

# **Beyond Land Acknowledgement: Toward a Gayogohó:nq'-controlled land base at Cornell's Arnot Teaching and Research Forest**

A white paper written for Cornell University leadership  
January 2024

*“Cornell University, as the largest Morrill Act benefactor and the only ‘Ivy League’ LGU, has a unique opportunity to be a leader in efforts at redress.”*

– Meredith Alberta Palmer<sup>i</sup>

*“One of our visions is obtaining a land base to give the Gayogohó:nq' a place to come to, separate from the many barriers of tribal reservations, to build back community.”*

– Michelle Seneca, Gayogohó:nq' Learning Project<sup>ii</sup>

*“On a single piece of land, several people have a stake, and have to honor each other, not claiming precedence or ownership—it’s about me as a Black woman saying, ‘I want to facilitate Gayogohó:nq' needs on this land’ and then hearing from Gayogohó:nq' partners and anyone interested in repair.”*

– Christa Nuñez, Quarter Acre for the People<sup>iii</sup>

*Cornell University is located on the traditional homelands of the Gayogohó:nq'... We acknowledge the painful history of Gayogohó:nq' dispossession, and honor the ongoing connection of Gayogohó:nq' people, past and present, to these lands and waters.”*

– Cornell Land Acknowledgement Statement<sup>iv</sup>

Audrey Z Baker, MPA  
PhD Student, Cornell Science & Technology Studies  
Applied Practice Manager & Instructor, Cornell Public Health

# **Beyond Land Acknowledgement: Toward a Gayogohó:nq'-controlled land base at Cornell's Arnot Teaching and Research Forest**

A white paper written for Cornell University leadership  
January 2024

## **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

	<b>Executive Summary</b> , p. 3
	<b>Cornell's Role in Land Justice &amp; Redress</b> , p. 4
	<b>Gayogohó:nq' Land Back Efforts in New York</b> , p. 6
<b>Cornell Could Be a Land Back Leader: Opportunities &amp; Partnerships</b> , p. 7	
	<i>The Gayogohó:nq' Learning Project (GLP)</i> , p. 8
	<i>Quarter Acre for the People (QAP)</i> , p. 9
	<b>A Land Base for the Gayogohó:nq'</b> , p. 9
	<b>Arnot Forest: Histories of People on the Land</b> , p. 10
	<b>Arnot Forest Land: A Site for Redress</b> , p. 13
	<b>The Future of the Land: Ownership &amp; Cooperation</b> , p. 14
	<b>Moving Forward Together: Cornell's Arnot Centennial</b> , p. 15
	<b>References</b> , pp. 17-18

## Executive Summary

Cornell University has a unique opportunity to lead among universities by operationalizing land as redress for those who have been historically disenfranchised from the land, including Black, Indigenous People of Color (BIPOC) and especially the Gayogohó:nqʷ, or Cayuga peoples, on whose homeland Cornell's main campus sits. Cornell continues to benefit from 1862 Morrill Act land vouchers that seeded the institution's endowment, with lands that spanned the United States and were taken from Indigenous Peoples by the federal government, often through violent or otherwise predatory means, for land-grant university endowments in every state. Cornell, by far, received more land vouchers and profited more from the Morrill Act than any of the other 51 land-grant universities.<sup>v</sup>

While Cornell administrators have taken some small steps to converse with local Indigenous leaders, and some Cornell departments now collaborate with the Gayogohó:nqʷ through language and culture education initiatives, Cornell's leadership has not committed to restitution or redress. In 2021, Cornell adopted a "land acknowledgment statement", read regularly to kick off university events, that states the university is located on the traditional homelands of the Gayogohó:nqʷ and acknowledges the pain and ongoing connection of their people to the land and waters. However, Indigenous peoples across the country have been calling for reparative actions beyond acknowledgement, especially through process involving the land itself, that centers Indigenous governance and wellbeing. Cornell has the means and an ethical responsibility to answer these calls—and could lead by example with land-based forms of redress.

An existing partnership between a BIPOC land cooperative initiative called Quarter Acre for the People (QAP) and a language and culture education initiative called Gayogohó:nqʷ Learning Project presents Cornell with an apt opportunity for collaboration toward meaningful action. This past August 2023, the Gayogohó:nqʷ Learning Project (GLP) hosted a week-long language and culture camp at Arnot Forest. Arnot Forest is a Cornell-owned research, demonstration, and education site about 17 miles south of Cornell's main campus, and includes over one-third of the total acreage owned by Cornell in Tompkins County. The 2023 language and culture camp brought Gayogohó:nqʷ people together from across diaspora for the first time in hundreds of years, on lands taken from their ancestors, and was enormously meaningful to those in attendance.

Factions within the Cayuga Nation make it challenging for direct financial or legal relations with the tribe as a whole, and the Gayogohó:nqʷ Learning Project is fiscally-sponsored by a Cornell-affiliated entity. Therefore, since (a) Quarter Acre for the People is an independent 501(c)3, (b) GLP leaders are part of the QAP steering committee, and (c) QAP steering committee is creating a land trust, QAP is well-positioned to legally manage some of Arnot Forest lands, for Gayogohó:nqʷ control and purposes. By combining a transfer of acreage in Arnot Forest with cooperative land use management and governance processes between Cornell, GLP, and QAP, the Gayogohó:nqʷ people could enjoy and benefit from permanent control of their traditional home lands, outside the fraught politics of federally-recognized tribal territory.

2027 will mark 100 years since the Arnot Estate first donated acreage to Cornell for forestry research and experimentation.<sup>vi</sup> The opportunity is ripe for Cornell to reach out to the Gayogohó:nqʷ Learning Project and Quarter Acre for the People, and spend the next few years planning toward **a truly meaningful centennial**—one that centers healing and redress on homelands of the Gayogohó:nqʷ people.

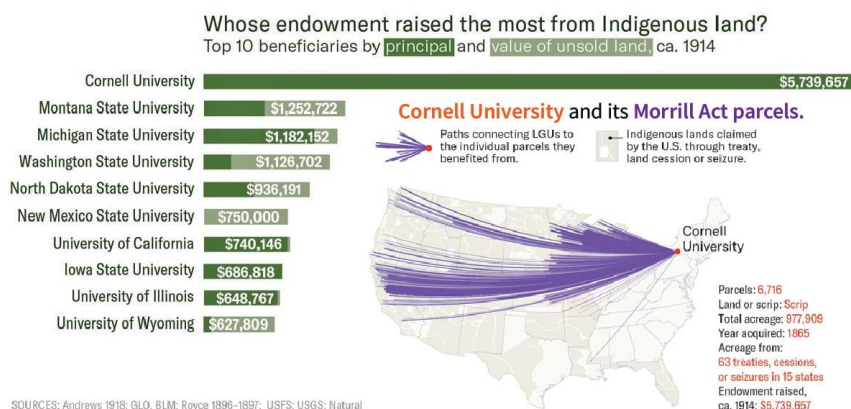
## Cornell's Role in Land Justice & Redress

The history of Indigenous land dispossession by European settlers in what is now the United States is no secret. Land has been taken from original inhabitants through overt violence—as in the 1779 slash-and-burn Sullivan Campaign against upstate New York Indigenous villages and lands, ordered by George Washington during the Revolutionary War—and through more insidious, long-term strategies since the 17<sup>th</sup> century, such as predatory lending and debt schemes, manipulative treaties and agreements, and legalized seizures. More and more, institutions today recognize and publicly acknowledge that their buildings, campuses, research stations, and other activities are located on lands taken by such means. Less commonly recognized, however, is that for 52 land-grant universities across the United States, including Cornell University, financial speculation of almost 11 million acres of land taken from Indigenous Peoples across the country via the 1862 Morrill Act—in lockstep with violent or otherwise predatory removals of people from their homes, families, and lands—seeded their endowments.

By far, Cornell University received more land vouchers than any other land-grant university—977,909 acres across 15 states (200,000 more acres than the next highest land-grant university recipient)—and raised the most funds—\$5,739,657 by 1914 (nearly 5 times more than the next highest beneficiary university).<sup>vii</sup> These disproportionate land grants by state were calculated

based on the relative number of congressional seats held by each state. Ezra Cornell himself purchased most of the acreage granted by the federal government's land vouchers for speculation, and sold them to raise significant profits for the university, leading to the “third-largest university endowment in the United States” 20 years after Cornell's 1865 founding. Cornell's land-grant acreage “was taken from the Ojibwe, Miwok, Yokuts, Dakota and other parties through 63 treaties or seizures.” When *High Country News* journalists reached out to Cornell in research for their seminal study and March 2020 expose “Land-grab Universities”, a Cornell spokesperson refused to comment. Cornell's American Indian and Indigenous Studies Program claims that “to date the university has neither officially acknowledged its complicity in this theft nor has it offered any form of restitution to the hundreds of Native communities impacted.”<sup>viii</sup>

The benefits to universities from these land grabs continue today, and in fact the Morrill Act stipulated that funds from these sales must continue to be used “in perpetuity” and thus persist today on university ledgers. Of course, all American institutions are also still located on the homelands of Indigenous Peoples. Cornell currently has campuses and owns land across New York State, as well as both leased and owned research and education stations in Washington DC, islands off the eastern coast of Maine, and property and mineral rights in other states.<sup>ix</sup> Cornell's main campus in Ithaca, New York and surrounding agricultural research stations in Tompkins County are located on lands historically stewarded and home to Gayogohó:nq' people.



Cornell benefits from Morrill Act  
<https://www.hcn.org/issues/52.4/indigenous-affairs-education-land-grab-universities>

Since April 2021, Cornell has adopted and commits to publicly reciting a land acknowledgement statement:

*Cornell University is located on the traditional homelands of the Gayogohó:nqʷ (the Cayuga Nation). The Gayogohó:nqʷ are members of the Hodinghsó:nih Confederacy, an alliance of six sovereign Nations with a historic and contemporary presence on this land. The Confederacy precedes the establishment of Cornell University, New York state, and the United States of America. We acknowledge the painful history of Gayogohó:nqʷ dispossession, and honor the ongoing connection of Gayogohó:nqʷ people, past and present, to these lands and waters.<sup>x</sup>*

Despite this land acknowledgement statement and its review and approval by some Gayogohó:nqʷ leaders and clan mothers<sup>xi</sup>—after Cornell incorporated suggested revisions to acknowledge *ongoing* dispossession, rather than framing it as a solely historical event—many Indigenous scholars and Indigenous people recognize that verbal acknowledgement is clearly not enough. Scholar and bestselling author Robin Wall Kimmerer demonstrated this in obvious terms during a November 2023 talk at Cornell called “Land Justice: Engaging Indigenous Knowledge for Land Care”:

*How do we go beyond acknowledging the harms? That's not justice... What if I said, “oh, I took your cell phone. Sorry. I have it. And on this phone are a lot of memories, and stories, and information, and images of places that you love. Sorry, this is your phone and I took it and I'm sorry, but I'm keeping it” ... Is that justice? How do we go beyond land acknowledgments?<sup>xii</sup>*

As an example of what land justice and redress might look like, Kimmerer cited a 2021 article by David Treuer, where he argues for the return of National Park lands to their Indigenous caretakers and writes, “we live in a time of historical reconsideration, as more and more people recognize that the sins of the past still haunt the present... for Native Americans, there can be no better remedy for the theft of land than land.”<sup>xiii</sup> Kimmerer also referenced “one of the first Land Back actions for the Onondaga Nation in centuries, just up the road [from Cornell],” in which 1,023 acres of forest lands are slated to be “returned to the care of the Onondaga Nation” through an agreement with both the U.S. Department of the Interior and the New York State Department of Environmental Conservation.

In a 2023 essay, scholar Meredith Palmer notes that 2020 marked a year of “nationwide attention and reckoning” with Indigenous land dispossession and acknowledgment, as the *High Country News* exposé emerged alongside protests against institutional racism against Black Americans. “Until these recent mobilizations,” she writes, “the Morrill Act has commonly been framed as beneficial, or at least not egregiously violent enough to warrant redress... [but] in critical debate now [since 2020] are the terms and forms of redress and debts owed by these universities for the role their founding played in, and benefit they have accrued from... seizure and ongoing occupation of Indigenous land and territory.”<sup>xiv</sup>

While some land-grab universities have invested in forms of redress, including intentional co-governance relations with Indigenous peoples, tuition waivers for Indigenous students, and earmarking income generated from existing Morrill Act lands for local Indigenous residents,<sup>xv</sup> what Kimmerer and Palmer stress is that *land itself*, and the stewardship or ongoing care of this land in the hands of Indigenous People, is what is necessary for repair. Palmer stresses that centering “Indigenous flourishing” in attempts for redress “would need to be done on the terms of Indigenous Peoples through proper consultation with the administration of a given university. Redress must primarily involve a respect and return of governance, jurisdiction, and land itself.”<sup>xvi</sup>

## Gayogohó:nq' Land Back Efforts in New York

The Gayogohó:nq' and many other Indigenous tribes across the United States have advocated, lobbied, and taken legal actions to pursue land justice. These have included actions to gain legal protections for ecological systems, such as waters polluted by corporations, and to gain authority and ownership of original homelands, in title or trust. Across the U.S., governments and corporations have, of course, pursued many tactics—bureaucratic, legal, economic, and violent—to avoid land redress and compensation for hundreds of years.

Many of these tactics persisted into the 20<sup>th</sup> century and continue today, including in New York State and the homelands of the Gayogohó:nq'. Kurt Jordan, Professor of Anthropology and American Indian and Indigenous Studies at Cornell University, writes in *The Gayogohó:nq' People in the Cayuga Lake Region: A Brief History* published in 2022, “it had long been recognized that New York State acted contrary to federal law in its 1795 and 1807 treaties acquiring Gayogohó:nq' land”.<sup>xvii</sup> It was not until the U.S. Supreme Court’s 1974 *Oneida Indian Nation of New York v. County of Oneida* decision that Indigenous Nations were finally allowed to “legally...press for redress.”

In the years following 1974, many Indigenous Nations sued for land claims against different states. Some were successful, including in Rhode Island and Maine, “so there was a good deal of confidence that a Gayogohó:nq' land claim would succeed”.<sup>xviii</sup> In 1977, the Gayogohó:nq' and their lawyers began talks with legislators and state representatives.

In 1980, Gayogohó:nq' citizens and the Seneca-Cayuga Tribe of Oklahoma “sued New York State, Seneca and Cayuga Counties, and private landowners in the 64,000-acre 1789 Gayogohó:nq' reservation area” in and around what is now Union Springs, New York and encompassing lands and waters at the north end of Cayuga Lake.<sup>xix</sup> The case traveled through federal courts for decades, until a court finally ruled in favor of \$248 million in monetary compensation—“clearly a drop in the bucket compared to the value of owning the entire reservation.” However, after New York State appealed, a payment was never made.<sup>xx</sup>

In 2005, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled against the Oneida Nation in *City of Sherrill v. Oneida Indian Nation of New York*, in which the majority opinion, written by Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg, stated “the Tribe cannot unilaterally revive its ancient sovereignty, in whole or in part, over the parcels at issue,” because “generations have passed during which non-Indians have owned and developed the area that once composed the Tribe’s historic reservation.... [and] the Oneida long ago relinquished the reins of governments and cannot regain them through open-market purchases from current titleholders.”<sup>xxi</sup>

Based on this ruling, which invoked “the doctrine of laches” or what Jordan summarizes as “what happened took place long ago and it would be too disruptive to change things now,”<sup>xxii</sup> the Gayogohó:nq' land claim case was dismissed by the U.S. Second Circuit Court of Appeals in 2005, and in 2006 the U.S. Supreme Court refused to review this decision.

Since then, the Gayogohó:nq' have purchased some of the individual properties within this 1789 reservation area piecemeal, but these efforts have been complicated by many disputes with local non-Indigenous residents and governments over taxation and forms of commerce, such as casinos, as well as conflicts between the federally-recognized Cayuga Nation of New York (CNNY) and the traditional Gayogohó:nq'. The traditional Gayogohó:nq' have tried, unsuccessfully, to gain federal recognition since then, and in 2020, CNNY police violently attacked traditional Gayogohó:nq' people as well as their schools, homes, and stores.<sup>xxiii</sup> In 2023, a CNNY petition was approved by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) to put 115 acres worth \$2.5 million into federal trust to give CNNY control and authority of the lands—“transferred to the ‘United States of America in Trust for the benefit of the Cayuga Nation’”—18

years after CNNY first filed the application in 2005.<sup>xxiv</sup>

## **Cornell Could Be a Land Back Leader: Opportunities & Partnerships**

Clearly, Cornell is uniquely positioned to be a leader in redress and healing with Indigenous Peoples by allying with the Gayogohó:nqʷ—on whose homelands the university now acknowledges being located, at most public events—to pursue land justice. However, even if Cornell chose today to commit to working hand-in-hand with Gayogohó:nqʷ People to develop strategies for land-based redress, the above-mentioned internal conflict between traditionalist Gayogohó:nqʷ and the federally-recognized CNNY raises questions of rightful representation for negotiations, governance, and land transfers.

Nonetheless, there are low-hanging, ethical and practical options for Cornell partnerships in such efforts moving forward. Groups of Black, Indigenous People of Color (BIPOC), including traditional Gayogohó:nqʷ, have developed cooperative, not-for-profit organizations specifically dedicated to connecting BIPOC people to land and to cultural heritage in and around Ithaca, New York. Two such groups—the Gayogohó:nqʷ Learning Project and Quarter Acre for the People—are organizations that formally collaborate with each other and have existing affiliations with Cornell. The university could work directly with these groups, in addition to other Gayogohó:nqʷ leaders and clan mothers, to develop meaningful, land-based forms of redress.

In October 2023, I interviewed three members of these groups to understand needs and possibilities for how Cornell land transfer could support their causes. Interviewees included: Michelle Seneca, co-leader of the Gayogohó:nqʷ Learning Project; Christa Nuñez, founder and co-director of Quarter Acre for the People; and Jay Smith, a steering committee member of Quarter Acre for the People.

“So much has happened on the land,” said Nuñez, describing the need for cooperation between Black and Indigenous folks in land repair. Nuñez continued:

*Leah Penniman [of Soul Fire Farm in Albany, and author of Farming While Black] says, ‘the land was the scene of the crime, but not the criminal’. There have been multiple crimes on the land. Land was stolen and forcibly removed, there was genocide to steal the land. That happened first. Alongside that, early on, people and human beings were stolen, enslaved, and forced to work that land, without any power and agency over what they ate, did, and how they built community. On a singular piece of land, there are multiple dynamics going on, and that’s central to what we’re trying to address. On a single piece of land, several people have a stake, and have to honor each other, not claiming precedence or ownership—it’s about me as a Black woman saying, ‘I want to facilitate Gayogohó:nqʷ needs on this land’ and then hearing from Gayogohó:nqʷ partners and anyone interested in repair, including white people.’<sup>xxv</sup>*

According to Jay Smith—who joined up with Quarter Acre for the People in Ithaca after leaving New York City, where he was an active leader in urban agriculture justice projects for many years—“we hear a lot about reparations. If this country is going to be serious about that, it would mean restorative justice projects with respect to land, and it would mean giving land back to people of color, both Indigenous and African American, to farm.” He went on:

*My sense of Christa and Pete’s [the co-directors of Quarter Acre for the People] mission here is to create a synergy between the struggles of Black farmers to gain land sovereignty and control land for the purposes of farming and homesteading and so on, with the struggles of the Gayogohó:nqʷ people. To bridge what has been a sort of separate historical divide with our claims to land. Given the fact that, historically, many*

*Africans were brought here on behalf of the white settlers who dispossessed Indians of their land, and then after being emancipated, made claims to the land.*<sup>xxvi</sup>

Of course, as Smith pointed out, Black people who gained ownership of millions of acres of farmland in the years following emancipation from slavery also “lost farmland at incredible rates” in the years leading up to and during Jim Crow laws.

The partnership between the Gayogohó:nq’ Learning Project and Quarter Acre for the People is facilitating healing and restorative justice, on the land, in Tompkins County.

**The Gayogohó:nq’ Learning Project (GLP)** is a “partnership of Indigenous and non-Indigenous people working to promote awareness and practice of Gayogohó:nq’ language in its ancestral homeland and beyond.”<sup>xxvii</sup> Their work is founded on the concept of sgé:nq’ gó:wah and “cultivating peace and cooperation” toward the Hodinghsq:nih notion of “The Great Wellbeing.” Fiscally sponsored by the Center for Transformative Action, a Cornell-affiliated (and located) 501(c)3 organization, the group centers a collaborative model of relationship building across organizations and groups to revitalize Gayogohó:nq’ language and culture and develop “a productive dialog... between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people through exploration of the connections between land, culture, and language.”<sup>xxviii</sup> Stephen Henhawk teaches the language through various classes, including a course offering on Cornell’s campus that was last taught in Spring 2021, and an online class for people living across Canada and the United States. Henhawk (Gayogohó:nq’ Wolf Clan) is a teacher of Gayogohó:nq’ language and culture with the Gayogohó:nq’ Learning Project, and Research Associate with Cornell’s Department of Linguistics and American Indian and Indigenous Studies Program, and a steering committee member with Quarter Acre for the People. Today, he is the youngest of “fewer than ten living first-language speakers of Gayogohó:nq’.”<sup>xxix</sup>

This past August 2023, GLP hosted a seminal week-long Gayogohó:nq’ language and culture camp at Cornell’s Arnot Teaching and Research Forest, with funding from Cornell’s Atkinson Center for Sustainability. The camp, according to GLP’s Project Leader and Quarter Acre for the People steering committee member Michelle Seneca (Gayogohó:nq’ Turtle Clan), was the first time that members of the Gayogohó:nq’ came together from diaspora to gather in their ancestral homeland. Other than this camp in 2023, the language classes for Gayogohó:nq’ living in Canada, western New York, the Seneca-Cayuga Nation reservation, and Oklahoma have only been held online. “Were able to give our ancestral seeds to our people, and they were able to take them back with them. We haven’t done this in over 250 years,” said Seneca:

*The way I’ve seen Stephen [Henhawk] use his traditional ecological knowledge—he can show people, and teach it. It gives people social justice. We are always sitting on territories crying, ‘honor our treaties!’ but nothing ever happens. By creating this project [GLP], we also now have opportunities to go onto land; they [Cornell] are letting us come on their land. We are able to bring together a whole community and give back seeds. It’s a historical moment. We’ve never been able to do this before.*<sup>xxx</sup>

Cornell units—specifically the Atkinson Center for Sustainability, the Einhorn Center for Community Engagement, the Migration Initiative, Cornell Botanic Gardens, and the Cornell Lab of Ornithology—have recently funded four other Gayogohó:nq’ educational projects in collaboration with GLP and American Indian and Indigenous Studies Program, in addition to the week-long language and culture camp. However, to date, the camp and other projects are all short-term programs that depend on annual grant applications and tenuous funding to continue beyond their first year.



**Quarter Acre for the People (QAP)** is a project of the non-profit organization Khuba International, an independent 501(c)3 that “connects children and families of African and/or Indigenous ancestry, as well as refugee families who have historically been displaced from land,”<sup>xxxix</sup> partially by finding and matching available lands for such families and developing land cooperatives. According to Christa Nuñez, QAP founder and co-director and Ph.D. student in Cornell’s Department of Global Development, Stephen Henhawk and Michelle Seneca have been “instrumental in driving our co-engagement with Gayogohó:nq’ partners” as collaborators and founding QAP steering committee members.

The program’s namesake “Quarter Acre” stems from the idea that “one family can do a lot with a quarter acre of land,” says Nuñez. “[A quarter acre plot] is manageable, accessible, and a wonderful training ground,” she says, “and represents everyone having a choice in matters, versus one small group making choices for everyone else.” With the land QAP has acquired so far for BIPOC cooperatives and other lands to come, they envision the larger multi-acre parcels shared, owned and co-governed among multiple families. This might involve each family managing delineated quarter-acre plots within each parcel, or not, depending on governance structures determined by cooperating families on each site.

Recently, Khuba International received a USDA Increasing Land Access grant, which generally “provide funding for land access and farm business and infrastructure support for marginalized farmers,” to support QAP land cooperative development on a 14-acre forested parcel in Danby, New York, just south of Ithaca. QAP’s plan is to build a welcome center for Gayogohó:nq’ youth and language education, and homes for 4 or 5 families “whose ancestors have been displaced or forcibly removed from land” so they can live and practice “agroforestry, mushrooms and bees, some silvopasture, and growing fruit and nut trees and berry bushes,” says Nuñez.

When I first approached Nuñez with the question—“have you discussed the use or transfer of Cornell land for QAP with Cornell administrators?”—she said yes, but that she had yet to see the commitment or action steps from Cornell she would hope to see in the near future. When considering what a land transfer to trust or sale from Cornell could look like to support BIPOC land repair initiatives, Nuñez insisted that the first land reparation project should center the Gayogohó:nq’ Learning Project, and “holding land for Gayogohó:nq’ cultural purposes.” After hearing of the recent success and “truly meaningful experience” of the Gayogohó:nq’ Learning Project’s August 2023 learning and culture camp, Nuñez suggested Arnot Forest land as the first site for Cornell land transfer. Secondary opportunities, she said, could include other Cornell lands sold or donated to Quarter Acre for the People for “purposes of cooperative farming development by marginalized community members.”

## **A Land Base for the Gayogohó:nq’**

According to Michelle Seneca, ensuring that Gayogohó:nq’ people have the ability to manage and care for land that is under their control would be a meaningful form of redress for her people. “One of our visions is to obtain a land base,” said Seneca. “Then we can plant. We can have a learning center. There would be a place for the Gayogohó:nq’ to come to and to build back community, and to build relations with Cornell.”

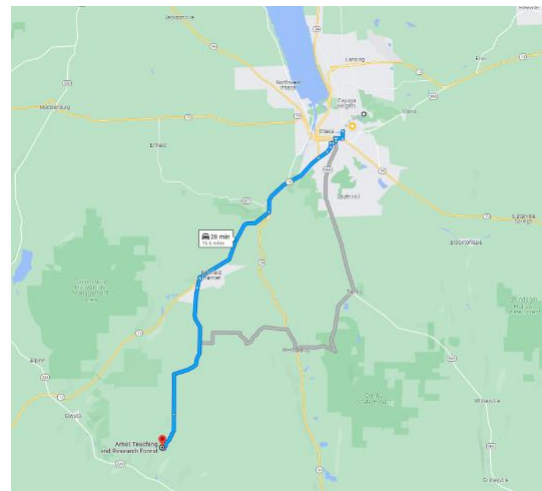
Seneca points out that the Gayogohó:nq’ have been systematically split up and divided under separate federal recognitions “meant to confuse our own people,” she said, but through GLP and the recent summer camp at Arnot Forest, “we are back.” To Seneca, having a land base outside of designated territories would allow the Gayogohó:nq’ people to “stay connected to our culture, not be divided, and make better decisions.” She recognizes that efforts of this kind are not possible on territory lands, where federal funds are funneled directly to federally identified leadership.

Cornell’s lands present a unique opportunity to support meaningful, Gayogohó:nq’-led healing on their ancestral homelands, in a way that reservation and territory land cannot be used, and the existing relationship between GLP and Cornell provides an essential foundation for further possibility and action. Cornell has considerable land resources today, situated in the ancestral Gayogohó:nq’ homelands, many of which are used for agricultural research and experimentation and have potential to be donated, sold, or put into trust to support Gayogohó:nq’ and BIPOC-led land-based projects.

According to Cornell’s Real Estate web page, “The central campus comprises about 745 acres. With the many farms, pastures, woodlands and natural areas, the total in Tompkins County is about 11,000 acres, or 4% of the county's lands. Cornell owns 6,000 acres elsewhere in New York and another 2,000 acres across the country, for a total of 19,000 acres of land and buildings. The University also owns more than 420,000 acres of mineral rights, mostly in the central and southwestern states.”<sup>xxxii</sup> Thus, over 10,000 acres in Tompkins County outside of central campus is owned by Cornell—including Arnot Forest.

## Arnot Forest: Histories of People on the Land

4,200 acres of Cornell’s Tompkins County lands, or 6.5 square miles, comprise the Arnot Teaching and Research Forest, also known as Arnot Forest or just “The Arnot,” according to its Cornell website.<sup>xxxiii</sup> Arnot Forest is about 17 miles and a 30-minute drive south from the southern end of Cayuga Lake and Cornell University. The Gayogohó:nq’ Learning Project hosted the first-ever, week-long Gayogohó:nq’ language and culture camp at Arnot Forest in August 2023.



Route from Cornell to Arnot Forest, Google Maps



Lines that carry maple sap into Arnot tanks  
[Photo by Audrey Baker]

Operated by the Department of Natural Resources (DNS) for nearly a century

since 1927, Arnot Forest is “the largest actively managed forest owned by Cornell University.” Arnot Forest includes a 7,800-tap maple sugar bush —“one of two maple syrup research facilities operated by the Cornell Maple Program”.<sup>xxxiv</sup> Entering Arnot Forest land at the South entrance in early winter, you see the maple lines everywhere—blue and green plastic tubes crisscross

the forest, between and among the trees, leading to larger black tubing at the edges of the dirt road, which themselves lead to a line of huge tanks to hold the sap, beside a long building used for processing sap into syrup. Next to the sugar shack is a building that welcomes hunters during permit season, who stop there to sign in. The forest extends from the sugar shack for miles, with ferns and creeks and steep hills peopled with trees, in much of the forest, and the plastic tubes that collect their sugar waters.



Welcome sign at the South Entrance of Arnot Forest  
[Photo by Audrey Baker]

One the other side of the South entrance is a “field campus” with twelve seasonal cabins, a bath house, a lodge with a commercial kitchen, some offices, and a few other open-air structures. The field campus has supported various educational programs for decades, including Civilian Conservation Corps activities from the 1930s-1954, and subsequently “natural resource educational programs of Cornell university” as well as



Banner representing the Hodinᑏhsᑏ:nih confederacy, flown in Arnot field campus, Nov. 2023  
[Photo by Audrey Baker]

some Cornell Cooperative Extension youth programming. The field campus is also available for rentals. This field campus and the surrounding woods at Arnot hosted the Gayogᑏhᑏ:nᑏ? Learning Project’s learning and culture camp in August 2023. Today, when you step onto the field campus, a cloth purple banner depicting the Hiawatha wampum belt, representing the original formation of the Hodinᑏhsᑏ:nih confederacy of five nations (including the Gayogᑏhᑏ:nᑏ?), flies high on a pole between the cabins and the lodge.<sup>1</sup>



A few of the cabins at Arnot field campus  
[Photo by Audrey Baker]

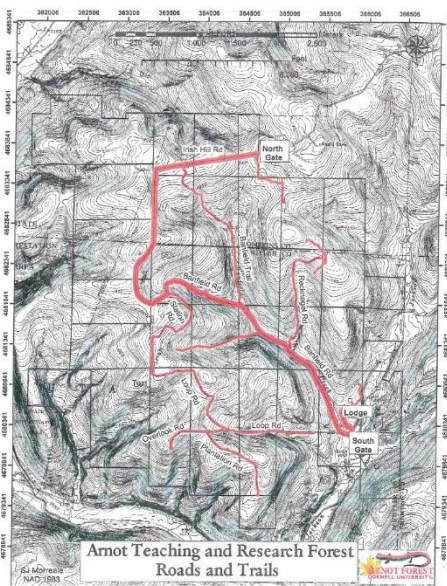
According to the Cornell ‘s Department of Natural Resources website, “The Arnot provides a place for Cornell faculty and students to carry out elements of the three-part mission of the College of Agriculture and Life Sciences: Teaching, Extension, and Research, in service to the citizens of New York.”<sup>xxxv</sup> While the Forest has supported Cornell undergraduate student summer internships, the website’s “Educational Activities” page is blank, as of November 2023. Arnot Forest is open for year-round public use, including permitted hunting as well as fishing, hiking, and skiing.

The website also includes a simple application form for “research use” of the forest.

Many historical accounts, including a 57-page *History of Cornell University’s Arnot Forest*, published in 1980 by Cornell’s Department of Natural Resources (DNR),<sup>2</sup> claim “Algonkians” were the first tribe in what is now New York State, for about 300 years, until the Iroquois entered the upstate region in about the year 1300 CE, through an invasion for which “the exact reasons are unknown... but famine, wars, and internal strife probably encourage the Iroquois to look for new hunting grounds,”<sup>xxxvi</sup> and after which the Cayugas (Gayogᑏhᑏ:nᑏ?) become “the major Iroquois tribe in the area of [what is now] the Arnot Forest.”

<sup>1</sup> Photos of this same flagpole on the website show a different, unidentifiable light blue flag lowered, instead.

<sup>2</sup> This 1980 DNR History is the most recent detailed history of Arnot Forest, according to Cornell’s website, after having been rewritten from previous 1964 and 1970 versions.



Topographical map of Arnot Forest  
<https://blogs.cornell.edu/arnotforest/location-maps/>

More recent archaeological and linguistic evidence, however, shows that this long-prevailing narrative of relatively short-term human residency in the area and “waves and waves of population replacement in the region” is actually false. For many decades, prevailing archaeological theories claimed that people have only lived in what is now known as Central New York for about 2,000 years. According to Kurt Jordan’s 2023 history of the Gayogohó:nǫ’ People in the Cayuga Lake Region, with the advent of radiocarbon dating in 1949, it is now known that humans have lived in this region for 13,000 years or more, though historians, archaeologists, and popular discourse have continued to promote this outdated discourse for decades post-carbon dating. According to an historical linguistic study from 2017, the “earliest split” between Southern Iroquoian and Northern Iroquoian languages “took place between 3965 – 1283 BCE... providing reasonable evidence that Iroquoian-speaking populations have been in this region for many thousands of years.”<sup>xxxvii</sup>

Most archaeological evidence points to more human activity at the northern than the southern end of Cayuga Lake, but “little systematic archaeological work has been done in the Gayogohó:nǫ’ homeland, particularly at the south end of the lake.”<sup>xxxviii</sup>

Nonetheless, it is known that after decades of European traders and missionaries, and land dispossessions and settlements, in 1779 George Washington ordered General John Sullivan to pillage the villages of the Hodinǫ́sǫ́:nih, who had been pressured into fighting with the British forces. Colonels William Butler and Henry Dearborn destroyed villages, including homes, crops, and trees, around Cayuga Lake. Those who survived the attacks “fled to Niagara under the protection of the British,” and after a very cold winter, “many died from starvation and disease.”<sup>xxxix</sup> After the Revolutionary War, American states disputed land claims. New York struggled with Connecticut and Massachusetts for ownership of land that today is part of New York State. At the same time, New York was “short of funds with which to run the state government,” and a Board was “set up in 1791 and given the right to administer and sell public lands,” including multiple large parcels, one of which encompasses land that is now the Arnot Forest.<sup>xl</sup>

The lands were surveilled, divided, and parceled into townships and sections. A group of New York City men who purchased these lands “drew lots to determine who got which sections,” and Robert Livingston’s family ended up with “the southeast section of township six... containing the land which is now the Arnot Forest.” The Livingstons sold land to settlers, but “had difficulty selling and making a profit because the settlers had no ready cash and the land was not very good for farming.” They sold some of the land to a private real estate firm, who further parceled the land into small plots for sale. Joseph Rodbourn then bought many of these parcels, beginning in 1871.<sup>xli</sup> Joseph Rodbourn had first purchased this land for logging, using profits gained by building a prisoner-of-war camp in Elmira during the Civil War.

The Arnot Forest was then “cut over” by logging and subject to wildfires for about 14 years, beginning in 1873 and leading to various stands of secondary succession species. In 1893, the Rodbourn Family mortgaged a large parcel of land to a bank in Elmira, NY, owned by the Arnot family, whose patriarch John Arnot built their wealth through logging, like many wealthy families of the era.

In 1927, after John Arnot’s son died, the Arnot Estate’s heirs donated 1,641.23 acres of land, divided into parcels, or 17 lots, to Cornell University. Cornell’s Department of Forestry had already been trying to

purchase this land for over a decade after “realizing the need for a research and demonstration forest,”<sup>xxlii</sup> but could not secure the funding. The Department of Forestry was later disbanded, leading to transfer of these lands to Cornell’s Department of Natural Resources.

For decades after 1927, Cornell purchased and acquired various additional lots to “fill in the gaps in the original Rodbourn Tract.” In 1939, Cornell acquired 2,092 acres of additional “marginal and sub-marginal”<sup>xxliii</sup> lands from the Federal Resettlement Administration, first as a 99-year lease and then, by 1959, as permanent landowners, giving Cornell “almost complete control of Banfield Creek watershed.” Today, as mentioned above, Cornell still owns 4,200 acres of land called Arnot Forest.

### Arnot Forest Land: A Site for Redress

The Gayogohó:nq’ Learning Project, according to Michelle Seneca, aims to host the Gayogohó:nq’ learning and culture camp at Arnot Forest every year moving forward. As previously outlined, this would require annual grant funding from Cornell’s Atkinson Center for Sustainability or other funders, and permission from Cornell University. When I asked Seneca what it would mean if Cornell transferred ownership of Arnot Forest lands to be cared for and led by Gayogohó:nq’ people year-round, she said, “it would give the Gayogohó:nq’ a place to come to, and to build back, outside of what the government says we have to do. It would be great for us to be able to come to a place in the world, a *place* to come to [outside of federally recognized territories]. It’s logistically costly to find places to come home to.”

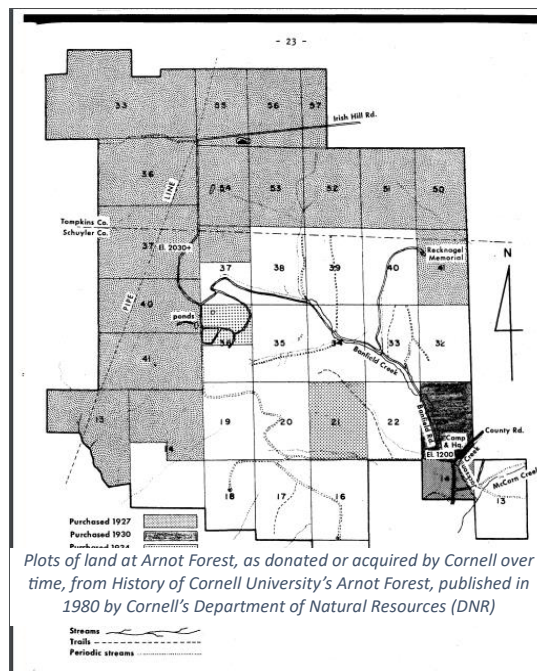
She also recognizes that Cornell has begun to make an effort to connect with the Gayogohó:nq’ through Stephen Henhawk and GLP, and considers this “an open door.” Seneca said:

*“At least Cornell reached out. They could not have done that, but they did. At least we get to see that open door. We might not live to see it end, but we want to see this open door, this relationship building [with Cornell and non-Indigenous partners]. It won’t happen overnight.”<sup>xxliv</sup>*

Cornell has the chance to launch a meaningful and momentous step toward land justice, redress, and allyship with the Gayogohó:nq’ people. By working with the Gayogohó:nq’ Learning Project, Gayogohó:nq’ leaders and clan mothers, and Quarter Acre for the People over the next few years, Cornell could celebrate the centennial of Cornell’s Arnot Teaching and Research Forest in 2027—100 years after the Arnot Estate donated one-quarter of the acreage Arnot Forest now includes, in 1927—as a leader in land justice action among land-grant universities and the Ivy League. It is high time for Cornell to move beyond land acknowledgment and toward meaningful action that contributes to Indigenous flourishing.

### The Future of the Land: Ownership & Cooperation

“The maple is a huge resource for us,” said Michelle Seneca. Asked to think about a future where the Gayogohó:nq’ have ownership and control of some of the land at Arnot Forest, she asked, “we worked with their maple staff this summer at the camp—why couldn’t we still work together?” Seneca believes



that having control and ownership of some of the Arnot land is important for the purpose of a Gayogohó:nqʷ land base and her people’s healing —“give us 75%”, she offered. But, she also believes that Cornell and the Gayogohó:nqʷ can remain in partnership. “I see the relationship with Cornell for education building for our people—it’s an education institution full of resources.” Seneca believes:

*There’s no reason we both [Cornell and the Gayogohó:nqʷ] can’t win. It has to be a win for both, a give and take. We are all in this together. Nobody is going anywhere, so rather than sit and fight about what’s wrong or who has done what, we can still look at the positive to see the future.*

Sharing land that Cornell still owns, surrounded by private land parcels on the homelands of the Gayogohó:nqʷ—whether for week-long or even year-round programming—is clearly not enough to constitute redress or land justice. Control and indeed, ownership of the land is key for building and ensuring sovereignty. However, this ownership model is “always a tension,” says Christa Nuñez, whose aims with Quarter Acre for the People are intended to “shift the land narrative to more common spaces” while also ensuring BIPOC are “purchasing parcels of land with clear borders, with ownership of pieces of land that serve our purposes of control and empowerment of a disempowered people.”



*Arnot Forest, a stand of trees  
[Photo by Audrey Baker]*

Land, of course, does not require borders or ownership for people to care for it, live with it, or grow food. Many Indigenous Peoples around the world lived for thousands of years without needing or operationalizing concepts of bounded private property or property rights. Private property was introduced by settler-colonial Europeans to Indigenous Peoples in many cases as a means of designing opportunities for land transfer—and theft. Without landed property and land ownership, land could not be sold, and debts and taxation on land could not be accrued.

For Nuñez, when she and her husband first created QAP, “early on... it was about creating an alternative economy to capitalism,” she says. “We wanted to break the cycle of resources flowing continuously to wealthy communities, and keep resources circulating in [BIPOC] communities.” In time, QAP found that an entirely non-capitalist model was impossible: QAP purchases land, and structures like zoning and taxation are unavoidable realities; one of the first QAP plot farmers was focused on turning a profit, and ended up leaving a cooperative land site due to value differences; to report grant outcomes to the USDA, QAP needs to report on “how many [farm-based] businesses” were developed on the land.

While QAP does build cooperative alternatives to status quo systems of land-based wealth and land ownership, “food sovereignty still needs lands,” says Nuñez, “and land costs money.”

*For me, it's about control. 'Ownership' in our current [mainstream socioeconomic] paradigm is the only way you can achieve control. Having the power—having power in how you go about your work and your life and your life on a piece of land. The type of life I'm talking about is not a life that can be achieved... [unless] you own the land. It is not at all achievable if someone else can dictate that [ownership].*

In the case of Arnot Forest land, a mixed model of land ownership transfer and cooperative use could be applied. First, Cornell could work together with partners from Gayogohó:nqʷ Learning Project and Quarter Acre for the People to sell or transfer some of the Arnot Forest land to QAP. After multiple conversations with GLP and QAP leaders, and additional research, this author finds that QAP, rather than GLP itself, is likely the most effective and feasible entity to receive land transfer for Gayogohó:nqʷ purposes due to (a) the current state of fractured nationhood and infighting among the Gayogohó:nqʷ people, (b) the Cornell-affiliated fiscal sponsorship (rather than independent legal status) of the Gayogohó:nqʷ Learning Project, and (c) the existing close collaboration between GLP and QAP, including GLP leadership on the QAP steering committee. While also transferring ownership of some or most of Arnot Forest acreage, Cornell *could* retain ownership of *part* of the land, while building cooperative agreements for sharing these sites, buildings, and maple sugaring with the Gayogohó:nqʷ and QAP.

## **Moving Forward Together: Cornell's Arnot Centennial**

A handful of the 52 land-grant universities have already taken steps toward redress.<sup>xlv</sup> At the University of Wisconsin-Madison, an initiative called Our Shared Future was launched in 2019 and continues as “a process, not a land acknowledgment or something to recite” with the Ho-Chunk people.<sup>xlvi</sup> In December 2023, UW-Madison Chancellor Jennifer Mnookin announced that it “will fully cover attendance costs for undergraduates and tuition for some graduate students from American Indian tribes in Wisconsin beginning next fall.”<sup>xlvii</sup>

At Ohio State University, an initiative called “Stepping Out, Stepping Up” is a joint project between the university and the “the descendants of tribal nations affected by the various land surrenders that contributed to the founding of Ohio State.” The University of South Dakota's Wakini Initiative, the University of California-Berkeley's Native American Opportunity Program, and Massachusetts Institute of Technology have also taken meaningful steps toward redress by working directly with Indigenous People to design and sustain reparative actions and processes. Cornell, instead, has taken steps to acknowledge its role in Indigenous dispossession, but has yet to make meaningful commitments toward collaborative process, action, and redress.<sup>xlviii</sup>

At the same time, land-grant universities that have otherwise made active commitments toward repair with Indigenous Peoples have not centered the transfer of land ownership as the means of redress.<sup>3</sup> Cornell has the opportunity not only to step up as an active land-grant university committed to ongoing process and reparative actions with Indigenous Peoples—beyond acknowledgment—but also to be a leader in crafting cooperative, land-based solutions that reshape land ownership models on Indigenous homelands. Considering Cornell's legacy as the largest beneficiary of the Morrill Act, Cornell administration could see these next steps as a responsibility, in addition to a public relations opportunity.

The road toward this solution is not yet paved, and will require, first and foremost, an active commitment by Cornell's leadership—including the provost, president, and Board of Trustees—to take meaningful action toward redress in close collaboration with Gayogohó:nqʷ partners and allies, including BIPOC land

---

<sup>3</sup> However, according to Cornell Professor Kurt Jordan in conversation in January 2024, the University of Minnesota has shared an intention to “transfer a research forest of their own to tribal control.” See more about the University of Minnesota's commitment to “Research with Indigenous Partners” here: <https://libguides.umn.edu/ResearchWithIndigenousPartners>

cooperatives co-led by Gayogohó:nq' and other Indigenous Peoples, like Quarter Acre for the People. With this commitment, Cornell has the means to work out the necessary logistical, financial, and bureaucratic details with support from its legal team, administration, and financial and intellectual resources.

2027 will mark the centennial of the year Arnot Estate first donated 1,641.23 acres to Cornell University for forestry research and experimentation. If Cornell begins to work with the Gayogohó:nq' Learning Project and Quarter Acre for the People today to craft a meaningful process and commitment—one centering land ownership and cooperative use—Cornell's Arnot Forest centennial celebration could be a seminal moment for the Gayogohó:nq' People, and in Cornell's history.

Perhaps, in the process, this forest might also find a new name.



- 
- <sup>i</sup> Alberta Palmer, Meredith. "Good Intentions are Not Good Relations: Grounding the Terms of Debt and Redress at Land Grab Universities." *ACME* 22.4 (2023): 1239-1257.
- <sup>ii</sup> Interview, October 27, 2023, Michelle Seneca (interviewed by Audrey Baker)
- <sup>iii</sup> Interview, October 3, 2023, Christa Nuñez (interviewed by Audrey Baker)
- <sup>iv</sup> "Cornell Land Acknowledgment" American Indian and Indigenous Studies Program, Cornell University, College of Agriculture and Life Sciences, retrieved November 2023, <https://cals.cornell.edu/american-indian-indigenous-studies/about/land-acknowledgment>
- <sup>v</sup> Lee, Robert and Ahtone, Tristan, March 30, 2020, "Land-grab universities", HighCountryNews, <https://www.hcn.org/issues/52.4/indigenous-affairs-education-land-grab-universities>
- <sup>vi</sup> Odell, Amy, Lassoie, James, and Morrow, Robert, 1980, "A History of Cornell University's Arnot Forest", Natural Resources Research and Extension, Series No. 14, Department of Natural Resources, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, NYS College of Agriculture and Life Sciences
- <sup>vii</sup> Lee, Robert and Ahtone, Tristan, March 30, 2020, "Land-grab universities", HighCountryNews, <https://www.hcn.org/issues/52.4/indigenous-affairs-education-land-grab-universities>
- <sup>viii</sup> American Indian and Indigenous Studies Program, Cornell University, College of Agriculture and Life Sciences, retrieved November 2023, <https://cals.cornell.edu/american-indian-indigenous-studies/about/land-acknowledgment>
- <sup>ix</sup> Cornell University and Indigenous Dispossession Project, American Indian and Indigenous Studies Program Project, Introduction and Timeline. Retrieved October 2023: <https://blogs.cornell.edu/cornelluniversityindigenousdispossession/>
- <sup>x</sup> "Cornell Land Acknowledgment" American Indian and Indigenous Studies Program, Cornell University, College of Agriculture and Life Sciences, retrieved November 2023, <https://cals.cornell.edu/american-indian-indigenous-studies/about/land-acknowledgment>
- <sup>xi</sup> Cornell University and Indigenous Dispossession Project, American Indian and Indigenous Studies Program Project, Introduction and Timeline. Retrieved October 2023: <https://blogs.cornell.edu/cornelluniversityindigenousdispossession/>
- <sup>xii</sup> Kimmerer, Robin Wall. "Land Justice: Engaging Indigenous Knowledge for Land Care" November 1, 2023. Cornell University. Distinguished lecture, hosted by the Department of Global Development.
- <sup>xiii</sup> <https://www.theatlantic.com/press-releases/archive/2021/04/the-atlantic-may-issue-wilderness-press-release/618572/>
- <sup>xiv</sup> Alberta Palmer, Meredith. "Good Intentions are Not Good Relations: Grounding the Terms of Debt and Redress at Land Grab Universities." *ACME* 22.4 (2023): 1239-1257.
- <sup>xv</sup> <https://blogs.cornell.edu/cornelluniversityindigenousdispossession/2022/08/11/assessing-cornell-universitys-response-to-recent-revelations-concerning-the-origins-of-revenues-obtained-from-the-morrill-act-of-1862/>
- <sup>xvi</sup> Alberta Palmer, Meredith. "Good Intentions are Not Good Relations: Grounding the Terms of Debt and Redress at Land Grab Universities." *ACME* 22.4 (2023): 1239-1257. [ibid?]
- <sup>xvii</sup> Jordan, Kurt, "The Gayogohó:nq? People in the Cayuga Lake Region: A Brief History", 2022, Tompkins County Historical Commission in 2022, p. 63.
- <sup>xviii</sup> Ibid, p. 64.
- <sup>xix</sup> Ibid, p. 65.
- <sup>xx</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>xxi</sup> Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg wrote the majority opinion, quoted in Jordan, Kurt, "The Gayogohó:nq? People in the Cayuga Lake Region: A Brief History", 2022, Tompkins County Historical Commission in 2022, p. 66
- <sup>xxii</sup> Ibid, p. 66
- <sup>xxiii</sup> Ibid., p. 88
- <sup>xxiv</sup> Union Sun and Journal, December 27, 2023, "Cayuga Nation transfers almost \$2.5M of land into federal trust" [https://www.lockportjournal.com/news/local\\_news/cayuga-nation-transfers-almost-2-5m-of-land-into-federal-trust/article\\_f05a9a7e-a50b-11ee-908c-9345563dd10b.html](https://www.lockportjournal.com/news/local_news/cayuga-nation-transfers-almost-2-5m-of-land-into-federal-trust/article_f05a9a7e-a50b-11ee-908c-9345563dd10b.html)
- <sup>xxv</sup> Interview, October 3, 2023, Christa Nuñez (interviewed by Audrey Baker)
- <sup>xxvi</sup> Interview, October 26, 2023, Jay Smith (interviewed by Audrey Baker)
- <sup>xxvii</sup> Gayogohó:nq? Learning Project website, <https://gayogohono-learning-project.org/>
- <sup>xxviii</sup> Ibid, "Our vision" <https://gayogohono-learning-project.org/about-us>

- 
- xxix Hovis, Kathy. Cornell A&S Communications. October 4, 2023. “Coming home: Gayogohó:nq̓ language programs expand reach” <https://news.cornell.edu/stories/2023/10/coming-home-gayogohono-language-programs-expand-reach>
- xxx Interview, October 27, 2023, Michelle Seneca (interviewed by Audrey Baker)
- xxxi Quarter Acre for the People Program, Khuba International, website, <https://www.khubaintl.org/initiatives>
- xxxii “How much land does Cornell own?” Cornell Real Estate web page, retrieved November 2023, [https://realestate.fs.cornell.edu/about/faq.cfm#CP\\_JUMP\\_5682](https://realestate.fs.cornell.edu/about/faq.cfm#CP_JUMP_5682)
- xxxiii “Arnot Research Forest”, Cornell Maple Program, Sugar Maple Research & Extension, retrieved November 2023, <https://blogs.cornell.edu/cornellmaple/arnot-research-forest/>
- xxxiv “Arnot Teaching and Research Forest”, Department of Natural Resources, Blog, retrieved November 2023, <https://blogs.cornell.edu/arnotforest/>
- xxxv Ibid.
- xxxvi Odell, Amy, Lassoie, James, and Morrow, Robert, 1980, “A History of Cornell University’s Arnot Forest”, Natural Resources Research and Extension, Series No. 14, Department of Natural Resources, Cornell University, p. 14
- xxxvii Jordan, Kurt, “The Gayogohó:nq̓ People in the Cayuga Lake Region: A Brief History”, 2022, Tompkins County Historical Commission in 2022, p. 11.
- xxxviii Ibid.
- xxxix Odell, Amy, Lassoie, James, and Morrow, Robert, 1980, “A History of Cornell University’s Arnot Forest”, Natural Resources Research and Extension, Series No. 14, Department of Natural Resources, Cornell University
- xl Ibid.
- xli Ibid.
- xlii Ibid. p. 21
- xliii Ibid. p. 22
- xliv Interview, October 27, 2023, Michelle Seneca (interviewed by Audrey Baker)
- xlvi “Assessing Cornell University’s Response to Recent Revelations Concerning the Origins of Revenues Obtained from the Morrill Act of 1862”, August 11, 2022, <https://blogs.cornell.edu/cornelluniversityindigenousoverpossession/2022/08/11/assessing-cornell-universitys-response-to-recent-revelations-concerning-the-origins-of-revenues-obtained-from-the-morrill-act-of-1862/>
- xlvii University of Wisconsin-Madison, “Our Shared Future”, retrieved November 2023, <https://oursharedfuture.wisc.edu/>
- xlviii Hicks, Natasha, The Daily Cardinal, December 18, 2023. “New UW-Madison program will cover cost of attendance for Wisconsin Indigenous students” <https://www.dailycardinal.com/article/2023/12/new-uw-madison-program-will-cover-cost-of-attendance-for-undergraduate-wisconsin-indigenous-students>
- xlviii Ibid.
-