing exploitative and environmentally degradative actions on Indigenous homelands and enacted harm on Indigenous peoples in Minnesota, the United States, and globally. We recognize, just as importantly, that while naming and accounting for our campus' and our Department's past and ongoing forms of harm against Indigenous peoples, their homelands and their human and non-human relations constitutes important work, it can only mark the beginning of a much larger, collaborative departmental effort toward more responsible and informed geoscience work.

As members of our department, we all share an interest in understanding the land and water as well as human interactions with both. In turn, it is imperative that we critically contend with whose lands and waters we live and work on, learn from, and engage with through our work and everyday activities. We must also recognize and follow the ethical and legal obligations we have to the Indigenous peoples of the places where we are conducting our work. *Beginning Fall 2021, our Department commits to developing a practice and ideology of conducting geoscience work and research that is accountable to the Indigenous peoples of the lands where our work takes place.* Over the next months through our JEDI (Justice, Equity, Diversity and Inclusion) seminar series, we will invite all members of the Department of Earth and Environmental Sciences as well as members of other units that comprise the School of Earth and Environmental Sciences to help put together a series of actionable commitments and invest in the work necessary for more ethical and responsible geoscience work on Indigenous lands and waters.

*This Interim Statement of Intent is not a Land Acknowledgement and should NOT be used as one. Though we will develop our own departmental Land and Water Acknowledgement in the future, our current focus is to ensure that this is first preceded and substantiated by tangible commitments and measures to work towards the department practice and ideology described in this Statement of Intent.

This Statement of Intent was written by Gabriela Ines DeLisle Diaz (CHamoru and Pohnpeian) for the Department of Earth and Environmental Sciences. The department would like to thank An Garagiola-Bernier (Bois Forte Band of Chippewa), who reviewed this Statement and gave us feedback during the writing process. The department would also like to acknowledge and thank Iyekiyapiwiŋ Darlene St. Clair (Lower Sioux Indian Community), who contributed generously to the planning and language behind this Statement of Intent and significantly shaped the ideas expressed throughout.

For more information, contact: Crystal Ng (gcng@umn.edu) or Gabriela Ines Diaz (delis025@umn.edu)



REPORT ON RED LAKE NATION

For the University of Minnesota

**Drs. Stanford Shulman, Brad Rovin, and Blair
Matheson**



University of Minnesota—Report on Red Lake Nation

I. Introduction

Drs. Stanford Shulman, Brad Rovin and Blair Matheson have been engaged by the University of Minnesota (UMN) to assist in understanding “the role of the University, its faculty, and others in the care of and research activities involving children of the Red Lake Band of the Chippewa Indians during a 1966 epidemic of post-streptococcal impetigo acute glomerulonephritis (PSAGN).” This was to include evaluation of concerns raised by Dr. William Freeman in a 2018 article questioning medical care provided to Red Lake Nation during the epidemic and related research activities. These issues include the standard of care in 1966 to prevent post-impetigo PSAGN; the role, if any, of mass penicillin prophylaxis; the roles of Indian Health Service clinicians and the UMN clinicians and researchers in the care and treatment of these patients; assessment of whether kidney biopsies were done for research purposes alone or for both clinical care and research and the ethical implications and oversight; and whether parental/guardian consent for clinical care and research was appropriately obtained by then-current 1966 standards.

Dr. Blair Matheson is a medical director for National Medical Resources. He serves numerous rural Native American communities in North Dakota. His practice is in general surgery and emergency medicine with a specialization in trauma. Dr. Matheson joined the external review team after a request and approval by the Red Lake Nation to add a Native American physician. He is a citizen of the Cherokee Nation and serves as a board member of the Association of American Indian Physicians.

Drs. Shulman, Rovin, and Matheson worked independently and were not influenced by representatives of UMN. UMN facilitated meetings and access to archived materials regarding the Red Lake Nation events. This was all done transparently. Drs. Shulman, Rovin, and Matheson formed their opinions based on all evidence made available to them and interviews with former UMN faculty who were involved in these events in 1966.

II. Resources Used in Developing this Report

Articles and Lectures by Dr. William Freeman

- Report dated Feb. 1, 2019, of William L. Freeman MD, MPH, titled Unethical Research on young and very young children of a Tribal Nation in Minnesota by UMN researchers, 1966
- Recorded presentation by Dr. Freeman

Meeting Minutes: UMN Committee on Use of Human Volunteers

- June 7, 1966
- July 19, 1966
- October 13, 1966

Correspondence

- 1964 Contract between Minnesota Department of Health and UMN Department of Pediatrics
- Letter of 2/8/66 from Wm. H Stewart, US Surgeon General, to heads of institutions conducting research with Public Health Service Grants re Clinical Research and Investigations involving

human beings, with 3/2/66 memo from Robert Howard, Dean of UMN College of Medical Sciences, to Department Heads and Directors of the Schools of Nursing and Public Health and University Hospitals

- August 1974 correspondence from E W Ziebarth, Interim President of UMN, to Regent George Rauenhorst and to Dr. Lewis Wannamaker from an unknown individual

Publications in the Lay Press

- Two articles from Minneapolis Star Tribune by Ryan Faircloth dated 1/13/21 and 4/3/21
- Article “First our Land, Now our Health” by Spier and Skoog, Sept. 1974, published in “Science for the People” Vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 26-29

Peer-Reviewed Publications in the Medical Literature

Reports of 1953 Epidemic at Red Lake Nation

- Kleinman: Minn. Med., 1954
- Reinstein: J. Pediatrics, 1955

Reports by UMN faculty and clinicians from 1965 to 1976 related to streptococcal skin infections and acute glomerulonephritis (PSAGN) at Red Lake Nation

- Perlman: JAMA, 1965
- Anthony: Pediatrics, 1967
- Anthony: Lancet, 1967
- Dudding: J. Hygiene, 1968
- Anthony: J Clin Invest, 1969
- Ferrieri: New Engl J Med, 1970
- Kaplan: J Clin Invest, 1970
- Fish: Amer J Med, 1970
- Wannamaker: NEJM, 1970
- Kaplan: Amer J Med, 1970
- Ferrieri: J Clin Invest, 1972
- Ferrieri: J Pediatrics, 1973
- Anthony: Amer J Epid, 1976
- A large number of peer-reviewed articles related to pyoderma, streptococcus, acute post-streptococcal glomerulonephritis, kidney biopsy

Expert Opinion Resource

Reports of the Committee on Infectious Diseases of American Academy of Pediatrics (Red Book) 19th ed. 1982; and Red Book 32nd ed. (current) 2021-2024, chapters on Group A Streptococcal Infections.

III. Limitations to the Investigation

Drs. Rovin and Shulman, during the course of discovery, engaged with UMN officials and officials representing the Red Lake Nation and asked for the following items to review. These were deemed

essential to complete the evidence base to fully understand the Red Lake Nation events. Some of these materials could not be found—to be expected given when these events occurred—and for other materials, especially those requiring permission or information from Red Lake Nation, cooperation was lacking and access was never granted, despite numerous requests. The requested items are listed here:

- Indian Health Service records of the Red Lake Nation children who had kidney disease during the infection outbreak
- UMN hospital medical records of Red Lake Nation children who had kidney biopsies at UMN; names of these individuals and permission to retrieve charts were requested from Red Lake Nation, but names were not provided and permission was not given
- Interviews with the citizens of Red Lake Nation who had been affected in 1966 and who would have been able to talk with Drs. Rovin and Shulman
- Interviews of research/clinical assistants working at Red Lake Nation at the time of these events; names and contact information requested from Red Lake but not provided
- Complete minutes of UMN Committee on Human Volunteers in Medical Research in 1966—materials provided were all that could be found
- Informed Consent forms for kidney biopsies performed in 1966—the most likely place for these was felt to be the medical records of the Red Lake Nation children biopsied in 1966 at UMN; names and permissions were not provided by the Red Lake Nation, and therefore records could not be accessed (see above)
- Tribal Council minutes were not provided by Red Lake Nation

IV. Summary of Interviews Conducted

Dr. William Freeman

One virtual meeting occurred with Dr. Freeman. Many topics were discussed, and it was difficult to focus Dr. Freeman on our questions of interest. Dr. Freeman used this meeting to elaborate on his concerns about the ethics of doing research in Native American populations and the need for IRBs and other bodies reviewing and approving such research to have Native American representatives to ensure appropriate cultural sensitivity. When the conversation could be focused on Dr. Freeman's allegations of events at Red Lake, it became clear that Dr. Freeman had no personal or direct knowledge of any physical harm to any individual who had a kidney biopsy and had not spoken to any of the children (now older adults) or their family members about their experiences or recollections at the time. Our impression from this discussion was that the Red Lake events served as a talking point for Dr. Freeman to put forth his more global concerns.

Dr. Edward Kaplan

Dr. Kaplan arrived at the UMN on 7/1/65 as Lt. Commander in the US Public Health Service (USPHS) assigned to the State of Minnesota Health Department and was assigned to work with Dr. Lewis Wannamaker. He went to Red Lake Nation weekly or biweekly from 1965 to 1967 and approximately 1970 to 1972 after his return from Seattle, where he was a Pediatric Cardiology fellow from 1967 to July 1970. He indicated that Dr. Wannamaker's papers were mostly discarded in 1983 after his death, and

the rest about 10 years ago. He is unaware of any existing papers. He recalls that Red Lake Nation USPHS staff referred nephritis patients to Pediatric Nephrology at UMN hospital under the care of University staff. He is unaware of any different care of patients with hematuria (blood in urine), whether or not from Red Lake Nation. He recalls that Dr. Rammelkamp, a world-renowned streptococcal expert, initially doubted the role of a new strain of streptococcus, now known as "M-49-the Red Lake strain," in the 1966 epidemic. He recalls that the medical care of the Red Lake Nation population was the total responsibility of USPHS doctors at Red Lake Nation hospital who were there in lieu of military service. He believes that consents for kidney biopsies exist, possibly in UMN hospital charts. He recalls there were IHS vehicles that regularly transported patients to UMN for advanced care. He recalls presenting proposed research studies several times to the Red Lake Nation Tribal Council and 10-20 tribal elders who ultimately gave permission for the studies. Two women, at least one of tribal background, were employed to help carry out studies, collect specimens, and work with researchers.

Dr. Patricia Ferrieri

Dr. Ferrieri was a Pediatric intern and resident at the UMN from 1965 to 1968 and a fellow there in Pediatric Infectious Diseases, beginning in 1968. She joined the UMN faculty after her fellowship and was still a UMN faculty member at the time of this interview. She recalled many trips to Red Lake Nation in the 1960s and 1970s. She was not aware of any papers of Dr. Wannamaker anywhere and suggested that Dr. Edward Kaplan might be aware of some. She recalls that research projects at Red Lake Nation were approved by the head of the Tribal Council and that to her knowledge, parents or guardians generally signed consent forms for studies related to children. She doesn't have any signed documents. She suggested that Dr. Paul Quie may be helpful, but he is 96 years old and did not want to be interviewed. Dr. Burt Dudding was one year ahead of her in fellowship, and both were involved in Red Lake Nation studies. She recalls seeing a child who presented with gross hematuria (blood in urine) when she was an intern in 1965 and who she believes underwent a kidney biopsy as part of the diagnostic evaluation. She strongly believes that she never saw any patient from Red Lake Nation sent to the UMN hospital without a parent or guardian. She recalls that she and Dr. Adnan Dajani often saw patients in the Red Lake Nation hospital outpatient area at the request of the Red Lake Nation Indian Health Service (IHS) physicians with a variety of general pediatric and infectious disease issues. As far as she knows, there were always cordial relations between the IHS and UMN staffs. She also recalls that for her 1971 randomized trial of intramuscular injection of penicillin for streptococcal skin infections at Red Lake Nation the Tribal Council, with the heads of the families, agreed to the studies and written permission was obtained, as documented in her published *Journal of Pediatrics* article. In that study, investigators went door-to-door and checked urine specimens for blood by dipstick and monitored blood pressures. She was emphatic that all children having a kidney biopsy would have had parental consent. She was unaware of the Centers for Disease Control involvement in the 1953 epidemic and was not aware of the 10-year post-acute nephritis kidney biopsies. She recalls that she and her colleagues volunteered at times to be pediatric consultants at Red Lake Nation, especially with complex pediatric problems. She thought it was standard to do kidney biopsies in all cases of clinical acute nephritis.

Dr. Alfred Michael

Dr. Michael had good recall of the era and the Red Lake Nation children. He noted that the children were all referred by IHS physicians, and he confirmed that all UMN physicians obtained consent for kidney biopsies; he notes he never did a biopsy without consent, just as for any other patient. Post-streptococcal glomerulonephritis was a newly realized clinical entity in this era of medicine. Exploring

and describing new diseases was important for clinical care, but was also considered research. Therefore, it is hard to distinguish between research and clinical care with respect to PSAGN, as the two were intertwined. Similarly, kidney biopsies were done to facilitate clinical care and also to learn about this new disease to improve future care. The kidney biopsy was not considered a “dangerous” procedure even at that time, and he does not recall any significant adverse events from the biopsy. He notes that treatment for PSAGN was to control edema and hypertension; he does not believe glucocorticoids were used.

V. Chronology of the Streptococcal Epidemics at Red Lake Nation

A. 1953 Epidemic of skin infection-related acute post-streptococcal glomerulonephritis (PSAGN) at Red Lake (Kleinman; Reinstein).

1. There was review of previously reported PSAGN outbreaks (almost exclusively post-pharyngitis) not at Red Lake Nation.
2. There was a lack of precedent for mass penicillin prophylaxis of either streptococcal pharyngitis or skin infections for the purpose of preventing AGN prior to 1953.
3. In the 1953 epidemic at Red Lake, 63 children (1-8 yo, mean=4 yo) developed PSAGN (with 1 fatality in a 2 yo boy); there were many skin infections, especially in young patients from the Red Lake Nation at this time (2/3 of whom had pyoderma), as well as an outbreak of at least 22 cases of scarlet fever (also due to Group A strep).
4. Mass prophylaxis (1,997 individuals) with repository benzathine penicillin injections organized by Centers of Disease Control was given Oct. 5-10, 1953 (this was administered after the peak, and steep decline in the epidemic curve of AGN cases had already occurred).
5. Skin cultures positive for Group A strep (GAS) declined from 20% to 1.3% after penicillin treatment; however, despite mass prophylaxis, at least 8 additional PSAGN cases continued to occur up to Nov. 8, 1953.
6. The previously unknown GAS M-49 strain (which later became famous as the “Red Lake strain”) was ultimately identified as the major cause of the GAS skin infections at Red Lake.
7. Limited subsequent data show approximately 5 AGN cases/year from 1958 to 1961.
8. In 1962, Burnett (New Engl J Med) published results of a randomized placebo-controlled trial of the antibiotic erythromycin versus placebo for pyogenic skin infections, almost all in adults, that showed a benefit for those treated with the antibiotic. That it was considered reasonable to include a placebo arm of this study highlights that the role of antibiotic in treating skin infections had not been established by 1962.
9. Also in 1962, Blumberg and Feldman (J of Pediatrics) stated: *“The significance of penicillin treatment of acute streptococcal infections on the subsequent development of glomerulonephritis is still not settled.”*

B. 1964-1965 Period

1. Small number of sporadic AGN cases at Red Lake; for example, 1 case from August 1965 to July 1966 (Anthony 1967).
2. The M-49-Red Lake strain was not recovered in surveillance studies during this time period (Wannamaker's UMN team).
3. Ten-year follow up renal evaluation of 61 patients who had had PSAGN in 1953, including 16 with a kidney biopsy: None of the 61 had any clinical or biopsy evidence of chronic kidney disease on follow up (Perlman et al. UMN).

C. 1966 Epidemic of pyoderma-related PSAGN at Red Lake Nation

1. This was associated with reemergence of M-49 (Red Lake) strain causing skin infection lesions, with 25 PSAGN cases, which were in general milder clinically than 1953 PSAGN cases, and fewer in number.
2. This was increased evidence of the importance of M-49 GAS (Red Lake) skin infections re PSAGN.
3. 21/25 PSAGN cases were confirmed by renal biopsy at UMN.
4. Wannamaker's UMN team initiated epidemiologic studies at Red Lake Nation in early July 1966 through September 1967; 4 PSAGN patients identified in the last week of July 1966 were the beginning of the epidemic.
5. It was found that M-49 was cultured initially from infected skin lesions and then only later could be cultured from the nose and throat of the children.

D. Summer 1968

1. Weekly cultures of skin lesions, normal skin, nose and throat from 44 individuals from 5 families at Red Lake Nation were obtained for 9 weeks by Wannamaker's UMN team (Dudding).
2. It was found that GAS could be cultured first from normal skin about 2 weeks preceding development of skin lesions and then later spread to nose and throat; this was a new understanding of the disease process (Ferrieri 1972).
3. No PSAGN was identified and no M-49 (Red Lake strain) GAS was recovered at this time.

E. 1969-1971 Period

1. Extension of studies documenting spread of GAS from normal skin to skin lesions (pyoderma/impetigo) to the respiratory tract with intra-familial spread (Wannamaker's UMN team).
2. A controlled clinical trial of benzathine penicillin as prophylaxis of GAS skin lesions (pyoderma) in 78 children from 18 Red Lake Nation families was performed. Prior to this time in 1969, there were no published reports other than the uncontrolled 1953 experience (Wannamaker's UMN team).
3. In a 1970 review article by Wannamaker in New England Journal of Medicine: "*Whether penicillin treatment will reduce the frequency of pyoderma-associated nephritis is not known.*"
4. 1971 article by Dillon and Wannamaker in a symposium on Skin Infections and Acute Glomerulonephritis: "*It is not known whether penicillin treatment of skin infection due to a nephritogenic strain of streptococcus will prevent the development of acute glomerulonephritis.* It is also unknown

whether mass prophylaxis with intramuscular benzathine penicillin has proved so effective in controlling epidemics of streptococcal pharyngitis in military installations...would be useful in controlling streptococcal skin infections in military or other populations...If penicillin is administered across the board to large numbers of individuals in an attempt to prevent skin infections, one would have to evaluate the possibility of recurrence of lesions, unless injections are repeated at intervals. One would also have to consider the possibility of increased difficulties with fungal or staphylococcal infections resistant to penicillin, not only skin infections in Alabama or also in Red Lake and Vietnam.”

F. Later published evaluations of the efficacy of mass prophylaxis at Red Lake in 1953 (1999-2000)

1. 2000: Publication in *Ped Inf Dis Journal* (18:327-332) from Australia by Anthony and Carapetis: *“Intervention with benzathine penicillin G to all children (in an affected community) is effective in reducing streptococcal carriage in a community but its effectiveness in arresting outbreaks of AGN has not been established...The intervention at Red Lake in 1953 was started late in the outbreak and does not provide convincing evidence that mass administration of penicillin arrested the outbreak.”*
2. 2000: Chapter 8 by B. Anthony in book titled *Streptococcal Infections: “the prevention of AGN in the individual infected with a nephritogenic skin streptococcus cannot be expected with any confidence.”*

VI. Allegations of Inappropriate Medical Care of Red Lake Nation Children

Allegation A. “Mass penicillin prophylaxis was not carried out in 1966 as had been done in the 1953 epidemic. UMN physicians in 1966 allegedly withheld information about prophylaxis from the IHS doctors.”

1. In 1953 mass prophylaxis was given in October, at the tail end of the pyoderma season when PSAGN case numbers had declined to near zero; subsequent evaluations of that experience at least until 2000 (Anthony) did not support the efficacy of mass prophylaxis of AGN by mass treatment of GAS skin infections. The 1953 prophylaxis episode was the only such effort prior to the reported literature in 1966.
2. Prior to 1953 and since then, mass prophylaxis for GAS infections was used only in civilian and military GAS pharyngitis epidemics, not GAS skin infections, until the limited 1972 study of 78 children by Ferrieri (UMN).
3. Several Red Lake Nation patients in 1966 developed PSAGN despite having received penicillin for skin infections, including one adult (Ferrieri NEJM) and at least 3-5 children. This indicates that mass prophylaxis would not be very effective to prevent skin infection-related PSAGN (Ferrieri JCI; Kaplan Amer J Med).
4. Multiple authors have expressed doubt that treatment of GAS skin infections has ever been shown to prevent AGN (e.g., Ferrieri 1972, 1973; Markowitz 1965; Shuler 1966; Dillon 1970a, 1970b, 1971; Wannamaker 1970; Johnston 1999, Anthony 2000). (See #10 and #11 below)
5. Mass antibiotic therapy of large patient groups risks significant untoward consequences (e.g., allergic reactions, selection of resistant organisms), especially if such prophylaxis would need to be repeated often (Dillon and Wannamaker 1971).

6. PSAGN cases at Red Lake Nation in 1966 were milder and fewer in number than the 1953 cases, which occurred coincident with an outbreak of scarlet fever (another type of GAS infection).
7. It is very unlikely that UMN physicians in 1966 were aware of the 1953 mass treatment (Ferrieri interview).
8. There is no evidence that UMN physicians deliberately withheld this information from IHS personnel in 1966.
9. Routine medical care at Red Lake Nation in 1966 was the responsibility of IHS personnel (Anthony 1967, Kaplan 1970, Kaplan interview). In 1953 the responsible USPHS personnel contacted Centers for Disease Control. There is no indication that IHS or USPHS personnel did that related to 1966 outbreak.
10. Early recommendations include those in the multiple editions of the Report of the Committee on Infectious Diseases of the American Academy of Pediatrics (the Red Book). For example, in edition 19, 1982: "The risk of rheumatic fever can be sharply reduced by adequate treatment of the antecedent streptococcal infection, but the prevention of acute nephritis is less certain."
11. The current edition of the Red Book (32nd edition, 2021-2024) includes the following sentence: "Antimicrobial therapy to prevent AGN after pyoderma or pharyngitis is not effective."

In conclusion, there was no evidence in 1966 that mass prophylaxis with penicillin would have prevented the PSAGN epidemic at Red Lake Nation. This was also true in 1970 and 2000, and it remains true today.

Allegation B. "Children were injected with penicillin and taken off the reservation, sometimes without parental knowledge."

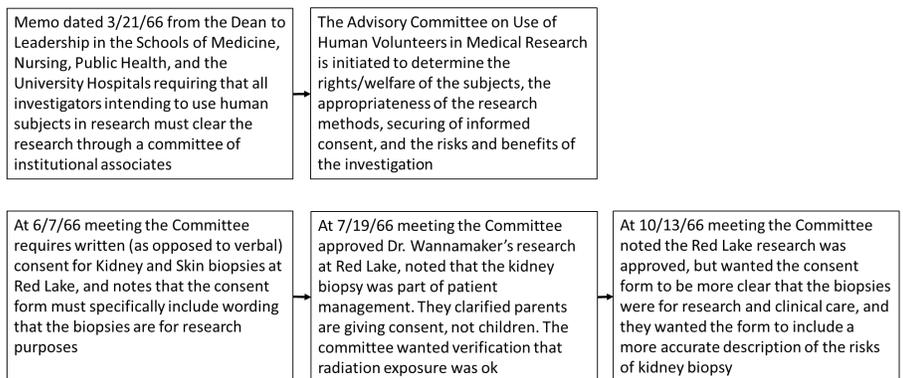
In the course of interviewing physicians and scientists from UMN who worked with the Red Lake Nation at this time, and from the published manuscripts indicating that parental assent was sought and obtained, this allegation appears to be baseless.

Allegation C. "The Informed Consent process was flawed."

1. It is not appropriate to use today's standards for obtaining informed consent and to apply those criteria to the evaluation of the informed consent process 50-60 years ago.
2. Some but not all published reports of the Red Lake Nation studies indicate that consent was obtained from parents, and some reports emphasize the role of tribal members in recruiting families for clinical studies related to pyoderma and PSAGN. This seems generally in keeping with research publications of that era.
3. Many of the published clinical studies from Red Lake Nation acknowledge the cooperation of the Health Director of the Red Lake Nation Community Action Program, the Red Lake Nation Tribal Council, members of the Red Lake Nation Comprehensive Health Services, physicians and administrative and nursing personnel of the USPHS Hospital at Red Lake Nation, and/or the Director of the Operation Head Start Program at Red Lake Nation and others.

4. The very limited available minutes of meetings of the University of Minnesota’s Advisory Committee on Use of Human Volunteers in Medical Research in 1966 reflect committee review of research plans and consent forms, including for some of the studies at Red Lake Nation. They also indicate that in early 1966 new guidance from the Surgeon General of the US Public Health Service was received and disseminated, reflecting one early step of many in the evolution of guidelines in this area, including both written and verbal consent. Figure 1 summarizes the implementation of these new human subject protections as they relate to the Red Lake Nation studies.

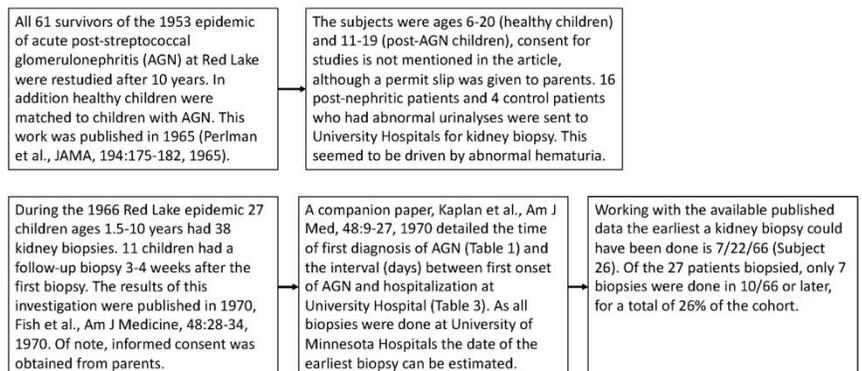
Figure 1. Timeline of Implementation of Protection of Human Subjects Committee at the University of Minnesota and Its Relationship to Studies Done at the Red Lake Reservation



The investigation of the Red Lake Nation events is limited because permission from Red Lake Nation to access examples of how the informed consent process and forms evolved was never given. We did not see a final approval of the updated consent form from the human subjects committee. However, the recorded deliberations of the committee indicate that the committee wanted the UMN investigators to use written informed consent as opposed to verbal consent. Not being given access to patient records precluded evaluation of the quality of the informed consent, but the deliberations of the human subjects committee suggest that the initial informed consent process may have understated the risks of the kidney biopsy procedure. Without seeing the consent forms used we cannot confirm this, nor can we assess what the committee meant by *understated*. For example, the initial consent form may have accurately described all biopsy-related risks, but the UMN human subjects committee may have wanted risk estimates attached to the descriptors.

A timeline analysis using the available data from publications (Figure 2) suggests that only 26% of the children who were biopsied could have been consented using a more updated form (for their parents). This timeline analysis should not be interpreted to mean that the other 74% of patients (i.e., their parents) were not consented prior to participation in this study. As indicated previously, consent was obtained verbally and/or in writing prior to the UMN human subjects committee request for an updated written form.

Figure 2. Reconstruction of the Timeline of Kidney Biopsies Done in Children of the Red Lake Reservation



Allegation D. “Kidney biopsies should have been done in the young and very young children only to determine treatment. Their primary purpose was not to treat the children correctly but rather to do research.”

To support this allegation, it was stated that kidney biopsies in 1966 were not safe. Available evidence does not support this argument.

All invasive medical procedures have some attributable risk, and while the kidney biopsy has been refined over time, the question of safety must be examined in the context of when this procedure was performed and by whom. The kidney biopsy as a clinical and research tool was developed in the 1950s. It provided, for the first time, a way to understand pathologic and pathogenic processes that result in kidney diseases and, in particular, glomerular diseases. At the time the children of Red Lake Nation had kidney biopsies, this procedure was being widely used in children. The UMN nephrologists had considerable experience in pediatric kidney biopsy. When the Red Lake Nation PSAGN epidemic started, the UMN nephrologists had performed 250 kidney biopsies in children (Vernier et al., *Ped Clin North America*, 1960). There were no deaths from the procedure, and the overall morbidity was about 2% of the cohort (Vernier et al., *Ped Clin North America*, 1960). These data support the safety of the biopsy and level of competence of the UMN nephrologists.

The Red Lake Nation biopsy data have been published (Fish et al., *Am J Med*, 1970; Kaplan et al., *Am J Med*, 1970). There are no reports of safety issues in these publications, but the absence of reported adverse events does not exclude their occurrence. We did have the opportunity to speak to Dr. Al Michael, a pediatric nephrologist who was a UMN faculty member during the time period under discussion. This conversation is summarized above. While these events occurred over 50 years ago, he did recall the work with the Red Lake Nation children, noted that the biopsy was considered a safe procedure and consent for the procedure was obtained as it was for all patients, and does not recall any serious events related to the kidney biopsy itself.

In summary, the kidney biopsy is an invasive medical procedure that may be associated with adverse events. No known adverse events occurred among the Red Lake Nation children. The biopsies were done by highly experienced UMN nephrologists. A reasonable conclusion is that the biopsies were done with all due considerations for patient safety, risk was minimized by the UMN experience with biopsies, and the allegation that biopsies were too dangerous and should not have been done in children is unwarranted.

Dr. Freeman also alleged that the kidney biopsies done in the Red Lake Nation Children were for research and not clinical purposes and therefore unethical. This allegation is best understood by putting it into the context of the times.

Because the field of nephrology knew so little about glomerular diseases at the time of these events, it is too simplistic to simply state that the children from Red Lake Nation had kidney biopsies only for research or only for clinical purposes. Most of these biopsies were done for clinical management and to learn about the disease. In the 1966 epidemic, biopsies verified that the children had PSAGN (as opposed to other glomerular diseases), likely reassuring physicians that they only needed supportive care, as opposed to immunosuppression. The basis for supportive management may be attributed, at least in part, to kidney biopsies done 10 years after the initial 1953 Red Lake Nation epidemic of PSAGN. These studies showed the mostly benign natural history of PSAGN (Perlman et al., *JAMA*, 1965). While

these biopsies, done on older children, were research biopsies, this work proved essential to understanding how best to manage PSAGN. Similarly, some biopsies done on Red Lake Nation children in 1966, in particular, short-interval repeat biopsies, were done mainly to address research-related questions and were not used for clinical management. Nonetheless, PSAGN was a relatively newly described entity when the Red Lake Nation epidemics occurred. Acquiring an understanding of its etiology, natural history, and treatment was critical. The work done with the Red Lake Nation and a few other populations during streptococcal epidemics in the 1950s and 1960s provided much of the basis of our current knowledge of PSAGN.

The research component of the Red Lake Nation studies was recognized by the UMN's new committee to monitor human subject trials, and this committee also characterized the biopsies as both clinical and research procedures (Fig. 1).

Pediatric research may also be considered in a global context. The idea that children and young children should not be involved in clinical research is a misconception that has adversely affected progress in pediatric care for decades. To this point, and to specifically encourage pediatric research, NIH-sponsored studies require a specific rationale for *not* including children, and most pediatric societies want pharmaceutical-based clinical trials to include pediatric arms so children may also benefit from new drug and research developments.

During most human subjects research, an understanding must be established between investigator and patient (or parents) that the research may not directly benefit the patient, and the patient is participating altruistically and to improve future treatment. The fact that the Red Lake Nation studies involved an invasive procedure does not change this basic principle. If the patients (in this case the parents) were properly informed of risks and benefits and had adequate information by which they could make a good decision for their child, the research in and of itself would not have been unethical.

In conclusion, the majority of consents taken for kidney biopsies performed in Red Lake children were done prior to the availability of a final consent form that had been revised in response to recommendations from the UMN human subjects committee (Fig. 2). However, not having seen the consent forms (or patient charts) used for this work, despite repeated requests, we are unable to draw a conclusion as to the adequacy of the consent process. If the Red Lake Nation events are scrutinized in the future, it will be essential to examine the archived records of the children who had kidney biopsies to determine how their parents were consented.

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Center for Health

TO: Red Lake Nation Tribal Council
Truth Project
Drs. Stanford Shulman, Brad Rovin, and Blair Matheson
President, University of Minnesota

FROM: William L. Freeman, MD, MPH, MJIL
Human Protections Administrator, Northwest Indian College IRB

RE: **University of Minnesota—Report on Red Lake Nation**

DATE: March 1, 2023

Below is my response to the **Report on Red Lake Nation** written by Drs. Stanford Shulman, Brad Rovin, and Blair Matheson. I am the author of the communication to the Red Lake Nation Tribal Council, **Unethical Research on young and very young children of a Tribal Nation in MN by U of MN researchers, 1966** dated February 1, 2019.

The U MN released the **Report** to the general public today. As always, out of respect for the Red Lake Nation and its Tribal Council, I address my response first to the Red Lake Nation Tribal Council. I then address my response to:

- the Truth Project, an investigation of several matters concerning U MN's relationship with the Indigenous Tribes, communities, and people of Minnesota, one topic being the focus of the **Report**; I understand the Project will publish its findings soon;
- the three authors; and
- the President of the U MN that funded, accepted, and authorized release of the **Report**.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY OF MY RESPONSE

1. First, I apologize to the physician-researchers for an unjust and unfair statement I made in my communication on 02-01-2019 to the Red Lake Nation Tribal Council. My statement had been made without evidence and was disrespectful to and about them. I apologize.
2. Information in interviews of Drs. Kaplan, Ferrieri, and Michael was helpful and reassuring.

3. Statements made by the **Report** concerning allegations of the safety of kidney biopsies and competence of the physician researchers to do kidney biopsies was incorrect.
4. A major failure of the **Report** was that it could have itself examined—but did not examine—the UMN Hospital records (if any still exist) of the children admitted to the UMN Hospital, to copy without names and signatures the signed consent forms.
5. The **Report** employed a double standard of judging the Red Lake Nation and judging the UMN. The **Report** contained repeated negative statements using strong blame-wording about the failure of the Red Lake Nation to give the **Report** what it asked for, while stating only once in neutral wording about a much more serious failure by the UMN to have maintained much more valuable information about the research. The double standard of the **Report** was disrespectful to and about the Red Lake Nation.
6. The way forward from today is that UMN follow the NIH Policy about Data Management and Sharing, **NOT-OD-21-013**, and the NIH Supplemental Information, Responsible Management and Sharing of American Indian/ Alaska Native Participant Data, **NOT-OD-22-214**. Policy and Supplement are similar to the principles of Tribally-Engaged Research.

DETAILS OF MY RESPONSE

First of all, I want to apologize for a completely unjustified statement I had made in my communication to the Red Lake Nation Tribal Council, **Unethical Research on young and very young children of a Tribal Nation in MN by U of MN researchers, 1966** dated February 1, 2019. I had written, “The physician-researchers tried to justify their withholding of that important information from the local IHS general practice doctors who cared for the people of all ages of that Tribal Nation.” In fact I had no information about what the physician-researchers said or did not say to the local Indian Health Service (IHS) doctors caring for the Red Lake Nation. *My statement was unjust, not fair to, and thus disrespected the physician researchers.* I unequivocally apologize to them.

The “IV. Summary of Interviews Conducted” with the researchers, p. 3 – 5 of the **Report**, was reassuring on several issues, including:

- “He is unaware of any different care of patients with hematuria (blood in urine), whether or not from Red Lake Nation” (Dr. Kaplan, p. 4);
- “He believes that consents for kidney biopsies exist, possibly in UMN hospital charts” (Dr. Kaplan, p. 4);
- “[T]here were IHS vehicles that regularly transported patients to UMN for advanced care” (Dr. Kaplan, p. 4);
- “[S]he never saw any patient from Red Lake Nation sent to the UMN hospital without a parent or guardian” (Dr. Ferrieri, p. 4);
- “She thought it was standard to do kidney biopsies in all cases of clinical acute nephritis” (Dr. Ferrieri, p. 4);
- “[T]reatment for PSAGN [Post-Streptococcal Acute Glomerulonephritis] was to control edema and hypertension; he does not believe glucocorticoids were used” (Dr. Michael, p. 5);
- All three former researchers stated that consent was always obtained before any biopsy; and

- Drs. Ferrieri and Michael volunteered to see patients at the Red Lake Nation Clinic while they were at Red Lake Nation to meet with Council, etc. (I send both of you a personal, “Thank you.”)

I appreciate the information in those interviews in the **Report** and thank the three researchers for participating.

I also have, however, three serious concerns about the **Report**.

One, the **Report** had an allegation that “kidney biopsies in 1966 were not safe” and had questioned “the level of competence of the UMN nephrologists.” My communication to the Red Lake Nation had and said no such thing. Rather, I stated that “[n]eedle biopsies of the kidney were *not as safe* in the mid-1960’s as now” [emphasis added], because nowadays they are done with accurate ultrasound-directed guidance, thinner needles, and other improvements, all of which reduce the physical risks and trauma experienced by children who are biopsied. I neither discussed nor implied anything about the competence of the UMN nephrologists, nor did I state or imply that adverse consequences had occurred, nor did I state that kidney biopsies were “too dangerous and should not have been done in children” (p. 10). I did state that kidney biopsies on children should be done for purposes of treatment, not simply for research. The **Report** in fact admitted that some biopsies “done on older children, were research biopsies, this work proved essential to understanding how best to manage PSAGN. Similarly, some biopsies done on Red Lake Nation children in 1966, in particular, short-interval repeat biopsies, were done mainly to address research-related questions and were not used for clinical management” (p. 11). The **Report** stated that “biopsies ... likely [reassured] physicians that they only needed supportive care, as opposed to immunosuppression” (p. 10), “likely reassurance was not a factor in the short-interval repeat biopsies. The **Report** and I agree that some biopsies were done for only research purposes. I stand by my communication to the Red Lake Nation, and continue to disagree with the **Report** whether the research biopsies done on children of the Red Lake Nation were ethically justified. More important than what the **Report** or I may think, however, is what the Red Lake Nation thinks and *what that may imply for moving forward*.

Two, I am also concerned about the adequacy of the **Report’s** investigation of the issues of informed consent. The several research projects on post-streptococcal AGN occurred just as the NIH began to assert the need for review by the research institution of the informed consent forms and consent process in all research projects involving human subjects funded by NIH. The **Report** correctly asserted that standards of informed consent have changed and developed since the 1960s. The Report concluded, “If the Red Lake Nation events are scrutinized in the future, it will be essential to examine the archived records of the children who had kidney biopsies to determine how their parents were consented.” I agree, except that the **Report** could have, and should have, examined the archived records that determination before complete its **Report**.

Dr. Kaplan “[believed] that consents for kidney biopsies exist, possibly in UMN hospital charts” (Dr. Kaplan’s interview, p. 4). The only logical place where consent forms would be found would be in the UMN hospital charts. Even if an initial consent discussion occurred at Red Lake before transporting the children to the UMN Hospital, the UMN Hospital records must have documented a consent process and have the signed consent form if written consent was used. The **Report** did not mention that it had determined or verified whether UMN hospital still has

the 60+ year-old hospital records of admissions of children that occurred in the mid 1960's. Only if those UMN Hospital records still exist would it make sense seek to seek to examine the informed consent forms.

The **Report** stated that those records could not be examined without permission from the Red Lake Nation. That is not correct. Permission by the Red Lake Nation is not permission by the person whose medical records are being examined. Moreover, such permission is not necessary. Instead, the **Report** should have sought to examine the medical records of the Red Lake Nation children at the UMN Hospital directly, as the IRB regulations – 45 CFR 46, the regulations for the Protection of Human Subjects – permit. Examination of those records by a research project is “Exempt Research”: see **45 CFR § 46.104(d)(4)(ii)**

§ 46.104 Exempt Research

(d) Except as described in paragraph (a) of this section, the following categories of human subjects research are **exempt from this policy**:

(4) **Secondary research for which consent is not required**: Secondary research uses of identifiable private information or identifiable biospecimens, if at least one of the following criteria is met:

(ii) **Information**, which may include information about biospecimens, is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that **the identity of the human subjects cannot readily be ascertained directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects**, the investigator does not contact the subjects, and the investigator will not re-identify subjects.

That approach to examining the UMN Hospital records is the most efficient in terms of time expended and work performed. The **Report** could have, and should have, asked the UMN funding the **Report** to establish a mini-research project that is Exempt Research as noted above, and that included one or more Medical Records people authorized to access charts. The research would have the authorized Medical Records person(s) go through the admissions one-by-one to determine if person admitted was the child from Red Lake Nation with a diagnosis of post-streptococcal AGN. If not, go to the next admission without recording anything. If from Red Lake Nation, determine if an informed consent form exists. If yes, cover the name then copy the form, and then go to the next admission without recording any information at all about the child or parent / guardian. Record only that an unnamed, unidentified, child was admitted, plus a copy of a consent form (if any) with the name blocked.

That the **Report** did not do this was a major failure.

Third, I have another concern, even more serious. This concern is the **Report's** double standard. The **Report** mention ten (10) times that it had asked for information from or action by the Red Lake Nation, but the Red Lake Nation had not cooperated and thus impaired the **Report**. In the list of those 10 mentions below, I put negative blame-wording in italics.

Five mentions in the **Report** concerned information allegedly necessary to examine the UMN Hospital records—that as discussed above were actually not necessary—as follows:

- 1) “names of these individuals [biopsied at UMN hospital] and permission to retrieve charts were requested from Red Lake Nation, *but names were not provided and permission was not given*” (p. 3);
- 2) “Informed Consent forms for kidney biopsies performed in 1966—the most likely place for these was felt to be the medical records of the Red Lake Nation children biopsied in 1966 at UMN; names and permissions were *not provided by the Red Lake Nation, and therefore records could not be accessed* (see above)” (p. 3)[WLF: see discussion of my second concern, above];
- 3) “The investigation of the Red Lake Nation events is *limited because permission from Red Lake Nation to access examples of how the informed consent process and forms evolved was never given*” (p. 9);
- 4) “*Not being given access to patient records precluded evaluation* of the quality of the informed consent” (p. 9);
- 5) “not having seen the consent forms (or patient charts) used for this work, *despite repeated requests, we are unable to draw a conclusion* as to the adequacy of the consent process” (p. 12).

The **Report** also complained that cooperation was lacking related to several other matters:

- 6) For materials “requiring permission or information from Red Lake Nation, *cooperation was lacking and access was never granted, despite numerous requests*” (p. 3);
- 7) “Indian Health Service records of the Red Lake Nation children who had kidney disease during the infection outbreak” (p. 3);
- 8) “Interviews with the citizens of Red Lake Nation who had been affected in 1966 and *who would have been able to talk* with Drs. Rovin and Shulman” (p. 3);
- 9) “Interviews of research/clinical assistants working at Red Lake Nation at the time of these events; *names and contact information requested from Red Lake but not provided*” (p. 3);
- 10) “Tribal Council minutes were not provided by Red Lake Nation” (p. 3).

Thus, eight of the ten mentions (80%) used strongly negative blame-wording.

Meanwhile, a major obstacle to finding information from the several applications by Dr. Wannamaker to NIH, military, and other funders for research project turned out to be:

- A. Dr. Kaplan “indicated that Dr. Wannamaker’s papers were mostly discarded in 1983 after his death, and the rest about 10 years ago. He is unaware of any existing papers” (p. 3-4).

Those actions destroyed the single most important potential source of information about the research, discussions with potential funders and post-funding correspondence, correspondence with the UMN Committee on the Use of Human Volunteers, etc. That action was by a former employee of the UMN, and did not include negative blame-wording.

Of the 11 total mentions of obstacles in the **Report** detailed, 10 were about the Red Lake Nation, one about UMN, with eight of the 10 Red Lake mentions stated with negative blame-wording, while UMN’s much worse mention was absolved in neutral language. That is a double standard. In my opinion, *the Report’s double standard was unjust and not fair to the Red Lake Nation, and thus disrespected the Red Lake Nation and its Tribal Council.* We can do better in 2023.

Finally, an observation about the way forward starting in 2023. NIH has a new policy about Data Management and Sharing, **NOT-OD-21-013**, for all projects it funds, effective January 25, 2023 but announced and released more than a year earlier. With this policy:

- NIH is committed to including Tribal participation in biomedical research;
- NIH is committed to increasing communications with Tribal Nations;
- NIH respects that Tribal Nations are sovereign nations engaging with NIH in a government-to-government relationship;
- NIH aims to develop practices and policies to help researchers conduct research to honor and respect Tribal Nations' rights and beliefs; and
- NIH supports responsible management/sharing of AI/AN participant data in this new Policy.

The NIH has also released Supplemental Information, Responsible Management and Sharing of American Indian/ Alaska Native Participant Data. This Supplement, **NOT-OD-22-214**, is intended to assist researchers in developing appropriate Data Management and Sharing Plans when proposing research with AI/AN Tribes – plans that have the goals to:

- Promote an understanding of Tribal sovereignty;
- Recognize the historic harms to Tribes in relation to inappropriate data use and misuse and participant risks;
- Provide best practices to mitigate potential risks (e.g., group harm, stigmatization, and privacy vulnerabilities) to Tribes; and
- Facilitate respectful, sustained, mutually beneficial, and equitable partnerships.

For **NOT-OD-21-013**, see <https://grants.nih.gov/grants/guide/notice-files/NOT-OD-21-013.html>

For **NOT-OD-22-214**, see <https://grants.nih.gov/grants/guide/notice-files/NOT-OD-22-214.html>

NOTE: The prior two paragraphs are courtesy of Ellen Wann, PhD, NIH, who helped lead the development of the Policy and Supplement. Dr. Wann presented that information in a Webinar by PRIM&R on February 25, 2023; a recording is available on-line. The Policy and Supplement Information promote partnerships with Tribes and have elements of Tribal-engaged research.



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A Brief History of the Nortondale Tract

Seanna R. Stinnett

August 8, 2022

Abstract

The University of Minnesota Duluth is primarily situated on a campus that covers more than 160 acres of land in Duluth which was ceded by the Ojibwe of Lake Superior and Minnesota in the Treaty of 1854. This land was part of the traditional and ancestral territory of the Ojibwe people and before them, the Dakota and Northern Cheyenne peoples. The ceded land was surveyed by the General Land Office in 1956-7 and then issued as scrip to veterans and as patents to the general public. UMD's main campus was assembled in several chunks, the two largest acquisitions being the 1947 acquisition of nearly-160 acres of a plot called the Nortondale Tract, and the other being the donation of what would become part of the Bagley Nature Area on the northwestern corner of the campus. Both areas came largely from the acquisition of tax delinquent land by wealthy donors to UMD.

The 160-acre Nortondale Tract was purchased by the Norton brothers of Kentucky in the 1870s for a planned real estate development. In the 1890s, the brothers passed away and their estates created the Northern Realty & Investment Co. which managed the Nortondale Tract for them. The land sat undeveloped by settlers, though some Native families lived and harvested on the land during the nineteenth century. In 1947, agents acting on behalf of the University of Minnesota Board of Regents and funded by Regent Richard L. Griggs and other Duluthians acquired the tax delinquent land of the Nortondale Tract for the new University of Minnesota, Duluth Branch's future main campus.

A History of the Nortondale Tract

On September 30, 1854, the Ojibwe of northeastern Minnesota signed a treaty ceding approximately five and a half million acres¹ at a price estimated by the Land-Grab Universities investigation to be approximately 9 cents an acre, or about \$15.13 for a 160-acre parcel². The

¹ "Treaty with the Chippewa," signed September 20, 1854, ratified January 10, 1855, https://files.dnr.state.mn.us/aboutdnr/laws_treaties/1854/treaty1854.pdf.

² Robert Lee et al., "Land Parcel in Saint Louis County, MN | Land Grab Universities," *High Country News*, March 30, 2020, <https://www.landgrabu.org/lands/mn460500n0140w0sn110asenh>.

160 acre parcel that forms the bulk of UMD's present-day campus was surveyed as the Northwest quarter of Section 14 of Township 50N Range 14W³ in 1856 and certified in 1857. Prior to 1860, David Patton and Robert Patton, minor children of a Private Thomas Patton who fought in the Third Seminole War, gained a bounty land warrant to the western half of this parcel through the Scrip Warrant Act of 1850.⁴ Similarly, Private William Phillips, a veteran of the War of 1812, gained the Northeast quarter of this tract as well as the West half of the adjacent tract through the Scrip Warrant Act of 1855.⁵ The warrants on both of these parcels were returned to the General Land Office and J. T. Whitmore and George W. McGlenn acquired the patents to these parcels in October of 1860. McGlenn had acquired the Southeast quarter of Section 14 earlier that year,⁶ and so Whitmore and McGlenn were the dual owners of the land that would comprise the future Nortondale Tract.

By 1871, both halves of the Northwest quarter of Section 14 wound up in the hands of George W., William F, and Eckstein Norton, the wealthy Norton brothers of Paducah, Kentucky.⁷ The Norton brothers had the land platted and had visions of selling individual lots from their 160 acre acquisition, but failed in their venture.⁸ During this time, it is said that only a few Native families lived on the tract.⁹ The Norton brothers' estate, represented by Northern Realty & Investment Co., eventually lost the parcels to taxes owed to Duluth and St. Louis County and it

³ "Public Land Survey System Map Viewer," *ArcGIS Online*, <https://arcg.is/1nvXTb>.

⁴ Bureau of Land Management, "MW-0942-154 | BLM GLO Records," *Bureau of Land Management*. <https://glorerecords.blm.gov/details/patent/default.aspx?accession=0942-154&docClass=MW&sid=yjh411or.wak>.

⁵ Bureau of Land Management, "MW-0479-048 | BLM GLO Records," *Bureau of Land Management*. <https://glorerecords.blm.gov/details/patent/default.aspx?accession=0479-048&docClass=MW&sid=yjh411or.wak>.

⁶ Bureau of Land Management, "MN0590__014 | BLM GLO Records," *Bureau of Land Management*. https://glorerecords.blm.gov/details/patent/default.aspx?accession=MN0590__014&docClass=STA&sid=yjh411or.wak.

⁷ Clarence N. Anderson, "UMD Acquires New Campus Site," *Duluth News-Tribune*, January 4, 1948.

⁸ Tom Wilkowske, "From College to Campus to Comprehensive," *UMD: Celebrating 100 Years* (Duluth: University of Minnesota Duluth, September 1995), 134, <https://hdl.handle.net/11299/211920>.

⁹ University of Minnesota Alumni Association, "UMD — Twenty Years Old and Still Growing," *University of Minnesota Alumni News*, Vol. 67 No.2 (October, 1967): 14, <https://hdl.handle.net/11299/52472>.

was held in conservation.¹⁰ The dream of the Nortondale Development, First and Second Divisions, lingered for over a half century but never came to fruition, existing only as a dream on plat maps.

Instead, the perpetually undeveloped land was eventually used for grazing cows, berry picking, and youthful recreation.¹¹ According to Professor Emeritus Julius F. Wolff (professor of political science 1949-68) who roamed the tract as a youth, the Zenith City Dairy “[stood] where the present Physical Education Building stands’.”¹² The dairy was also apparently “remembered as Singleton’s or Bayview Zenith” and “seems to have operated into the 1940s.”¹³ Ken Moran and Neil Storch called the Nortondale Tract “a former hay meadow” by the late 1940s.¹⁴ Local youths, some of whom would grow up to be students at UMD, also utilized the Nortondale Tract as a space to fly kites, play touch football, and pick strawberries.¹⁵

In the wake of World War II and numerous veterans progressing to college on the G.I. Bill, demand for an expansion of Minnesota’s public universities and a desire on behalf of the Duluth State Teachers’ College to expand their liberal arts offerings led to the creation of a bill to incorporate the DSTC into the UMN system as a branch college. To sweeten the deal, Duluthians, led by University of Minnesota Regent Richard L. Griggs, offered to buy a site for the new campus.¹⁶ The Duluth Planning Commission reserved the vacant, largely tax delinquent 160-acre Nortondale development for the site of the potential future branch college.¹⁷ When the

¹⁰ Ibid; Anderson, January 4, 1948; Letter from Arthur M. Clure to Dr. J. L. Morrill, 7 May, 1947, Box 1, Folder 5, Richard L. Griggs Papers, 374, Archives and Special Collections, Martin Library, University of Minnesota Duluth.

¹¹ Wilkowske, 134.

¹² Ken Moran and Neil Storch, *UMD Comes of Age: the First One Hundred Years* (Virginia Beach, VA: The Donning Company/Publishers, 1995), 68, <https://hdl.handle.net/11299/185859>.

¹³ Virginia Temple, “The Hidden History of Bagley Nature Area,” UROP, (University of Minnesota Duluth, 1996), <https://hdl.handle.net/11299/225955>, University of Minnesota Digital Conservancy.

¹⁴ Ibid., 50, 75.

¹⁵ University of Minnesota Alumni Association, 14.

¹⁶ Moran and Storch, 39.

¹⁷ Ibid., 209; Letter from Arthur M. Clure to Dr. J. L. Morrill, 7 May, 1947.

bill passed in July of 1947, Griggs and other prominent Duluthians sprung into action, buying up the Nortondale tract and delivering on their promise to supply the University with land for a main campus.¹⁸ The University of Minnesota announced this acquisition in early July of 1948,¹⁹ and broke ground on the first building on the Nortondale tract, the Science Building, in October of the same year.²⁰ An additional 40 acres would later be added to the original tract through gifts from William Bagley and Charles Dickerman.²¹

Timeline

- **1854, September 30** — The 1854 Treaty was signed at LaPointe between the Chippewa of Lake Superior and the Mississippi and the United States ceding about 5.5 million acres in northeastern Minnesota, including the land that would be surveyed as the Northwest ¼ of Section 14, Township 50N Range 14W and later became known as the Nortondale Tract.
- **1855, January 10** — The United States Senate ratifies the 1854 Treaty and it is proclaimed later that month on January 29.
- **1856, November 14** — The survey of Township 14N Range 50W commences
- **1857, May 29** — The survey is approved by Warner Lewis, Surveyor General
- **1857-1860**
 - David and Robert Patton, then minor children of Pvt. Thomas Patton, Parker's Company, Pennsylvania Militia, Third Seminole War (1855-8), gained a warrant to 80 acres located in the West ½ of the Northwest ¼ of Section 14 under the

¹⁸ Ibid., 39, 41.

¹⁹ University of Minnesota News Service, "Press Releases, January - February 1948," press release, 1948, <https://hdl.handle.net/11299/50963>, University of Minnesota Digital Conservancy.

²⁰ Facilities Management, "Building History Gallery," *University of Minnesota Duluth*. <https://fm.d.umn.edu/building-grounds/building-history-gallery>.

²¹ Wilkowske, 134.

Scrip Warrant Act of 1850. At some point before October 1, 1860, this tract was returned to the General Land Office.

- Private William Phillips, Peyton and Field's Companies, District of Columbia Militia, War of 1812 gains warrant to 40 acres located in the Northeast $\frac{1}{4}$ of the Northwest $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 14 and 80 acres located at the West $\frac{1}{2}$ of the Northeast $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 14 (part of which contains what is now the eastern edge of the main UMD campus) under the Scrip Warrant Act of 1855. At some point prior to October 5, 1860, this tract was returned to the GLO.

- **1860**

- **July 2** — George W. McGlenn was issued the patent to 40 acres located in the Southeast $\frac{1}{4}$ of the Northwest $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 14.
- **October 1** — J. T. Whitmore was issued the patent to 80 acres located in the West $\frac{1}{2}$ of the Northwest $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 14, the tract previously returned to the GLO from the Patton brothers.
- **October 5** — George W. McGlenn was issued the patent to the 120 acres located at the Northeast $\frac{1}{4}$ of the Northwest $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 14 and the West $\frac{1}{2}$ of the Northeast $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 14.

- **1871** — The wealthy Norton brothers of Paducah, Kentucky (George W., Eckstein, and William F. Norton) buy the 160 acres of the Northwest $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 14 with the plan of selling lots. Their real estate venture would fail and, for a time, only a few Native families lived on the land.

- **1886, October 20** — William Frederick Norton passed away in Louisville, Kentucky.²²

²² Kentucky Death Records, 1852-1963, Ancestry.com: Provo, UT: 2007.

- **1889, July 16** — George Washington Norton passed away in Louisville, Kentucky.²³
- **1893, January 13** — Eckstein Norton passed away in St. George, South Carolina.²⁴
- **1890s** — The Norton brothers passed away and Northern Realty & Investment Co. was formed to consolidate the local holdings for their estates.²⁵
- **1924, December** — George W. Norton, executor of the senior George W. Norton’s will, and Frank Day, together owners of the Nortondale Development Second Division, submit a survey and platting to the City of Duluth for the Second Division conducted by a Tho. O. Wilson to the City of Duluth.
- **1940s** — A dairy known as Zenith City Dairy, also remembered as Singleton’s and Bayview Zenith, operated on the Nortondale tract until sometime in the 1940s, presumably prior to 1947.
- **1947**
 - **February** — The Duluth Planning Commission reserved the 160-acre tract west of Woodland Avenue near the Chester Park school as a potential site for the proposed University of Minnesota, Duluth branch.
 - **May 7** — Arthur M. Clure, Resident Director State Teachers College Board, Duluth, wrote a letter to University of Minnesota President J. L. Morrill regarding the the plan to acquire the tax delinquent land of the Nortondale Tract formerly owned by the Northern Development Company “which was organized to hold the real estate owned principally by the heirs of George W. Norton.”²⁶ Clure’s proposal to allow the University to acquire the land while circumventing public

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ “Eckstein Norton,” *St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat*, January 13, 1893.

²⁵ Clarence N. Anderson, “UMD Acquires New Campus Site,” *Duluth News-Tribune*, January 4, 1948.

²⁶ Letter from Arthur M. Clure to Dr. J. L. Morrill, 7 May, 1947.

sale of the land was to get the U of M Board of Regents approval for Clure to “make an offer on behalf of the University to purchase the lands at an appraised price”²⁷ using funds from a “donor” (implied to be Regent Griggs, as he was sent a carbon copy).

- **May 26** — The Minnesota State Teachers Board meets to tender the Duluth State Teachers College to the University of Minnesota Board of Regents.
- **July** — UMD is established as a branch college of the University of Minnesota with the understanding that the Nortondale tract would be gifted for a main campus for the new UMN branch.
- **1948**
 - **January** — The University of Minnesota announces the acquisition of the Nortondale tract (most of the Northwest ¼ of Section 14) through gifts from University of Minnesota Regent Richard L. Griggs and other Duluthians who purchased the land for the creation of the Duluth branch of the University of Minnesota.
 - **October 19** — UMD’s breaks ground on the construction of the Science Building—now the Chemistry Building—the first building constructed on the main campus.
- **1951** — A 12.8 acre parcel containing Rock Hill that had been placed in conservation in 1942 due to tax delinquency was transferred to the University of Minnesota Duluth. Regent Griggs paid the delinquent taxes on the land.

²⁷ Ibid.

- **July 6** — The Regents of the University of Minnesota accept a gift from brothers Charles K. and G. G. Dickerman of one acre northwest of campus near Rock Hill inside what is now the Bagley Nature Area.
- **1953, July 10** — The Regents accept a gift of 17 acres from Dr. William R. Bagley that was split between two parcels, one large parcel north of the formerly-tax delinquent 12.8 acre parcel, and one small parcel south of the same parcel.



[1954 USGS map of Duluth](#) with Sections 14 & 15 of 50N14W 4th Meridian highlighted.²⁹

²⁹ Ibid.

Annotated Bibliography

Anderson, Clarence N. "UMD Acquires New Campus Site." *Duluth News-Tribune*. January 4, 1948. In Box 1, Folder 7, Richard L. Griggs Papers, 374, Archives and Special Collections, Martin Library, University of Minnesota Duluth.

This January 4, 1948 Duluth News-Tribune article on the acquisition of the Nortondale Tract by the University of Minnesota contains a brief history of the Nortondale Tract from its acquisition by George W. Norton and his brothers Eckstein and William F. Norton, to their deaths in the 1890s and the creation of the Northern Realty & Investment Co., to its falling into tax delinquency and acquisition thanks to funding by Regent Richard L. Griggs and other Duluthians.

Bureau of Land Management. "General Land Office Records." *Bureau of Land Management*. <https://glorerecords.blm.gov/search/default.aspx>.

In order to look at land which comprises the University of Minnesota Duluth's campus, enter "Minnesota" for State, "St Louis" for County, Township "050 North," Range "014 West," Meridian "4th PM - 1831 MN/WA." Sections 14 contains most of the main campus and all of the old campus, and Sections 10, 11, and 15 contain parts of Bagley Nature Area and the west margin of the main campus.

Lee, Robert, Tristan Ahtone, Margaret Pearce, Kalen Goodluck, Geoff McGhee, Cody Leff, Katherine Lanpher, and Taryn Salinas. "Land-Grab Universities". *High Country News*, March 30, 2020. <https://www.landgrabu.org/>.

Land-Grab Universities is an investigation by *High Country News* into how the United States, through the Morrill Act, “funded land-grant universities with expropriated Indigenous land.” Through research, they were able to identify the individual parcels given to state universities through the Morrill Act, how much Native nations were paid for them per acre in land-cession treaties, the endowment raised on that parcel, and more.

Lee, Robert, Tristan Ahtone, Margaret Pearce, Kalen Goodluck, Geoff McGhee, Cody Leff,

Katherine Lanpher, and Taryn Salinas. "Land Parcel in Saint Louis County, MN |

Land-Grab Universities". *High Country News*, March 30, 2020.

<https://www.landgrabu.org/lands/mn460500n0140w0sn110asenh>.

This page details a 160 acre parcel given to the state of New Hampshire under the Morrill Act which is located just east of the Bagley Nature Area, and gives the price the Land Grab Universities project estimates the United States paid the Lake Superior and Minnesota Chippewa for this land (160 acres for \$15.13) when they acquired it in the 1854 Treaty. It serves as an example from the 1854 Treaty Area and cross checking any other plot in the 1854 Treaty area will get you the same per acre cost.

Letter from Arthur M. Clure to Dr. J. L. Morrill, 7 May, 1947, Box 1, Folder 5, Richard L.

Griggs Papers, 374, Archives and Special Collections, Martin Library, University of Minnesota Duluth.

This letter written by Arthur M. Clure, Resident Director State Teachers College Board, Duluth, to University of Minnesota President Dr. J. L. Morrill is focused on concerns related to the pending acceptance of the Duluth State Teachers College as a U of M

branch college. Importantly, Clure details a plan to circumvent public sale of the tax delinquent land of the Nortondale Development by getting the U of M Board of Regents to authorize him to put make an offer on the University of Minnesota's behalf using funds from a "donor" (likely Regent Griggs, who provided much of the funding for the Nortondale Tract, though exactly how much still remains unknown to this author). Clure also details some of the history around the tract, including its tax delinquency through the actions of the Northern Realty & Investment Co.

Middlebrook, William T. "Financial Report for the Year Ended June 30, 1948." Financial report, University of Minnesota, 1948. <https://hdl.handle.net/11299/125455>, University of Minnesota Digital Conservancy.

The 1948 budget for the University of Minnesota features the first appearance of the present-day main UMD campus as the "Nortondale Tract" under "Purchase of Land" in the "Statement of Plant Funds: Income and Expenditures." It is recorded as an income of \$7,556.07 with no related expenditures, resulting in a June 30, 1948 balance of \$7,556.07.

Also, under "Summary of Inventory of Land," University of Minnesota's acquisition of the land for the Duluth Branch is valued at a total of \$14,645.17. This presumably also includes the other land owned by the Duluth Branch as it enters the UMN system, not just the Nortondale Tract.

Middlebrook, William T. "Financial Report for the Year Ended June 30, 1949." Financial report, University of Minnesota, 1949. <https://hdl.handle.net/11299/125455>, University of Minnesota Digital Conservancy.

The 1949 budget for the University of Minnesota features the "Nortondale Tract" in the "Statement of Plant Funds: Income and Expenditures" with an opening balance of \$7,556.07. To this, an additional \$3,241.43 in income is added, as well as a \$10,737.50 expenditure, zeroing out the balance ending June 30, 1949.

Under "Summary of Inventory of Land" in the 1949 budget, the total year-end book value of the UMD property is valued at \$28,033.91, with additions of \$13,148.24. Land from the Nortondale Development appears under "Inventory of Land" subheading "Duluth Branch."

Middlebrook, William T. "Financial Report for the Year Ended June 30, 1950." Financial report, University of Minnesota, 1950. <https://hdl.handle.net/11299/125455>, University of Minnesota Digital Conservancy.

The 1950 budget for the University of Minnesota gives the acreage of UMD as 174.46 acres for Instruction and Research, valued at \$28,033.91 at the beginning of the fiscal year, with additions of \$16,648.31 resulting in a year-end book value of \$44,682.22.

Under "Duluth Branch" in "Inventory of Land," 148.19 acres representing "Parts of Nortondale Development, First and Second Divisions" is listed as Tract No. 1628, acquired in 1949.

Moran, Ken, and Neil Storch. *UMD Comes of Age: the First One Hundred Years*. Virginia Beach, VA: The Donning Company/Publishers, 1995.

<https://hdl.handle.net/11299/185859>, University of Minnesota Digital Conservancy.

In this book written and published to commemorate the centennial of UMD, details about the Nortondale Tract are given regarding how and why it came to be the main campus of UMD, and who was involved in the acquisition. Relevant pages 39, 41, and 209.

Nortondale Tract. University of Minnesota Duluth Subject Files. UMD-VF-Sub. Archives and Special Collections, Martin Library, University of Minnesota Duluth.

The Nortondale Tract subject file in the University of Minnesota Duluth Subject Files held by the Kathryn A. Martin Library's Archives and Special Collections contains documents, survey maps, and other materials related to the acquisition and development of the Nortondale Tract. Included is a document regarding the planning of the Second Division of the Nortondale Development from the Duluth City Planning Office in 1924 that contains a partial map of the plans for a majority of the 160 acre plot.

“Public Land Survey System Map Viewer.” *ArcGIS Online*. <https://arcg.is/1nvXTb>.

This is an excellent tool for looking at the Public Land Survey System (PLSS) to see how the General Land Office surveyed the lands acquired through treaties with Native nations.

Temple, Virginia. “The Hidden History of Bagley Nature Area.” UROP, University of Minnesota Duluth, 1996. <https://hdl.handle.net/11299/225955>, University of Minnesota Digital Conservancy.

This Undergraduate Research Opportunity Program completed in 1996 by UMD student Virginia Temple details the history of the Bagley Nature Area and also contains tidbits about the Nortondale tract.

“Treaty with the Chippewa.” Signed September 30, 1854, ratified January 10, 1855.

https://files.dnr.state.mn.us/aboutdnr/laws_treaties/1854/treaty1854.pdf.

The 1854 Treaty with the Chippewa is the authorizing document extending treaty rights of occupation and use to United States citizens and residents in lands ceded by the Lake Superior and Mississippi Chippewa, but to which they retain usufruct rights to resources in the ceded territory. This enabled the United States to acquire Indigenous title to the ceded territory and issue warrants and patents to land, such as the future Nortondale Tract.

University of Minnesota Alumni Association. “UMD — Twenty Years Old and Still Growing.”

University of Minnesota Alumni News, Vol. 67 No.2 (October, 1967): 14-17, 33.

<https://hdl.handle.net/11299/52472>, University of Minnesota Digital Conservancy.

Article in the October 1967 edition of the *University of Minnesota Alumni News* commemorating 20 years of UMD as part of the University of Minnesota. The first five paragraphs contain a brief history of the Nortondale Tract, the Norton brothers of Paducah, Kentucky who were its namesake, and how it came to be the UMD campus.

University of Minnesota, Duluth News Service. "Press Release (1967-06)." Press release, University of Minnesota Duluth, June 1967. <https://hdl.handle.net/11299/196382>, University of Minnesota Digital Conservancy.

A 1967 press release commemorating the 20th anniversary of the Duluth campus as part of the University of Minnesota. Contains information about the Norton brothers failing "in their venture in the 1870s to sell lots on a 160 acre site in East Duluth. Only a few Indian families lived on the land."

University of Minnesota News Service. "Press Releases, January - February 1948." Press release, University of Minnesota, 1948. <https://hdl.handle.net/11299/50963>, University of Minnesota Digital Conservancy.

January 2, 1948 press release from the University of Minnesota announcing the acquisition of the Nortondale development as a gift from Regent Griggs and other Duluth citizens for the future main campus of UMD. Features a description of the boundaries of the campus site.

Wilkowske, Tom. "From College to Campus to Comprehensive." *UMD: Celebrating 100 Years*. Duluth: University of Minnesota Duluth, September 1995. <https://hdl.handle.net/11299/211920>, University of Minnesota Digital Conservancy.

Article from a newsletter commemorating the centennial of UMD in 1995. Again states the original history of the tract as a "failed real estate venture originally platted by the Norton brothers of Paducah, Kentucky in 1871."

TO: Office of the President
FROM: Tadd Johnson, Senior Director of American Indian Tribal Nations Relations
SUBJECT: UMN Systemwide Native American Student & Community Resources
DATE: 01/25/2022

Introduction

This memorandum is meant to accompany the [UMN Systemwide Native American Student Resource List](#), which is the beginning of a centralized resource hub and is meant to serve as a working document rather than a final product. The impetus for this memorandum was a request from Tribal leaders to create a list of programs available for Native American students across the University of Minnesota (UMN) system. Creating such a hub would meet each of the five commitments UMN made in the system-wide MPACT 2025 Strategic Plan.¹

Students on campuses across the UMN system have long recognized the lack of knowledge about and accessibility to resources, and have started to create resource maps for other students who struggle to navigate these institutions and systems. Although these maps are in their infancy, they begin to imagine what the University of Minnesota may look like through a decolonialized lens. As such, the institution is lagging behind both student-driven and community-driven efforts to create an easily accessible resource hub designed to support the success of Indigenous students.

Throughout these documents, the terms American Indian, Native American, and Indigenous Peoples are used interchangeably to refer collectively to the peoples whose nations share geographical proximity to the United States and/or experiences with U.S. imperialism, and whom settler-colonial institutions persistently under-resource. While this can result in similar resource gaps, it is important to recognize each Tribal Nation's unique context when helping students access resources.

In addition, intentional acknowledgement of cultural and political distinctions must be consistently centered when creating a list of programs for American Indian students across the University of Minnesota system. There are different acronyms that are used now to describe historically underrepresented groups; such as Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC), or People of Color and Indigenous (POCI); however, American Indians have a political status that is significantly different from Blacks or African Americans, Asians, Native Hawaiians or any other Pacific Islanders, or any other racial classification. The political status of American Indians, particularly of federally-recognized Tribal Nations and their Tribal members, including in Minnesota, is recognized and affirmed by the U.S. Constitution's Supremacy Clause, treaties, US & MN statute, federal & state executive order, federal court decisions, and administrative regulations. The political status recognizes inherent rights of American Indians that are distinct from other racial demographics. The history of the formation of the University of Minnesota as a land grant institution with the consequence of genocide, exile, and subjugation of the various Dakota, Anishinaabe, Cheyenne, and Winnebago (Ho-Chunk) Nations also brings more to bear on this distinction of identification and circumstance.

¹ <https://president.umn.edu/sites/president.umn.edu/files/2021-01/MPact%202025%20SW%20Strategic%20Plan.pdf>

Findings

The resources compiled herein consist of those driven by the University, those that are student-driven, and those that originate from Tribal Nations or the greater community. This list is not exhaustive. There are more programs that may be added. Having all of these listed in one location, and having training for admissions and financial aid officers would help students locate and access these resources. Having resources at these three intersections (University-driven, Tribal/community-driven, and student-driven) weaves a net that provides Native American students with the support to persist to graduation.

Non-academic resources

A study by the HOPE Center for College Community and Justice found that Indigenous students are more likely to experience food and housing insecurity than other groups, and that this is correlated to persistence and retention.² Every campus has a food resource center that students can access, as well as connections to further community resources.

The inability for students to practice food sovereignty while on campus provides the University with the opportunity to develop food resources specific to Native American students. This could resemble the campus pantries offering meat, manoomin, or fish that are sustainably harvested in the community.

In addition to food resources, the Crookston and Duluth campuses have listed on their resource websites (linked in the accompanying resource matrix) that clothing and/or winter gear is also available.

Problematic Programming

Research revealed several programs that exhibited a problematic history with respect to relations with American Indian individuals and Tribal Nations in Minnesota and beyond. As has been stated before, this is not a comprehensive list, but it does warrant acknowledgment.

The Native American Medicine Gardens (NAMG) on the UMN-TC campus represented an opportunity to respect the land on which the University of Minnesota is situated, with culturally appropriate and informed planning and implementation of a medicine garden. Instead, the longtime caretaker was denied a renewed contract, a petition was circulated calling to renew the caretaker's contract,³ and the Dean changed his mind but was turned down due to the process not being done in good faith.⁴ NAMG is now without a caretaker as the University and the Dean of CFANS must determine how to appropriately resolve the current dilemma of their making.⁵

Ando-Giikendaasowin ("Seek to Know") Native American Math and Science Camp was an Indigenous camp provided for 15 summers through the College of Liberal Arts' General College. This program was funded by multiple sources outside of the University, which allowed American Indian high school

² https://hope4college.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/2019_TribalCollegesUniversities_Report.pdf

³ <https://mndaily.com/191865/news/ctmedicinegarden/>

⁴ <https://mndaily.com/264093/news/native-american-medicine-garden-caretaker-resigns/>

⁵ *Id.*

students from across the nation to attend a multi-week STEM camp. There were 35 participants from across the US that came in 2003, the last year of the program.⁶ Ando-Giikendaasowin ended shortly after the Board of Regents pledged to support \$10 million for the Large Binocular Telescope at the University of Arizona's Mount Graham International Observatory, located in southeastern Arizona in the Pinaleno Mountains on Emerald Peak, which the San Carlos and White Mountain Apache had fought against for over a decade.⁷ Despite these objections and designation of the area as a National Register of Historic Places by the U.S. Department of Interior, the project was completed and is currently utilized by the Minnesota Institute for Astrophysics.⁸ Due to the financial decision made by the University, one of the Ando-Giikendaasowin camp instructors resigned in protest.⁹

Finally, an official University of Minnesota Morris document lists the Nokoomis Nibii Equay Honoring Sculpture as a resource. If this is the case, should the same be said of the Kiehle Auditorium's John Martin Socha Murals on the Crookston campus? These murals have a website and brochure dedicated to describing their history and the errors in imagery that are used to depict American Indians within the context of human history.¹⁰ While culturally relevant art and aesthetics are not what Western discourse would classify as resources, such things are important to contemporary Indigenous identity and representation. It is becoming widely understood that the continued use of American Indian symbols and images creates a hostile learning environment for American Indian students that presents negative stereotypes which undermines the educational experience of all students, particularly those with no experience interacting with American Indians.¹¹ Instead of honoring outdated stereotypes as they are depicted, the murals should be taken down and placed where they belong, in a museum.

Recommendations

To measure the impact of the resources that have been identified, it is recommended that further evaluations utilizing Indigenous Research Methodologies be conducted by assessing impact, accessibility, availability, identifying areas for additional resources specific to Indigenous students, and other measures to be determined. After an evaluation is conducted, programs that are highly successful should be expanded to other campuses in a way that serves each campus' unique needs. These efforts must be ongoing and reciprocal in establishing ongoing communications. Furthermore, the UMN Systemwide Native American Student Resource List should be housed in a central location, as well as regularly utilized and updated. It is also recommended to share this compilation widely across the University system including but not limited to, financial aid advisors, and outside organizations such as Tribal Colleges & Universities (TCU's) and Tribal education departments. Future programming can benefit from avoiding the errors addressed in the problematic programming mentioned above. Centering and listening to the needs of Indigenous students and Tribal communities are crucial for Native American student recruitment, retention, and success while attending any one of the five campuses across the University of Minnesota system.

⁶https://conservancy.umn.edu/bitstream/handle/11299/45646/access_v3_n1.pdf?sequence=3&isAllowed=y

⁷<https://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/fight-dzil-nchaa-si-mt-graham-apaches-and-astrophysics>

⁸<https://www.lbto.org/lbt-collaboration.html>

⁹<https://mndaily.com/258790/opinion/u-ignores-spiritual-aspects-telescope/>

¹⁰<https://www.crk.umn.edu/kiehle-murals>

¹¹<https://www.apa.org/about/policy/mascots.pdf>



UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Driven to Discover®

Crookston Duluth Morris Rochester Twin Cities

List for Tribal Leaders on University of Minnesota Projects

Organization:

LOCATION:

- Crookston
- Duluth
- Morris
- Rochester
- Twin Cities
- Systemwide
- Greater Minnesota/Statewide

WITHIN LOCATION, LIST BY PROGRAM TYPE:

Note: Program type will include program name, brief description, link(s) to website if available, and contacts if applicable.

- Academic Programs
- Student Support Programs
- Engagement, Extension work, and partnerships
- Research
- Institutional Work/Supports
- Other

Note: This document is inclusive of everything that we have been able to gather as of mid-March, 2022. We plan to update it and send it to you on a recurring basis. Please follow the links provided or contact the individuals listed if you are interested in more information. We haven't listed projects currently in development that are more than six months out from coming to fruition.

CROOKSTON

- **Academic Programs**
 - **First-Year Seminar Courses:** UMN Crookston requires first-year seminar courses for all incoming students. A core learning objective for the course addresses equity, inclusion, and belonging, and required common assignments ask students to reflect on their various social identities, including those connected to culture, race, and ethnicity. Embedded within these modules and assignments is a required “photovoice” project through which students add new art that expands upon a critique of the Socha Murals in Kiehle Hall, especially regarding how Native Americans are portrayed within those murals.
- **Student Support Programs**
 - **[Office for Equity and Diversity](#):** Learning about respecting and appreciating cultural diversity and committing to create positive change both on- and off-campus by every administrator, faculty member, staff member, and student. Contact: nquinone@crk.umn.edu
- **Engagement, extension work, and partnerships**
 - **[White Earth Tribal and Community College Headstart Pathway Collaboration](#):** 2+2 program for students taking classes at WETCC to finish with a Bachelor's at UMC in early childhood education. Contact: joan.lavoy@wetcc.edu
 - **Agriculture Education and Outreach Program:** This program is currently in development with the MN Dept of Agriculture. Dr. Teresa Spaeth is leading efforts to develop this program for engagement specifically with Tribal Nations in Minnesota. It's housed in the Department of Agriculture and coordinated with NAAF.
- **Research**
 - **[Transdisciplinary Engagements with Contemporary Indigenous Thinkers](#):** This project focuses on engaging contemporary Indigenous thinkers to explore how Indigenous thought can be made more central to education and research. The goal is to make this inclusive of diverse perspectives, and to influence thinking on a wide range of topics, from how research and education are carried out to who benefits and participates. Since these are central questions, we expect that this project will engage and impact a broad range of programs and disciplines within the UMN system. Includes faculty from Crookston, Duluth, and the Twin Cities campus.
- **Institutional Work/Supports**
 - **[American Indian Advisory Council](#):** Established to work toward a mutually beneficial relationship among Native nations and the University of Minnesota Crookston. This relationship is intended to be an active partnership that addresses the current and future needs for education and enhancement of relationships, programming and mutually beneficial endeavors that benefit the region. Contact: berg0393@umn.edu
 - **Native American Agricultural Fund (NAAF):** Chancellor Holz-Clause and UMN Crookston lead NAAF, a consortium of eight land-grant universities working together to develop education and leadership capacity in food security, value-added agriculture development, and agricultural education to serve Tribal Nations across the U.S.

- **Other**
 - **Scholarships:**
 - **Salt Lands (American Indian) Scholarship:** Awarded to a MN Resident of Native American Descent.
 - **Zak Scholarship for American Indian Students:** Must be an enrolled member of a federally recognized tribe. Must have completed at least one year of college and have a minimum GPA of 2.0. Must demonstrate financial need.
 - **Eagle's Essentials Free Pantry:** Refrigerated and dry food items, hygiene products, and winter gear. Contact: ecookman@crk.umn.edu
 - **Kiehle Auditorium Murals:** During the Great Depression, the United States Federal Art Project, part of the larger Works Progress Administration, provided employment to thousands of artists. Minnesota's John Martin Socha was commissioned to paint several murals in Minnesota, including those in the Kiehle auditorium, which were installed in 1942. Socha drew upon American mythologies and notions of Manifest Destiny. In doing so, the effects of Manifest Destiny on Native people, who suffered immensely from these ideas and actions, became secondary and nearly absent in this work of art. Absent too is the presence of women and children and Latinx migrant workers who contributed greatly to the development of the land. Work completed to-date includes development of a website, brochures and entry poster boards explaining the work and how it affects many Native Americans. A special committee and consultations with American Indian Advisory Committee members, and community conversations were held in 2021 to hear from constituents. Options for covering the murals are currently being explored with bids from contractors in process.

DULUTH:

- **Academic Programs**
 - **American Indian Studies department** is an academic department continuing a robust four-decade legacy in which active scholars serve to educate students, colleagues, and the public about Tribal sovereignty, Indigenous cultures, and the historical and contemporary experiences of Native peoples and nations. In addition to building strong relationships with Tribes within our geographic area, we work to fulfill our responsibility to all Native nations through consultation, partnerships, and research.
 - Degrees offered include:
 - American Indian Studies B.A. or Minor
 - Tribal Administration and Governance B.A. or Master's degree
 - Master of Tribal Resource and Environmental Stewardship
 - Grad Certificates in:
 - Tribal Sovereignty and Federal Indian Law
 - Tribal Administration and Leadership
 - Indigenous Environmental Systems and Resource Management
 - Tribal National Resource Stewardship, Economics, and Law
 - **Social Work department:** The UMD Department of Social work has two programs: the Bachelor of Social Work (BSW) and Master of Social Work (MSW). Both programs emphasize social justice and culturally responsive practice. Graduates leave with a broad base of skills that can be applied to a range of settings. Our curriculum is informed by Indigenous perspectives. Our programs are among the few in the country to emphasize social work

practice with American Indians. The UMD Department of Social Work houses [The Center for Regional and Tribal Child Welfare Studies](#) (CRTCWS), which is recognized as a national leader in improving American Indian child welfare practice.

- **Student Support Programs**

- [American Indian Learning Resource Center](#) exists to enrich the cultural, academic, supportive, and social environment of the UMD campus. Our mission is to increase the recruitment and retention of American Indian and Alaskan Native students, while promoting a more culturally diverse campus environment. Working in conjunction with UMD staff, the AILRC provides supportive services to empower and aid in the success of our students and to enhance their educational experience.
- **Swenson College Native American Student Retention Project:** We are working together to identify and lessen or remove barriers for Native students at Swenson College of Science & Engineering. Our goal is to create a more supportive climate for Native and other underrepresented students at UMD. By opening lines of communication and through programming, training, and partnerships, we aspire to increase retention and recruitment of Native students, supporting a more diverse STEM workforce through increased college matriculation. This group is using data and feedback from students to inform decisions and track progress. Contact: wreed@d.umn.edu, Location: Fond du Lac
- [Indigenous Student Organization \(ISO\)](#): A student-run group for anyone interested in Native American culture. The ISO seeks to create a friendly environment where students can establish a connection to the Native American community & culture. The ISO also endeavors to provide opportunities for its student members to become involved in several academically oriented and social service activities.
- [American Indian Science and Engineering Society \(AISES\)](#): AISES is a small group focusing on providing for Native STEM students. Contact: rbrecken@d.umn.edu
- **Association of Native American Medical Students (ANAMS):** ANAMS is a student-led group designed to advance AIAN health outcomes

- **Engagement, extension work, and partnerships**

- [Tribal Sovereignty Institute](#): The mission of the Tribal Sovereignty Institute is to promote tribal sovereignty through education, outreach, research, Tribal consultation and partnerships with Native Nations.
- [Center for Regional and Tribal Child Welfare Studies](#): Our programs and projects prepare students to become effective child welfare practitioners, particularly in working with American Indian families, through offering stipends, coursework and other cultural and experiential learning opportunities. The Center also partners with Tribes, county agencies, and nonprofits in Minnesota to help improve American Indian child welfare practice and reduce the disparities experienced by families in the child welfare system.
 - [Jii Anishinaabe Bimaadiziwag - HHS ICWA Implementation Partnership Project](#): The Jii - anishinaabe - bimaadiziwag ("So they can live the Indian way of life" in the Anishinaabe language) is the given name of the Center for Regional and Tribal Child Welfare Studies' ongoing collaborative Tribal State Partnership work to implement the Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA) in St. Louis County's Duluth region. Awarded in 2016, this five-year federal grant relies on three national sites to collect data, develop practice models, and provide recommendations for successful ICWA implementation across jurisdictions. HHS ICWA efforts are rooted in the groundwork of St. Louis County's ICWA Collaborative, the oversight body for the ICWA Court in

Duluth. Contact: bussey@d.umn.edu, Locations: Leech Lake, Grand Portage, Fond du Lac, White Earth

- **Ruth A. Myers Center for Indigenous Education**: The Center supports cohorts of American Indian students, who are instructed around an Ojibwe worldview. The philosophy, course work, and course projects are related to the health, well-being, history, culture, and education of Native peoples. We provide effective educational experiences that allow American Indian students to translate and articulate their knowledge and skills into viable solutions. Contact: hlabyad@d.umn.edu
 - **HOPE Clinic**: HOPE is an interprofessional, student-run free urgent care and referral clinic operated by Duluth Medicine and Pharmacy students under faculty supervision. The clinic has been seeing patients Tuesday afternoons from 3 to 5 pm at the CHUM homeless shelter in downtown Duluth since October 2008. The clinic's goals are (1) Address the patient's presenting complaint to the best of our ability, and (2) Help the patient connect with the local medical community to receive ongoing care. Referral partners include the Duluth Family Medicine Residency, the Lake Superior Community Health Center, the Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Chippewa's Center for American Indian Resources (CAIR) clinic, Duluth's WE Health Clinic and the Twin Ports VA Clinic in Superior, Wisconsin. Prescribed medications for HOPE Clinic patients are provided free of charge through an agreement with Essentia. Contact: rchrste@d.umn.edu
 - **ICWA Training**: The Tribal Training and Certification Partnership worked with the Minnesota Guardian ad Litem program to develop and deliver statewide training on the Indian Child Welfare Act and Minnesota Indian Family Preservation Act to guardians. Contact: jjasken@d.umn.edu
 - **Tribal-State Relations Training**: The mission of the TSRT is to provide training and education for Minnesota state employees about American Indian tribal governments, histories, cultures, and traditions in order to empower state employees to work effectively with American Indians, and promote authentic and respectful relationships between state agencies and American Indian Tribes.
- **Research**
 - **A Humanities-led Environmental Stewardship, Place & Community Initiative (MESPAC)**: This is a multi-campus research project with work happening in Duluth, Morris, and the Twin Cities. The full project description is listed in this document under the TC campus.
 - The Duluth Cohort of MESPAC has formed an [Indigenous Women's Water Sisterhood](#) to highlight the historical and ongoing relationship Native American peoples have with the Lake Superior watershed. Activities are underway to create an outdoor classroom, ceremony space, and signage along the St. Louis River trail. The space and historical knowledge will provide experiential learning opportunities for students and community members. The Duluth team is creating a website to provide a toolkit and K-12 curriculum that focuses on Native American history, epistemologies, science, and resources for students, teachers, and faculty engagement. The Indigenous Women's Water Sisterhood is guided by an elder according to traditional protocol.
 - **Native Center for Alcohol Research and Education**: Work with Missouri Breaks to recruit participants throughout two reservation communities in North Dakota and South Dakota, along with a non-reservation community in western South Dakota. Contact: jdhanson@d.umn.edu, Location: South Dakota

- [Transdisciplinary Engagements with Contemporary Indigenous Thinkers](#): This is a multi-campus research project with work happening in Crookston, Duluth, and the Twin Cities. The full project description is listed in this document under the Crookston campus.
 - [The Memory Keepers Medical Discovery Team on Rural and American Indian Health Equity \(MK-MDT\)](#): The Memory Keepers Medical Discovery Team is a state-funded, 10-year initiative with the goal of improving patient and population health, lowering costs and improving healthcare experiences. Using community-based participatory action research, our team strives to understand the biological, social, and cultural construction of disease, illness, and health in order to improve diagnoses, develop community health interventions and improve education for dementia within the context of geographic and cultural diversity. Based in Duluth, the participatory research training laboratory is equipped with technology to connect Indigenous and rural community leadership, advisory council members and community researchers across our region. Our goal is to create a training framework that will build capacity among students, researchers and faculty to conduct critically engaged, scientifically rigorous health equity research that honors Indigenous knowledge to benefit Indigenous and rural communities.
- **Institutional Work/Supports**
 - **American Indian Advisory Board (AIAB)**: Recently reinstated by Chancellor Black, the advisory board has representatives from the three northern Tribes of Bois Forte, Grand Portage, and Fond du Lac. It works toward a mutually beneficial relationship among Native Nations and the University of Minnesota Duluth. This group meets several times a year, and seeks to address the current and future needs for Indigenous education and enhancement of relationships, programming and mutually beneficial endeavors that benefit the region.
 - **Office of Diversity and Inclusion and the Multicultural Center**: These co-located offices work together to enhance academic achievement, create a sense of belonging, celebrate diversity, and foster positive relations among UMD students, faculty and staff.
- **Other**
 - **Champ's Cupboard**: Champ's Cupboard is a free food shelf offered to all UMD students. Contact: vcsl@d.umn.edu
 - **Champ's Closet**: Champ's Closet serves the needs of UMD students who need professional business attire for internship and job interviews. Contact: vcsl@d.umn.edu
 - **Emergency Funds**: Emergency grants, also links to SNAP, community services such as Lutheran services, local housing authorities, local food shelves, etc.
 - **Scholarship Opportunities**:
 - **UMD American Indian/Alaskan Native Community Volunteer Scholarship**: This scholarship assists American Indian/Alaskan Native community volunteers in their academic endeavors. As former American Indian UMD students, we remember what it was like to attend college being non-traditional students, heads of households—with children at home—working part-time jobs and trying to make ends meet. This scholarship seeks to make things easier for students today.
 - **Mike Munnell American Indian Studies Scholarship**: Named after Mike Munnell, the first graduate at UMD in the American Indian Studies Major, this award is given annually.
 - **Minnesota Indian Teacher Training Program Grants and Support**: This support is for American Indian students pursuing a degree in education or certification in the field of education, FAFSA required.

- [Sheila and Greg Fox Family Scholarship](#): This new scholarship supports underrepresented (not necessarily indigenous) students from Northern MN or WI who are student teaching or nearing student teaching, renewable.
- [Harry Oden Scholarship](#): Awarded to a sophomore, junior or senior from an underrepresented group who has financial need and a GPA of 2.5 or higher. Undergrad with contributions to the UMD community also taken into consideration.
- [Don and Sylvia Schmid American Indian Child Welfare](#): Grad scholars interested in social work practice in tribal communities, both on reservations and in urban areas.
- [Christina Guimaraes Memorial Scholarship](#): American Indian, returning undergrad student only (sophomore, junior, senior), preferred not required biological sciences, GPA 2.5 minimum, renewable, limited to 4 years.
- [Outside scholarships potentially of interest](#)

MORRIS:

- **Academic Programs**
 - [Native American & Indigenous Studies](#): This major and minor deepen students' knowledge of sovereignty and the diversity of Indigenous cultures throughout all of Native North America. Students engage with and learn Native American histories, cultures, literatures, languages, arts, sciences, and expressive cultures. Students are active learners within a growing and vibrant intertribal campus community.
 - [Anishinaabe Language Instruction](#): Anishinaabemowin and Native American Song and Dance are taught by a first speaker and world-renowned cultural expert, singer, and dancer.
 - **Dakota Language Instruction**: Dakota lapi courses have been reintroduced at Morris in a growing program provided in partnership with UMTC.
- **Student Support Programs**
 - **Circle of Nations Indigenous Association (CNIA)**: This student group works to increase the awareness of Native American culture and history on campus and in the surrounding community. Each spring for 35 years (with the exception of spring 2020), the CNIA Powwow has introduced our community to powwows and celebrated students' social and cultural ties with Native communities.
 - **American Indian Science and Engineering Society (AISES)**: The Morris AISES student chapter is dedicated to increasing the number of American Indians in STEM fields with career resources, national and regional conferences, and science fairs and programs. Morris AISES has been recognized nationally with Chapter of the Year, Outstanding Community Service, and Advisor of the Year awards.
 - [Office of Equity, Diversity, and Intercultural Programs](#): The Office of Equity, Diversity and Intercultural Programs, which includes the Multi-Ethnic Student Program, LGBTQIA2S+ Programs, and the International Student Program, supports events, programs, and partnerships that: strengthen relationships, intercultural competence, and global citizenship; promote a diverse, inclusive, and just community; and advance the engagement and success of students from traditionally underserved backgrounds in the U.S. and international students from around the world. Contact: desr0019@morris.umn.edu
 - **D/Lakota Language Table**: Student-led language table.

- **Native American and Indigenous Student Counseling Group:** Intentional support group for Native American students; created spring 2022.
 - **Native American Student Success (NASS):** The NASS program, funded by a U.S. Department of Education Native American Serving Non-Tribal Institutions grant in 2015, works to boost college success and close attainment gaps. The project supports student success, retention, and on-time graduation by targeting improvements in academic skills, advising and non-cognitive development; providing culturally relevant support and learning opportunities; and developing a supportive campus climate.
 - **Events for students include:**
 - Native American Student Success (NASS) Extended New Student Orientation
 - Traditional Drum and Honor Song at UMN Morris New Student Orientation and Commencement
 - NASS Visiting Elders, Artists, Educators, Leaders, and Aunties-in-Residence
 - Circle of Nations Indigenous Association Powwow
 - Honoring Ceremony for Native American Graduates
 - **Other programs available for student support include:**
 - **Summit Scholars:** A TRiO Student Support Services Program, the program began in 2015 with funding from the U.S. Department of Education. It provides individual support, services, and impactful opportunities and experiences for 140 Morris students from underrepresented backgrounds, including many Native American students, to help students work toward a timely graduation.
 - **McNair Scholars:** The UMN Morris U.S. Department of Education Ronald E. McNair Post-Baccalaureate Achievement Project was established in fall 2017. UMN Morris's confluence of academic rigor, rich student learning opportunities, and talented, motivated students from populations underrepresented in graduate education make Morris an effective and affordable McNair Ph.D./Ed.D. pipeline with the opportunity to help close the significant gap in doctoral attainment for Native Americans. The Morris program includes 17 Native American Scholars.
- **Research**
 - **[A Humanities-led Environmental Stewardship, Place & Community Initiative \(MESPAC\):](#)**
This is a multi-campus research project with work happening in Duluth, Morris, and the Twin Cities. The full project description is listed in this document under the TC campus.
 - The Morris Cohort of MESPAC is leading practical curricular and co-curricular institutional change through projects that will help decolonize and Indigenize institutional practices, and reflect their context as a Native American Serving Non-Tribal Institution. They are holding six listening sessions open to the campus community and Tribal partners, asking how decolonization, indigenization, and sustainability can be integrated into work at Morris. They are bridging Native Indigenous studies in North America and Latin America with curriculum connecting trans-Indigenous literatures, methods, and themes. Morris is partnering with the Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate to explore how traditional ecological knowledge and Indigenous food and seed sovereignty practices can inform food systems and food security.
 - **[A Dakota Cultural Intervention's Influence on Native and European American Students' Sense of Belonging:](#)** To increase Native American students' sense of belonging, Dakota Wicohan, a Native nonprofit, utilized Indigenous theory to develop and evaluate a cultural intervention, the Mni Sota Makoce: Dakota Homelands Curriculum. The cultural

- intervention brought Dakota story, language, and culture into 6th and 10th grade social studies classes. Contact: petersh@morris.umn.edu Location: Lower Sioux
- Most Morris students participate in research and creative work. In STEM fields, Native students participate in funded experiences through Research Opportunities for Undergraduates (REUs) and the Louis Stokes Alliance for Minority Participation (LSAMP) program.
 - **Institutional Work/Supports**
 - **American Indian Advisory Committee (AIAC):** advises the Morris chancellor and administration, aligned with the University of Minnesota Board of Regents policy on American Indian Advisory Boards. The AIAC meets on campus three times a year and hosts an annual Honoring Ceremony for Morris Native American graduates. It is composed of American Indian educational leaders from Minnesota and South Dakota. This long-standing advisory group is deeply committed to the educational attainment and success of Native American students at UMN Morris. They connect with students at each meeting.
 - **Native American Serving Non-Tribal Institution (NASNTI):** The University of Minnesota Morris is the only NASNTI institution in the upper Midwest. This federal designation requires that at least 10% of an institution's students identify as Native American. UMN Morris is 27% Native American. This allows for a solid critical mass, which in itself is a benefit for Indigenous students at the university. Contact: chipbeal@morris.umn.edu
 - **Black, Indigenous, People of Color, Queer, and Disabled Employee Resource and Support Group:** Monthly group open to employees.
 - **Other**
 - **Native American Garden:** Students work in the Native American Gardens on campus with guidance from elders, faculty, and staff. A medicine wheel garden, including sage and sweet grass, is tended, as well as a three sisters garden with corn, squash, and beans. The gardens bring people together for research, health-promoting activities, and cultural exchange. The harvest is shared in a community meal.
 - **Nokoomis Nibii Equay Honoring Sculpture:** A new sculpture, Nokoomis Nibii Equay (Grandmother Water Woman), carved from an 18,000-pound dolomite limestone from SE Minnesota, recognizes Native strength and resilience. Renowned Anishinaabe artist Duane (Dewey) Goodwin carved the sculpture on-site on the campus mall in 2018 with support from alumni Puncky '73 and Mary Soehren Heppner '76.
 - **Tri-lingual Language Signage Initiative:** This group is making campus signs inclusive, with Anishinaabe and Dakota languages throughout campus.
 - **Morris Healthy Eating Initiative:** There are food bags already assembled and available in several locations around campus. The bags include enough shelf-stable food items to last for several days.
 - **American Indian Tuition Waiver:** Morris offers a federal- and state-mandated tuition waiver for American Indian students. UMN Morris makes its home on a nearly 130-year-old campus. The federal government transferred the campus to the State of Minnesota with the stipulation that American Indian students “shall at all times be admitted to such school free of charge for tuition.”

ROCHESTER:

- **Academic Programs**
 - Established just over 10 years ago, the University of Minnesota Rochester campus (UMR) is growing and expanding its creative program of health science education preparing students for a broad spectrum of career pathways, including patient care; resilience, well-being and mental health; health care research and discovery; global health and public policy; emerging health technologies; and the business and leadership of healthcare. Our undergraduate and graduate enrollment of nearly 1,000 students includes one of the most diverse STEM populations in the University of Minnesota system, with 70% underrepresented, including 42% students of color. Our Grounding Values include community, respect, diversity and inclusion, evidence-based decision making and human potential.
 - **NXT GEN MED Program:** NXT GEN MED begins fall 2022 and will provide a fast-paced, high-tech learning environment that includes hands-on experiences and mentorship that provide relevant career experiences and support, proven in the field to foster academic success and career readiness. The program is year-round and designed to be completed in 2.5 years; it's set up so students have small classes and strong career and academic support.
 - **NXT GEN MED Summer Quest:** This program started summer 2021 and is part of UMR's broader goals to further expand the diversity of those pursuing careers in health care and medical services. American Indian or Alaska Native students are encouraged to apply along with other BIPOC groups.

- **Student Support Programs**
 - UMR's universal design approach to supporting student success has not offered specialized student support services for American Indian students. UMR has implemented high impact practices that are by and large accessible to all students but have been proven to be especially effective in bolstering the academic success and well-being of students from historically underrepresented backgrounds. That is, our Native students have benefited from individualized and holistic success coaching, participation in living-learning communities, access to summer bridge programming, enrollment in first-year seminars, engagement with community-based learning, internships, research opportunities, and innovative and diverse teaching pedagogies, including faculty JustASK centers.
 - All students complete the "Intercultural Development Inventory" three times during their college journey, with a self-assessment, personal reflection, and debrief with a qualified administrator. This work supports personal growth and also contributes positively to campus climate.

- **Engagement and extension work**
 - **Counterspaces+Art:** Counterspaces+Art is an arts- and community-based initiative that uses anti-racist praxis and art to provide BIPOC students and community members a transformative space to discuss issues of importance to them. Contact: amejiame@umn.edu
 - **Community Collaboratory:** Community engagement coursework and experience are embedded in the UMR curriculum, with a variety of ongoing community projects to which students contribute while learning.

- **Institutional Work/Supports**
 - **UMR Campus-wide Diversity and Inclusion Committee:** This committee continues to be the campus entity that drives our equity-minded efforts to advance inclusive excellence and foster a campus climate where all students feel welcome, valued, and safe. In particular, it has led our biennial campus climate assessments. In recognition of the unique positionality of American Indians in our nation and higher education specifically, it moved this year to establish a permanent seat for a Native American student on this important university working group. American Indian student leadership helped shape a robust series of educational and cultural programs during and beyond Native American Heritage Month.
 - Moving at the speed of trust, UMR leadership is enthusiastic to cultivate relationships with American Indian communities across the state, but especially in southern Minnesota. These bluffs that hold cultural significance for the Indigenous Dakota populations who have lived here for generations have also inspired UMR's bold vision to transform higher education through innovations that empower graduates to solve the grand health challenges of the 21st century. As we move toward this vision, we at UMR will continue to ask ourselves: How can we responsibly and generatively lead on a permanent basis with educational equity for Native American students as a core value embodied in all facets of how we operationalize our mission and vision?

- **Other**
 - **UMR Food Pantry:** The pantry is made possible through donations. Donated items range from basic kitchen essentials to personal hygiene products and are available to all UMR students, faculty, and staff throughout the year. The pantry is substantive and well utilized.

TWIN CITIES:

- **Academic Programs**
 - **[Ojibwe and Dakota Language Immersion Houses](#):** The Ojibwe and Dakota immersion houses were created to provide our students with the opportunity to live together in an environment where only the Ojibwe or Dakota language is spoken. Opportunities include: Film Series, Study Nights, Cultural Programming, and Fall Welcome Feast. Contacts: Dakota: sisoka@umn.edu, Ojibwe: bkishk@umn.edu
 - **[American Indian Studies](#):** American Indian Studies is a College of Liberal Arts department that offers a BA in American Indian Studies, a BA in Ojibwe Language, a minor in American Indian Studies, and various courses, including Dakota and Ojibwe languages. The Department of American Indian Studies' oldest and continuing strengths are courses in Dakota and Ojibwe language, culture, and history.
 - American Indian Studies Major: [General Track](#), [Language Track](#)
 - American Indian Studies [Minor](#)
 - [Ojibwe Language Major](#)
 - Opportunities include: American Indian Campus Visit Day, American Indian Golden Gathering, American Indian Summer Institute, Ojibwe and Dakota language tutoring, and Native American College Fair.
 - **[American Indian Cultural House \(AICH\)](#):** The American Indian Cultural House is a co-ed residence hall community on the East Bank, available to any incoming first-year freshmen and PSEO students. The American Indian Cultural House is a learning community where

students can live and study together while exploring identity and learning about the experiences of others. Contact: lharstad@umn.edu

- [Indian Child Welfare Clinic](#): These Law School classes include guest lecturers, who are leaders in the American Indian Community. The class includes guided discussion and analysis of the historical context and role of courts in the lives of American Indian families. The class provides a context to consider the effectiveness and equity of the child protection system in the lives of American Indian families today. Students learn Juvenile Court and Tribal Court procedure and advocacy skills to provide direct representation to families. Contact: amfurst@umn.edu
 - [American Indian Public Health and Wellness Certificate Program](#): This School of Public Health program is specifically designed for working professionals with a baccalaureate degree, generally working in state or county health departments, or other organizations that may need to learn protocol for working with a tribe or understanding the many cultures of tribal governments and their citizens. Students examine the public health and wellness issues facing American Indian communities: They review historical implications, analyze legislation, apply specific financing requirements, and gain an understanding of the unique American Indian public health system and the complex set of services, activities, collaborations and stakeholders that varies by Tribe and region. Contact: lfrizzel@umn.edu
 - [Graduate Minor in American Indian Health and Wellness](#): Increasing the knowledge of health professionals and increasing a culturally prepared workforce in the U.S. is the aim of this Minor. The unique knowledge about American Indian health care and services also offers opportunities for students from other countries to learn about this isolated public health model. This knowledge includes understanding the legal responsibility of the United States to provide health care and services to American Indians using a historical holistic approach encompassing the physical, mental, emotional and spiritual well-being of individuals, families and communities utilized before forced assimilation was practiced. SPH and non-SPH students have the option to choose a minor to complement their program of study. Contact: lfrizzel@umn.edu
 - [Undergraduate Certificate in Dakota Language Teaching](#): The Dakota Iapi Uṅspewičakiyapi Teaching Certificate is designed to address the critical point of Dakota language loss in Minnesota by developing a cadre of Dakota language learners, speakers, and teachers. This effort is part of a global Indigenous language revitalization movement based on the understanding that language is fundamental to cultural survival and tribal sovereignty.
 - **Early Childhood Education bachelor's degree with Ojibwe language**: Anticipated to begin fall 2023. The College of Education and Human Development is partnering with tribal colleges in Minnesota to create a pathway for transfer students to seek a bachelor's degree in Early Childhood Education with an Ojibwemowin language component. The schools are jointly reviewing curriculum to include Indigenous knowledge and practices regarding child development.
- **Student Support Programs**
 - [Circle of Indigenous Nations \(COIN\)](#): The Circle of Indigenous Nations (COIN) office fosters an environment that allows Indigenous students to feel a sense of community on campus. Contact: lharstad@umn.edu It contributes to the strengthening and development of all students through culturally specific services and activities by:
 - Developing quality programs that support Indigenous students
 - Strengthening Indigenous students in their academic development
 - Maintaining Indigenous cultural and individual identities

- Preserving and utilizing Indigenous history and culture
 - Building effective relationships with campus resources
- **[American Indian Science and Engineering Society \(AISES\)](#)**: The American Indian Science and Engineering Society (AISES) is a private, non-profit organization that bridges science and technology with traditional Native values. AISES' goal is to be a catalyst for the advancement of American Indians as they grow to become self-reliant and self-determined members of society. This student chapter supports students in science, engineering, and other science-related fields, and is currently seeking funding to sustain efforts.
- **[American Indian Student Cultural Center \(AISCC\)](#)**: AISCC is a student-run group that promotes cultural diversity, develops leadership in American Indian students at the University, and promotes the understanding of American Indian people, issues, history, and culture. Their annual signature events include: monthly Frybread Fridays, Fall Round Dance, Winter Storytelling and Spring Powwow.
- **[Undergraduate Diversity, Community and Belonging](#)**: A central source of services and opportunities for undergraduate students.
- **Native American Student Recruitment Initiatives (Office of Admissions, Undergraduates)**: Multidisciplinary team of University administration staff to remove barriers, enhance recruitment and retention, and support Native American student success efforts in Programs & Support for American Indian Undergraduate Students
- **Graduate School Diversity Office Initiatives:**
 - Achieve & Uplift: COST Graduation Celebration
 - Graduate School American Indian Community of Scholars Group
 - Native Graduate Luncheon (with COIN)
- **Other Student Support programs available and possibly of interest include:**
 - President's Emerging Scholars Program ([PES](#))
 - TRIO Student Services ([TRIO](#))
 - CLA Martin Luther King, Jr Program ([MLK Jr Program](#))
 - Multicultural Center for Academic Excellence ([MCAE](#))
 - Multicultural Student Engagement ([MCSE](#))
- **[American Indian Affinity Group, College of Pharmacy](#)**: One of the ways the College of Pharmacy is honoring its values of diversity, equity and inclusion, and creating a welcoming and supportive environment for all members of its community is through the formation of affinity groups. There are currently groups for people who identify as [Asian/Pacific Islander](#); [Black or African American](#); [First Generation College Students](#); [Hispanic/Latinx](#); [International Students](#); [LGBTQIA](#); [Persons Experiencing Disabilities](#); and a new group for those who identify as [American Indian](#).
- **[MCAE 2nd Year Student Internship Program](#)**: Year-long paid internship designed to promote academic, leadership, professional, and critical thinking skills of MCAE and COIN students.
- **Co-Curricular Activities:**
 - **[Bayaaga'adowejig Ingiw Gabe-gikendaasoowigamigong \(BIG\)](#)**: The purpose of BIG is to teach and promote Great Lakes style lacrosse on the UMTC campus. This organization serves as a unique opportunity for cultural exchange between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people.
 - **The Native Canoe Program/Canoe Rising**: This program uses traditional Indigenous watercraft and Indigenous water-based ecological knowledge and technology from across Oceania and the Native Great Lakes and Mississippi River to advance

community-engaged research, teaching, and service. Housed in the Department of American Indian Studies. Director: [Vicente M. Diaz](#)

- **Nibi Floating Lodge - A Traditional Ojibwe Lodge for Education and Prayer for Water:** The Native Canoe Program and Ojibwe water protector, Sharon Day
- **[Student Unions and Activities - Student Groups](#):** Students can connect with over 800 student groups on the Twin Cities campus. These groups cover a range of topics and interests, including academics, competitions, sustainability and environment, social, social and racial justice, and more. Some student groups provide resources, support, events, and community for Native and Indigenous undergraduate, graduate, and professional students. Examples include the Native American Law Student Association at the University of Minnesota and SACNAS - Society for Advancement of Chicanos/Hispanics and Native Americans in Science.
- **Engagement, Extension Work, and Partnerships**
 - **[Ojibwe People's Dictionary](#)** includes digital audio embedded in entries, and features illustrations of Ojibwe material culture and activities to narrate the cultural heritage and present-day lives of Ojibwe people.
 - **[Student Initiative for Reservation Veterinary Services](#):** The mission of SIRVS, a student-run organization, is to train future veterinarians by serving communities in need, specifically by providing spay/castration and wellness care for dogs and cats in reservation communities in Minnesota. Students also accompany the Dakota 28+2 horseback ride from the Dakotas to Mankato, MN. Contact: berns209@umn.edu
 - **[Air Permitting Engagement Workshop](#):** The training explains the stages of environmental rule development, facility-specific permit reviews and where public input can impact outcomes. Contact: nordr006@umn.edu. Locations: Leech Lake, Red Lake, White Earth, Mille Lacs, Fond du Lac.
 - **[Annual Conference on Native American Nutrition](#):** This is the only conference series in the world devoted to the food and nutrition of Indigenous Peoples. The Annual Conference on Native American Nutrition brings together Tribal officials, researchers, practitioners, funders, and others to discuss the current state of Indigenous and academic scientific knowledge about Native nutrition, dietary health, and food science, and identify new areas of work. The conference brings together more than 500 people annually from more than 30 states, three countries, and dozens of different Tribes. We are honored to host so many individuals working toward a common goal of improving the health of Indian Country. Contact: mkurzer@umn.edu Location: Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux
 - **[Green Step Cities Communications Internships Project](#):** This organization partners with the UMN Institute on the Environment's summer Sustainability Corps program, which places undergraduate students in remote 10-14 hour internships. Interns assist GreenStep Cities and Tribal Nations by developing communications materials such as press releases, social media campaigns, and supporting community story-telling efforts to better share sustainability and climate success stories and educate community residents and Minnesotans. Contact: kristin.mroz-risse@state.mn.us. Locations: Fond du Lac, Leech Lake, Prairie Island
 - **[Financial Capability for Immigrant and BIPOC Small Businesses](#):** Understand the unique challenges and complexities that Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC) and immigrant-owned small businesses face in rebuilding. Contact: mkatras@umn.edu. Locations: Fond du Lac, Red Lake, White Earth

- **Relationship Building and Meetings with Tribal Nations on Clean Energy:** Work with MIAC to share clean energy educational, funding and project opportunities and build a dialogue about establishing Tribal Energy Councils. Contact: haska004@umn.edu
- **Community-Based Dental Experiences:** Under the supervision of School of Dentistry affiliate faculty, dental students provide dental services to patients of Cass Lake Hospital, Red Lake Hospital, White Earth Health Center, Native American Community Clinic Dental Clinic, SRHS Cook Dental Clinic, Prairie Winds Dental Clinic, De Smet Dental Services, Jerauld County Dental Clinic, and Fond du Lac Dental Clinic. The goal of the Outreach Program at the School of Dentistry is to provide dental, dental therapy, and dental hygiene students with experiences that reinforce their knowledge of the principles in delivering dental health care. This care provides needed dental services to a variety of patients, including the underserved. Contact: mmaguire@umn.edu
- **Artist Neighborhood Partnership Initiative:** The [Center for Urban and Regional Affairs' \(CURA\)](#) Artists Neighborhood Partnership Initiative (ANPI) provides small grants to artists of color and Native artists working in neighborhoods in Minneapolis, St. Paul and the surrounding suburbs. ANPI grants recognize the valuable role that artists and the arts play in the work of fostering neighborhood wellbeing and are intended to support the leadership of artists in these efforts. This grant program is particularly focused on directly funding individual artists or groups of artists working to build a more equitable Twin Cities. Two to five projects are picked per year for support. Contact: kmurray@umn.edu
- **Native American Community Health Clinic:** Health education around COVID-19 Contact: fost0267@umn.edu
- **Community-Based COVID-19 Testing, Vaccination, Vaccine Education, and General Health Education and Outreach:** The Community-University Health Care Center is a key partner in the Academic Clinical Affairs Mobile Health Initiative. Beginning in Summer 2020, CUHCC received federal authorization under the public health emergency to leave its clinic and go out into its neighborhood and surrounding communities to provide community-informed COVID-19 testing and later COVID-19 vaccinations. CUHCC partnered with various local community and neighborhood groups; public housing agencies, BIPOC advocacy groups, local and state-wide faith-based organizations, local and national philanthropic communities, immigrant and refugee serving community organizations; city, county and state health departments; and many more. Contact: mcdon057@umn.edu
- **Neighborhood Partnership Initiative:** The Neighborhood Partnership Initiative (NPI) makes technical assistance and small grants of up to \$10,000 available to community-based, neighborhood or other place-based organizations located in communities of color and low-income communities in Minneapolis, St. Paul and the surrounding suburbs. NPI supports community-based partnerships that lead to increased engagement, power and influence of community members affected by racial, social and economic disparities. Contact: canders@umn.edu
- **SAGE + Diabetes Prevention Program Development:** Working with African American and American Indian middle-aged women to develop diabetes prevention education. Contact: marcz001@umn.edu
- **Nibi and Manoomin Symposium:** Wild rice symposium. Reservation communities of the Upper Midwest, in partnership with the University of Minnesota, host this annual symposium as an important, early step toward the emergence of mutual understanding of the significance of wild rice. The event has been taking place since 2013 each fall. The College of Food, Agricultural and Natural Resource Sciences (CFANS) continues to financially

support and partner with Tribes to host this symposium. Planning is underway for a fall 2022 conference after a hiatus from fall 2020 due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

- **Carlson Brand Enterprise Projects:** In the Carlson Brand Enterprise, undergraduate, Master of Marketing, and MBA students act as marketing strategy consultants by applying strategic and analytical concepts to complex business problems for a partner organization. Recent projects include work with the Mille Lacs Corporate Ventures (MLCV) supporting the Mille Lacs Band of Ojibwe and three projects with Mystic Lake (Shakopee Mdewakanton Dakota). These projects consisted of strategy and marketing strategy topics.
- **Carlson Ventures Enterprise:** Throughout this two-semester program, students participate in coursework that teaches best practices, frameworks, and methodologies crucial for identifying and evaluating new ventures. Completed student projects include two with the White Earth Sovereign Nation. As an example of this work, one project intended to help identify potential business opportunities for biomass on sovereign land.
- **Art Department/Migizi Youth Group Partnership:** The Art Department has hosted the Migizi youth group, providing space and equipment, over the summer for the last six years. This year they are supporting two Migizi cohorts:
 - The First Production Youth Media program has made use of space offered by the University over the past five years.
 - MIGIZI's Green Jobs Pathway is a program focused on teaching students about Renewable energy through an Indigenous lens. The cohort is about the same size as First Person Production, serving 8-12 students throughout the summer.
- **Why Canoes? Why Canoes? Capacious Vessels and Indigenous Futures of Minnesota's Peoples and Places** is an exhibit currently on display in the Northrop Gallery. It is presented by Northrop, the Heritage Studies & Public History Program, the Institute for Advanced Study, and the University Honors Program. This exhibit honors the interconnectedness between the Native Canoe Program; University of Minnesota students, faculty and staff; and members of three Indigenous communities around Mni Sota Makoce (Minnesota). It also celebrates relationships with Dakota, Ojibwe, and Micronesian communities that have come together and found a common passion for sharing water traditions, while broadening the understanding of the waters that surround us through the resurgence and revitalization of canoe communities. It is free and open to the public.
- **Open Rivers: Open Rivers: Rethinking Water, Place & Community** is an open access journal of public scholarship that creates a space for critical conversations and work on water, place, and community. We understand water as an important site for engaging questions at the intersections of social and biogeophysical systems, questions about climate change, and questions about environmental justice and injustices. It regularly centers work from Indigenous artists, thinkers, scholars, and guest editors.
- **Star Island Fire History Partnership:** This partnership between the Leech Lake Band of Ojibwe, Leech Lake Tribal College, the Chippewa National Forest and UMN is collaborating on a fire history project on Star Island in Cass Lake. It brings together diverse perspectives and knowledge that will enhance shared understanding of the island from ecological, cultural, and historical contexts. Its purpose is to research and understand the historic use of fire in regional land management. By analyzing tree rings from a culturally significant island and sharing related knowledge, the partnership is deepening their understanding of the land, strengthening relationships, and laying the groundwork for further collaboration. Using this knowledge to inform present-day land management may help ensure the region's mixed pine woodlands are resilient into the future.

- **Veterinary Treatment Outreach for Urban Community Health (VeTouch)** is a College of Veterinary Medicine student-run, MASH-style clinic providing vaccines, physical exams, and other preventive care at no cost to families in Minneapolis. VeTouch hosts twice-monthly clinics in partnership with SIRVS and Little Earth of United Tribes in the Phillips Neighborhood. Contact: vetouch@umn.edu
- **St. Francis/Cedar Creek American Indian Education partnership** is a community-initiated K-12 education project at the College of Biological Sciences' Cedar Creek Ecosystem Science Reserve and the St. Francis Area Schools American Indian Education program. Since 2018, school staff and education staff at Cedar Creek have jointly created a portfolio of 2-4 hour programs on topics of relevance to Ojibwe and Dakota priorities, western ecology, and grade-specific science standards. These programs are delivered throughout the school year to students both at local schools and at Cedar Creek's field station facilities and have covered topics including bison, water quality, and winter adaptations. Student participants also contribute to Cedar Creek's public trails and educational resources by working with elders in their community to create Ojibwe and Dakota language and learning materials about local plants. Contact: caitlin@umn.edu
- **Geoscience Alliance:** The Geoscience Alliance is a national alliance supporting broader participation of Native Americans in the Geosciences. It is hosted and directed by staff at the St. Anthony Falls Laboratory. The 6th Geoscience Alliance conference "Data in Indian Country" will take place on the UMTC campus in July 2022. Contact: dianad@umn.edu.
- **Native FEWS Alliance:** The CSE St. Anthony Falls Laboratory is a partner of the Native Food, Energy and Water Security Alliance. This NSF Includes alliance is a partnership with the University of California, Berkeley, University of Arizona, and the American Indian Higher Education Consortium. Contact: dianad@umn.edu.
- **Collaboration through International Initiatives + TRIO SSS + Red Lake Nation Tribal College:** This collaboration includes a collaborative course that includes a field experience at Red Lake Nation during the 2022-23 academic year. This would be for a cohort of TRIO students in partnership with students at RLN, including a week-long experience at RLN (spring semester). The course would advance TRIO/Red Lake students' notions and understanding of Community Cultural Wealth. Looking at the comparative experiences of TRIO students attending a large R1 institution and Indigenous students attending a tribal college, the course would support students in thinking about the opportunities higher education creates to examine, explore, and engage with the spaces of community cultural wealth that advance learning in education. This project has already begun plans for 2023–24.
- **[Okciyapi, Angela Two Stars' Commission for the Minneapolis Sculpture Garden, Walker Art Center Project](#):** This recently completed project worked collaboratively with artist Angela Two Stars, the finalist for the Walker Art Center's Indigenous Public Art Commission, in developing new site-specific work for the Minneapolis Sculpture Garden. The goal of the collaboration was to develop a site plan, determine viable materials, and generate construction drawings for the project installed recently. Contact: John Koepke
- **[MN Hwy. 23 Mission Creek Fond du Lac Band of the Lake Superior Chippewa Cemetery Restoration](#):** While working on this cemetery restoration, our team will be taking careful steps throughout the design process to engage the Fond du Lac tribe, as well as state experts in archeology and security to define best practices for the interment of the remains. We will be engaging the tribe throughout the project to help collaborate in design decisions. It is our responsibility to make sure that we understand what is important to the tribe and the surrounding community so that our design appropriately reflects those values. The

design will focus on the restoration of the cemetery and will also show areas of connection and context as we unfold the site's story. The deliverables will be presented to the FDL Band and the other project stakeholders to gather feedback and build community consensus. Contact: John Koepke. Partners: Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Chippewa and MNDOT. Location: Fond du Lac

- **Electrical and Computer Engineering (ECE) Partnership with White Earth:** ECE faculty have been involved with outreach and relationship building on the White Earth Indian Reservation since the mid 2000's, including introducing and engaging UMN engineering students. Recent activities include: virtual classroom visit by UMN students to Pine Point Tribal School, Pine Point Math and Science Camp, White Earth/4H Engineering weekends, and regular WE Engineering Club virtual meetings with White Earth K-12 students
 - **Ramp-Up to Readiness:** Created at the University of Minnesota, Ramp-Up is a grades 6-12 college and career readiness program that aims to increase and diversify those earning a postsecondary degree. The comprehensive, digital curriculum focuses on five areas of readiness so that when students matriculate at postsecondary, they will be prepared and successful. Ramp-Up is currently used at three Indigenous schools in Minnesota and is being offered free of charge to others.
- **Research**
 - **[A Humanities-led Environmental Stewardship, Place & Community Initiative \(MESPAAC\)](#):** This project focuses on centering Indigenous epistemologies and other ways of knowing to shape how we think about relationships with the planet and each other. Through campus/community partnerships based at UMN Duluth, UMN Morris, and UMN Twin Cities, the work has three main trajectories: curriculum development (integrating Indigenous and other ways of knowing into environmental education with an emphasis on humanities education and experiential work), community-engaged activism to center Indigenous epistemologies and struggles, and institutional change both at the University and beyond. Contacts: mober079@umn.edu; or gunnx005@umn.edu
 - **Stewardship Partnership with Makoce Ikikcupi:** The Twin Cities Cohort is working with [Makoce Ikikcupi](#), a project that emerged more than a decade ago as a response to the historical legacy of forced removal and exile of the Očéti Šakówiŋ people. Work with Makoce Ikikcupi centers on mutual learning, decolonization through advocacy and activism, and re-establishing Indigenous knowledge and sustainable ecological practices, foodways, and language. Contact: vmdiaz@umn.edu
 - **[Indigenous Good Birth Project](#):** We are learning from rural Indigenous people about what would make a positive birth experience for them. We will use what we learn to create clinician training materials for maternity care clinicians. Contact: basil045@umn.edu
 - **[ArTeS Research and Creative Collaborative](#):** ArTeS is an emerging, intercollegiate initiative that centers the Arts in Art + Technology + Science collaborations at the University of Minnesota. It envisions and generates multiple experimental forms designed to activate ArTeS as a university-wide initiative through which regional, national, and international Art/Science/Technology collaboratives might also interact. Partners include departments of American Indian Studies, Art, Architecture, Design, Computer Science and Engineering, and Music Theory; and Liberal Arts Technologies and Information Services (LATIS).
 - **Child Removal Study:** This anonymous nationwide survey of Native people aims to understand the links between historical and present-day child removal, and other issues and concerns in the Native community. The team emphasizes healing, as well as truth and reconciliation. Contact: liebler@umn.edu

- **[Back to Indigenous Futures: A UMN Grand Challenges Project](#)**: Back to Indigenous Futures is a project with two sub-projects:
 - Dedicated to transindigenous reciprocity, recovery and revitalization of Traditional Ecological Knowledge via: partnered design and implementation of engaged TEK activities and building and advancing equitable and reciprocal relations between academic and Indigenous communities. Contact: john1906@umn.edu, Location: Upper Sioux, Lower Sioux
 - Faculty in Native Studies across several campuses and colleges partner with Indigenous communities (Micronesian Pacific Islanders in rural Minnesota and Lower Sioux and Upper Sioux Dakota Communities) to advance Indigenous watercraft and Indigenous water-associated knowledge in ways that center community partnership, decolonization, and nation building for innovative learning and knowledge production practices. The work involves hands-on building and learning of Indigenous knowledge, including women's knowledge and practices around water. Contact: vmdiaz@umn.edu Locations: Upper Sioux, Lower Sioux
- **MYST: Minnesota Youth Sex Trading Project**: MYST is a mixed-method study focused on disrupting sexual exploitation and the systems that support it. This project is statewide and included examination of young people's assets, strengths and protective factors. The Native+ MYST team (a collaborative team including UMN researchers and community organizations and members) focuses explicitly on sex trading amongst Native American/Indigenous identified youth and identifying and implementing community-engaged responses and solutions. Contact: john1906@umn.edu
- **[Whole Family Systems Initiative/2-Gen Network](#)**: The Whole Family Systems Initiative is a network of partners comprising local organizations, tribal nations, their partners, and the state to uncover and address the systemic influences related to racial, geographic and economic inequities, and to support coordination across the programs and systems that serve children and families. The goal is to realize programs and approaches that serve and support whole families in a multiple-generation approach. Contact: hend0402@umn.edu. Location: Fond du Lac
- **[Cigarette Smoking and Nicotine Metabolism among American Indians](#)**: We are looking at smoking and how nicotine metabolism and potentially other genetic factors contribute to smoking with the goal of informing future cessation efforts. Contact: dcarroll@umn.edu
- **Understanding Pedestrian Travel Behavior and Safety in Rural Settings**: We are working with MnDOT and the Advocacy Council for Tribal Transportation to assess pedestrian safety at multiple locations on at least five Anishinaabe reservations: Grand Portage, Leech Lake, Mille Lacs, Red Lake, and White Earth. Tribal road managers have identified locations where pedestrians face risk when crossing roadways. We video-record pedestrian crossings, analyze and code interactions with drivers of motor vehicles, and recommend counter-measures to reduce risk. Previous analyses during Phase 1 on this project led to the installation of new pedestrian-activated crossing signals at Mille Lacs on Hwy 169 and several improvements on Hwy 61 in Grand Portage to reduce risk and increase safety. Contact: linds301@umn.edu Locations: Grand Portage, Leech Lake, Mille Lacs, Red Lake, White Earth
- **Development and Pilot Testing of a Culturally Tailored Smartphone-Delivered Intervention for Commercial Smoking Cessation in American Indians**: Commercial smoking among American Indian (AI) persons in the northern plains region of the U.S. is high, and while many AI persons want to quit smoking, lifetime quitting is lower in AI persons than persons of other race groups. Low quitting among AI persons may be attributed to a lack of access to

- or availability of smoking cessation treatment interventions that are tailored to the culture and unique needs of AI persons. Through engagement of multiple AI community partners this project will produce a culturally tailored version of NCI's QuitGuide app with the potential to effectively combat commercial smoking among AI persons in the northern plains. Contact: dcarroll@umn.edu
- **[Kris Nelson Community-Based Research Program](#)**: The Nelson program provides community-driven, applied research and technical assistance to community organizations and metro-area government agencies. We match the research and technical needs of organizations with student research assistants to carry out community-defined and -guided projects. CURA works with organizations selected for the program to create shared understanding and action based on the results. The Nelson Program provides approximately 200 hours of student time to work on a project in the spring and fall semesters, or 260 hours during the summer. The goals of the program are to support place-based and community-based organizations to create impact in the following areas: people and places, organizations, collaborations, and systems. Contact: canders@umn.edu
 - **[MSP Urban Long-Term Ecological Research: Urban Toxins](#)**: We are studying why some species of plants and animals can tolerate urban stressors, like heavy metals and salts, while others cannot. We are working with the Lower Phalen Creek Project to measure heavy metal levels in soils and plants in native plantings for pollinators. This ecological restoration, around the sacred Dakota Wakan Tipi site, has historically been subject to high levels of pollution from adjacent trains and roads. Our research at the site will inform basic questions in evolutionary biology, while being of use to the people using this important site. Contact: emilies@umn.edu
 - **[Cultivated Wild Rice and Manoomin Research and Engagement](#)**: CFANS has a faculty position in Wild Rice Research in Agronomy and Plant Genetics that is funded by the State of Minnesota. This is primarily focused on cultivated wild rice. As a response to Minnesota Chippewa Tribe opposition to this work, CFANS Dean Buhr created a wild rice advisory group in 2017 that included both cultivated wild rice growers and Chippewa Tribal representatives as well as key U of M faculty working in the area. A result of this work has been the development of a website to provide transparency and openness in research so that all research conducted by the University is available to tribes and the public. A first ever research policy statement on wild rice was created by a working group and is in the process of being approved and implemented by the Office of Vice President for Research.
 - **[Grand Portage Ecosystem Health Research](#)**: College of Veterinary Medicine faculty have partnered with natural resources managers of the Grand Portage Band of Lake Superior Chippewa since 2015 in the development and conduct of ecosystem health research prioritized by the Band. Research has included long term assessments of moose health and habitat use, the translocation of wolves from the Grand Portage Indian Reservation to Isle Royale National Park, and assessment of contaminants of emerging concern in aquatic ecosystems important for traditional subsistence fishing. Contact: wolfx305@umn.edu
 - **[Transdisciplinary Engagements with Contemporary Indigenous Thinkers](#)**: This is a multi-campus research project with work happening in Crookston, Duluth, and the Twin Cities. The full project description is listed in this document under the Crookston campus.
 - **[Tribal CWD Surveillance Network](#)** within the College of Veterinary Medicine. It supports the efforts of 8 Tribal Nations within Minnesota, 3 others in the Midwest region, the 1854 Treaty Authority and the Great Lakes Indian Fish and Wildlife Commission in the collection of tissue samples from white-tailed deer harvested by tribal and non-tribal hunters on Tribal Land for the testing and surveillance of chronic wasting disease (CWD). This partnership

includes the development of CWD outreach and educational materials and the development of draft CWD management plans for Tribal Nations. Contact: wolfx305@umn.edu

- **Mixed Reality Spatial Interaction for Diverse Communities:** This seed project implements an ambitious plan to advance cutting-edge research in Spatial Interaction while simultaneously inventing new ways science and engineering can engage underserved and underrepresented communities as research partners. Interdisciplinary investigators from Computer Science and Engineering and American Indian Studies have created a partnership with the community of Milan, MN. The specific aim of this seed project is to create the remote computing infrastructure needed to get early lab-based results into the hands of the remote Milan community and revive the on-campus infrastructure for continued development and research on Spatial Interaction, paving the way for a long-term partnership of participatory design research, outreach programs, and more. Contact: dfk@umn.edu or vmdiaz@umn.edu
 - **Indigenous Art and Activism in Changing Climates –The Mississippi River Valley, Colonialism, and Environmental Change:** This project is a Mellon Humanities without Walls Consortium Research Challenge Grant. Based at University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, it's a collaborative among American Indian Studies researchers and graduate students at UMTC, Northwestern University, the University of Mississippi, and the University of Iowa, to study Indigenous art and activism responsive to the Mississippi River Valley and its changing climates. Contact: vmdiaz@umn.edu
 - **Link for Equity**, an intervention designed to address adverse child experiences, including racial trauma, among Black, Indigenous and Latinx children in Minnesota schools in order to reduce violence disparities. Link for Equity is a multi-level intervention of trauma-informed care that integrates cultural humility and psychological first aid to increase teacher-student connectedness and reduce posttraumatic stress in BIPOC children. The study involves over a dozen schools in the Twin Cities metro area and Greater Minnesota, and has shown promising effects on improving racial bias in teachers. Contact: mramirez@umn.edu
 - **Water Values**, a collaboration between UMN College of Education and Human Development, College of Design, The Bell Museum and CSE St. Anthony Falls Laboratory with the Gidakiimanaaniwigamig (Our Earth Lodge) Science Camps (led by Fond du Lac Tribal and Community College). This project supports students in the camp telling their own water stories in ESR Story Maps and as a show to be shown in the Planetarium at the Bell Museum. Contact: bhaskar@umn.edu or dianad@umn.edu.
 - **Research Experience for Undergraduates on Sustainable Land and Water Resources** is a collaboration between St. Anthony Falls Laboratory (CSE), University of MN Duluth, Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Chippewa, and Salish Kootenai College (Montana). Ten students per summer spend time working on tribally-focused community-based research projects in Minnesota and Montana. UMN faculty are mentors for the research projects. Contact: dianad@umn.edu.
- **Institutional Work/Supports**
 - **American Indian Advisory Board:** This group consists of Tribal leaders, community members and a current student from UMTC. This group advises campus leaders and staff on how to better recruit, retain and support Indigenous learners. They inform the University about current events, Indigenous lifeways and best practices.
 - **American Indian Student Success Working Group/Multicultural Student Success Committee:** Two active committees working to improve student retention and graduation and campus climate for undergraduate American Indian students and BIPOC students.

- **Tribal Natural Resources Position:** In 2015 a conversation between the dean of CFANS and then-White Earth Chairwoman Vizenor regarding forest ecology restoration work led to the initiation of a “Tribal Natural Resources” position in an effort to both conduct research and, for the first time, create a formal academic connection to Minnesota tribes through a faculty position. To define the position, CFANS leadership had conversations at the 2017 Nibi and Manoomin Conference. Those included Chippewa Tribal DNR members, Tribal Government Representatives, and Tribal College members. This led to the creation of a tenure-track faculty position in Tribal Natural Resources, eventually based in the Forest Resources Department. We seek to extend these efforts to Native Nutrition and also seek further engagement with Tribal Colleges and others (e.g., UMD) in developing programs in Native food and natural resources. We have tentatively identified funding for a position in Food Science and Nutrition and seek to move forward. However, we seek support and collaboration to engage further with the tribes and particularly tribal colleges in programmatic areas. We also have begun to engage more fully with the [UMD MTRES](#). (Master of Tribal Resource and Environmental Stewardship) and including Tribal Colleges.
- **Weisman Art Museum Truth and Reconciliation Advisory Committee:** The Truth and Reconciliation Advisory Committee for the Weisman Art Museum at the University of Minnesota is composed of Native American community members and members of Native American community-based organizations. The work of this committee is to foster collaboration between and among Native communities and the Weisman Art Museum by developing partnerships and strengthening relationships on-campus with members of tribal communities, and off-campus with tribal entities, urban and rural. The Committee provides guidance on issues of museum strategy and policy, programming and advocacy and comprises eight members representing a diverse range of expertise, backgrounds and tribal affiliations.
- **Other**
 - **Native American Medicine Gardens (College of Food, Agricultural, and Natural Resource Sciences):** The Native American Medicine Garden originated as a program under then-President Bruininks and in the Medical School as part of the “Woodlands Wisdom” Program for Indigenous spirituality and healing. The plan is to engage with the Dakota Sioux on whose land it stands and discuss opportunities for their stewardship of a site to engage in programming with UMN. Ideally, this is co-developed and bridges ways of knowing so that it has academic alignment while fully inclusive of tribal cultural dimensions.
 - **Mural “The Epic of Minnesota’s Great Forests”:** The Mural is located in Green Hall, home of the Forest Resources Department. It depicts Minnesota’s timber industry development. It was painted by Hazel Thorson Stoic Stoeckeler in 1945 as part of her Master of Arts degree at the University of Minnesota. A recent committee of students and faculty in Forest Resources evaluated the artwork and found it to contain a caricature of American Indians, an omission of women and other underrepresented people who had roles in Forestry and did not represent modern Forestry. We continue to engage with Tribal partners as we consider ways to recognize the history of forests and forestry in Minnesota that accurately represent the history of the exploitation of Minnesota Tribes and their lands.
 - **National Tribal Tobacco Conference:** Although many American Indian/Alaska Native (AI/AN) tribes have historically used tobacco for spiritual purposes (i.e., traditional tobacco), the use of commercially produced tobacco has risen dramatically among AI/ANs and as a result AI/AN have high rates of tobacco-related morbidity and mortality. The 2-day National Tribal Tobacco Conference in summer 2022 will fight commercial tobacco with traditional tobacco

- and through dissemination of best practices and fostering of new partnerships; it therefore has great potential to contribute to reducing the grave individual, community, and societal burdens of commercial tobacco among AI/ANs. Contact: dcarroll@umn.edu
- [Boynton Health’s Nutritious U Food Pantry](#) is an on-campus, free food pantry available to any graduate and undergraduate student attending the University of Minnesota. It operates the last week of each month during the academic year. **Swipe Out Hunger UMN** offers meal cards to students who need them, which allows free meals in dining halls. Swipe Out Hunger UMN also distributes boxed, prepared meals to-go. They are available to all students at no cost; no proof of need is required. These meals are prepared by the Campus Club. [Boynton Health](#) is a full service clinic serving the University of Minnesota Twin Cities campus. It provides comprehensive health care with a public health approach to campus well-being, with a goal of providing the highest quality of care in a culture that supports equity, inclusion and respect.
 - **Recent publications of interest from UMN Press** (contact: lundg030@umn.edu):
 - [Settler Colonial City: Racism and Inequity in Postwar Minneapolis](#): Examining several distinct Minneapolis sites, Settler Colonial City tracks how settler-colonial relations were articulated alongside substantial growth in the Twin Cities Indigenous community during the second half of the twentieth century—creating new geographies of racialized advantage. It reveals how non-Indigenous people in Minneapolis produced and enforced a racialized economy of power that directly contradicts the city’s “progressive” reputation.
 - [We Are Meant to Rise: Voices for Justice from Minneapolis to the World](#): In this book Indigenous writers and writers of color bear witness to one of the most unsettling years in U.S. history. Essays and poems vividly reflect the traumas we endured in 2020, beginning with the COVID-19 pandemic and deepened by the blatant murder of George Floyd by Minneapolis police officers and the uprisings that immersed our city in the epicenter of worldwide demands for justice.
 - [The Sioux Chef’s Indigenous Kitchen](#): Sean Sherman, the Oglala Lakota chef and founder of The Sioux Chef, dispels outdated notions of Native American fare; no fry bread, dairy products, or sugar here. The Sioux Chef’s Indigenous Kitchen features healthful plates that embrace venison, duck, blueberries, sage, amaranth, and abundant wildflowers. This volume is a delectable introduction to the modern Indigenous cuisine of the Dakota and Minnesota territories.
 - [North Country: The Making of Minnesota](#): North Country unlocks the complex origins of the state—origins that have often been ignored in favor of legend and a far more benign narrative of immigration, settlement, and cultural exchange. It is the unflinching account of how the land the Dakota named Mini Sota Makoce became the State of Minnesota and of the people who have called it home.
 - **Scholarship Opportunities:**
 - [American Indian Student Funding Opportunities \(MCAE\)](#): The Circle of Indigenous Nations office also works with the Minnesota Indian Scholarship Program and other tribal higher education offices. This site lists information about scholarships and other financial aid opportunities for American Indian students within and outside of the University of Minnesota.
 - [Charles R. Krusell Fellowship in Community Development](#): This fellowship is designed to increase the number of highly trained community development professionals from communities of color and to provide hands-on work experience to ensure students are prepared to meet the challenges of the evolving community

development field. Krusell Fellows receive full tuition support and graduate research assistantships with community development or planning agencies. The program is a partnership between CURA and the Humphrey School. Students applying for the Master of Urban and Regional Planning and Master of Public Policy programs are eligible to apply. Contact: canders@umn.edu

- [**American Indian Environmental Leadership Scholarship**](#): Recognizes highly motivated AI students with a dedication to protecting natural resources while serving future generations, their community, and the world.
- [**School of Public Health PHAP American Indian Tuition Waiver**](#): Since fall 2020, the PHAP program has provided a full tuition waiver for up to 44 credits for students meeting the UMN-Morris definition of Native American student. We will offer this full waiver for the next three years before reevaluation.
- [**Wahpetunwin Dakota Iapi Scholarship**](#): The Wahpetunwin Dakota Iapi Scholarship is a financial aid program for University of Minnesota degree-seeking undergraduates who demonstrate strong dedication to learning how to speak and teach the Dakota language.
- [**Continuing Education Dakota Iapi Scholarship**](#): The Continuing Education Dakota Iapi Scholarship is a financial aid program for continuing education (non-degree-seeking) students at the University of Minnesota who demonstrate dedication to learning and teaching the Dakota language.
- [**Continuing Education Ojibwemodaa Eta! Scholarship**](#): The Continuing Education Ojibwemodaa Eta! Scholarship is a financial aid program for continuing education (non-degree-seeking) students at the University of Minnesota who demonstrate dedication to learning and/or teaching the Ojibwe language.
- [**College of Liberal Arts Scholarship**](#): The College of Liberal Arts offers scholarships for continuing students, currently enrolled in CLA. Each year, academically talented CLA students receive scholarships based on need or merit.
- [**Libertus-Rice Transfer Scholarship**](#): The Libertus-Rice Transfer Scholarship is intended to support recruitment of Native American transfer students to the College of Liberal Arts, especially those from a tribal college or university.
- [**Other Scholarship Resources of Interest**](#): There are a variety of links on this page to various national scholarships or UMN administered scholarships that may be of interest and applicable. These include the American Indian College Fund, American Indian Education Foundation, American Indian Graduate Center, Gates Millennium Scholars Program, Udall Undergraduate Scholarships, and Cobell Scholarship.
- [**American Indian Undergraduate Fellowships**](#): Summer research program in the CSE Materials Research Science and Engineering Center for Native students in STEM fields providing research experience and professional development with the goal of developing pathways to graduate education and STEM careers.
- [**Belle and Harry Yaffe Family Pathways for American Indians Scholarship \(Tribal Colleges Partnership\)**](#): Students are eligible to be considered for this award if they are: a) attending UMTC; b) enrolled full-time or part-time; c) undergraduate or graduate degree-seeking students; d) enrolled in the College of Education and Human Development; e) studying towards any type of degree offered within CEHD; f) able to demonstrate financial need and academic merit; g) American Indians who are enrolled or eligible for enrollment in a federally recognized tribe; h) have attended a tribal college or university in the United States. i) Preference will be given to students

who have attended a tribal college or university in the Midwest region (MN, ND, SD, and WI). This award may be renewable to the recipient.

- **Frances Harrison-Edgar and Richard Edgar Endowed Fellowship (Social Work):** To provide financial support to students. To be eligible for consideration, the students shall be: a) attending UMTC; b) graduate degree-seeking students; c) enrolled in CEHD; d) studying towards a masters degree in the area of Social Work; e) able to demonstrate financial need and academic merit; f) American Indians who are enrolled or eligible for enrollment in a federally recognized tribe. g) Preference will be given to students who have expressed an interest in serving American Indian communities following graduation. This award should be renewable to the recipient, provided the recipient demonstrates satisfactory progress toward a degree and continues to meet the criteria of the award.
- **Harry and Belle Yaffe Family Fund (CEHD-wide, grad and undergrad):** The purpose of the Fund is to provide financial support to students at the University of Minnesota. Students are eligible to be considered for this award if they are: a) attending UMTC; b) enrolled full-time or part-time; c) enrolled in the CEHD; d) working toward any type of degree offered by the college; e) able to demonstrate financial need. f) First preference will be given to American Indian/Native American students who are enrolled or eligible for enrollment in a federally recognized tribe. If no eligible students are identified, then secondary preference will be given to students who will enhance the diversity of the student body as described by the University. In evaluating student body diversity, after the eligible pool of candidates are selected, an additional consideration (plus factor) will be given for BIPOC students (Black, Indigenous, and People of Color) who are underrepresented at the University or the applicable major or program at the time of the award. This award may be renewable to the recipient, provided the recipient demonstrates satisfactory progress toward a degree and continues to meet the criteria of the award.
- **All Our Relations (CEHD-wide, undergrad):** The All Our Relations Scholarship Fund was established for students enrolled in CEHD. The scholarship will reward academic achievement of undergraduate students who have successfully completed their first semester and who would enhance diversity within UMN. A plus factor will be given to Native American students.
- **Dorothy L. Berger Changing Lives Fellowship (Social Work):** The fund will provide payments to full-time graduate students at UMN. Recipients of the award shall be: 1) full-time MSW students enrolled in the School of Social Work working toward a graduate degree; b) in good academic standing; c) with exceptional potential in their field; d) with a demonstrated commitment to performing social work that will benefit Native Americans, as evidenced by prior working and/or volunteer experiences in this area. UMN will use this fellowship to promote a diverse student body. In accordance with the donor's wishes, a plus factor will be given to Native Americans.
- **Rodney Wallace Endowment in Education (CEHD-wide, undergrad):** Will provide scholarships with preference as follows: 1) Native Americans, residents of MN; 2) Native Americans, non-residents; 3) other racial minorities; 4) other disadvantaged students.
- **Rosalie Clark Memorial Fellowship (Social Work):** To provide financial aid to an undergraduate or graduate student in the School of Social Work who is preparing to work with the Native American community.

- **Stuart Lucks Scholarship (Tribal Colleges Partnership):** The purpose of the Fund is to provide financial support to students at the University of Minnesota. Students are eligible to be considered for this award if they are: a) attending UMTC; b) enrolled full-time or part-time; c) undergraduate or graduate degree-seeking students; d) enrolled in the CEHD; e) able to demonstrate financial need and academic merit; f) enrolled or eligible for enrollment in a federally recognized tribe; g) have attended a Tribal College or University in the United States. h) Preference will be given for students who have attended a Tribal Colleges or University in the Midwest region (MN, ND, SD, or WI). This award may be renewable to the recipient, provided the recipient demonstrates satisfactory progress toward a degree and continues to meet the criteria of the award.
- **Rural Reservation Scholarship Fund (CEHD-wide, undergrad):** Scholarships for new students entering the CEHD who are enrolled or eligible for enrollment in a federally recognized tribe in the state of Minnesota and demonstrate financial need. Provided the recipients continue to make progress towards graduation, this scholarship can be renewable by the initial scholars.

SYSTEMWIDE:

- **Student Support Programs**
 - **UMMSD Center of American Indian and Minority Health:** At the Center of American Indian and Minority Health, we're working to make a positive impact on American Indian and Alaska Native health. In partnership with Native American communities, university experts, and nonprofit leaders, we accomplish this mission through education, research, and outreach. The Center is based in Duluth, but its programs operate systemwide.
 - **Native Americans Into Medicine:** Native Americans into Medicine is a six-week summer enrichment program for college sophomores, juniors, and seniors interested in pursuing health careers. Program instructors include a broad range of Native American faculty, health professionals, traditional elders, and medical students. The program works to foster skills in scientific method and to improve competitiveness for American Indian and Alaska Native students interested in health careers.
 - **Medical School Pre-Admission Workshop:** The Pre-Admission Workshop is a multi-day experience for pre-health Native American students who plan to apply to medical school within the next two years. Students meet various faculty and staff to learn about application tips as well as research, funding, and career development opportunities available to Native students.
 - **Native American Health Curriculum, required**
 - **Native American Health Curriculum, advanced and elective**
 - Representation and advocacy on critical medical school committees, including Admissions and Scholastic Standing Committees
 - **Cultural Events** (Speakers, community events, workshops)
 - **Denfeld After School Happenings:** This program matches our Duluth campus medical students with Native American high school students to support their school engagement in the City of Duluth at one of our urban high schools, Denfeld High School. Medical students serve as mentors and tutors to the high school students to

help them navigate the challenges of the social and academic aspects of high school with the goal of supporting students through to high school graduation.

- **[Wiidookodaadiwin Program](#)**: The Wiidookodaadiwin Program is a high school mentoring and tutoring initiative in collaboration with the local high school representatives. The program brings together Native college and medical students with local Native high school teens to be mentored and tutored in science and medicine.
- **Cultural Ceremonies**, including annual White Coat Ceremony with Traditional Drum group to welcome students, and an Honoring Ceremony to recognize AIAN physician graduates.
- **[K-6 Activity Books](#)**: Developed in collaboration between the Duluth Campus and teachers at the tribal schools, these STEM-based activity books are available free of charge. These activity books strive to increase familiarity with and interest in young learners regarding science, math, health and wellness, biomedical research education and careers, and facilitate and reinforce cultural learning.
- **Nett Lake Summer Program**: A two week STEAM-based summer program at Nett Lake Elementary School with the goal of improving science and math preparedness and facilitating student retention of learning. Faculty from the Duluth campus and medical students participate as counselors and teachers.
- **[Community of Scholars Program \(COSP\)](#)**: Retention program for domestic BIPOC graduate students in research-based programs at UMN. Academic year programming, writing support, community-building, lounge space, travel grants, pre-doctoral teaching fellowship, and graduation celebration. Contact: cbazemor@umn.edu
- **COSP Native Grads Identity-Based Community** Listserv and annual social gathering for Native American graduate students at UMN. Contact: cbazemor@umn.edu
- **[Diversity of Views and Experiences \(DOVE\) Fellowship](#)**: Graduate Fellowship for the recruitment and support of academically excellent students with diverse ethnic, racial, economic, and educational backgrounds and experiences. For research-based graduate programs at UMN. Graduate programs must nominate incoming students for this fellowship. Contact: mmonter@umn.edu
- **[Graduate and Professional Scholarly Excellence in Equity and Diversity \(SEED\) Awards](#)**: The Graduate and Professional SEED Awards honor up to 3 graduate and professional students each year who are doing outstanding work to advance diversity, equity, and inclusion at the University of Minnesota and in the community. Awardees receive a \$2,000 fall scholarship and are recognized at the OED Equity and Diversity Breakfast. Contact: cbazemor@umn.edu
- **[Pathways to Research Program \(PReP\)](#)**: The Pathways to Research Program provides 10 Minnesota undergraduate students from underrepresented backgrounds a mentored research experience over the course of the summer. Students receive knowledge, skills, and experience in translational science and health equity research through a structured core curriculum including a mentored research project, weekly training seminars, small group discussions, and a final poster to present research findings at the annual CTSI Research Symposium and Poster Session. Scholars receive a \$600/week stipend for 10-12 weeks over the summer. Contact: ctsieduc@umn.edu.
- **Engagement, Extension work, and Partnerships**
 - **Indigenous Health, Education, and Resources Task Force (IHEART)**: IHEART is a national project to create regional pathways programs into healthcare professions for AIAN students in grades kindergarten through professional practice.

- **Indigenous Healers and Educations Alliance (IHEAL):** IHEAL is a collaboration of national Indigenous faculty engaged in the development of standards for AIAN health education and research.
 - **UMMS Academic Health Center Collaboration:** Faculty within the colleges of medicine, pharmacy, dentistry, and nursing have formed a partnership to develop Indigenous health training in all AHC schools.
 - **Dakota Language Journal:** This project will bring innovative techniques to the work of Indigenous language revitalization so that Dakota people can speak their own truths and seek their own futures in their own languages. Sisseton-Wahpeton College (SWC) researchers will conduct monthly recording sessions with fluent elders from the Lake Traverse community. These interactions will be structured so that the resulting recordings advance ongoing language revitalization goals at SWC and the U of M's American Indian Studies Department (AIS). SWC project researchers and assistants will develop innovative language content based on recordings collected from fluent elders. Contact: sisoka@umn.edu
- **Research**
 - **[TRUTH Project: Towards Recognition and University-Tribal Healing:](#)** The Towards Recognition and University-Tribal Healing (TRUTH) Project is part of a Minnesota, Twin Cities, and University of Minnesota justice-oriented [MN Transform project](#). In response to the 2020 resolutions written by the Minnesota Indian Affairs Council (MIAC) calling on the University of Minnesota to be better relatives to the 11 Tribal Nations, the TRUTH Project is a collaborative effort between MIAC and the University that is convening a TRUTH Task Force that will release a report detailing findings and recommendations for the University on bettering their relations with the Tribal Nations in Minnesota. At the heart of this truth-telling project is community-led participatory research designed to give Tribes the opportunity to tell, in their own words, the history of relations between their Tribal Nation and the University of Minnesota. Contact: MNTransform.TRUTH@gmail.com
 - **[Decolonizing Library Collections: American Indians in Minnesota: Topics and Issues:](#)** This guide is designed for anyone interested in learning and supporting American Indians in Minnesota. The purpose is to guide researchers in new ways of thinking to collaborate with American Indians. Most of the book sources in this research guide are Indigenous authors. This guide covers a wide range of current and historical topics such as tribal governments, land and natural resources, historical events, research, local Native businesses, and current projects. Contact: kgerwig@umn.edu
 - **[Egg-to-Market Yellow Perch Project:](#)** The Egg-to-Market Yellow Perch Project seeks to develop producer-scale methods for raising yellow perch fish from egg to market size in a recirculating aquaculture system (RAS). Contact: aschrank@umn.edu Location: Little Earth
 - **Compilation of some recent research projects across the system:**
 - Minnesota Young Adult American Indian Tobacco Survey
 - QuitGuide for American Indians: Aim 1
 - American Indian community feedback to inform a smoking cessation program
 - Smoking and American Indians
 - American Indian child protection
 - American Indian Discrimination in Healthcare
 - American Indian Perceptions of Natural Resource Management
 - American Indian Education Program Evaluation
 - EMS in American Indian reservations

- Factors affecting the 4-year graduation rate of American Indian high school students
- Sexual Health Outcomes Among American Indian Youth
- American Indian HPV Vaccination
- Impacts of Commercial Tobacco Marketing on American Indian Reservations - Tribal Retail Environment Study
- Contemporary Anishinaabe (Neshnabé) TerritorialitySUD work with Bois Forte
- Indigenous Food Sovereignty
- Uncovering the Underrepresentation of Students of Color & Indigenous Students in Minnesota's Gifted Education Programs
- Indigenous Students at UMM
- Historical Trauma and Indigenous Students
- Indigenous Good Birth
- Indigenous Designers' Perspectives on Cultural Appropriation
- Indigenous Geoscience Community
- Indigenous Student Voices
- Integrating Western and Indigenous Research Methods
- (Re)imagining Indigenous language revitalization
- Indigenous Leadership Values
- Indigenous knowledge systems and plants
- A Study of Indigenous Perspectives on Animality
- Indigenous Marine Sovereignities: Practices, Politics, and Futures
- Using what we have always known: Indigenous phenological knowledge in Tribal natural resource management
- Indigenous Foodways of Minnesota: Oral Histories of Land Recovery Practices
- Teacher Certification Policy and Indigenous Language Education
- Indigenous Healing Methods-Wise practices for health and wellbeing
- Secretarial Land Transfers on the Leech Lake Reservation
- Ecological Restoration of Reclaimed Native American Homestead
- Multifaceted Stressors of Native Americans Living with Type 2 Diabetes
- Towards Increasing Native American Engineering Faculty
- Rural Native American health disparities
- Native American Beadwork
- Capacity Development: Financial Aid and the Success of Native American College Students
- Native American School Climate Study
- Teacher Development in Native American Curriculum
- Ojibwe language and literacy
- Structure in Ojibwe
- Jourdain Ojibwe Immersion Paradigm
- Minneapolis and White Earth Ojibwe Women
- Restoring Minnesota Ojibwe Language Resources
- Ojibwe Elder Perceptions of Language Fluency
- From the "Sioux Massacres" to the "Dakota Genocide"
- Oral Health of Lower Sioux Youth
- Ceramic Traditions of the White Earth Reservation
- Encouraging rural and Native American students to participate in interdisciplinary Environmental Sciences

- Collaborative Research: A Community of Nature: Development of a network promoting the recruitment and retention of American Indians in the Geosciences with emphasis on Tribal Resources
- University of Minnesota, Morris Native American Student Success (NASS) Project
- Center for American Indian and Alaska Native Diabetes Translational Research
- Improving Graduation Rates for Black and American Indian Students with Disabilities
- Advancing American Indian Wellness through Research Engagement, Northwest Indian College NARCH Research Project: Native Transformations Opioid Project
- [Geoscience Alliance Research Coordination Network--Broadening Participation of Native Americans in the Geosciences](#)
- Native Americans: An Exploratory Study Pinpointing the Factors That Influence Their Interests and Aspirations for Engineering Faculty Positions
- Developing MSW Clinical Competencies: Increasing Social Work Interdisciplinary Skills with Rural, American Indian and Vulnerable Communities
- Native American Alzheimer's Disease Resource Center for Minority Aging Research
- Engaging Tribal Students in Protected Land Conservation
- Landscape Impacts on Mercury Cycling in the St. Louis River Watershed (sponsor: Fond du Lac Tribal and Community College)
- Addressing Today's Labor Shortage: Pulp and Paper Technology (sponsor: Fond du Lac Tribal and Community College)
- Changing our paths: Well-being and recovery among American Indians with opioid use disorder
- American Indian and Alaska Native Health Disparities
- Pedestrian Behavior and Safety in Rural Tribal Communities
- Honoring the Diversity: An Examination of Financial Capability Among American Indian/Alaska Native College Students
- Chronic Wasting Disease surveillance in Minnesota Indian Country, development of a regional surveillance system to protect Tribal subsistence species
- Building Capacity in Rural South Dakota and Minnesota Tribal Communities: A Collaborative, Interdisciplinary, and Interstate Effort to Address the Opioid Crisis
- Midwest Tribal Opioid Meta-evaluation
- Laying the Foundation for Personalized Smoking Cessation Treatment in the American Indian Population
- Fostering Native American Student Equity and Attainment at UMN Morris
- Pathways to Success: Cooperative Program Development between UMN Morris and Minnesota's Tribal and Community Colleges
- Adapting To Change: A Collaborative Approach To Substance Use Prevention, Intervention, And Recovery For Minnesota Rural And Tribal Communities
- Advancing Native American Diversity in Aging Research through Undergraduate Education (Native American ADAR)
- Understanding perceptions of risk from chronic wasting disease for tribal communities in the Midwest
- White Earth Tribal Community College Head Start Partnership
- WETCC Service Provider Agreement
- Development and pilot testing of a culturally tailored smartphone-delivered intervention for commercial smoking cessation in American Indians
- A Partnership with the Bois Forte Tribal Nation in Opioid-Focused Prevention, Treatment and Recovery

- Center for American Indian and Alaska Native Diabetes Translation Research
- Investigating Alaska Native Successful Aging in two regions of Alaska through Elder-centered, Tribal Participatory Research Approaches
- Bringing Breakthroughs in Alzheimer's disease blood tests and therapies to American Indian communities of Minnesota
- Chronic Wasting Disease outreach through Tribal community engagement
- Subaward for Fond du Lac Tribal and Community College Area of Expertise Grant: Research Experience for Undergraduates
- INCLUDES Alliance: Broadening Career Pathways in Food, Energy, and Water Systems with and within Native American Communities
- PACT: Providing Advanced Clinical Training: Increasing MSW Behavioral Health Skills with Children, Adolescents and Transitional Age Youth in Rural, American Indian and High Need Communities.
- Minnesota Tribal State Relations Training
- Establishing a Tribal Natural Resources graduate program track and increasing the diversity of natural resources students at the University of Minnesota
- National Tribal Tobacco Conference: Reclaiming and Restoring Traditional Tobacco in Today's World
- Boosting Colorectal Cancer Screening through proactive outreach in a Native American Community Clinic
- Tribal Training and Certification Partnership

RECENTLY CLOSED:

- Neural Correlates of Food Reward in American Indian Women
- Collaborating with American Indian Communities to Re-Interpret and Strategize about Transportation Safety Risks in Tribal Lands
- East Metro American Indian Diabetes Initiative: An Evaluation of Innovative Community-based Programs to Improve the Health of Native Men and Youth
- The Generations Project: Exploring Indigenous Voices Using Photovoice
- "Defining Modern Anishinaabewaki"
- Mino-Bimaadiziwin (good life): How to live the good life following Anishinaabe teachings
- Stress and Type 2 Diabetes among Indigenous Adults
- Little Earth Strong Fitness Program
- Digital Stories of Native American Identity and Representations
- Listening session with Native Americans
- Comparison study of Beliefs and Quality of Health Care of Native Americans and Non-Native Americans with Epilepsy
- Interventions for Health Promotion and Disease Prevention in Native American Populations
- Predictors of Science, Technology, Engineering, Math, and Medicine Career Interests and Goals among Native American Students—UMN
- Retrospective Study of the University of Minnesota CAIMH Native Americans into Medicine: Student CareerTracking
- Healthy Development for Young Native American Children
- Exploring Native American College Students' Experiences with Racism and Microaggressions Through Talking Circles
- Native American Gang Assessment

- An RCT of a Family-Centered Ojibwe Substance Abuse Prevention
 - Revitalizing language, reframing expertise: An ecological study of language in one teacher-learner's Ojibwe classroom
 - Chippewa [ciw] Dictionary and Archive
- **Institutional Work/Supports**
 - **[Critical Community Engagement Roundtable](#)**: Co-sponsored by American Indian Studies and the Office for Public Engagement, this is a multi-year series exploring decolonization and community-engaged scholarship. The monthly events are made up of community-engaged practitioners from across the University united by a desire to share their experiences and learn from others working in community-University partnerships. Contact: axtel002@umn.edu
 - **University Libraries Archives and Special Collections**: The University Libraries' Archives and Special Collections took stewardship of the American Indian Movement (AIM) records in February 2020 and is working with AIM leaders to organize the materials and make them available for research. The Libraries also work with North American Traditional Indigenous Food Systems (NATIFS) to serve as stewards of the organization's records.
- **Other**
 - **Scholarship Opportunities available statewide or systemwide:**
 - **[Ethel Curry American Indian Scholarship](#)**: Initially given to a freshman but returning students may reapply each year. Awarded to students who are at least one-fourth American Indian and who present written documentation of tribal enrollment and blood quantum. Renewable for up to 4 years. Must be in good academic standing and be a full-time student.
 - **[Native American Promise Tuition Program](#)**: Starting fall 2022, the University of Minnesota Native American Promise Tuition Program expands upon a [full tuition waiver program](#) on the University's Morris campus, which has long been in place through Minnesota statute, given the campus property's history with Native American boarding schools. The expanded program will provide substantial financial support, in many cases free tuition, to first-year undergraduate students and transfer students from Tribal colleges on the remaining four campuses who are enrolled citizens in one of Minnesota's 11 federally recognized Tribal Nations.
 - **[Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux Community Endowed Scholarship](#)**: This scholarship was established in 2008 through a generous gift from the SMSC. The SMSC scholarship program is designed to recruit and retain talented American Indian students with demonstrated financial need to the University of Minnesota.

STATEWIDE/GREATER MINNESOTA

- **Engagement, Extension Work, and Partnerships:**
 - **[Big River Continuum at Itasca Biological Station](#)**: This is an exchange program between Itasca Biological Station and Laboratories — the first field station on the river — and [A Studio in the Woods](#) — an artist residency and one site of the new Lower Coast Field Station. It turns the Mississippi River and all that it represents into a platform for creative collaboration with artists, scientists and communities. The initial exchange was between a New Orleans-based artist — Monique Verdin, member of Houma Nation—and an artist

from northern Minnesota — Karen Goulet, who is a member of the White Earth Band of Ojibwe. Location: Red Lake

- [Grassroots Indigenous Multimedia](#): We create multimedia Ojibwe language materials and provide training and support for language teaching. Location: Red Lake
- **Soil Properties and Impacts of Cover Crops: Student Research at Red Lake Nation College:** Our goal is to foster mentored sustainable agriculture research opportunities for RLNC students through field and lab investigations of soil properties, and impacts of cover crops on soil health on the Red Lake reservation. This project will expand research capacity at RLNC while addressing local interest and need for better understanding of sustainable research practices and allowing RLNC students to gain mentored field and lab research. Contact: jgross@umn.edu Location: Red Lake
- **Organic Fish Fertilizer on Lettuce:** Through its Gitigaanike initiative, Red Lake is developing enterprises to produce fresh produce through utilizing organic fertilizers like fish emulsion. Contact: kinge002@umn.edu. Location: Red Lake
- **Carlton County Next Generation:** Test the effectiveness of "creative place-making" as a strategy to improve Carlton County's economic conditions and quality of life. Contact: dwabazs@umn.edu. Location: Fond du Lac
- [Sustainable Forests Education Cooperative](#): This forestry education cooperative is based at UMN's Cloquet Forestry Center. Active since the late 1990s developing and delivering continuing education and professional development opportunities for the members of MN's community of professional natural resource managers, including from Bois Forte, Fond du Lac, Grand Portage, and White Earth. The cooperative is sustained by UMN investments, as well as membership dues and program registration fees.
- **Megwayaak Outdoor Classroom:** Research and design outdoor classroom space to offer Indigenous and environmental programming. Contact: zend0007@umn.edu Location: Leech Lake [Article about the project.](#)
- [National Child Welfare Workforce Initiative](#): The NCWWI project works to develop and support a child welfare workforce that can equitably meet the needs of the most vulnerable children and families. NCWWI promotes organizational interventions focused on developing and retaining a diverse and effective workforce by supporting partnerships among public and tribal child welfare programs and schools of social work. We use NCWWI funds to support 17 undergraduate and graduate students who work in Tribal/Native American child welfare, and to partner with the Leech Lake Band of Ojibwe child welfare department to develop Indigenous/Anishinaabe child welfare policies, practices, and programs.
- **Math and Science Summer Camp:** Provides science and engineering activities in a cultural context. Contact: mbowerma@umn.edu. Location: White Earth
- **Food Sovereignty Action Plan:** This project includes UMN Extension and the College of Veterinary Medicine supporting the White Earth Tribal and Community College in developing a community-based Food Sovereignty Action Plan, using a synthesized process across the One Health Systems Mapping and Analysis Resource Toolkit, Structured Decision Making and the CIRCLE approach. Contact: pelicank@umn.edu. Location: White Earth
- **Economic Contribution of American Indian Health Care Spending in Northwest Minnesota:** This project quantifies the value of American Indian-related health care spending in northern Minnesota. Contact: tuckb@umn.edu
- [MN SNAP-Ed Program](#): This program partners with seven tribal SNAP-Ed grantees from across the state and the American Indian Cancer Foundation as one statewide SNAP-Ed program. We co-develop a vision and program strategies together and have written a journal article and present at national conferences together, and UMN Extension supports

- each Tribe in collecting evaluation data for federal reporting. White Earth, Grand Portage, Leech Lake, Bois Forte, Fond du Lac, Mille Lacs, Lower Sioux. Contact: pdolson@umn.edu, marcz001@umn.edu
- **Cooking is a SNAP Training:** Provides training for a cooking curriculum. Contact: vanof001@umn.edu. Location: Lower Sioux
 - **Building Economic Capacity in Indian Country:** Building and strengthening our relationships with Native Nations in MN and identifying key economic development priorities for one or more Native Nations. Contact: arpxx001@umn.edu
 - **Develop Project Learning Tree Curriculum:** Develops forestry curriculum for Tribal schools. Contact: cblinn@umn.edu
 - **Cultural Food Boxes:** Providing culturally specific food boxes to urban members of the Bois Forte Band. Contact: aprilms@umn.edu. Location: Bois Forte
 - **Development of Culturally Co-Created Programs:** Co-creation of diabetes prevention programs for American Indian and African American women. Contact: tadler@umn.edu
 - **Dakota Wata Dugout Canoe Project:** Community members from Dakota communities and immigrant Micronesian communities worked together to learn and practice traditional Indigenous knowledge of water cultures. Contact: adybsett@umn.edu, Locations: Upper Sioux, Lower Sioux
 - **Cooking Matters** are hands-on, cooking-based nutrition classes for audiences living on a limited budget. The classes are offered to people in the Fond du Lac, Leech Lake, Mille Lacs and White Earth nations as well as at the Minneapolis American Indian Center.
 - **[Seeds of Native Health Conference and Partnership](#):** Extension, through its partnership with the University of Minnesota's Healthy Foods, Healthy Lives Initiative, participates in the annual Seeds of Native Health nutrition conference. The goal of the conference is to “convene researchers and others from the academic world with tribal officials, Native American leaders, practitioners and community members working on food and health issues in Indian Country.” There have been four conferences since 2016, with the 2020 conference paused due to COVID.
 - **4-H Programming:**
 - **Healthy Living education** (Location: White Earth)
 - **Annual Science Fair:** More than 100 students in grades 4-8 take part in an annual science fair involving young people from the White Earth, Leech Lake and Red Lake nations.
 - **4-H Clubs and Programs:**
 - A two-decade partnership with the White Earth Tribal College for hands-on science, technology and math education includes an annual three-week program in June; a science fair in December; Snow-Snake Festival in March; and after-school programming and berry camps in July.
 - 4-H programming on the Fond du Lac reservation has included mentoring and citizenship experiences for young people.
 - On the White Earth reservation, 4-H provides cultural and leadership experiences, including theater showcases, a winter camping event and Ojibwe Youth Leadership. All programs include community elders as guides and take place outside of school hours.
 - The Suntanka 4-H project club near the Lower Sioux community focuses on Dakota language and heritage as well as horses. It's led by screened 4-H volunteers from the Tribal community.

- **U of M Extension Federally Recognized Tribal Extension Program:** This program focuses on securing traditional Ojibwe food systems by building and strengthening the capacity of diverse networks of community members and Tribal and natural resource professionals. Extension educator Shirley Nordrum works with Ojibwe communities to preserve and share traditional ways of understanding nature and ecological systems. Contact: nordr006@umn.edu
- **Financial Capability for Immigrant and BIPOC Small Businesses:** Understand the unique challenges and complexities that Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC) and immigrant-owned small businesses face in rebuilding. Contact: mkatras@umn.edu. Locations: Fond du Lac, Red Lake, White Earth
- **Relationship Building and Meetings with Tribal Nations on Clean Energy:** Ongoing work with MIAC to share clean energy educational, funding and project opportunities and build a dialogue about establishing Tribal Energy Councils. Location: Statewide. Contact: haska004@umn.edu.
- **Train-the-trainer Leadership and Customer Service trainings Pilot Program:** Extension educators are working with the Lower Sioux/Jackpot Junction administration to create train-the-trainer programs in leadership and customer service, with the goal of creating a welcoming and supportive organizational culture. Location: Lower Sioux. Contacts: Fawn Sampson, Jennifer Aranda, DeeDee LeMier and Lisa Hinz.
- **Indigenizing Economic Development Summit:** A bi-annual conference hosted in the fall of 2021 to help facilitate connections and cooperation among community leaders, advocates, and economic development professionals with the Indigenous communities in Minnesota. Location: Statewide/Regional. Contact: fawn@umn.edu
- **AIS Management 101 for Tribal Community Members:** The Aquatic Invasive Species volunteer program offers free registration to tribal members and employees for its AIS Management 101 course, in an effort to encourage public participation in scientific research and to eliminate barriers. Location: Fond du Lac (and other tribal communities). Contact: Megan Weber
- **Indigenous Cultural Healing:** Our Indigenous cultural coordinator (who is an elder) is working with St. Paul-Ramsey County Public Health and other collaborators on cultural healing as part of health promotion work. Location: Ramsey County. Contact: pdolson@umn.edu
- **American Indian Resource and Resiliency Team (AIRRT)** in Extension creates and delivers culturally adapted holistic health education. This occurs within a system of existing relationships with tribal partners and community members to increase community capacity in addressing the opioid crisis using an innovative approach that is responsive, not prescriptive. Programming includes:
 - **Mind-Body Medicine Groups:** This evidence-based, transformational training provides the science and tools needed to make mind-body medicine an integral, foundational part of your personal and professional life. Location: Mille Lacs and other Ojibwe nations. Contact: Susan Beaulieu
 - **Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs):** Understanding ACEs: Building Self-Healing Communities is an in-person 3-8 hour presentation that provides information on why ACEs affect people's lives, and what we can all do to dramatically improve health and resilience for this and future generations. Locations: Mille Lacs, Bois Forte and other Chippewa nations. Contact: Susan Beaulieu

- **Remembering Resilience Podcasts:** A series of three podcasts and community conversations highlights American Indian resilience through and beyond trauma. Location: Statewide. Contact: Susan Beaulieu and Briana Matrious.
 - **Mending Broken Hearts:** A three day in-person workshop that is designed to provide healing from the loss and grief suffered through historical and intergenerational trauma. Locations: Mille Lacs, Bois Forte, other MN Chippewa Tribal Nations. Contact: Briana Matrious.
 - **Healing Through History:** The objective of this training is to explore and discuss important events specific to American Indian communities within Minnesota and basic cultural components. Participants will leave with a better understanding of the impact of historical trauma. Location: Statewide. Contact: Briana Matrious.
 - **Traditional Native Games:** The games address American Indian health from a holistic stance as education is paired with spiritual, mental, and physical survival skills of the past. Locations: Mille Lacs and Bois Forte. Contact: Solomon Trimble.
- **Booshke Giin: Using American Indian Legends to Teach Youth Financial Education.** Booshke Giin is a creative approach to involve American Indian youth in active learning experiences that make financial education concepts relevant to their everyday decision making. The Booshke Giin lessons attempt to push aside mainstream ways in favor of storytelling to teach core financial concepts. Location: Fond du Lac and other MN Chippewa Tribes. Contact: Jennifer Garbow
- **Anishinaabe Artisan Market:** This project is supporting a collective of Anishinaabe artists in bringing artisan markets to new communities and building an online presence. Locations: Leech Lake, White Earth, Red Lake. Contact: Molly Zins.
- **Goodhue County Master Gardener and Prairie Island Indian Community Partnership:** Since 2018 we have worked together in the PIIC Elder Medicinal Garden and with the PIIC community vegetable garden. Master Gardeners have assisted with gardens, insect/disease/weed identification and management, provided education, donated seedlings and recruited a PIIC member who is now a Master Gardener. Locations: Prairie Island Mdewakanton (Dakota). Contact: Nancy Lizette Berlin, Goodhue County Master Gardeners.
- **Supershelf:** Extension educators work with the metro Division of Indian Works organization and Fond du Lac leaders to change food shelves to improve client experiences and to increase healthy food access. Locations: Fond du Lac, Urban Division of Indian Works. Contact: pdolson@umn.edu
- **Leech Lake Band Greenhouse:** As part of a larger effort to address food security and sovereignty on the Leech Lake Reservation, this project is engaging UMN farm scale greenhouse design, building and curriculum expertise to strengthen the local food system. Location: Leech Lake. Contact: Molly Zins
- **Mikinaak Park Design:** Continuing development of the park area through the planting of vegetables and grass, flowers, fruiting shrubs and trees to attract pollinators, as well as bird watching, pollinator monitoring and healthy eating programming. Location: Leech Lake. Contacts: Shirley Nordrum and Molly Zins
- **Ogema Organics:** Ogema Organics is using climate-smart technologies in partnership with local Native businesses, nonprofits, and industry partners to create an integrated food network on the White Earth Reservation. Location: White Earth. Contacts: Joel Haskard/Lissa Pawlisch/Maggie Kozak
- **Question, Persuade, and Refer (QPR) Gatekeeper Training for Suicide Prevention:** Youth in Indian Country are at the highest risk for suicide and suicidal ideation. Training all youth,

families and youth program staff ensures a safety network for those in distress. Location: Mille Lacs and Bois Forte. Contact: Solomon Trimble.

- **U of M Extension Center for Community Vitality:** This center helps Tribal communities choose their future, with consultations and programs focused on strengthening leadership and civic engagement, community economics and tourism development. With partial funding from the Economic Development Administration, Extension educators are listening to Tribal leaders and community members and are working to bring new support to assist their local leadership and economic development planning.
- **Minnesota Indigenous Leadership Network:** This network serves American Indian Nations across Minnesota, Urban Indians and those not affiliated with a Minnesota Tribe. These educators are also working with non-Native people to end racism and build diversity, equity and inclusion with organizations and community. Contact: fawn@umn.edu
 - **Indigenized Connections on Air Podcast:** Indigenized Connections On Air is a podcast from U of M Extension's leadership and civic engagement team and its [Minnesota Indigenous Leadership Network](#). This podcast series explores issues that impact tribal communities and leadership throughout Minnesota. The episodes bring research from University of Minnesota and Extension professionals, along with inspiring stories from local communities, community leaders and organizations.
 - **Extension Open Conversation Series:** Is a series of virtual one-hour open conversations that discuss topics of interest to Indian Country in Minnesota. Past conversations have included: Food Sovereignty, Economics, Natural Resources, etc.
 - **Extension Moving from Talk to Action Leadership Series:** A free webinar series focused on navigating change; better meetings, better results; growing group impact; and strengthening social capital. These webinars were designed to support American Indian leaders who want to critically appraise their involvement, actions and thinking to become better at the work of community leadership.
 - **Extension Innovation/Changemaker Retreats:** Individuals participate in a 2-3 day retreat to build leadership skills and engage in an innovation overview and process to nurture ideas into actions that contribute to the greater good in their community.
- **Extension Opportunities of Interest:**
 - **University Economic Development Assistance Center (EDA Center):** The EDA Center at the University of Minnesota studies economic development concerns in Minnesota. It offers technical assistance primarily to communities, Native Nations, and emerging industries. Beyond written research reports, the center brings educational presentations to community leaders and residents and facilitates discussions about future action. Areas of current focus include: advancing high-growth entrepreneurship; promoting business expansion, including small- and medium-sized and ethnically diverse enterprises; and developing a highly skilled regional workforce by, for example, workforce attraction planning.
 - **Tourism Center Festival and Management:** The Tourism Center provides educational resources and ideas to support tribes' tourism development efforts. A representative from the Mille Lacs Band serves on the Tourism Center Advisory Committee.
- **Center for Farm Financial Management (CFFM):** CFFM provides financial management software and training for food and agricultural enterprises, including entrepreneurs, farmers and lenders. In partnership with USDA, the Native American Agriculture Fund and other Tribal organizations, [CFFM provides financial training](#) to Minnesota Tribes and nationally to support members' abilities to access farm credit opportunities for investments supporting Native American food and agricultural enterprises. CFFM has an ongoing training effort to

better equip Native Community Development Financial Institutions (CDFIs) to analyze loan applications and conduct underwriting. CFFM is also partnering with the InterTribal Agriculture Council to develop a training program to help Tribal members better utilize crop insurance products.

- **Research**

- **E-IMR (Enhanced Illness Management and Recovery) for IRTS (Intensive Residential Treatment Services) and ACT (Assertive Community Treatment):** ACT and IRTS teams provide mental health and substance use treatment services to Minnesota's most complex and vulnerable citizens experiencing MI (mental illness) and SUD (substance use disorder). This training initiative, underwritten by MN DHS, is to enhance evidence-based service provision at various IRTS and ACT programs across the state. Contact: rohov001@umn.edu, Location: Bois Forte
- **[Toward Culturally Enriched Communities: Infusing Design Justice in Greater Minnesota](#):** In partnership with the American Institute of Architects MN chapter and the University of Minnesota Extension Center for Community Vitality, this study uncovers how systemic exclusion might be related to architectural practices in rural MN. Contact: tasoulla@umn.edu
- **[Kawe Gidaa-naanaagadawendaamin Manoomin \(First We Must Consider Manoomin/Psiñ\)](#):** Kawe Gidaa Naanaagadawendaamin Manoomin/Psiñ, or First We Should Consider Manoomin/Psiñ (Wild Rice), is a collaborative project among tribes, intertribal treaty organizations, and University of Minnesota faculty, staff, and students. The project prioritizes Tribal research needs and Tribal perspectives to support wild rice conservation and restoration across Minnesota and the western Great Lakes. Through the co-creation of interdisciplinary ecological and social science knowledge, this project respects Indigenous resource sovereignty, fosters healthy ecosystems and traditional food security, and addresses historical inequities to reverse ecological degradation that disproportionately impacts Tribal communities. All project activities are thoroughly collaborative and include collecting biophysical data and oral histories; conducting surveys, integrative modeling, and landscape analyses; and authentic relationship building among project partners. Contact: manoominpsin@umn.edu. Locations: Mille Lacs, Fond du Lac
- **[Cloquet Forestry Center \(CFC\)](#):** The CFC has been the primary research and education forest for the University of Minnesota since 1909. Its mission is to connect people and ideas to build understanding of northern forest ecosystems through field-based research, education, and outreach. CFC is located within the Fond du Lac Band. Over the years, CFC has fostered partnerships with Fond du Lac Tribal and DNR foresters and wildlife management professionals, educational programming, and related projects. These have included:
 - wood duck house monitoring;
 - prescribed burn program development;
 - Ganawenjigewin Trial (bridge crossing Otter Creek for FDL);
 - assisted migration of aspen mixed wood system;
 - FDL Tribal and Community College GPS tracking training;
 - wolf population monitoring;
 - tree regeneration options on forested wetlands populated by black ash;
 - restoration of eastern hemlock;
 - “People, Fire and Pines”—synthesis project of connections to people and forestry;
 - fire history and age structures of forest;

- respectful carcass disposal of spiritually valued animals

In early spring 2020 conversations were begun to discuss options to further work with Fond du Lac, including shared educational and research programs, and including returning the land to Fond du Lac and identifying ways to continue University of Minnesota programming on the Cloquet Forestry Center. We are currently in conversations with Fond du Lac Tribal leadership and UMN leadership to address differences and explore repatriation of lands and partnerships for forest research and education.

- [USDA Forestry Research and Mille Lacs](#): The McIntire-Stennis grant is to increase forestry research, utilization, and protection of forestland; to train future forestry scientists; and to involve other disciplines in forestry research and is administered by the USDA, National Institute of Food and Agriculture (NIFA). In 2019, federal changes resulted in allocations to tribal colleges as determined by states. Minnesota's governor determined to allocate \$90,000 per year to the [Anishinaabe College](#) (which is also a partner with the [Fond du Lac Tribal and Community College](#)) from the University of Minnesota's allocation. We seek to engage with the president of Mille Lacs to discuss collaborative programming that may include research or perhaps recruitment of students from FDLTCC or AC. Our goal is to engage in conversations regarding shared interest in educational programming in natural resources, including forestry, fisheries and wildlife, water resources, etc.
- **Other**
 - [Aquatic Invasive Species Research Center](#): The Minnesota Aquatic Invasive Species Research Center is dedicated to fighting the spread and impact of aquatic invasive species on Minnesota's beloved lakes and rivers.
 - [Minnesota Invasive Terrestrial Plants and Pests Center](#): Science-based solutions to protect Minnesota's prairies, wetlands and agricultural resources.
 - [Minnesota Climate Adaptation Partnership](#): Increasing climate resilience through research, collaboration & communication.
 - [Healthy Foods, Healthy Lives Institute](#): The HFHL Institute works to increase and sustain the University's impact in the interdisciplinary arena of food, agriculture, and health by building the University's capacity in research, learning, and community engagement.

Being Better Relatives: How the University of Minnesota could transform its relationships with American Indians

MPP Professional Paper

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Laura Paynter

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*Signature below of Paper Supervisor certifies successful completion of oral presentation **and** completion of final written version:*

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Being Better Relatives: How the University of Minnesota could transform its relationships with American Indians

Abstract

The University of Minnesota (University) has strained relationships with American Indians due to harmful actions, starting with the founding of the University and continuing to the present. This paper examines these issues and presents a strategic framework based on the University's Mission Statement to support the building and nurturing of better relationships. A key impetus for change is the Minnesota Indian Affairs Council Resolution of June 2020, which requests a number of actions from the University that are important to repairing the relationships. This paper analyzes these requests, and finds they generally align with the guiding principles of the Mission Statement and MPact 2025, the University's Systemwide Strategic Plan. However, the University system is large and complex, and includes pockets of ignorance of American Indians, which pose significant barriers to effective and lasting organizational transformation. The paper reviews the history of the University's relationships with American Indians, settler colonialism, and how other universities and the State of Minnesota are working to improve relationships with Indigenous peoples. Reviewing strategic management literature about organizational transformation provides further analysis to understand how to enact cultural change. The paper concludes with recommended actions, linking them to the MIAC Resolution and MPact 2025, the University's Systemwide Strategic Plan.

Acknowledgements

I approach this scholarship acknowledging my position as a settler on Dakota land, attending the University of Minnesota (University) on Dakota land. I recognize that the land-grant from the federal government that made the University possible came at a terrible cost to the Dakota people, and I hope the University will seek to make amends for the harm caused.

I am indebted to many people for the ideas that are included in the recommendations including stakeholders inside and outside the University. I particularly want to thank Professor Tadd Johnson, Esq. for graciously giving me the opportunity to work with him and for seeing value in my work. I also wish to thank my brilliant colleagues, An Garagiola-Bernier and Ben Yawakie, who have been great collaborators and co-conspirators.

Group project teams at the Humphrey School have contributed to this scholarship, and I thank my teammates for their enthusiasm in working on a project so close to my heart. In Dr. John Bryson's Strategic Planning and Management course, Erika Beck, Lina Jamoul, Bridget Siljander and Aaron Williamson and I collaborated on a strategic plan for educating the University about American Indians. Teammates Tara Conway, Madeline Lydon and Elana Zien explored with me how the University could change its practices to respect the rights of manoomin in Dr. Greta Friedemann-Sanchez's Qualitative Research Methods course. In Dr. Carrie Oelberger's Management of Organization class, my teammates Yolanda Burckhardt, An Garagiola-Bernier and Shonni Kregel and I analyzed the University's office of tribal nation relations.

Thank you to my professional paper committee members Dr. John Bryson, Dr. Joseph Bauerkemper, and Professor Tadd Johnson, Esq., whose feedback and advice have shaped this paper. I am particularly grateful that Dr. Bryson agreed to supervise this paper despite his retirement. I also want to thank Dr. Deborah Levison for the Professional Paper Writing Seminar; her support and encouragement helped me complete this paper.

Last, but certainly not least, I want to thank my family. Gordon, Stella, and Franklin have all stepped up at home so I could focus on school. My parents, Mary Beth and Charlie Keal, instilled in me the value of education. We lost Dad in the first wave of the Covid-19 pandemic, and I wish he was here to see me graduate. I dedicate this paper to his memory.

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*So now we've all discovered the world wasn't only made for whites
What step are you gonna take to try and set things right in this stolen land?*

- Bruce Cockburn and Hugh William Marsh, "Stolen Land"

Introduction

In many American Indian cultures, including those of the Dakota and Ojibwe who share geography with Minnesota, a central value is relationality. Every living thing around us, human and non-human, is considered a relative (Why Treaties Matter Relations). It is of the utmost importance to be a good relative, to honor your ancestors, and to be a good ancestor to your descendants. Noted Māori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith says, "In indigenous frameworks, relationships matter. Respectful, reciprocal, genuine relationships lie at the heart of community life and community development" (Smith, 2012, p. 125). The University of Minnesota (the University) has frequently not been a good relative to American Indians, and the University's relationships with the state's eleven federally recognized American Indian Tribal Nations are strained.

The University is trying to repair the harm the institution has caused and nurture better relationships with tribal nations. In November 2019, the University appointed Professor Tadd Johnson, Esq. as its first Senior Director of Tribal Nations Relations for the entire University System. As of the writing of this paper, the University recently appointed Karen Diver to be Senior Advisor to the President for Native American Affairs, another new position. Since January 2020, I have been working with Professor Johnson and two other graduate students from the Humphrey School to support his vision for better relationships with Minnesota's tribal

nations. Professor Johnson and his team have secured funding for the University to convene a joint task force tentatively named TRUTH: Towards Recognition & University-Tribal Healing (TRUTH), to examine the shared history between the University of Minnesota and American Indians and to review current policies with a view towards making the University better relatives.

In June 2020, the Minnesota Indian Affairs Council (MIAC), a state agency dedicated to liaising between state agencies and tribal nations, issued a resolution entitled “A Resolution Calling Upon the University of Minnesota to Fulfill Its Obligations to the Eleven American Indian Tribal Governments Within the State of Minnesota” (MIAC, 2020). The resolution contains a number of requested actions. MIAC seeks to build and nurture relationships with the University, but asks that the University acknowledge past harm and seek to prevent further harm while better serving American Indian students and communities.

The University’s mission and strategic plan align with MIAC’s aspirations for tribes to have better relationships. However, a cultural and organizational shift is required to acknowledge and honor Indigeneity at the University. It’s important for the University to atone for mistakes of the past and create policy frameworks to ensure better relationships going forward. Other universities have found ways to recognize tribal sovereignty and honor Indigenous people and their cultures, traditions and values, and the University of Minnesota can as well. A strategic framework can support this shift through articulating focus areas and actions.

In this paper, I put forward a strategic framework for the University to guide its work as it seeks to improve relationships with tribal nations. The framework states goals, programs, actions and evaluation measures. The three parts of the University’s mission—research and discovery, teaching and learning, and outreach and public service—provide an excellent basis for the

University to improve its relationships with the Dakota and Ojibwe, and the framework is based on these key focus areas. By preparing students to be better relatives, the University could positively impact the future of the State of Minnesota and beyond.

University of Minnesota Mission

The University's Mission Statement as articulated by the Board of Regents is as follows:

The University of Minnesota (University), founded in the belief that all people are enriched by understanding, is dedicated to the advancement of learning and the search for truth; to the sharing of this knowledge through education for a diverse community; and to the application of this knowledge to benefit the people of the state, the nation, and the world (2008).

The University's mission, carried out on multiple campuses and throughout the state, is threefold:

Research and Discovery To generate and preserve knowledge, understanding, and creativity by conducting high-quality research, scholarship, and artistic activity that benefit students, scholars, and communities across the state, the nation, and the world.

Teaching and Learning To share that knowledge, understanding, and creativity by providing a broad range of educational programs in a strong and diverse community of learners and teachers, and prepare graduate, professional, and undergraduate students, as well as non-degree seeking students interested in continuing education and lifelong learning, for active roles in a multiracial and multicultural world.

Outreach and Public Service To extend, apply, and exchange knowledge between the University and society by applying scholarly expertise to community problems, by helping organizations and individuals respond to their changing environments, and by making the knowledge and resources created and preserved at the University accessible to the citizens of the state, the nation, and the world (2008).

In all of its activities, the University strives to sustain an open exchange of ideas in an environment that:

- embodies the values of academic freedom, responsibility, integrity, and cooperation;

- provides an atmosphere of mutual respect, free from racism, sexism, and other forms of prejudice and intolerance;
- assists individuals, institutions, and communities in responding to a continuously changing world;
- is conscious of and responsive to the needs of the many communities it is committed to serving; creates and supports partnerships within the University, with other educational systems and institutions, and with communities to achieve common goals; and
- inspires, sets high expectations for, and empowers the individuals within its community (2008).

These guiding principles and Mission Statement provide an excellent framework for relationships with tribal nations.

Issues related to University's relationships with American Indians

The University has frequently fallen short of exemplifying the principles articulated in its Mission Statement with regard to American Indians. Although the University is now intentionally and consciously seeking to nurture relationships with American Indians, it has not always done so in the past. The resulting issues can be linked to the key parts of the Mission Statement as described below.

Research and Discovery

The University has acted in ways that are abhorrent and harmful to American Indians. One of the most egregious acts is University professor Albert Jencks' excavation of burial sites in New Mexico in the 1920s, where human remains and associated artifacts were removed and brought to the University (Most, 2020). Even though the U.S. Congress passed the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act in 1990, which requires that human remains

and funerary and sacred cultural objects be returned to their descendants, the University is only now inventorying this collection (Weisman Art Museum, 2020). The Minnesota Indian Affairs Council and others over the years have repeatedly requested that the University rectify this situation (Most, 2020).

Red Lake Nation leaders allege that the University performed unethical medical research on children at their reservation in the 1960s. During an outbreak of nephritis at Red Lake Nation in 1953, Dr. Reinstein from the United States Public Health Service went to the reservation to investigate. He collected nose and throat cultures from those affected and found that the disease was caused by streptococcus bacteria. Due to the severity of the outbreak, he instituted a mass prophylactic treatment of long-acting penicillin, giving over 70% of residents an injection. The epidemic ended two weeks later (Reinstein, 1955). In 1966, when there was another outbreak of nephritis at Red Lake Nation, University physicians went to study it. Despite knowing that an earlier outbreak had been quelled with penicillin, they did not use that treatment. Instead, they studied the progression of disease, taking multiple painful biopsies from children under ten years of age. One child became so sick she was transferred to the University hospital (Kaplan et al, 1970). This research caused lasting mistrust of the University. Sam Strong, the Tribal Secretary of Red Lake Nation, said “They basically chose to let our kids suffer for science” (Faircloth, 2021).

The University has been researching wild rice for decades, which some American Indians find culturally offensive. Wild rice, called Manoomin in Ojibwe, features in the story of how the Anishinaabeg people came to live on this part of the continent. They had originated further east near the St. Lawrence River, but moved west due to conflict with neighboring tribes and a prophecy that told them to travel until they found the place where food grew on the water

(Minnesota Historical Society Ojibwe, n.d.). This food, wild rice, sustains them and they consider the plant a relative. In the mid twentieth century, the University developed varieties of domesticated wild rice, and licensed these cultivars, impacting the market for naturally-occurring wild rice. The University mapped the genome of wild rice in 2000, making genetic modification possible (Raster and Hill, 2017). Ojibwe believe these actions are exploitative, and urged the University to cease this research. In a 1998 letter to University President Mark G. Yudof, Norman Deschampe, President of The Minnesota Chippewa Tribe said, “We object to anyone exploiting our treaty wild rice genus for pecuniary gain. The genetic variants of wild rice naturally occurring on the waters in the...[ceded territories] are a unique treasure that has been carefully protected by the people of our tribe for centuries” (Deschampe, 1998). Ojibwe have also expressed concerns that these varieties could cross-breed with natural stands of wild rice, causing irreparable changes to wild rice (Raster and Hill, 2017).

The University lags behind other universities in relationship building and partnerships with American Indian tribes and in studying the laws, policies and economic development affecting American Indians. According to the National Congress of American Indians, tribal nations have been working to diversify their economies over the past decade. As tribes become less dependent on the federal government, they are providing more employment opportunities for both Indians and non-Indians. NCAI reported in 2019, “In Minnesota, spending by the 11 tribal nations was responsible for \$2.75 billion in economic activity statewide, supporting 41,700 jobs and \$1.35 billion in household income, representing 1.1 percent of the state’s economic output” (National Congress of American Indians, 2019, p 8). A 2016 study of the impacts of tribal gaming concluded that if casinos were combined across Minnesota, they would rank as the 14th largest employer in the state (Klas Robinson, 2016). In addition, with over 22 million visitors to

casinos every year in Minnesota, casinos as a tourist attraction are second to the Mall of America. The study found, “The total induced and indirect impact on the economic output (GDP) from Indian gaming operations in Minnesota is estimated to equal over \$1.7 billion annually on the State of Minnesota as a whole” (Klas Robinson, 2016, p 20).

Teaching and Learning

The educational attainment rates for American Indian students are low when compared to those of the dominant white settler population. Around half of American Indian youth do not graduate from high school (Minnesota State Demographic Center, n.d.). Approximately 20% of American Indian adults between the ages of 25 and 64 do not have a high school diploma or GED, compared with 3% of the white population. Less than 10% of American Indians in the state of Minnesota have a bachelor's or higher degree, while 37% of white settlers do. Over half of Dakota adults and over 35% of Ojibwe adults do not participate in the labor force economy (Minnesota Department of Administration, 2016). As Minnesota's flagship land-grant university, the institution should be working to improve these statistics.

One of the greatest challenges to the University is ignorance about American Indians. The lack of knowledge impacts many departments and programs across the campuses, leading to unwelcoming learning environments for American Indian students and perpetuation of further ignorance. Curricula in critical subjects, such as public policy, law and medicine are limited in including American Indian concerns. The University is training future leadership for the state of Minnesota and beyond without imparting this important knowledge.

Outreach and Public Service

The University has only just begun to make an effort to build relationships with tribal nations. Although President Joan Gabel has committed to meeting with MIAC three times a year, more is required to heal these relationships. While there have been economic gains for some tribes, there continue to be disparities in employment, wealth, infrastructure and education that limit opportunities. Regional coordination, insufficient research and workforce readiness are among the challenges to economic growth where the University could contribute solutions (Faircloth, 2021).

The University operates the Cloquet Forestry Center within the boundaries of the Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Reservation, without benefitting the Band (Faircloth, 2021). The Fond du Lac Reservation is a patchwork of tribal, public and private land, with five large parcels at the southeast corner forming the Cloquet Forestry Center (Nelson, 2020). The University received this land through legislative action during the allotment era (1887-1934), influenced by the timber industry (CFANS, 2021). The allotment era was a period of United States federal policy that sought to assimilate American Indians through converting communally owned tribal lands into private allotments. Land was divided into smaller parcels and distributed to tribal members, leaving some parcels that were not allotted, which were then sold to settlers. It is estimated that tribes lost two-thirds of their lands nationally (Pevar, 2012). The federal government deeded over 2000 acres of land to the University that had not been allotted to create a forestry research station. More land was later added and the Cloquet Forestry Center now comprises nearly 3,400 acres (CFANS, 2021). The Fond du Lac Band did not consent to any of these land transfers. Additionally, the Band has concerns about the research and potential impacts on the environment. Thomas Howes, the Band's Natural Resources Manager, says "Our

perspective on the natural world is that everything is perfect...Leave things alone” (Faircloth, 2021).

Minnesota Indian Affairs Council Resolution

The Minnesota Indian Affairs Council (MIAC) is a state agency that serves as a liaison between the state government and the eleven tribal nations within the state. MIAC consists of tribal nation leaders, who are voting members of the executive board, and non-voting members, who are the commissioners of state agencies, along with two State Representatives and two State Senators (MartinRogers and Lubeck, 2021). MIAC’s mission is “to protect the sovereignty of the eleven Minnesota tribes and ensure the wellbeing of all American Indian citizens throughout the state of Minnesota” (MIAC, 2021). It should be noted that the Upper Sioux Community opts not to officially be part of MIAC. MIAC meets regularly with state legislators, commissioners, the lieutenant governor and other state leaders, and it provides advice to the legislature on matters affecting American Indians (MartinRogers and Lubeck, 2021).

In June 2020, MIAC issued a firm challenge to the University through a resolution entitled “A Resolution Calling Upon the University of Minnesota to Fulfill its Obligations to the Eleven American Indian Tribal Governments within the State of Minnesota” (MIAC, 2020).

What MIAC has asked for fits firmly within the University’s mission statement and provides a blueprint for action. The resolution states,

MIAC welcomes a new era of relationship building and partnership with the University of Minnesota with the understanding that for this partnership to grow, engaging with Indian tribal governments must occur at the highest level of the University and given the same status and attention as conducting state or federal relations (MIAC, 2020).

The resolution specified a number of remedial actions the University could take. Among the most pressing issues is for the University to acknowledge its history and how it has gained

from the losses incurred by American Indians. The convening of TRUTH, a joint task force composed of tribal nation representatives and University faculty, with financial support from the Mellon Foundation, is a start towards understanding history and identifying a better future together. The TRUTH task force will provide opportunities for each tribe to examine its own history and share the findings with the University; there are some parts of our shared history that are already known (University of Minnesota, 2021). These projects could lead to greater understanding and healing, allowing relationships to be built on mutual appreciation and respect. Further details about the resolution's requests for actions and recommendations are detailed in Appendix 2.

Context of University's Relationships with American Indians

Founding of the University of Minnesota

The timeline on the history section of the University's website includes the following entry:

1862 Morrill Land-Grant Colleges Act signed, establishing federal land-grant resources for schools that teach and research agriculture and mechanic arts (University of Minnesota, 2020)

What this entry omits is the Dakota and Ojibwe origins of those land resources (Lee, 2020).

Through the Morrill Act of 1862, the United States Congress gifted every state 30,000 acres of land per Congressman. This land was then sold, with the proceeds used to start colleges (Library of Congress, 2017). A noteworthy article published by *High Country News* in 2020 explored where these lands came from, concluding "land-grant universities were built not just on Indigenous land, but with Indigenous land." The authors, Robert Lee and Tristan Ahtone, found

that the land from the coerced Dakota cessions of 1851 provided funds to 35 different universities, including the University of Minnesota (Lee and Ahtone, 2020).

The Dakota land cessions were particularly lucrative for the United States and Minnesota. Lee and Ahtone describe the University's gains from the land grant as "Minnesota's Windfall" (Lee and Ahtone, 2020). The United States paid \$2,309 for 94,631 acres that the University sold, raising \$579,430 at the end of the 19th century. These transactions gave the University a rate of return of over 250 to 1 (Lee, 2020). Under the rules of the Morrill Act, the proceeds of these sales were to be invested, with the initial principal to "remain forever undiminished" (Thirty-seventh Congress, 1862). At the end of 2020, the University's endowment fund, which includes the land grant principal along with other donated funds, was worth a total of \$3 billion (University of Minnesota Endowment Update, 2021).

The land associated with treaties signed at Mendota and Traverse des Sioux in 1851 formed the bulk of the land grant to the University. The United States never upheld the terms of the treaties, and the Dakota were coerced into signing them. The land loss resulted in genocide for the Dakota. The United States government agreed to pay the Dakota \$1,665,000 to access 21 million acres in the Treaty of Traverse des Sioux, and \$1,410,000 to access the rest of the land in Iowa and Minnesota in the Treaty of Mendota. In both cases, the federal government kept 80% of the money, and agreed to pay the Dakota 5% interest annually for 50 years. These payments ended after ten years. By 1862, the Dakota were hungry. The loss of lands prevented them from hunting sufficient meat, and traders were not willing to extend credit for food purchases. In August, 1862, four Dakota men fought over food with five white settlers and killed them, launching the Dakota War. Over the six weeks of the conflict, 600 white settlers and 75 to 100 Dakota warriors perished (Minnesota Historical Society Minnesota Treaties, n.d.).

Following the war, the Dakota were treated as criminals, not prisoners of war. Nearly 400 Dakota men stood trial for charges of rape, murder and robbery. University Law School professor Carol Chomsky described the trials as thoroughly unfair:

The trials of the Dakota were conducted unfairly in a variety of ways. The evidence was sparse, the tribunal was biased, the defendants were unrepresented in unfamiliar proceedings conducted in a foreign language, and authority for convening the tribunal was lacking. More fundamentally, neither the Military Commission nor the reviewing authorities recognized that they were dealing with the aftermath of a war fought with a sovereign nation and that the men who surrendered were entitled to treatment in accordance with that status (Chomsky, 1990).

When the commission decided that over 300 men should be sentenced to death, President Lincoln stepped in to review the decisions. Ultimately, 38 Dakota men died by hanging at Mankato on December 26, 1862. The white settlers in Mankato treated this as a spectacle, and 4000 people watched their execution (Minnesota Historical Society The Trials & Hanging, n.d.). Following the Dakota War, the Dakota were removed from their Minnesota homelands. Dakota families were loaded onto steamboats, sent down the Mississippi River and up the Missouri River and relocated to the reservation at Crow Creek. Of the 1300 people who were relocated, over 200 died either on the trip or just after arriving; the dead were mainly children who starved (Minnesota Historical Society Exile, n.d.).

Examining Settler Colonialism

Like most institutions in the United States, the University was founded as a settler colonial institution and this influences its continuing relationships with American Indians. Settler colonialism is a social condition that arises when a group travels to a different place and establishes its culture and traditions there, displacing and/or eliminating those who were already there, in order to settle there permanently (Veracini, 2010). The United States, Canada, and New

Zealand, among other countries, are settler colonial societies. These countries were all founded through cruel and genocidal dispossession of land and attempts to destroy people, culture and traditions.

Settler colonialism is not limited to the past; it also describes the ongoing ways in which we organize ourselves. Our government, laws and institutions, including the University, are decided by settlers with little or no influence from American Indians. Recognizing settler colonialism is not meant to induce shame or guilt or to lay blame on those alive today for the actions of the past. However, there are shameful events in our past and settlers do themselves no favors pretending they weren't that bad. Denying and ignoring history continues to hurt people, and ignorance about past harm perpetuates contemporary harm. Making progress in relationships requires that settlers acknowledge the past; learning about it will be an important first step for many at the University.

Most people living in settler colonial society are not aware that they do so, which can make change more difficult. Many see colonialism as something in the past. As Patrick Wolfe famously posited, settler colonialism is a structure, not an event (Wolfe, 2006). Settler colonialism is the framework of our society. It is not an event that has passed; it is ongoing and continues to hurt those it tried to erase. Therefore, it is time to examine settler colonial institutions, to recognize the harm they can cause, and to find a way to do better.

Dakota scholar Waziyatawin, from the Upper Sioux Community, describes the continued subjection of the Dakota in Minnesota in *What Does Justice Look Like?* and states that settlers still benefit from settler colonialism every day. She argues that this will continue in perpetuity unless settlers can reflect on the history of genocide and acknowledge continued harm. She says, "Our contemporary problems suggest deep-rooted pain" (2008, p. 10). Waziyatawin presents a

fully decolonial vision for the future of Minnesota, including reparations and returning land to the Dakota so they can support living in Dakota ways. She asserts that the Dakota “were created here” and “have always lived here” (2008, p. 20).

Waziyatawin compares the general understanding of the Nazi Holocaust with the total ignorance about the Dakota genocide. She asserts that while most white Minnesotans are horrified by what happened to the Jewish people in the Nazi era, many consider the genocide that happened here to be merely a “Dakota perspective” on a celebrated Minnesota history. She describes the analogy of how ridiculous it would be to glorify the accomplishments of the Third Reich, while acknowledging the “Jewish perspective” on genocide (2008, p. 76). It is indeed baffling, though this story of genocide is not something most white Minnesotans learned about in school. The University could play a critical role in educating the state about this genocide, reducing the harm that occurs through ignorance.

A key part of mending relations requires that settlers and their institutions recognize the realities of the systems they live within that privilege their existence. The University reinforces settler colonial structures, which are difficult to dismantle. Chris Hiller, a Canadian academic who studies Indigenous-settler relations, interviewed settlers who work closely with Indigenous people to interrogate what the catalyst was that changed their thinking about settler colonialism. What was the lightbulb moment for them? All of her subjects were activists who had engaged with Indigenous issues for at least two years. One respondent described an exchange with a Mohawk scholar and mentor in which the respondent was asked, “Do you know what your treaty rights are?,” a question that confused him at first, but as it was repeated he came to realize that he had “been raised to think about treaty rights in particular as a privilege that Indians have, rather than a reciprocal arrangement between equals” (Hiller, 2016, p. 384). Other respondents

reported a growing understanding of being an inheritor of a treaty, meaning that they have both obligations and rights. One respondent described how settlers often view treaties as “extinguishment documents” that extinguished all rights of Indigenous people and created empty lands for settlement. Indigenous people view treaties differently. The respondent believes it is important “to deal with their version” (Hiller, 2016, p. 387). Another settler stated “these broken treaties aren’t historical events. They’re still happening today. And they’re still happening right underneath our nose, and we as Canadians don’t know it.” (Hiller, 2016, p. 389). In order to properly apologize for causing harm, it is important to specifically acknowledge what the harm was; generic apologies are meaningless without this specificity. Knowing that the original settler signers of the treaties had honorable intentions, one respondent reported feeling a responsibility on behalf of the settlers to uphold that intent. He noted that it wasn’t the Indigenous nations that had consistently violated the terms of the treaty; it was the settlers. He says that he can’t speak for Indigenous people, but “What I can do is speak for my world. And in my world, I’m saying, ‘Not in my name. You’re not doing this in my name. Not without me hollering about it’” (Hiller, 2016, p. 390). As a settler colonial institution, it is important for the University to recognize how this structure privileges some worldviews over others, and how the University perpetuates settler colonialism.

How other universities recognize Indigeneity

In the United States, some universities have begun to recognize their responsibilities to American Indians. A number of states and institutions offer tuition waivers for Native American students (Centennial School District, n.d. and Native Youth to College, n.d.). Eligibility requirements vary, with some programs requiring students to be a resident of a particular state

and enrolled members of a federally recognized tribe. Tuition waivers encourage and enable American Indian students to attend universities. At Fort Lewis College in Durango, Colorado, over 40% of students are Native American (Fort Lewis College, 2021). The tuition waiver at the Morris campus, where over 20% of students are American Indians, results from the stipulations of the Sisters of Mercy when they donated the former American Indian boarding school to the University (University of Minnesota, Morris, n.d.). The MIAC resolution included a request for “a system-wide tuition waiver for American Indian undergraduate and graduate students” at every University campus (MIAC, 2020).

At South Dakota State University, the Wokini Initiative provides programming and scholarships to support American Indian students and seeks to expand partnerships with tribal nations. The initiative is funded through proceeds from trust lands given to the university through a federal land-grant, along with private donations and philanthropic grants (South Dakota State University Wokini Initiative, n.d.). One of the centerpieces of the initiative is the American Indian Student Center, where students can find a range of support services and participate in ceremonies (South Dakota State University American Indian Student Center, n.d.). The Wokini Initiative also provides professional development opportunities for faculty and staff to learn about American Indians, in order to help make the campus environment more inclusive (South Dakota State University, 2019). To conclude the Wokini Initiative White Paper, South Dakota State University President Barry Dunn says, “To help them is to help us all” (Dunn, 2017).

The Mellon Foundation Just Futures project, which funded the TRUTH task force as part of the Minnesota Transform initiative, is also supporting significant projects at other universities focused on justice with Indigenous people (Mellon Foundation, 2021). Brown University and

Williams College will examine Indigenous land dispossession in New England (Miller, 2021). Cornell University, which benefitted from the same land grants that established the University of Minnesota, will “study the links between racism, dispossession and migration” (Dean, 2021). The University of Michigan will develop plans for reparations in conjunction with nine other universities, including Concordia College in Moorhead, and their community partners (University of Michigan, 2020). These projects provide opportunities for collaboration with institutions of higher learning that are grappling with some of the same justice and equality issues that the University of Minnesota is (Redden, 2021).

In response to the national calls to action in Canada from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission issued in 2015, every university in Canada has a plan of action for honoring Indigeneity (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015). These actions fall into the following nine categories:

1. Implementing strategic vision and institutional Indigenization;
2. Honouring Indigenous peoples and cultures through commemorative and symbolic gestures;
3. Increasing Indigenous representation within institutional governance and leadership mechanisms;
4. Indigenizing teaching and learning practices;
5. Enhancing Indigenous research capacity and Indigenizing research practices;
6. Deepening institutional engagement with Indigenous communities;
7. Indigenizing staff and faculty, and recognizing other ways of knowing for faculty and students;
8. Creating opportunities for intercultural dialogue; and
9. Hosting archives and artifacts (Universities Canada, 2016, 3).

Curriculum efforts ensure that all students are exposed to Indigenous content and ways of knowing as a basic requirement. Universities offer professional development support to assist faculty with adding Indigenous content to courses. Special spaces and buildings have been constructed as learning spaces for Indigenous students to practice cultural ceremonies, and for non-Indigenous people to learn. Greater Indigenous representation at universities includes not

only institutional leadership staff, but also advisory bodies. Universities Canada points out that in many cases, Indigenous faculty have been building these initiatives without university support for many years. They recommend that acknowledgement of service to Indigenous communities be incorporated into tenure review processes (Universities Canada, 2016).

In New Zealand, where national reconciliation efforts have been ongoing for over thirty years, universities are engaged with Indigenous Māori tribes. Major Universities have marae, which are Māori gathering places, on campus (Victoria University Marae, n.d., University of Waikato Marae, n.d., University of Auckland Marae, n.d.). Universities make efforts to engage with local tribes (Waikato University Manukura, n.d., Victoria University Taihonoa, n.d.). Otago University has a strategic plan to specifically address matters important to Māori (Otago University Māori Strategic Framework), and Victoria University has a Māori Strategic Outcomes Framework (Victoria University Māori Strategic Outcomes Framework, n.d.). The University of Auckland's Equity Policy upholds treaty commitments (University of Auckland Māori staff, n.d.). New Zealand universities seek to be a welcoming place for Māori students and proudly connect with Māori culture and practices. For example, Waikato University has a waiata, or Māori song (Waikato University Waiata, n.d.).

In addition to these collaborative efforts with universities, New Zealand has a network of wānanga, completely Māori-led universities. These institutions offer an array of programs, including certificates, bachelor and graduate degrees (Te Wānanga o Aotearoa Who We Are, n.d.). They also offer home based fee-free certificates in Māori culture and language to anyone who lives in New Zealand (Study at Home, n.d.). First Nations University of Canada is another institute of higher learning focused on Indigenous knowledge delivery in culturally-supportive ways. The institution offers a Certificate of Reconciliation Studies (First Nations University,

2020). More details about what other universities are doing to recognize Indigenous nations in the United States, Canada, and New Zealand can be found in Appendix 3.

State of Minnesota engagement with tribal nations

In Minnesota, the state government has worked to improve relationships with tribal nations. The Minnesota Indian Affairs Council (MIAC), a first in the United States, has advised the state government since MIAC's establishment in 1963 (MartinRogers and Lubeck, 2020). In 2002, Governor Jesse Ventura issued an executive order requiring recognition of "the unique legal relationship" between Minnesota and the eleven tribal nations, consultation with tribal nations when an activity would directly impact them, and when oversight for a federal program is transferred to the state "state agencies shall consider unique tribal needs and endeavor to ensure that tribal interests are not overlooked" (State of Minnesota, 2002). Governor Tim Pawlenty issued a similar executive order 03-05 in 2003 (State of Minnesota, 2003). Governor Mark Dayton issued an executive order in 2011 continuing 03-05, entitled "Affirming the Government-to-Government Relationship between the State of Minnesota and Indian Tribal Governments Located Within the State of Minnesota" (State of Minnesota, 2011), and then rescinded this order in 2013 through issuing Executive Order 13-10. The new EO 13-10 required that each state agency "develop and implement tribal consultation policies," and "designate a staff member" responsible for ensuring the policies are implemented (State of Minnesota, 2013). Governor Walz's Executive Order 19-24, entitled "Affirming the Government to Government Relationship between the State of Minnesota and Minnesota Tribal Nations: Providing for Consultation, Coordination, and Cooperation" built on the requirements articulated in the rescinded Executive Order 13-10. Executive Order 19-24 orders each state agency to engage in

ongoing consultation and to “consider the input gathered from tribal consultation into their decision-making processes.” (State of Minnesota, 2019). Recent bills in the Minnesota House of Representatives and Minnesota State Senate seek to codify the requirements of the Executive Order 19-24 into statute (Cook, 2021).

Executive Order 19-24 instituted a requirement for all “Commissioners, Deputy Commissioners, and Assistant Commissioners, [and] all agency employees whose work is likely to impact Minnesota Tribal Nations” to attend the Tribal State Relations Training, and for all of the agencies’ tribal liaisons to participate in the training (State of Minnesota, 2019). Tribal State Relations Training began in 2013 when Linda Aitken, a Tribal Liaison for the Department of Transportation, partnered with Profesor Tadd Johnson from the American Indian Studies Department at the University’s Duluth campus to develop a targeted training program for state employees. The training typically takes place on a reservation over two days and includes instruction in federal Indian policy eras, intergenerational trauma, treaties, tribal lands and working with tribal governments (Johnson et al, 2020). More than 3400 state employees have completed the training and it has transformed the way the state government works with tribal nations (Johnson, 2021). The Tribal State Relations Training program could be adapted to serve the needs of the University. There has been interest in this training from the private and non-profit sectors, and teaching these audiences could generate revenue for the University.

Transforming relationships

Organizational transformation

Reviewing organizational management allows us to glean ideas about how best to strategically approach the cultural and organizational changes described in this paper that are needed for the University to develop better relationships with American Indians. Careful strategic management and approaching the endeavor with flexibility and an open mind will help the University leverage its impact. There is potential not only for organizational transformation, but for a wider transformation to spread statewide through collective impact. Because of the wide reach of the University's influence in the state of Minnesota, a transformation of its curriculum could mean that students graduate with an understanding of American Indians and tribal nations.

In "Leading a Social Transformation," Bryson, et al. (2021) describe how social transformation is much larger than systems change within an organization. It requires significant change, particularly with regard to power dynamics. *Leading strategy management-at-scale*, as Bryson describes it, is "leading multiple organizations to achieve a common purpose," and refers to the scale of the problem as one that affects society broadly beyond one organization (2021, p. 2). This certainly applies to the need for dominant settler society to recognize their American Indian neighbors. Because the University has such a wide reach across Minnesota, it has an opportunity and a responsibility to guide this transformation.

Fernandez and Rainey extensively reviewed organizational change literature and summarized their findings in "Managing Successful Organizational Change in the Public Sector"

(2006). They identified the following eight factors that contribute to organizational transformation:

1. Ensure the need

Convince others that change is necessary through expressing why the current situation is unsatisfactory, taking advantage of circumstances such as “political windows of opportunity,” and clearly communicating the necessity for change (p. 169). Right now the political situation is open to change. After the upheaval of the pandemic and the racial reckoning following George Floyd’s death, many are unwilling to return to the way things were. People who had previously been hesitant are now recognizing the need for change. The University could seize this political moment to communicate why it is necessary to improve relationships with American Indians.

2. Provide a plan

Produce a coherent plan that lays out the vision and goals so the organization has a consistent and clear direction to pursue (p. 169). The actions MIAC requested in its resolution are aligned with the University’s mission statement, as detailed in the Strategic Framework in Appendix 1. The work of the TRUTH task force, along with closer relationships between tribal nation and University leadership, will help to build this plan.

3. Build internal support for change and overcome resistance

Broad involvement across an organization builds support for change. According to the authors, “Several researchers have observed that a crisis, shock, or strong external challenge to the organization can help reduce resistance to change” (p.

170). When people see transformation as inevitable, they are more willing to go along with it. Resistance to change could be significant, particularly in places where there is indifference to American Indians. The present is a tumultuous time, and many people who used to be able to ignore white advantage are starting to understand societal inequities and opportunity gaps. Networking and coalition building will help build momentum for change.

4. *Ensure top-management support and commitment*

Having an “idea champion” who is able to use informal means of influence can help an organization stay on course (p. 171). President Gabel has indicated her commitment to better relations, and this support is crucial to success in this endeavor. The Senior Advisor to the President for Native American Affairs will assist in developing the institutional commitment through working with other Cabinet members.

5. *Build external support*

Buy-in from politicians and other external stakeholders is crucial because of their influence over what resources are made available to an organization. This can be difficult for an organization when there are conflicts between the objectives of disparate parts of an organization (p. 171-172). For the University, it will be difficult to address some of its research practices that are oppositional to American Indian values due to tension with academic freedom. In particular, the cultivated wild rice genetic research that is funded through state legislation may be uncomfortable for the organization to discontinue. However, the origins of the requests for actions by MIAC give the University a clear road map that already

has tribal nation support. Further dialogue could build understanding about this issue.

6. *Provide resources*

Sufficient human and financial resources are required to successfully implement transformative change (p. 172). At the moment, the University provides minimal resources to nurturing better relationships with Tribal Nations. In order to make real change, it will need to direct more resources towards this goal. The hiring of a Senior Advisor is a great step towards providing more resources for this work; hopefully, this person will also have support staff and a budget to initiate projects. In addition, commitment from each department will aid transformation.

7. *Institutionalize change*

Any changes must be operationalized and made part of regular routines in order to be sustained. It will be important to evaluate the success of any changes to ensure that implementation occurs and changes continue (p. 172). Consistent reflection on how successful actions are or are not, along with the sharing of ideas across departments, will help ensure continual improvement and lasting transformation.

8. *Pursue comprehensive change*

Systems must be integrated so that different parts of the organization are successfully aligned to participate in the transformation (p. 173). Opportunities to share information and to build connections across the organization will be very important in this endeavor. The University will need to be consistent across the different departments and campuses so that it operates as one systemwide entity in the eyes of tribal nations.

System leadership

In an article about system leadership, Senge, Hamilton and Kania (2015) describe the main competencies of successful system leaders. In particular, successful system leaders are able to understand different perspectives, even those of people with very different views from their own. They are able to listen closely and create coalitions of trust, where people feel permitted and encouraged to step forward, find solutions, and take action. Interestingly, the authors note that such leaders can benefit from ignorance, as it allows them opportunities “to ask obvious questions and to embody an openness and commitment to their own ongoing learning and growth,” which in turn encourages others to learn and grow (p. 28). An attitude of listening and acknowledging one's own ignorance is a constructive way of approaching relationships with tribal nations. Being open to hearing different perspectives across the entire organization encourages others to also be open to different perspectives.

Senge, Hamilton and Kania (2015) emphasize that systems change requires people to feel empowered to take action, and to be open to continuous learning from observed results. Rigid strategic plans imposed from above do not motivate the kind of deep transformation required to change systems. Senge, Hamilton and Kania say that wisdom doesn't result from a leadership agenda. Rather, system leaders make room for people to share their truth, where deep exploration of what is occurring can happen, and where alternative possibilities can be investigated. From repeated cycles of doing and then reflecting, “collective wisdom emerges over time through a ripening process that gradually brings about new ways of thinking, acting, and being” (p. 30). Dedication to this type of process and continual learning could really benefit the transformation required to improve relationships with tribal nations. While rigid planning is not recommended by the authors, in my view there is value in establishing principles and a general direction so that

people have clarity about what is expected and so the organization moves in a consistent direction.

The collaborative focus must shift from reactive mode to proactive mode, so that the emphasis isn't so much on solving the immediate problems, but on creating a collective vision for the future (Senge, Hamilton and Kania, 2015, 8). It will be tempting for the University to defensively try to explain or justify past behavior rather than focusing energy on trying to do better in the future. The University must acknowledge the past without deflecting responsibility. Senge, Hamilton and Kania also note that it's important to examine power within an organization. Deep-set power must be challenged and sometimes offset in order to change systems (2015, 9). Reflecting on what is working well in the present and continually improving where there are issues will help the University change.

One way of helping people shift mindsets is to focus on principles for change. Agreeing on a set of values to guide a transformation can be easier than setting more concrete goals or agendas (Bryson. 2021). According to Bryson, "Mental models are typically implicit, because [they are] unconsciously held, yet they provide the powerful underpinnings of relationships and power dynamics" (p. 22). These implicit dynamics affect system changes, so in order to transform an organization, people need to shift their thinking. Bryson says, "Deep-seated social changes begin, perhaps ironically, with micro-level changes in the mental models held by change advocates" (p. 22). Unconscious mental models of settler colonialism will be challenged and this will make some people uncomfortable. Emphasis on the principles of the transformation will help people maintain focus on the objectives of improved relationships with American Indians.

Analysis of Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Challenges

Table 1 contains analysis of the University's strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and challenges with regard to improving relationships with American Indians. Key strengths for the University are the commitment of President Gabel and the positive relationships Professor Tadd Johnson has with the tribal nations. The addition of a new Senior Advisor to the President for Native American Affairs will augment strategic capabilities. However, no provisions have been made for additional support staff or budgets to plan and implement projects to support improved relationships with American Indians. The University is at a unique point in time, when awareness of systemic racism is higher than in the past, and this creates opportunities. Initiatives like the TRUTH task force are getting noticed, and have the potential to help alleviate the ignorance about American Indians that is the root cause of much of the harm. Through the Resolution, MIAC has articulated specific ways the University can atone for its past and build positive relationships in the future. Existing tribal liaisons in the Extension Department could be redeployed to help faculty and staff connect with tribal nations and vice versa. The actions will be difficult to implement without increasing human resources to plan and implement projects. Relying on grant funds to progress this significant work is not sustainable and does not reflect a financial commitment on behalf of the University to improving relationships. One of the largest barriers to improved relationships is ignorance about American Indians, so education initiatives are of critical importance.

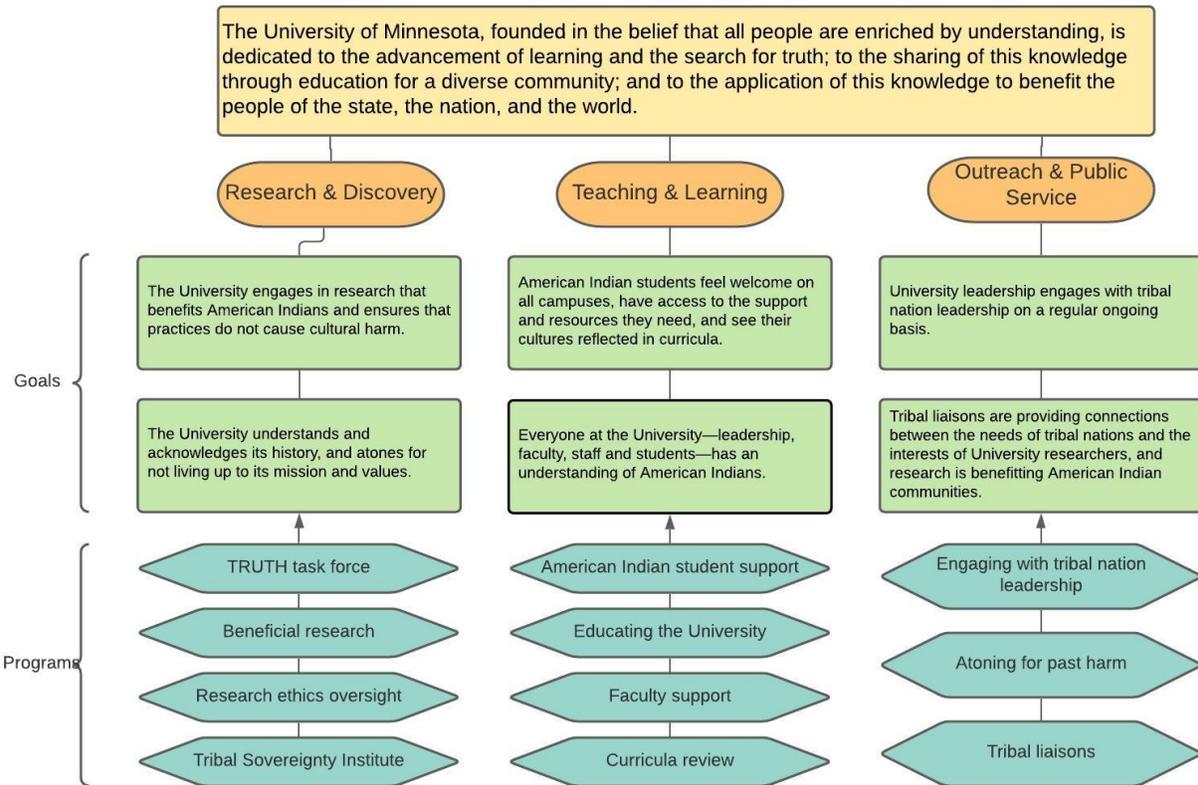
Table 1: Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Challenges Analysis

Strengths	Weaknesses
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Professor Tadd Johnson has a vision for the University and positive relationships with the tribal nations in Minnesota ● President Gabel is committed to improving relationships ● Senior Advisor to the President for Native American Affairs will bring additional capacity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Tadd Johnson has little staff report, and the University would struggle to implement his vision if he were to leave ● There is no budget provided by the University for this work
Opportunities	Challenges
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The Tribal Nations relations work is gaining publicity and generating interest ● The TRUTH (Towards Recognition and Tribal Nation Healing) task force could potentially transform relationships ● Extension Service staff have existing relationships with tribal governments ● MIAC has articulated desired action steps 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Low staffing levels make it difficult to implement projects and programs ● Relying on grant funds to initiate projects is not sustainable ● Levels of ignorance about American Indians are generally high

Strategic Framework and Recommendations

Figure 1 on the next page shows the strategic framework graphically with the links between the University’s Mission Statement, focus areas, goals and programs. Additional human resources and funding are required to implement the recommendations, though some can be achieved with minimal investment. Information about potential granting agencies can be found in Appendix 4. The Strategic Framework in Appendix 1 is a summary document that links each of the three key focus areas of the University’s Mission Statement with goals, more detailed recommendations for action, and measures to evaluate implementation. Beneath the diagram is an explanation of each of the key focus areas, the goals, and a brief description of each program.

Figure 1: Strategic Framework Diagram



Research and Discovery

Goal: The University engages in research that benefits American Indians and ensures that practices do not cause cultural harm.
Goal: The University understands and acknowledges its history, and atones for not living up to its mission and values.

The TRUTH task force provides the University with an opportunity to understand its own history from American Indian perspectives, to atone for past harm, and to ensure that future actions are beneficial to American Indians. Each department or unit systemwide needs to recognize the commitment to be respectful and work in partnership. The University should develop principles and policies for research that ensures American Indian values and worldviews

are recognized and respected. Every department should appoint a faculty representative responsible for considering these principles and policies and for helping to facilitate connections where mutually beneficial opportunities arise. This work can be done as part of the required service for tenure-track professors. It is particularly critical that faculty at the Carlson Business School, Law School, Humphrey School for Public Affairs, and Medical School are engaged to serve in these positions. A pilot program could begin with these four schools before expanding to other departments at the University.

The Native Nations Institute at the University of Arizona is a leader in the southwest for native nation building, policy analysis and research, and education and tribal services (Native Nations Institute Programs & Projects, n.d.). The University’s Tribal Sovereignty Institute could position itself as a similar force for the Upper Midwest, engaging in research that benefits tribal governments and economies. Through partnering with the Humphrey School and potentially other units as well, the University could offer summer courses for practitioners and stackable certificates. These partnerships would lead to increasing focus on the needs of tribal nations in Minnesota. The Tribal Sovereignty Institute could produce its own academic journal and host conferences addressing topics of interest to Indian Country. Additionally, the Tribal Sovereignty Institute could augment its Tribal-State Relations Training to meet the needs of a broader audience, thereby creating revenues to support programming.

Teaching and Learning

Goal: American Indian students feel welcome on all campuses, have access to the support and resources they need, and see their cultures reflected in curricula.

Goal: Everyone at the University—leadership, faculty, staff and students—has an understanding of American Indians.
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The University needs to develop and provide training for its leadership, faculty and staff so that everyone can understand our shared history and how to work constructively for the future. Increased understanding of American Indian culture and traditions will help make the campus a more welcoming place for American Indian students. Educational programming for all students would provide a place to learn about Dakota and Ojibwe culture and history that is inextricably linked to Minnesota. Alleviating this ignorance would better prepare the University's graduates for a Minnesota future respectful of Indigeneity.

In recognition of the profits the University has made through its founding as a land-grant institution, and acknowledgement that those lands came at a high cost to American Indian people, the University should direct financial resources to American Indian students and programs, similar to what the Wokini Initiative has done at South Dakota State University (Wokini Initiative). The University should investigate its own funding sources to determine what annual revenues are based on these land-grants, and target funds towards programs that support American Indian students. The University should also work with the Minnesota Legislature to pass a law that would give each American Indian student in the state a tuition waiver, as Michigan did with Act 174 of 1976 (Justia US Law, 2006 and Turtle Talk, n.d.). Each campus should have an American Indian Learning Resource Center where students can feel comfortable and access the academic and material support they need.

Bridging programs for American Indian high school and tribal college students that bring them on campuses to have a brief college experience can demystify what it is really like to be a student. A week or two on campus can give them the confidence to return as full-time students. It

also serves as a way to connect with other American Indian students who are considering going to college.

The University should support faculty to implement changes required. Curricula should be amended, where applicable, to include American Indian content. Additional degree programs for Dakota language and American Indian and Indigenous Studies should be offered. University practices should ensure that American Indian candidates are not overlooked in hiring, and that American Indian faculty feel valued and supported.

Outreach and Public Service

Goal: University leadership engages with tribal nation leadership on a regular ongoing basis.

Goal: Tribal liaisons are providing connections between the needs of tribal nations and the interests of University researchers, and research is benefitting American Indian communities.

Tribal nation leaders requested regular meetings with President Gabel, and she has committed to meeting with them three times a year. The President has also announced her intention to appoint a Senior Advisor to her office, who will oversee the transformation of these relationships. Through President Gabel's leadership, an initiative could bring attention to issues with American Indians and require departments systemwide to incorporate respectful and inclusive research practices. The Regents should also commit to nurturing these relationships, similar to the way that federal and state elected officials have nation-to-nation relationships with tribal leaders.

The University should seek ways to atone for past harm, and address outstanding issues that contribute to lingering mistrust. The TRUTH task force provides an opportunity to shine a light on ways the University has harmed and how it can prevent further harm. The University

should negotiate in good faith with the Fond du Lac Band to address issues with the Cloquet Forestry Center. The University should seek to repair harm at Red Lake Nation caused by unethical research practices. A review of research ethics oversight would identify policies and procedures to avoid cultural harm. Earmarked funds could be allocated from the endowment established through the Morrill Act land-grant to support these programs.

Similar to the State of Minnesota government, the University is a complex organization with many departments dispersed across the state. In order to fully engage with tribal nations, the University will need to develop infrastructure to support these interactions. At the University there are existing tribal liaisons working within Extension; they could be reassigned to work with specific tribal nations in order to help facilitate connections for mutually-beneficial research projects. Faculty and staff will need support making connections and understanding who to contact, how best to contact them, and what to expect from the interaction.

Tribal liaisons could serve as conduits of information, helping the University understand what the needs of tribes are and what opportunities the University could provide. There are existing programs on campus that could be used as a model for developing a tribal liaison office. The Hennepin-University Partnership, housed in the Center for Urban and Regional Affairs, serves as a connection between Hennepin County staff and University faculty. It operates with a Director and three part-time graduate assistants (Hennepin-University Partnership, 2021). The Robert J. Jones Urban Research and Outreach-Engagement Center in North Minneapolis focuses on researching critical issues affecting urban communities. They have a number of projects and programs to support this work (University of Minnesota UROC, 2016).

Revising MPact 2025, the University’s Strategic Plan

The University’s Systemwide Strategic Plan, MPact 2025, outlines five commitments: student success; discovery, innovation & impact; MNtersections; community & belonging; and fiscal stewardship (University of Minnesota MPact, 2020). MPact should be updated to include recommendations for improving relationships with tribal nations as shown in Table 2:

Table 2: Connections of recommendations to MPact commitments

<p>Student Success</p> <p>“Meeting all students where they are and maximizing their skills, potential, and well-being in a rapidly changing world.”</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Provide financial supports for American Indian students ● Expand bridging programs ● Offer Dakota and Ojibwe residential options ● Ensure American Indian Learning Resource Centers are well resourced
<p>Discovery, Innovation, & Impact</p> <p>“Channeling curiosity, investing in discovery to cultivate possibility and innovating solutions while elevating Minnesota and society as a whole.”</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Educate students at the University about American Indians ● Partner with tribal nations on research initiatives ● Develop policies for research ethics oversight that include Indigenous values
<p>MNtersections</p> <p>“Inspired by Minnesota to improve people and places at world-class levels.”</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Be an example for other universities in how to honor Indigeneity ● Expand Dakota and Ojibwe programs
<p>Community & Belonging</p> <p>“Fostering a welcoming community that values belonging, equity, diversity, and dignity in people and ideas.”</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Ensure each campus is a welcoming place for American Indians ● Create opportunities for every person at the University to learn more about American Indians
<p>Fiscal Stewardship</p> <p>“Stewarding resources to promote access, efficiency, trust, and collaboration with the state, students, faculty, staff, and partners.”</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Recognize the origins of the University’s resources and direct them to benefit American Indian partners ● Restructure funding to allow for building relationships with tribal partners and for compensating their involvement in research initiatives

Conclusion

President Gabel is committed to improving the University's relationships with American Indians, an important and complex undertaking. The University has engaged in harmful practices, dating back to its inception, contrary to its own Mission Statement. This paper describes these issues and examines the MIAC Resolution of June, 2020, wherein tribal nation leaders challenged the University to acknowledge past harms, prevent further harm, and implement a number of actions to repair the relationships. My analysis finds that the actions MIAC requested are consistent with the University's Mission Statement and MPact 2025, the systemwide Strategic Plan. The paper describes the structure of settler colonialism and the processes that other universities and the State of Minnesota have followed to recognize Indigenous peoples. Strategic management literature about organizational transformation provides insights into how to enact cultural change. The University will be challenged by its size and complexity, and by the indifference of some towards American Indians.

The paper concludes with a strategic framework, linking goals and recommended actions to the three focus areas of the University's Mission Statement—research and discovery, teaching and learning, and outreach and public service. Implementing these recommendations would result in the University building ongoing partnerships with American Indians, graduates who are knowledgeable about American Indians, and campuses that are welcoming to American Indians. It is my sincere hope that a commitment to transformation by University leadership will deepen and touch all areas of the University and beyond in the state of Minnesota. Paul Wellstone famously said, "We all do better when we all do better." The University could be better relatives to our American Indian neighbors, and we would all be better for it.

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Appendix 1: Strategic Framework

Research and Discovery

Goal: The University engages in research that benefits American Indians and ensures that practices do not cause cultural harm.

Goal: The University understands and acknowledges its history, and atones for not living up to its mission and values.

Programs	Action items	Proposed measure(s)
TRUTH task force	Ensure the task force has the resources required to complete the work	Staff report sufficient financial and human resources support to complete the project
	Partner with American Indians in the task force's work	There have been opportunities for each tribal nation as well as the urban American Indian population to appoint a representative to the task force
		American Indian members report genuine involvement in the task force work, support from the University and empowerment to research in ways most meaningful to them
Beneficial research	Receive task force's finding and recommendations with an open heart and an open mind	The University acknowledges the harm caused by past and ongoing practices
	Collaborate and partner with tribal nations on research initiatives	Funds are available to support relationship building and nurturing with tribal nation partners
		Research funds can be shared with tribal nation partners

		Systems exist to help connect tribal nation staff with University researchers
		A scholar of American Indian law and policy has been appointed to the Sonosky Chair at the Law School
		Tribal nation leaders report satisfaction with joint research projects
Research ethics oversight	Develop policies for research ethics oversight that honor Indigenous values	Policies detail criteria for research that avoids cultural harm
		Procedures are in place to review research proposals that may impact Indigenous values
	Be an example for other universities in how to honor Indigeneity	Other universities look to the University for insights into how to develop their own procedures and policies
Tribal Sovereignty Institute	Expand the Tribal Sovereignty Institute to better serve the needs of the eleven tribal nations	The Tribal Sovereignty Institute has resources to work with tribal nations and develop programs
		The Tribal Sovereignty Institute offers training programs and conferences
		The Tribal Sovereignty Institute works closely with University departments and units to engage in mutually-beneficial research and training
		The Tribal Sovereignty Institute produces an academic journal
	Augment Tribal State Relations Training to serve audiences beyond Minnesota state government	The Tribal Sovereignty Institute offers training to a broad audience

	employees	
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Teaching and Learning

Goal: American Indian students feel welcome on all campuses, have access to the support and resources they need, and see their cultures reflected in curricula.

Goal: Everyone at the University—leadership, faculty, staff and students—has an understanding of American Indians.

Programs	Action items	Proposed measure(s)
American Indian student support	Establish tuition waivers and other basic needs supports for American Indian students	American Indian students report consistently having housing and food security
		Tuition waiver program has expanded to all campuses
	Offer Dakota and Ojibwe residential options	Every student who wishes to live in Dakota or Ojibwe housing is able to
	Provide academic support	Bridging programs are available
		American Indian students report that American Indian Learning Resource Centers have the resources they need
		University leadership and staff have relationships with tribal college staff and administrators
Educating the University	Develop comprehensive program to teach leadership, faculty, staff and students about American Indians	Programs are available for each audience

		Many people have completed a training program
		Training participants report shifting perspectives as a result of the training
		American Indian students report feeling welcome on campus
Faculty support	Review hiring practices to ensure that American Indian faculty are not overlooked	There is an increase in the numbers of American Indian faculty
	Develop practices to support retention of American Indian faculty	American Indian faculty report feeling supported by the University
Curricula review	Ensure that curricula and degree requirements include Indigenous perspectives and ways of knowing	Courses include American Indian content where relevant
		Degrees require coursework related to American Indian topics where this would be beneficial
	Develop degree programs in American Indian and Indigenous Studies	There is a PhD offered in American Indian and Indigenous Studies
		There is an undergraduate degree in Dakota language

Outreach and Public Service

Goal: University leadership engages with tribal nation leadership on a regular ongoing basis.

Goal: Tribal liaisons are providing connections between the needs of tribal nations and the interests of University researchers, and research is benefitting American Indian communities.

Programs	Action items	Proposed measure(s)
Engaging with tribal nation leadership	President Gabel continues to meet with the MIAC Executive Board quarterly	Tribal nation leaders report regular communication and access with University leadership
	The Board of Regents meets with the MIAC Executive Board	The Board of Regents has designated representatives to meet with tribal nation leaders and report back to the Regents
Atoning for past harm	Negotiate with the Fond du Lac Band to resolve the issues with the Cloquet Forestry Center	Fond du Lac Band leadership reports satisfaction with the resolution agreed to by the University
	Repair the harm caused by unethical medical research at Red Lake Nation	Red Lake Nation leaders report satisfaction with University actions
	Acknowledge cultural harm of wild rice research	The Minnesota Chippewa Tribe reports satisfaction with University actions
	Recognize the origins of the University's resources and direct them to benefit American Indians	Funds are allocated to programs directly benefitting American Indians
Tribal liaisons	Assemble a team of tribal liaisons to connect University resources with needs of tribal nations	Tribal nation staff report having a consistent contact at the University
		Faculty and staff at the University know who to contact to connect with tribal nations
		Tribal liaisons are able to help University faculty and staff develop cultural competency

Appendix 2: MIAC Resolution Action Plan

Clauses seeking actions ¹	Recommended steps
<p>The University of Minnesota has yet to conduct an honest accounting of its own historical actions that, have over the years: (1) perpetuated oppression of, racism toward and discrimination against American Indian people; (2) allowed the University to profit from theft of tribal lands and resources even today; (3) engaged in research for the U.S. Army through the University Medical School which involved tribal members between 1954 and the 1970's; (4) attempted to replicate the DNA of Manoomin without involvement of tribal governments, which in its natural state is sacred to Anishinaabe people; (5) provided inadequate academic, financial and student support services to successfully recruit, admit, retain and graduate American Indian students; and (6) disrespected the sovereignty and self-governance of American Indian tribal governments through failure to consult with tribes about actions impacting tribes</p>	<p>Through the TRUTH task force and beyond, the University needs to understand, acknowledge and accept the harm caused by some of its practices, as well as recognize that ongoing harm continues. The University needs to identify these practices and discontinue them going forward.</p>
<p>The University has been complicit in concealment by omission of Minnesota's dark history of dealings with American Indian tribes, which has resulted in most Minnesotans being uneducated about our shared history and existence as governments</p>	<p>The University needs to take a comprehensive and proactive role in educating leadership, faculty, staff and students about American Indians.</p>
<p>MIAC welcomes a new era of relationship building and partnership with the University of Minnesota with the understanding that for this partnership to grow, engaging with Indian tribal governments must occur at the highest level of the</p>	<p>President Gabel has already committed to meeting with the MIAC Executive Board quarterly. She should seek to involve representatives from the Board of Regents, similar to the way the state legislature has members attend MIAC meetings. She</p>

¹ These clauses are quoted verbatim from [A Resolution Calling Upon the University of Minnesota to Fulfill its Obligations to the Eleven American Indian Tribal Governments within the State of Minnesota](#), issued June 2020.

<p>University and given the same status and attention as conducting state or federal relations</p>	<p>should also include Chancellors and Deans when relevant matters will be discussed. The new Senior Advisor to the President for Native American Affairs will be able to ensure that high level engagement occurs continuously.</p>
<p>The University of Minnesota shall expand the funding and mission of the Tribal Sovereignty Institute (TSI), which will work with tribes on research; developing materials; and teaching courses that have been prioritized by the tribal leaders and that will benefit the eleven American Indian tribes of Minnesota</p>	<p>The TSI is at present under-resourced to meet its potential as a leader in tribal centered research. Through expanding collaboration and partnership with tribal nations and different centers of excellence at the University--such as the Medical School, Humphrey School of Public Affairs and the Law School--the TSI could strengthen its position and benefits to tribal nations.</p>
<p>Building authentic new relationships based on trust requires committing to a truthful accounting of the University's historical relationship with and impact on the American Indian tribal governments of Minnesota, including acknowledgment of historical injustices which the University perpetuated and benefitted from, acknowledging the injustices which the University continues to directly and indirectly benefit from today, committing to dismantling institutional racism which directly and indirectly benefits the University, industry and certain other communities at the expense of American Indian tribal governments and people</p>	<p>The TRUTH task force will compile a detailed history with each tribal nation, describing what occurred between the University and American Indians. The University will need to prepare itself to receive this information with an open heart and an open mind, and without being defensive. An education campaign to address ignorance and develop cultural competency would support this preparation.</p>
<p>MIAC calls upon the University of Minnesota to partner with Indian tribes to create an American Indian Policy Review Task Force (AIPRTF) that will be charged with conducting a truthful historic accounting of the University's past and present policies which have directly and indirectly impacted American Indian tribal governments and American Indian people as described in this resolution, make recommendations of future policies to better serve Indian tribes and people, and that the Task Force shall be comprised of persons nominated by the American Indian tribal governments and persons nominated by the University of Minnesota</p>	<p>As of writing this paper, the University has invited its representatives to convene the TRUTH task force, and needs to invite participation of tribal nation and urban American Indian representatives. The University will need to be flexible about how this task force operates so that it meets the needs of the tribal nations.</p>

<p>The University will provide staffing and any necessary funding of the Task Force’s work, which shall be led by the Senior Director of Tribal Nations Relations and AIRPFT shall complete its work within one year</p>	<p>Although the University received \$330,000 as part of the \$5 million grant from the Mellon Foundation to support the task force research, more resources are required. The historic research portion of the task force’s charge is expected to take a year, with another year to evaluate the policies and make recommendations for future policies. Therefore, the task force will not meet the request to complete the work within a year as it is only just getting started in May 2020. The University needs to ensure that it communicates with MIAC about the task force formation and progress, and about the expected timeframe for the work.</p>
<p>The University President and representation from the Board of Regents shall engage in formal consultation with the elected leaders of the eleven American Indian tribal governments at least three times annually through hosting summits with the tribal leaders, as is the practice of the Governor of Minnesota as well as the White House</p>	<p>President Gabel is committed to meeting with tribal leaders on a regular basis; representatives from the Board of Regents should follow suit. Once covid-19 pandemic precautions have passed, President Gabel and other high-level representatives of the University should make an effort to meet with tribal leaders away from the campuses, on reservations when invited to do so.</p>
<p>The University of Minnesota will partner with the eleven American Indian tribal governments to establish a system-wide tuition waiver for American Indian undergraduate and graduate students at each of its campuses rather than just the Morris campus, similar to the Waiver of Tuition for North American Indians policy in Michigan (Act 174 of 1976) and that the current admission criteria for sought-after student athletes should equally apply to American Indian students</p>	<p>The University should investigate how to accommodate tuition waivers and other financial supports for American Indian students. Instituting a policy similar to the Wokini Initiative, where funds come from the interest earned from the land-grant endowment, would be one means. Another option would be to seek funding through state legislation.</p>
<p>Because American Indian students are descendants of the tribes from whom land was taken to found the University and which the University still profits from today, and because of their unique political status as members and citizens of a tribal government, American Indian students are not “multicultural” students but are entitled to their own gathering places, access to tribal elders, access to tutorial assistance, and access to Native American academic and student support counseling such as</p>	<p>Complete a study, which includes interviewing American Indian students, to examine the needs and desires of students. Ensure that each AILRC provides these services.</p>

<p>American Indian Learning Resource Centers (AILRC)</p>	
<p>AILRC's must be provided on all University of Minnesota campuses and be autonomous from multicultural centers in the same way as International students have their own gathering spaces as representatives of foreign nations with a unique status and issues</p>	<p>In addition to creating space on each campus for an AILRC, the University should expand access to Dakota and Ojibwe housing options.</p>
<p>The University will uphold its duty to educate Minnesotans about our shared tribal-state history through requiring that all undergraduates take coursework that builds knowledge and understanding of tribal governments, tribal sovereignty, and our shared history and that all graduate students studying in fields related to public policy, business or law in Minnesota shall be required to take a graduate or law school courses of the same nature</p>	<p>The Humphrey School offering a half credit tribal state relations graduate course is a start, but should also be expanded into a longer course. These courses should be adapted to other programs. In addition, curricula in all these subjects should include American Indian topics. Faculty should attend training such as the Antiracist Pedagogy Across the Curriculum Institute offered at St. Cloud State, or the University could develop its own program. An unpublished report by Beck, Jamoul, Paynter, Siljander and Williamson details an education plan for the University, including incorporating content into the Gopher Equity Project and First Year Experience Program, creating an additional course for the Certificate in Equity and Diversity, specialized education for faculty and departments, and on-reservation training for Regents and leadership.</p>
<p>The University of Minnesota will immediate adopt hiring procedures and policies which identify and remedy search committee bias, conduct aggressive outreach and recruitment of American Indian PhD candidates, and institute other best diversity hiring practices specific to American Indian faculty toward the goal of doubling Native American faculty and professionals within five years</p>	<p>In addition to reviewing hiring practices, the University needs to consider the efforts it makes to retain American Indian faculty.</p>
<p>Lands on the Fond du Lac Reservation which were taken from the Band and are currently used by the University of Minnesota Cloquet Forestry Center should be returned to the Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Indians</p>	<p>In good faith, the University needs to consider options for returning this land to the Fond du Lac Band. More urgently, the University needs to be transparent about the research being done at the Cloquet Forestry Center and improve communications with the Fond du Lac Band.</p>

<p>The University of Minnesota should ensure that the Marvin J. Sonosky Chair of law and public policy should be used to fund American Indian law and policy scholarship and teaching to honor the work of Mr. Sonosky</p>	<p>When the current Sonosky Chair, Dr. Herbert Kritzer, leaves his position or retires from the Law School, the University will have an opportunity to appoint a scholar of American Indian law and policy.</p>
<p>The University will establish a PhD in American Indian Studies and offer a Dakota language undergraduate degree in Dakota language, as the Twin Cities and Morris Campuses are on Dakota lands</p>	<p>There is student interest in these programs, and the University should commit resources to establishing them.</p>
<p>The University of Minnesota Regents, the President, the Provost, the Vice Presidents, Chancellors, Vice Chancellors and all the University Deans and all upper level executive officers of all campuses must be required to attend the Tribal State Relations Training established by State Executive Order 13-10 and continued by Executive Order 19-24 or similar training.</p>	<p>University leadership needs to understand the needs of tribal nations. Attending training on a reservation will help develop relationships.</p>

Appendix 3: Indigenous recognition at other universities

A comprehensive list of all programs in the United States can be found at [Native Studies List](#), [Guide to Native American Studies Programs](#), and [Indigenous Studies Programs](#).

United States

The [Native Nations Institute](#) at The University of Arizona “serves as a self-determination, governance, and development resource for Indigenous nations in North America and around the world” ([Udall Center](#)). They are focused on native nation building and have a close association with [The Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development](#), located at Harvard’s John F. Kennedy School of Government. They collaborate with institutions in Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The University of Arizona was also the first university to offer a [PhD Program](#) in American Indian Studies.

The [Center for American Indian Resilience](#) is at Northern Arizona University and is a partnership with the University of Arizona and Diné College. The Center’s goals “are to provide an opportunity:

- to examine community assets, e.g., the role of traditional knowledge, collective memory and cultural strategies in teaching health behaviors and supporting positive health outcomes
- to document these health strategies and positive behaviors oftentimes not collected in public health research
- to transfer and integrate tribal elders’ wisdom, knowledge and experience into contemporary public education and health promotion intervention”

NAU offers a specialist bachelor of science degrees in American Indian Nursing: [BSN American Indian program | School of Nursing](#), and Indian Country Criminal Justice: [BS Indian Country Criminal Justice | Applied Indigenous Studies](#).

Michigan State University has the [Native American Institute](#), which is part of the College of Agricultural and Natural Resources and works closely with Extension.

University of Michigan Law School has a student organization focused on Indian law: [Native American Law Students Association \(NALSA\)](#).

The Evergreen State College in Olympia, Washington has The Longhouse Education and Cultural Center: [s'qwi qwi ? altxw: House of Welcome](#), a gathering place for Indigenous arts. It also offers a [Master of Public Administration](#) with a Tribal Governance concentration.

Dartmouth has The [Native American Studies Research Library](#), [Native American House](#) and [Native American Program](#).

[High Plains American Indian Research Institute \(HPAIRI\)](#) at the University of Wyoming serves as a central point of contact for research initiatives involving Tribal Nations and the University. One of their goals is to establish a [research](#) office on the Wind River Indian Reservation. Information about completed projects can be found in their [Repository](#).

The [American Indian Policy Institute](#) at Arizona State University is “leading the discourse on tribally-driven, informed policy-making by:

- translating research and policy analysis into applied knowledge
- creating partnerships between academia and Indian Country
- serving communities via innovative capacity-building initiatives

driving change through community embeddedness.” They compile a monthly policy update with a summary of legislative activity in Arizona and at the federal level relevant to American Indians.

The [American Indian Institute](#) outreach program of Oklahoma University has been operating since 1951. It collaborates with Tribal Nations in the following areas:

- Health Promotion and Disease Prevention
- Indian Education
- Art, Culture, and Language Preservation
- Tribal Leadership and Organizational Development

The University of Washington offers an [Indigenous-centered Doctorate in Education Leadership](#). They also offer a [Graduate Certificate in American Indian and Indigenous Studies](#) and a [Certificate in Business Essentials of Tribal Gaming & Hospitality Management](#). It also seems that they had an [Indigenous Documentary Film](#), which is now on hiatus.

University of Alaska, Fairbanks offers a Master’s of Rural Development within the [Alaska Native Studies Department](#).

[Native American Budget and Policy Institute](#) at the University of New Mexico conducts “research, budget and policy analysis, social justice advocacy, litigation and community lawyering to encourage Native American communities to create self-determined and systematic change.”

Navajo Technical University offers a Master of Arts in [Diné Culture, Language, and Leadership](#).

Portland State University offers an [American Indian Teacher Program](#).

The University of South Dakota has the [Institute of American Indian Studies](#), responsible for the University’s relationships with Tribal Nations and the coordination of programs across the University.

The University of North Dakota has a number of American Indian programs to encourage American Indian student participation: [Indian Related Programs | Student Diversity & Inclusion](#).

The [Center for Rural Health](#) works with Tribal Nations. The [Northern Plains Indian Law Center](#) is part of the Law School focused on different aspects of American Indian law.

Montana State University has the [Center for American Indian and Rural Health Equity](#).

The University of New Mexico has the [Center for Native American Health](#).

The [Indigenous Wellness Research Institute](#) is at the University of Washington.

Canada

University of Northern British Columbia has a [First Nations Studies](#) department that offers undergraduate and graduate degrees. They were recently awarded \$1.3 million for a five-year [Indigenous health study](#). The University houses the [National Collaborating Centre for Indigenous Health](#), the [Western Research Centre](#) of the Urban Aboriginal Knowledge Network, and the [Community Development Institute](#). There are professors from around the University who all work in First Nations research:

<https://www.unbc.ca/research/research-clusters#First%20Nations>. They also have a number of [Indigenous Initiatives](#) to decolonize the University.

The University of Victoria is a leader in [Indigenous research](#) in several areas and offers a number of [Indigenous-focused studies](#) and [Programs with Indigenous content](#). They have an [Indigenous Plan](#) and are committed to collaborating with Indigenous peoples: [Working with Indigenous communities](#).

The University of British Columbia First Nations and Indigenous Studies department has compiled a resource of information about Indigenous culture, history and politics: [Welcome to Indigenous Foundations](#).

[First Nations University of Canada](#) offers a [Certificate of Reconciliation Studies](#).

New Zealand

University of Otago | Te Whare Wānanga o Otāgo

University of Otago has an [Office of Māori Development](#) responsible for Māori advancement across the university. They have prepared a [Māori Strategic Framework](#) along with an [action plan](#). The University of Otago developed a system for requesting Māori [signage](#).

Victoria University of Wellington | Te Herenga Waka

Victoria has a [marae](#) (Māori meeting house) on campus, and is embarking on an ambitious [building project](#), based on embracing Māori values. A [forum](#) for Māori academic interests is a [subcommittee](#) of the Academic Board, convened by the Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Māori).

Victoria adopted a [Treaty Statute](#) and provides explanations of its principles. Victoria is dedicated to [engagement and partnerships](#). A [forum for professional staff](#) interests serves as a support network for Māori staff and others working to advance the [Strategic Outcomes Framework for Māori](#). The overall [strategic plan for the university](#) incorporates Māori values prominently.

Waikato University

Waikato University has a number of [initiatives](#), including [Te Rōpū Manukura](#), a council committee with representatives of the twenty tribes of the region. There is a [marae](#) on campus and also a [waiata](#), or song.

University of Auckland

The University of Auckland has a [number of initiatives](#) to support Maori. There is an [advisory body](#) to the Council to support tribal partnerships, student achievement, curriculum, and to ensure the university is upholding its treaty obligations. The university's equity policy [recognizes its treaty commitments](#). There is also a [marae](#) on campus.

Te Wānanga o Aotearoa

The Māori wānanga, or Māori culturally-based university system, articulates its fundamental [Mission, Vision & Values](#), and also has a [Strategic Plan](#).

Appendix 4: Potential grant funding agencies

Blandin Foundation	Focused on rural Minnesota, so only funds projects with direct benefits there. Metro projects are ineligible. For projects over \$50,000, they want the project to be focussed on the Grand Rapids/Itasca County area or to be a model that can be used in other rural areas. They have given the University funds previously. Grant deadlines are quarterly.
Bush Foundation	Community Innovation Grants award a maximum of \$200,000 and can be applied for year-round. They fund problem-solving projects that make the region better for everyone. They granted money to Bemidji State University for a project to address structural oppression. They have also funded a project at South Dakota State University to attract more American Indian nursing students. One of the most positive outcomes of this project was the establishment of an advisory board to ensure that interventions were appropriate.
Otto Bremer Trust	They fund community asset building projects with a social return focus , but only accept one application at a time from an organization.
Margaret A. Cargill Philanthropies	Our project might align with the Legacy and Opportunity funding domain that is still under development. Margaret A. Cargill Philanthropies reaches out to organizations it wants to support, and does not accept applications.
Cargill Foundation	Their education grants focus on K-12 education . However, they also have an interest in addressing the opportunity gap .
Northwest Area Foundation	They fund projects to support economic development, building financial savvy and increasing access to capital . They are committed to equity, diversity and inclusion and 40% of grant funds go to Native-led organizations . They accept proposals by invitation only .
State of Minnesota Office of Higher Education	They have grants to support efforts to increase participation of under-represented populations.
McKnight Foundation	The Vibrant & Equitable Communities grant category could be a good fit for American Indian relations work.
Saint Paul and Minnesota Foundation	They are focused on the East Metro region .
Jack Kent Cooke Foundation	They fund projects that improve access to higher education for low-income high achieving students. They make a limited number of grants to nonprofits, and rarely award funds to

	organizations unsolicited.
Northland Foundation	They have two priority areas for funding: children and community wellbeing. They consider large grants to be those over \$5000.
W.K. Kellogg Foundation	Initiatives to improve opportunities for American Indians align with their Equitable Communities priority ; however, most of their grant funds are dedicated to a geographic area outside of Minnesota.
Lloyd K. Johnson Foundation	They offer smaller grants for education and economic development projects for the arrowhead region of Minnesota.
Travelers	Funds projects and programs that encourage under-represented students to pursue higher education , and their target area is St. Paul.
Headwaters Foundation for Justice	Grants are focused on community-led projects and they seek to support Native American organizations. Their grants are up to \$15,000. https://headwatersfoundation.org/grants/our-approach-to-grantmaking/
Securian Financial	They grant funds to support higher education and financial stability. https://www.securian.com/about-us/community-commitment/funding-priorities.html
Henry Luce Foundation	They support institutional initiatives rather than individual research projects: https://www.hluce.org/programs/higher-education/grant-categories/