Native American Studies in the Program in American Culture, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Gregory Evans Dowd

Background and Goals

The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, has a long, uneven history with American Indians. Today the university publicly avows that its very origins lie in a land grant obtained in Article 16 of the Treaty of Fort Meigs (1817). Yet in the last quarter of the twentieth century, even as Michigan emerged as a leading national proponent of diversity in academic life, it somehow missed opportunities with Native Americans. James J. Duderstadt, a former president of the university and an endowed professor of science and engineering, after pointing to Michigan’s many multi-cultural successes, laments briefly in his essay, “Diversity,” that: “In contrast, our record regarding Native Americans has been disappointing. . . .” During the late twentieth century, while Michigan employed highly important scholars in the field of Indian Studies, it did not go as far as several other of the nation’s and the state’s institutions to recognize that an academic relationship with American Indians might involve more than publications, exhibits, and occasional gestures expressing guilt and tragedy. At many other universities, by contrast, American Indian Studies opened new opportunities for the exploration of artistic and literary creativity, for scholarly reflection, for informed political action, for community awareness, for social engagement, for historical witness, and for the search for truth and justice, all of which opportunities have
long been hallmarks of a liberal education, in its best, ideal sense. Duderstadt closed his observations about the university’s Native American record with a ray of hope: “Today, although the number of Native students enrolled is low, they continue to make vital cultural and intellectual contributions to the University.”

It is time to spell out some of these contributions.

In 1972, the Native American Student Association formed at the University of Michigan. As with American Indian student organizers elsewhere, Michigan’s NASA students sought both to rid the campus of culturally insulting practices and to create and bolster Native American Studies programs. The University founded a Native American Studies program within the Program in American Culture in 1983, but only in recent years has it had the human and financial resources to make an impact on the campus. As recently as April 1999, the main campus newspaper, The Michigan Daily, reported that “NASA’s demands include the establishment of a strong Native American studies program, the termination of university support for the senior honor society Michigamua and formal recognition of tribal land influence in the establishment of the University.”

These three demands have been partially met. Michigamua is a senior society that historically practiced faux-Native American rituals using actual artifacts. There is not room here to spell out either the objections lodged by NASA (supported by such campus units as the Program in American Culture) to Michigamua, or Michigamua’s efforts to defend itself. Suffice it to say for now that Michigamua no longer occupies privileged space in the tower of the Michigan Union, thanks in large measure to a five-week student occupation in the winter term, 2000. On the other two demands: the University has formally, this year, acknowledged the role of a Native American land cession in its history, and the Native American Studies program has been given much recent support.

Coinciding with this Native American student activism since 1972 were intellectual and cultural changes in the university more generally that lay the groundwork for the establishment of a Native American Studies program. The U of M found itself adopting forthright and bold stands on issues of affirmative action, broadening the diversity of its campus, and expanding its support for historically unrepresented social groups and cultures. At the same time, in offices in the central area of the main campus, the university’s Program in American Culture (AC) began to insist that the field American Studies had to move in new directions. What has been called the “Michigan model” for American Studies placed “ethnic studies,” broadly defined, at the center of America, not at its periphery. Instead of searching vainly for some definitive, mainstream “American Character” or “American Identity,” instead of hiving off a separate “ethnic studies” unit, AC at Michigan plunged into tense, strained, conflicted, and negotiated zones of interaction, exchange, and intermingling among the myriad social and cultural groups that make up the United States and its domestic and overseas empire. The Latino Studies Program, the Asian/Pacific Islander American Studies Program, and the Native American Studies Program all arose
under the umbrella of American Culture. While the Center for Afroamerican and African Studies has developed its own, freestanding program, it stands, physically, just one floor above us, and several of its professors have joint appointments in American Culture. The faculty of these programs, then, communicate with each other and with American Culture as a whole, in constant efforts to keep our bearings while gaining as well new orientations as we negotiate the dynamic currents that course through American Studies.

Native American Studies deserves a prominent place in American Studies. All of what the federal government now calls “The Homeland” once fell under the sovereignty of Indigenous North Americans or Hawaiians. “The Homeland” is the ancestral homeland of Indigenous Peoples. That unsettling fact is impossible to deny, and it is finally escaping a long history of settler denial and romance, but as the denial recedes, a reaction is under way. For a few signs of the last, witness renewed attacks on affirmative action, the rising tendency of an increasingly conservative federal judiciary to reject Indian legal arguments, and federal cutbacks in Indian programs since the 1980s. It is in this kind of tension between community aspiration and established power that the Program in American Culture finds its mission, and Native American Studies has been a recent beneficiary of a willing host. Against the reaction, too, the University of Michigan has recently lent excellent support. Here lies the real story.

Native American Studies at Michigan has grown rapidly in the first few years of this century. Of the nine active faculty who will be members of NAS in the coming fall term (2003), seven have joined since 2000, and five of these will have arrived since last fall (2002). All seven recent hires are — or are contracted to become — tenure-track or tenured appointments. Some of these new colleagues are members of the Gros Ventre, Ojibwa, Oklahoma Cherokee, Oklahoma Comanche, and other nations, others are of Dakota, African-American, and Euro-American heritages. They join Native American and other scholars and teachers who nourished the early development and recent expansion of the program.

While NAS at Michigan is, we hope in a good sense, an adolescent (precocious, energetic and somewhat inchoate), we are also maturely planning our future shape, identity, and direction. We do so largely, though not exclusively, within the Program of American Culture, where we embrace the interactive, interdisciplinary, cross-cutting forms of analysis that are the program’s hallmarks. We are looking for ways to be responsive to American Indian political and community interests, to be focused on cultural issues, and to remain highly conscious and reflective about the difficult meshing of Western and American Indian epistemologies, in all their variety. We hope in particular to provide a nurturing environment for the scholarship of our students and faculty. Our members currently have appointments in the departments of Psychology, History, Anthropology, English, Women’s Studies, and the Center for Afroamerican and African Studies. We consist of several ethnohistorians who combine anthropological and traditional historical techniques, an historian who asks
traditional American Studies questions in order to overturn their basic assumptions, an anthropologist and a sociologist who deploy new and established ethnographic methods in "the field," a clinical psychologist concerned with developing culturally-appropriate mental health services for Native American communities that avoid the neo-colonial subversion of local thought and practice, a literary critic and novelist who combines creative cultural production with theoretical analysis, and an Ojibwa language instructor who brings students to an understanding of one of Michigan's most deeply-rooted cultures.

American Indian Studies inhabits a world of paradox. While, in this respect, our field may resemble other intellectual endeavors, the tensions we face are particularly keen: the questions both painful and generative. A few examples of thousands may serve to illustrate. There are the difficult, enduring ethical questions about the consequences of scholarship, such as: Does the academy help or harm Indigenous Americans? Is higher education the road to cultural prosperity or destruction? Should Native communities care about scholarship? What particular debts do scholars, Native and non-Native, have toward Native communities about whom they write? There are the more particular scholarly questions, which also have important practical political and social consequences, such as: Should Native concepts of healing influence those who would heal Indians? Is U.S. national wealth predicated on Native historical subjection and dispossession? How does one understand the proclivity of certain Americans simultaneously to seek an authentic identity in Native imagery and to ridicule Native peoples with sporting abandon? How does the interjection of American Indians alter national discussions of American gender, sexuality, and the family? Does gambling have its virtues? Is the history of slavery an Indian, African-American, and Euro-American history all at once? How is American democracy Indian, if at all? Is the history of American colonialism and imperialism an American Indian story? Is America still colonial, still imperial, or is it post-colonial, post-imperial, or proto-imperial? Where do American Indians and others of America's peoples belong in the story of the American environment? Why are there so many Indian veterans? Why do the figure of the veteran and the symbol of the American flag loom large in Indian life and literature? How similar and how different are the leading political concerns of Native Americans from those of other American people of color? What do the Mexican and Canadian borders mean to Native peoples divided by them? What about "blood" and identity? What is an Indian nation, and by extension, what is an American nation?

NAS at the University of Michigan recognizes that American Indians live today, and many have long lived, in a world of diversity. Interestingly, the increasingly pluralistic nature of Native American lives has only strengthened, not eroded, the determination for more self-government. Reservations and tribal governments have, if anything, been gaining strength and authority in recent decades. But federal power remains important. Whether in the United States or in Canada, Native North Americans' lives are sometimes influenced, more deeply
than those of most other peoples, by changes in policy, by judicial pronouncements, and by bureaucratic initiatives and blunders. For these reasons, because of the tension between autonomy and metropolitan rule, it makes sense to house Native American Studies within a Program in American Culture that dedicates itself to the strains and strands among the many peoples of America its various structures of power. At the University of Michigan, we seek to study American Indian cultural production, history, and current realities without losing sight of the fact that Indians are an integral part of America and the larger world.

**NAS Activities in 2002-2003**

**Treaty of 1817**

If Native American Studies has developed recently in partial consequence of Native American Student Association demands, another of those 1999 demands helped pave the way for one of the many events of this past year. The demand was that the university recognize, in a formal manner, its special historical relationship with Native Americans. At noon, on November 21, 2002, the university formally dedicated a plaque on the central campus commemorating Article 16 of the Treaty of 1817, also known as the Treaty of Fort Meigs.

The event has a history. In 1971, Paul J. Johnson and the “Children of the Ottawa, Chippewa and Potawatomi Tribes,” filed a legal complaint against the Regents of the University of Michigan, alleging that Article 16 effectively created a trust to guaranty the education of the tribes’ children and their descendants. The language of the article follows:

Some of the Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawatomi Tribes, being attached to the Catholic religion, and believing they may wish some of their children hereafter educated, do grant to the rector of the Catholic church of St. Anne of Detroit, for the use of the said church, and to the corporation of the college at Detroit, for the use of the said college, to be retained or sold, as the said rector and corporation may judge expedient, each, one half of three sections of land, to contain six hundred and forty acres, on the river Raisin, at a place called Macon; and three sections of land not yet located, which tracts were reserved, for the use of the said Indians, by the treaty of Detroit, in one thousand eight hundred and seven; and the superintendent of Indian affairs, in the territory of Michigan, is authorized, on the part of the said Indians, to select the said tracts of land.°

In 1981, an appellate court confirmed a lower court ruling that denied that Article 16 bound the university in a **legal** relationship with the Native American tribes.° As one university publication puts it: “The courts found that the state
was under no such legal obligation, but the case did kindle a sense of moral obligation that led to the passage of Public Act 174, the Michigan Indian Tuition Waiver Program, in 1976. But if the university had fought and won, two decades ago, a legal case against an Indian treaty claim, it nonetheless appears now to be acknowledging its own ethical obligation to Native Americans. The relationship is now written in brass, and the plaque commemorating it sits centrally on the main campus.

President Mary Sue Coleman spoke at the plaque's dedication, thanking one of the student organizers and rededicating the university to Native American Studies and to the recruitment of Native American Students. Among the dignitaries present was Chairman Tom Peters of the Sault Ste. Marie Tribe (Ojibwa) and Frank Ettawageshick of the Little Traverse Bay Band (Odawa). University Regent Katherine White publically thanked the Anishinabeg for the land grant. Ettawageshick sang a courting song to express the sense of relationship, and he reminded the audience that Michigan's Indians have had a long and intricate history with the state's institutions of higher learning. Coleman read the plaque aloud:

This plaque commemorates the grant of lands from the Ojibwa, Odawa, and Bodewadimi through the Treaty of Fort Meigs, which states that 'believing they may wish some of their children hereafter educated [they] do grant to the rector of the Catholic church of St. Anne of Detroit..., and to the corporation of the college at Detroit, for the use of the said college, to be retained or sold, as the rector and corporation may judge expedient....' The rector was Gabriel Richard, a founder and first vice president of the corporation of the college, chartered by the territorial legislature as the University of Michigania in 1817. These lands were eventually sold to the benefit of the University of Michigan, which was relocated to Ann Arbor in 1837.

The student to whom Coleman referred, Andrew Adams III, recalls that "When I came to Ann Arbor in 1992, I was shocked to find a number of markers around campus recognizing people who had been 'playing Indian,' but not a single thing to commemorate Native Americans' historical contributions to this school — the premier educational institution in the state." Now, in addition to the plaque on the central campus, one can find many references to the Indian land gift in university publications and pronouncements.

The dedication also involved an afternoon academic seminar, in which I presented a paper on Pontiac's War (1763-1765). That evening, Ettawageshick (Odawa artist, teacher and former tribal chairman of the Little Traverse Band) addressed an audience at the Michigan Union about his relationship with the university and his life in the state.
Speaker Series

Cooperating with the Native American Law Student Association and the Native American Student Association, Native American Studies launched an active speaker series this year. We brought out seven speakers. The first two were doctoral candidates at other institutions. They spoke on the occasion of Native American Heritage month. Audra Simpson (Kahnawake) delivered her talk on November 1: "'The White Man Put That There, Not Us': Mohawk Border Crossing, Nationhood, and the Gender of Colonialism." Audra Simpson is the 2002-03 Charles Eastman Fellow in Native American Studies at Dartmouth College, and is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Anthropology at McGill University. Michael Witgen (Ojibwa) followed on November 18. His talk was titled "An Infinity of Nations: Indians, Empires, and the Myth of European Discovery and Possession in the Heartland of North America." Michael Witgen is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of History at the University of Washington.

In the winter term five speakers followed. David Wilkins (Lumbee) is an Associate Professor of American Indian Studies, Political Science and Law at University of Minnesota, spoke on February 10. Wilkins is an authority on Indian sovereignty and the U.S. Supreme Court, and he has authored or coauthored several works on Indian government and federal Indian law, including American Indian Sovereignty and the U. S. Supreme Court: The Masking of Justice. His lecture topic was "A Judicial Tsunami: The Rehnquist Court's Interpretation of Absolute Power over Aboriginal Peoples," and it was a devastating critique.

On March 7, Helen Tanner delivered an evocative and thought provoking talk titled, "Implications of 'Iceberg Facts' for American Indian History," in which she explored the value of attending closely to seemingly anomalous facts—they may hang together in ways that disrupt our current understandings; there may be far more beneath the surface. Tanner, a Senior Research Fellow at the Newberry Library, Chicago, has a long relationship with the University of Michigan, having received her Ph.D. in history here and having worked and taught here in the 1960s and 1970s. She was also an expert witness and historical consultant for several tribes in some 20 state and federal legal cases. Her books, particularly her Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History, are well-known.

On Thursday, March 13, the Hawaiian scholar, attorney, and activist Mililani Trask, delivered an inspiring and emotive paper titled, "Indigenous Peoples' Human Rights and Global Issues." In addition to delivering her paper, Trask graciously led two student seminars, moderated by Professor Andrea Smith Honoring Trask at the opening of her talk was our own Professor Amy Stillmar Hawaiian and ethnomusicologist, who pleasantly surprised Trask with beautifully sung chant in Hawaiian. Trask has served as Kia'aina (Governor Prime Minister) of Ka Lahui Hawaii, the Native Hawaiian Nation (1987-1998).
She is also the Pacific Basin representative on the 16-member U.N. Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues.

The next Monday, Chief Arvol Looking Horse (Cheyenne River Sioux), visited the university, addressed a large undergraduate history class, and spoke to the public on the “Teachings of the White Buffalo Calf.” Arvol Looking Horse is the nineteenth generation keeper of the *White Buffalo Calf Pipe Bundle* and holds the responsibility of spiritual leader among the Lakota, Dakota and Nakota People. He travels and speaks extensively on peace, environmental and Native rights issues. He serves as a board member for the Wolakota Foundation, and he is the author of *White Buffalo Teachings* (2001). Ann Arbor’s own drum, the Tree Town Singers (many of them university people), honored the spiritual leader at the event.

On Monday, April 7, Jeffrey D. Anderson, gave us a lively, careful, thoughtful, and experienced presentation on “Making a Reservation at Wind River: Spatial and Temporal Dimensions of Euro-American Dominance and Northern Arapaho Survival.” Anderson serves as Associate Professor and Chair of Anthropology at Colby College in Maine. University of Chicago, Ph.D. Professor Anderson is the author of *One Hundred Years of Old Man Sage: An Arapaho Life Story* (2003) and *The Four Hills of Life: Northern Arapaho Life, Knowledge, and Personhood* (2001). Anderson’s visit coincided with the Dance for Mother Earth Pow Wow, which he was able to attend.

**Participation in CIC conferences**

The University of Michigan remains an active participant in the Committee for Institutional Cooperation’s American Indian Studies Program. Professor Philip Deloria is active on the executive committee, and he and other Michigan NAS members attended the two conferences that took place in Chicago this year. We have been represented by graduate students Veronica Pasfield and Tyler Cornelius in the seminars held at the Newberry for the CIC each semester.

**Curricular Innovation**

We hope and expect to persuade the university to establish, for the first time in its history, an academic credential in Native American Studies. This year we designed an academic minor, which we hope will be approved early in the fall term. It will provide students in all disciplines with an opportunity for the organized study of the field. Currently, it should be noted, students can work in Native American Studies through their concentration (or major) in the Program in American Culture.
Community Outreach

Two of this past years’ activities fall under this heading. First, the visit of Chief Arvol Looking Horse was arranged in concert, and indeed was initiated by, Native Americans in the local community without formal ties to the University of Michigan. Special thanks here to artist and flute-maker, Louis Thunder Hawk and to Steven Seymour. Then, in April, some 45 Indian high school students from communities on the Upper Peninsula toured lower Michigan colleges in cooperation with Northern Michigan University. Two members of NAS and three members of NASA joined us in discussion about college life with them.

New Faculty Member Hired

We had the good fortune this year to recruit Michael Witgen. Witgen will come as a research fellow for 2003-2004, and will start as Assistant Professor of History and American Culture in 2004. Witgen is working on an ambitious dissertation on the national histories of the United States, Canada, and the Ojibwas at the University of Washington under the direction of Richard White, now at Stanford University. Witgen has explored the archives from Paris to Rome to Winnipeg, and we anxiously await his arrival.

Faculty Retreat at Gallup Park

Having finished an academic year and having done all the above, the faculty gathered in early May in a seminar room overlooking the Huron River at Gallup Park in Ann Arbor. Amid Zingerman’s Deli sandwiches, coffee, and very sweet pastries, with canoes and paddle boats waiting outside, we had wide-ranging discussions of our general vision, our hopes, and our prospects. This essay depends, in a great measure, upon formulations we achieved over those two days.

Plans for Next Year

We plan already to bring in one speaker in the fall and to host, late in the winter term, the Committee for Institutional Cooperation’s Annual Graduate Student Conference. The planned speaker for the fall is Angela Cavender Wilson (Dakota), Assistant Professor of History at Arizona State University. She is the author of important scholarly articles on oral traditions, Dakota histories, the construction of historical thought, and historians’ obligations to both Indians and a larger readership. She is the co-editor, with Devon Mihesuah, of Indigenizing the Academy: Native Academics Sharpening the Edge (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, forthcoming). She serves on the managing board of H-Amindian. At last discussion, she planned to address the Dakota forced removal of 1862
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and the politics of memory. The CIC Graduate Student Conference will likely involve some sixty people, most of them graduate students from the “Big Ten” schools plus the University of Chicago and the University of Illinois, Chicago.

**NAS Courses**

Here are examples of courses that have been taught over the past several years. Unless otherwise noted, these courses are in the Program in American Culture. Most of them are also cross-listed with other departments, such as History, Anthropology, and English: 217 Native American Studies; 223 Elementary Ojibwa; 262 Introductory Study of Native Religious Traditions; 301 Native American Feminism; 310 Blacks, Indians, and the Making of America; 316 Native American Peoples of North America; 322 Intermediate Ojibwa; 323 Intermediate Ojibwa; 367 American Indian History; 328 Native American Literature; 417 Contemporary Native American Women Writers; 422 Advanced Ojibwa; 423 Advanced Ojibwa; 428 Native American Literature; 461 Language Culture and Society in Native North America; 496 Seminar: Native American Mental Health; 498 Seminar: Native American Autobiography; and 498 Seminar: Native American Women Writers. Other courses, such as Women’s Studies 253 Violence Against Women of Color, have large segments on Native American concerns.

**Affiliated Faculty and Areas of Interest**

Betty Louise Bell. English and American Culture. Interests: Native American Literature; Women’s Fiction; 19th-century American Literature.

Philip Deloria (Dakota Heritage). History and American Culture. Interests: nineteenth and twentieth century U.S. cultural history; Native American history.


Joseph Gone (Gros Ventre). Psychology and American Culture. Interests: cultural psychology; psychiatric anthropology; innovative mental health service delivery; and American Indian self, identity, and personhood.

Irving (Hap) McCue (Ojibwa). American Culture. Interests: Ojibwa Language and Culture, Great Lakes Native Culture.

Barbra Meek (Comanche, Oklahoma). Anthropology. Interests: Socio-cultural and linguistic factors that impact indigenous language development in Native North American communities. Child language socialization and acquisition, endangered and/or dormant language issues, linguistic theory and Athabaskan linguistics.

Tiya Miles. American Culture and Center for Afro-American and African Studies. Interests: African American and Native American comparative and interrelated histories; women of color history, literature, feminist thought and activism.

Michael Witgen (Ojibwa). American Culture and History. Interests: National Histories of Native American Peoples and Nation States; American/Canadian borderlands; Pre-Confederation Canada.

Selected Faculty Publications


**Related Campus Organizations**

There are several student organizations and university-sponsored support groups that coordinate activities with NAS. The three main student organizations are the Native American Student Association, the Native American Law Student Association, and the American Indian Science and Engineering Society. These active groups sponsor speakers and put their energies toward the April Dance for Mother Earth Pow Wow, one of two Ann-Arbor metropolitan area pow wows that take place each academic year (in October there is a pow wow at Eastern Michigan University in neighboring Ypsilanti).

The two university organizations are Multi-Ethnic Student Affairs (MESA), which has had an active and effective Native American Coordinator in Steven Abbott, and the Office of Academic and Multicultural Initiatives (OAMI), which also has had an experienced and skillful Native American specialist in Andrew Adams III (Muscogee). MESA is dedicated to providing assistance and advice to the organizations run by and for students of color. OAMI provides students of color with educational multi-cultural opportunities in programming, research, and leadership. From an Affirmative Action Office to a Center for the Education of Women, there are many other offices on campus which also provide support, but MESA and OAMI work most closely with NAS.

**Annual Campus Events**

November, Native Heritage Month, brings NAS, OAMI and MESA together for the quest for speakers and performers. January is the time of Martin Luther King commemorations, and the offices work to bring in speakers. This year, Tom B. K. Goldtooth, National Director of the Indigenous Environmental Network in Bemidji, MN, and literary critic Craig Womack (Oklahoma Creek-Cherokee) spoke for these events. In March is American Indian Law Day. Winona LaDuke (White Earth Ojibwe), the last Green Party Vice Presidential candidate, gave the keynote address. Also involved were John Ecobhawk (Pawnee), Executive Director, Native American Rights Fund; Professor David Getches, Raphael J. Moses Professor of Natural Resources Law at the University of Colorado Law School; Professor
Conclusion

The confluence of many new faculty and students, lawsuits that brought the University of Michigan to the Supreme Court, existing and active organizations such as NASA, AISES, and NASLA, and the hard work of already established faculty members, has all made for a very exciting year. As we in Native American Studies at the University of Michigan attempt to establish our place in the broader field, we bear in mind the many struggles of the previous generations of students, the ground prepared by faculty and administrators already here, the innovative thinking of members of the Program in American Culture, and the responsibilities that attend our labors.

Notes

1. Thanks to my NAS colleagues Philip J. Deloria, Joseph Gone, Tiya Miles, Barbara A. Meek, Andrea Smith, and Michael Witgen, for their timely help with this essay.
5. For a fuller discussion of the court cases, see "Indian Treaties: Their Ongoing Importance to Michigan Residents, The University of Michigan Case" a presentation of the Clarke Historical Library, Central Michigan State University, Mt. Pleasant Michigan, online at http://www.lib.cmich.edu/clarke/umcase.htm and at http://www.lib.cmich.edu/clarke/treatytuition.htm#goc.
6. See above note.
9. Andrew Adams III quoted in Steeh, "University celebrates history of land gift from Native Americans," cited above. Adams is consciously acknowledging the work of Professor Philip J. Deloria, Playing Indian (Yale, 1998) while referring as well to NASA's
victory over the Michigauma society. In addition to being a Ph.D. candidate in American Culture, Adams is an employee of the university's Office of Academic Multicultural Initiatives.