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The University of California Land Grab: A Legacy of Profit from Indigenous Land—A Report of Key Learnings and Recommendations

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The University of California Land Grab: A Legacy of Profit from Indigenous Land

A Report of Key Learnings and
Recommendations

About this Report

This report shares the proceedings of the 2020 University of California Land Grab forum by drawing on the presentations and scholarship by the event speakers and research by Rosalie Zdzienicka Fanshel. The report authors are Rosalie Zdzienicka Fanshel, Phenocia Bauerle (Apsaálooke), Deborah Lustig, and Jennifer Sowerwine. Mishuana Goeman (Tonawanda Band of Seneca), Amy Lonetree (Ho Chunk), Andy Lyons, Beth Rose Middleton Manning, Christie Poitra (Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians, Latina), Alexii Sigona (Amah Mutsun), Theresa Stewart-Ambo (Tongva/Luiseño), and Kathleen Whiteley (Wiyot) reviewed the report and provided thoughtful and helpful feedback. Cheyenne Tex (Mono of North Fork Rancheria) created the original artwork and report design. The report was funded by the Joseph A. Myers Center for Research on Native American Issues and Native American Student Development, UC Berkeley.

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Joseph A. Myers Center for Research on Native American Issues

The Joseph A. Myers Center is housed at UC Berkeley's Institute for the Study of Societal Issues (ISSI). The Center was founded in 2010 with a mission to provide the people of Indian country with pragmatic research products that can be employed to improve the quality of life for Native Americans throughout the US. The Center fulfills this mission by bringing the resources of the University to Native communities; developing, coordinating and funding collaborative, community-driven research projects; providing technical assistance and training; disseminating research publications and reports; and hosting conferences, colloquia and other events open to the public on topics of concern to Native communities. <https://crnai.berkeley.edu>

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Executive Summary

This report shares key learnings and recommendations from a two-part forum, **The University of California Land Grab: A Legacy of Profit from Indigenous Land**, which was held online on September 25 and October 23, 2020.¹ The forum was organized by Berkeley staff, graduate students, and faculty, with key input from colleagues at UC Agriculture and Natural Resources, UC Davis, and UC Riverside. It was attended by close to 1,000 people in live time between the two days, with an additional 4,000 views on [YouTube](#) to date.

The nationwide system of postsecondary education in the United States was launched in 1862 when the Morrill Act provided each state with “public” lands to sell in order to raise funds to establish universities. The land-grant university movement is lauded as the first major federal funding for higher education and for making liberal and practical education accessible to Americans of average means. However, hidden beneath the oft-told land-grant narrative is the land itself: the nearly 11 million acres of land sold through the Morrill Act was expropriated from tribal nations. Due to the California Land Act of 1851, which served to dissolve pre-statehood land claims, the failure of the federal government to ratify 18 treaties made with California Indians, and other systematic acts of genocidal violence and dispossession carried out in the second half of the 19th century, **the Morrill Act had particularly dire consequences for California Indians**. This two-part forum examined the 150,000 acres of Indigenous land that funded the University of California (UC), how this expropriation is intricately tied to California’s unique history of Native dispossession and genocide, and how UC continues to benefit from this wealth accumulation today. The second part explored current university initiatives with tribes and included a community dialogue on actions the University of California can take to address their responsibility to California Indians.

The intent of this report is to motivate the University of California to take action regarding accountability to California Indians stemming from the University’s founding as a land-grant institution through Morrill Act land sales and from the ongoing benefits that UC receives from both returns on the original endowment and continued occupation of California Indian territories via current UC land holdings. The report provides background on the settler-colonial context of Indigenous land expropriation via the Morrill Act, situates the University of California’s unique history, and details the conference proceedings. The report offers recommendations for actions the University can take to address its ongoing legacy of dispossession of California Indians (see note on Report Scope and Terminology). The recommendations are provided below, with further context throughout the report.

¹ The term “land grab” makes visible the expropriation of Indigenous land by the US settler state that is otherwise elided in framing land as “granted” when discussing land-grant universities.

Report Scope and Terminology

The forum and report focus primarily on **California Indians**, as it is these communities whose land and lives have been and continue to be most impacted by the California genocide and Morrill Act land sales. By California Indians we mean the Native American peoples who have traditionally resided in the area roughly corresponding to what is presently called the State of California in the United States. Our use of the term California Indians is inclusive of federally-recognized tribes, unrecognized tribes, unaffiliated tribes, and those whose recognition was terminated by the 1958 California Rancheria Act and has not yet been restored.²

Throughout the report we also use the terms Native, Native Californian, American Indian, Indian, Native American, Indigenous, First Nations, tribes, tribal nations, and tribal communities, following their usage by forum speakers and the formal names of programs under discussion. In general, we use the term Native more frequently than Indigenous so as to focus on California and the United States rather than the global Indigenous context and experience.



Native American Heritage Commission. (n.d.). *Digital atlas of California Native Americans*.

<http://nahc.ca.gov/cp/>

² See: University of California, Los Angeles, American Indian Studies Center. (n.d.). *XIV: Status and Needs of Unrecognized and Terminated California Indian Tribes*. <https://www.aisc.ucla.edu/ca/Tribes14.htm>

Synthesis of Recommended Actions

The opportunities for action that follow emerged from speaker presentations, question and answer sessions, and participatory breakout sessions throughout the two-day UC Land Grab Forum. They are reflective only of the scholars and community members who presented at and participated in the event and do not provide a comprehensive list of all possible acts of restitution or model programs. There are other existing UC initiatives that are striving to enhance accountability to California Indians and similar efforts in other states that may not be mentioned in this report. The report is descriptive rather than prescriptive of recommendations offered throughout the forum. There are many paths to move forward in addressing UC's responsibility to California Indian communities. **The overarching recommendation by the report authors is for the University of California systemwide leadership, along with the leadership of individual campuses and other UC entities (such as the Natural Reserve System and UC Cooperative Extension) to 1) work with California Indian tribes through a transparent, collective process to pursue actions that meet the priorities of Native communities, and 2) dedicate the necessary financial and infrastructural resources to deliver on these actions.**

One possible source of funding is the endowment begun through the Morrill Act. The hashtag **#EndowActionNow**, as stated by Karuk Tribe Director of Natural Resources and Environmental Policy Bill Tripp during the forum, points to a demand to honor the original endowment mandate within the Morrill Act by allocating a percentage of the return on endowment funds to compensate tribes who were dispossessed via the Act. Funds can be used for a wide variety of purposes, from establishment of Native field institutes to tuition waivers for California Indian students. See specific suggestions under the categories below.

While the recommended actions are categorized into the six themes of **UC Land, Cooperative Extension, Land Acknowledgements, Research, Teaching/Pedagogy, and Student Experience/Development**, each are cross-cutting and should be pursued through an integrated, holistic framework.

Other cross-cutting actions are to:

- Ensure that campus and systemwide University leadership are educated on their institution's history in relationship to California Indian communities.
- Create a Native American Advisory Council at every UC campus that does not currently have one, as well as at UC Agriculture and Natural Resources (UCANR).
- Leverage University power to support the interests of California's dozens of non-federally recognized tribes who are seeking to gain recognition. Because of the unique history of Indigenous people in California and the impacts of settler and governmental practices, California has many more tribes that are not federally recognized than other states in what is now the United States.
- Facilitate the return of ancestors and cultural items to California Indians and other Native American tribes. Work in good faith to heal the painful history of UC's collection and continued possession of Native human remains and tangible and intangible cultural heritage. [Follow the UC Native American Cultural Affiliation and Repatriation Policy.](#)
- Collaborate with the State of California Truth and Healing Council to enact a path forward.

Land Acknowledgements and Beyond

- Develop acknowledgements that embrace a responsibility in addition to a statement: they must involve action that focuses on the healing that needs to be done between the UC campuses and California Indian communities.
- Recognize that California's three colonial eras of displacement and genocide resulted in complex reformations of communities and relationships to place such that multiple California Indian tribes have relationships to the same place. The Morrill Act sales of land across large areas also speak to an institutional debt to multiple communities.
- When approaching Native communities to work on a land acknowledgement, honor the history of pain in their relationships with UC, as well as their enduring resilience as thriving members of our communities today.
- Recognize that the onus is on the University, not Native peoples, to do the work of creating an authentic land acknowledgement and of educating University faculty, staff, and students about use of a land acknowledgement.
- As part of the land acknowledgment process and also to supplement it, the University should:
 - Create a Director of Tribal Relations position at the UC Office of the President, UCANR, UC Natural Reserve System (UCNRS), and at each campus, in alignment with the existing directors of federal, state, and community relations.
 - Create tours for each UC campus on Native and settler-colonial history and provide the tour as part of faculty, staff, and student onboarding. The University of Wisconsin-Madison First Nations Cultural Landscape Tour can serve as a model.
 - Add signage at each UC campus, field station, and UCANR county office about Native and settler-colonial history.
 - Host annual events at each campus and throughout UCANR honoring Native communities and, in light of the Morrill Act history, create integrated Native programming across all UC campuses and field stations.

Field Stations/UC Land

- Develop overarching tribal engagement strategies for all UC lands, including at UCNRS, UCANR Research and Extension Centers, campuses, and other field stations.
- Increase access for tribal members to visit the natural reserves and other field stations through simplification of, and outreach about, the application process. While the reserves are in theory open to anyone for purposes beyond research, in practice access may be restricted. The central UCNRS website currently does not provide a welcoming message that indicates that anyone can visit a reserve. The application form is buried, requires a two-step registration process, and asks for an academic affiliation. Provide phone and in-person registration options. Provide support to local reserve staff to build relationships, collaborations, and partnerships with tribes.

- Use tools such as memorandums of understanding and co-management agreements to provide access across all the natural reserves, Research and Extension Centers, and other field stations to local tribal members to conduct stewardship, ceremony, and cultural activities.
- Improve both local level and systemwide Natural Reserve System and Research and Extension Centers processes and staff competencies on working with tribal communities. Ensure all staff and volunteers at the natural reserves and other UC field stations receive training in tribal history, contemporary governance, and the importance and praxis of building meaningful collaborations with tribes.
- Hire California Indian staff at the natural reserves and other field stations.
- Develop relationships at the local level between each individual reserve and field station staff and neighboring tribal communities.
- Include a requirement for reporting on accountability to tribes for faculty conducting research on UC natural reserves and field stations.
- Consult with local California Indian tribes and establish tribal advisory committees to cooperatively steward eco-revitalization on UC lands with use of traditional ecological knowledge. Creating formal co-management relationships with tribes aligns with Governor Brown's (2011) Executive Order B-10-11 and Governor Newsom's September 25, 2020, Statement of Administration Policy: Native American Ancestral Lands, which calls state agencies "to support California tribes' co-management of and access to natural lands" (Office of Governor Newsom, 2020, p. 1).
- Honor place-based Indigenous knowledges by recognizing Indigenous knowledge holders as scholars. Compensate them for their time and expertise.
- Recognize that tribal ancestors and land were seized together, and the impacts reverberate into the present. Repatriation of ancestors and land go hand in hand.
- Collaborate with tribes who are going through the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) process to repatriate their ancestors and cultural objects on lands that are currently owned and/or managed by UC, such as the natural reserves, research forests, and other field stations. There is precedence for this on at least one UC natural reserve.
- Grant easements to tribal organizations to carry out their rights and responsibilities to tribal homelands that are currently held by UC and/or transfer lands to tribes while retaining easements for UC activities.
- Return lands to tribes via transfers, taking the lead from entities such as the Pacific Stewardship Council, which facilitated the transfer of 2,325 acres of land owned by Pacific Gas & Electric to the Maidu Summit Consortium in 2019.
- Use the campuses, natural reserves, Research and Extension Centers, and other field stations to teach about California's history of Native genocide and UC's role in land and cultural dispossession, as well as about the resilience and perseverance of tribal communities and culture.
- Collaborate with state, federal, and NGO partners with whom UC co-manages land on each of these recommendations.

Cooperative Extension

- Create a tribal advisory council for UC Cooperative Extension that establishes clear goals and expectations for collaborative work with tribes.
- Proactively recruit Native American academics (advisors and specialists) as well as community education specialists.
- Reframe the role of cooperative extension specialists and advisors from that of “creators of knowledge” to also be “uplifters of community knowledge.” Revisit internal evaluation structures to reward staff for participatory work that recognizes community expertise.
- Create culturally-responsive cooperative extension curricula across programs such as 4-H, Master Gardeners, Master Food Preservers, and Nutrition Education.
- Create and sustain Native field institutes that offer experiential, place-based Indigenous learning in the agricultural and mechanical arts. Expand research and programming on cultural burning and other place-based Indigenous stewardship practices.
- Work to expand programming and services to tribes across all counties, rather than simply in pockets throughout the state. This includes increasing programming with urban Native communities.

Research

- In collaboration with the President’s Native American Advisory Council, establish UC systemwide guiding principles for conducting research with California Indian communities. The [Karuk-UC Berkeley Collaborative](#) principles are one source for inspiration. Note that any document that results from this process will be guiding principles only—the specific principles and protocols for any given project need to be co-created by UC and Native research teams. This advisory board can also provide consultations to researchers to support them in developing collaborative projects with tribes.
- Reframe research paradigms to center community and de-center benefit to the university/individual researcher through use of community-based participatory research methods. See for example, [Enhancing Food Sovereignty: A Five-year Collaborative Tribal-University Research and Extension Project in California and Oregon](#).
- Review and revise IRB protocols for projects in Native communities to fully recognize tribal sovereignty. Ensure that tribal representatives are consulted throughout the research process and that Native people are paid as researchers for their time and expertise, not merely serving as those being researched.
- Establish research protocols that protect Native intellectual property rights. See for example, the [Protocol with Agreement for Intellectual Property Rights of the Karuk Tribe](#).
- Critically examine which knowledge systems are centered and rewarded in various disciplines, and which are absent or dismissed.
- Engage in processes for non-Native researchers to examine their own background. Often Native people are asked to share their identities and culture, but the question isn’t often reciprocated.
- Support and reward research partnerships with tribal colleges.

- Use university resources to provide program evaluation and strategic planning services for California Indian community projects. The [Michigan State University Native American Institute](#) provides a model for this work.
- Fund and conduct further research on the specifics of Morrill Act land sales in California and the myriad state and military land grants that also contributed to founding the University of California.
- Fund and conduct research on the specific history of each UC campus in regards to California Indians and other Indigenous peoples. Use the research to develop public interpretation materials and mandatory educational modules for UC faculty, staff, and students.

Teaching/Pedagogy

- Pursue Native American and Indigenous Studies faculty cluster hires, such as the cluster hires at UC Berkeley and UC Riverside.
- Create Native Education Coordinator positions at each campus to support campus relations, curriculum development, and outreach programs. The equivalent position at the [University of Wisconsin-Madison](#) can serve as a model.
- Use both public events and university courses to promote learning about California Indians and the University's settler-colonial history.
 - Departments and faculty can develop sustained relationships with California Indian community members for engagement in courses and public events. Community members should be compensated for their time and expertise.
 - Graduate courses in law, policy, public health, environmental sciences, and other programs can offer courses in which students work with California Indian tribes on advancing issues of interest. Course faculty can facilitate multi-year, sustained engagement on projects.
 - Support land-based education for UC students, faculty, and staff that centers Indigenous epistemologies. Ensure access for Native students in particular. Compensate Native communities for their work to host and teach these classes.
 - Use Lee and Ahtone's [Land-Grab University](#) materials in a variety of courses, such as history, environmental sciences, Native American Studies, geography, journalism, education, and policy. The raw data files can be used in Geographic Information System (GIS) courses.

Student Experience/Development

- Offer tuition waivers at all UC campuses to California Indian students.
- Provide workshops and individual support for Native UC students in the process of applying to scholarships and other financial aid to cover living expenses.
- Conduct community outreach for K–12 Native youth, including support for Native high school students in the college application process. Pay Native UC students for participation in K–12 outreach activities.
- Provide scholarships and paid internships for Native students to conduct hands-on, land-based research on UC lands.
- Invest in Native students through sustained funding and staffing of Native student centers at each campus.
- Increase awareness of, and communication channels between, Native student centers and other campus programs, such as academic programs, advising, health services, etc.

- Provide guidance for faculty on mentorship practices to support Native students.
- Support a systemwide coalition between Native student centers at each campus for resource sharing on recruitment and retention, and to increase opportunities for cross-campus activities among Native students.
- Collaborate with tribal colleges on co-educational programming and recruitment.



Photographer unknown. A restoration collaboration between the Maidu Summit, UC Davis Intertribal Agriculture Council, Natural Resources Conservation Service, and Forest Service.

Background



Background

The Land-Grant Universities

The federal Morrill Act of 1862 established agricultural and mechanical arts colleges by granting public lands to existing states “in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes” (National Archives and Records Administration, 1862, Sec. 4). The land-grant university (LGU) movement is lauded as the first major federal funding for higher education and for having brought the ideals of equality and opportunity to Americans by reducing geographic and class barriers to education. Thus, the LGUs are famously known as “democracy’s colleges” (Ross, 1942). In addition to their function as teaching institutions, the LGUs are tasked with producing original agricultural research and sharing knowledge with the public through cooperative extension programs. Beyond their agricultural mission, the LGUs have from the beginning also taught “scientific and classical studies.”³ In 2017, 1.7 million students were enrolled at land-grant universities across all U.S. states and territories (Croft, 2019).

The Second Morrill Act of 1890 expanded funding to the original LGUs and established separate colleges for Black Americans, who were denied admission into the 1862 schools in the South and de facto barred from those in the rest of the country. In 1994, tribal colleges obtained land-grant status through the Educational Equity in Land-Grant Status Act. Access to land-grant teaching, research, and extension services is not as democratic as the dominant, hagiographical LGU narrative would have it: the 1890 and 1994 colleges have never received resource allocation anywhere near the level of the 1862 institutions, nor have their faculty and students benefited from the same opportunities (Lee and Keys, 2013; Martin and Hipp, 2018). Of the current 112 land-grant universities, 58 are Historically White Colleges and Universities⁴ (the 1862s), 19 are Historically Black Colleges and Universities (the 1890s), and 35 are Tribal Colleges and Universities (the 1994s).

Land-Grab Universities: The 1862 Land-Grant Universities as a Settler-Colonial Project

In recent years, several scholars have focused on another structural inequity fundamental to the function of the Historically White Colleges and Universities: their role in serving settler-colonial interests via redistribution of Indigenous lands and institutionalization of agricultural knowledge production that entrenched white supremacy (paperson, 2017; Stein, 2017; Nash, 2019, Lee and Ahtone, 2020, Lee et al., 2020).

³ The Morrill Act of 1862 describes the mission of the LGUs as such: “the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts” (National Archives and Records Administration, 1862, Sec. 4).

⁴ Using the term Historically White Colleges and Universities to describe the 1862 land-grant universities explicitly names race—and white supremacy—where it is typically elided. While “HBCU” is common parlance for Historically Black Colleges and Universities, including the 19 land-grant HBCUs, the fact that “HWCU” is not a widely-used term indicates that whiteness is universalized: white spaces are simply “space” and white education is simply “education.”

In the popular imagination, the 1862 Morrill Act simply provided land on which each state in the union could build schools. In reality, the story of the granted land is more complicated. 30,000 acres were given per representative and senator of each state and territory in the form of scrips (vouchers worth 160 acres each) for “public land,” which was land that the federal government had accumulated through dispossession of Native Americans. The states and territories were then mandated to sell or use this land to fund the construction and maintenance of new colleges of agriculture, mechanic arts, and military tactics, or expand an existing institution. Since states in the eastern portion of the U.S. no longer had much public land—due to a longer history of settler-colonial occupation—they were given scrips for land in states and territories farther to the west (and because eastern states were more populated, they had more representatives in Congress and thus received greater land allocations). Overall, approximately 10,685,000 acres in 24 states and territories ranging from Wisconsin to California were sold via the Morrill Act to fund 52 present-day universities across 47 states (Lee, 2020). California was the largest supplier of land sold via Morrill scrips: 1,764,842 acres were sold, primarily in the 1860s through 1880s, to benefit 32 institutions across 27 states (about 16.5% of the total acres sold via the Morrill Act) (Lee, 2020).

Furthermore, use of direct capital via construction or repair of buildings was specifically banned by the Morrill Act. Instead, the earnings from land sales were to be invested in stocks that would **form a perpetual endowment for each university**. The long-term financial benefit to universities was extraordinary. Lee and Ahtone (2020) show that in 1914 (the last year for which detailed records exist), the collective value of the endowments raised from Morrill Act parcels was \$22.8 million, which they adjusted for inflation to be \$596 million in 2020 dollars. Native Americans received paltry financial reward for the lands that became “public.” Via treaties, congressional acts, executive acts, and other agreements, the federal government only paid \$397,250 to tribes for the parcels of land subsequently sold through the Morrill Act (Lee, 2020). Many tribes, however, received no compensation. Due to the California Land Act of 1851 (which served to dissolve pre-statehood land claims), the failure of the federal government to ratify 18 treaties made with California Indians, and other systematic acts of violence and dispossession carried out in the second half of the 19th century, **Native people in California did not receive a single cent for the land sold to fund the University of California’s endowment** or for land in California sold for the benefit of other institutions. The financial benefits to white individuals (who bought land with the Morrill Act scrips) and white institutions (who sold the scrips and invested the profits into a perpetual endowment) are part of a pattern of white supremacy solidifying a racialized wealth gap in the United States (Shapiro, 2017).

Native people in California did not receive a single cent for the land sold to fund the University of California’s endowment...

The Morrill Act took place within a context of federal acceleration of colonial settlement, what Goeman (2020) calls the “national processes of making land into property” (p.44). Between May and July of the same year, Congress passed the Pacific Railway Act and the Homestead Act, which also granted so-called public land to corporations and individuals for westward expansion. This trio of legislation was part and parcel of the 19th century doctrine of Manifest Destiny, the belief that white, capitalist settler expansion across America was divinely justified and inevitable. Between the establishment of nationhood in 1776 and the 1880s, the U.S. government seized 1.5 billion acres of land from Native Americans, with close to one billion of those acres expropriated between 1850 and 1890 alone (Saunt, 2015).

Settler-colonialism is a system of “removal and erasure of Indigenous peoples in order to take the land for use by settlers in perpetuity” (Morris, 2019). Removal and erasure are performed through genocide, compulsory relocation, labor, and assimilation. Asserting territoriality is key to the settler-colonial project (Wolfe, 2006), and, as Glenn (2015) states, settlers achieve this “by imposing a modernist property regime that transforms land and resources (sometimes including people) into ‘things’ that can be owned” (p. 57).

Settler-colonialism is a system of “removal and erasure of Indigenous peoples in order to take the land for use by settlers in perpetuity” (Morris, 2019).

The ideological underpinning for Manifest Destiny was the European Enlightenment notion of property as a “natural right” for all (white, male, Christian) citizens, as exemplified by the influential writings of John Locke (1632–1704). According to Locke (1978), “God and his Reason commanded [Man] to subdue the Earth, i.e. improve it for the benefit of Life, and therein lay out something upon it that was his own, his labour” (p. 20). The U.S. government did not acknowledge the legitimacy of Native American relationships to land, which were not regimes of private property-based agriculture, as practiced by colonizers. As Wolfe (2007) states, “Property starts where Indianness stops” (p. 134). Property, and by extension personhood—or vice versa, personhood, and by extension, property (Harris, 1993)—was rendered “real” by particular conceptions of production, specifically agricultural production and the extractive industries that became the founding educational mission of the land-grant colleges. The idea of land ownership is anathema to many Native American peoples who assert their responsibility as caretakers of their ancestral land, not as owners of it. Goeman (2020) states, “The lost property title and rights of occupancy became the place where we live, learn, and teach at our public universities. The land, however, is still often in relationship to the living Indigenous communities” (p. 51).

Agriculture and Mechanic Arts as an Epistemology of Imperialism

Today the agricultural identity of some land-grant universities—such as UC Berkeley—is less evident. Yet recognizing the agro-industrial-martial epistemological underpinnings of the Historically White land-grant universities is crucial to understanding U.S. public higher education. As Mayes (2018) says, “Food has been vital

to the settler-colonial project, as a necessary means of survival, but also an avenue through which the land was possessed and a culture cultivated” (p. 2). The Morrill Act powerfully combined westward settler expansion and “the cultivating of culture” by strategically attaching distribution of land for private ownership to funding the creation of universities designed to spread formal knowledge production in agriculture and the mechanic arts. The spread of European-style agriculture, with its dependence on sedentary, permanent land occupation, was fundamental to U.S. nation-state formation. The introduction of European crops and livestock was also a form of what Bauer (2016) calls “ecological imperialism” (p. 56): the new plants and animals profoundly disrupted the diverse environments and economies that Native peoples had cultivated for millennia.

◆

“Food has been vital to the settler-colonial project, as a necessary means of survival, but also an avenue through which the land was possessed and a culture cultivated”

(Mayes, 2018, p. 2).

◆

paperperson (2017) argues that the specific epistemological “prioritization of settler-colonial technologies—agricultural and mechanical engineering, not to mention military tactics—reflects how land-grant universities were commissioned as part of the empire-self-making project of the United States” (p. 27–28). The inclusion of military tactics in the land-grant mission was telling: the Morrill Act was passed at a time when the U.S. government was using the military to attempt to eradicate Native American tribes. Land-grant institutions played a specific historic role in both physical and philosophical settler expansion, and these universities derive ongoing benefits from settler-colonialism as a structure. The benefits are material, such as continued financial returns from the endowments set up through the original sale of Indigenous lands, and intellectual, such as the chronically recapitulated narrative of land-grant universities as the people’s colleges to serve the public good.

The Case of the University of California

California Indians have lived in and stewarded specific lands and waters in the area currently called the State of California since time immemorial. California Indian creation stories tell how Creator made lands for particular people, and that people in turn were made to care for those lands (Bauer, 2016). Unique within the United States, the diverse Native nations in California have suffered from the invasion of four cascading colonial governments.

Beginning in the 1760s, though, Spaniards, Russians, Mexicans, and, especially, Americans attempted to control California and divorce Indigenous People from the land. All four colonial nations sponsored policies that uprooted Indigenous People and communities from the lands in which they were created, and all four deployed violence, in the form of slavery, genocide, and an administrative state bent on eliminating California Indian people. Yet California Indian people, nations, and land remain (Akins and Bauer, 2021, p. 3).

The most recent colonial government, the United States, seized California in 1846. During the first 25 years of the American occupation of California, the federal and state governments sought to eliminate California's Native people through systematic use of genocidal violence and near complete seizure of Indigenous land (Lindsay, 2012; Madley, 2016). Through numerous legal acts and the condoning of murder by individual white settlers and mass killings by volunteer militias, the State of California, with federal support, attempted to perform what California's first governor Peter Burnett called a "war of extermination" against Native people (Burnett, 1851). The Morrill Act was passed at the height of this era, and the founding of the University of California is entangled in the wider web of the California genocide.

The State of California was granted 150,000 acres of land via the Morrill Act: 30,000 per each of five congressional representatives and senators. Lee et al. (2020) traced 148,636 acres sold as 2,335 land parcels across the territories of 122 California Indian tribes that span the length of the state. Lee et al.'s list of tribal territories is derived from the tribe names shown on maps Charles Royce produced for the Smithsonian in the late 19th century, maps by the Indian Claims Commission from 1978, and from *The Handbook of North American Indians, vol 8*, also from 1978 (Lee, 2020b).⁵ Andy Lyons, Program Coordinator for the Informatics and GIS Statewide Program at UCANR, has further mapped UC's Morrill Act parcels with an overlay of contemporary data on Indigenous homelands. Lyons's map connects the parcels to 73 tribes.⁶

The romantic narrative so often associated with the Morrill and Homestead Acts is that 160-acre parcels went to small families of settler farmers. In fact, the vast majority of Morrill Act scrip nationwide, including that which funded the University of California, was sold to a few speculators who were among the richest men in the United States. Several of these individual landowners had close ties with the new California State government.

For example, Isaac Friedlander, who together with his business partner, William Chapman, were the largest land speculators in California, was appointed to the first Board of Regents of the University of California. The Board was established in 1868 and charged with administering California's agricultural college scrip. Friedlander himself bought 196,000 acres of land in California with Morrill Act scrip from various states (Gates, 1961). The majority of the parcels sold in California via the Morrill Act were located in the San Joaquin Valley, which, by no coincidence, has been developed since that time as the state's epicenter of industrialized agriculture and land-based wealth accumulation. Fresno, Stanislaus, Merced, and Madera counties, which are the locations of the greatest number of Morrill Act land parcels, ranked first, fifth, sixth and tenth in value for agricultural production in 2019, respectively (California Department of Food and Agriculture, 2020).

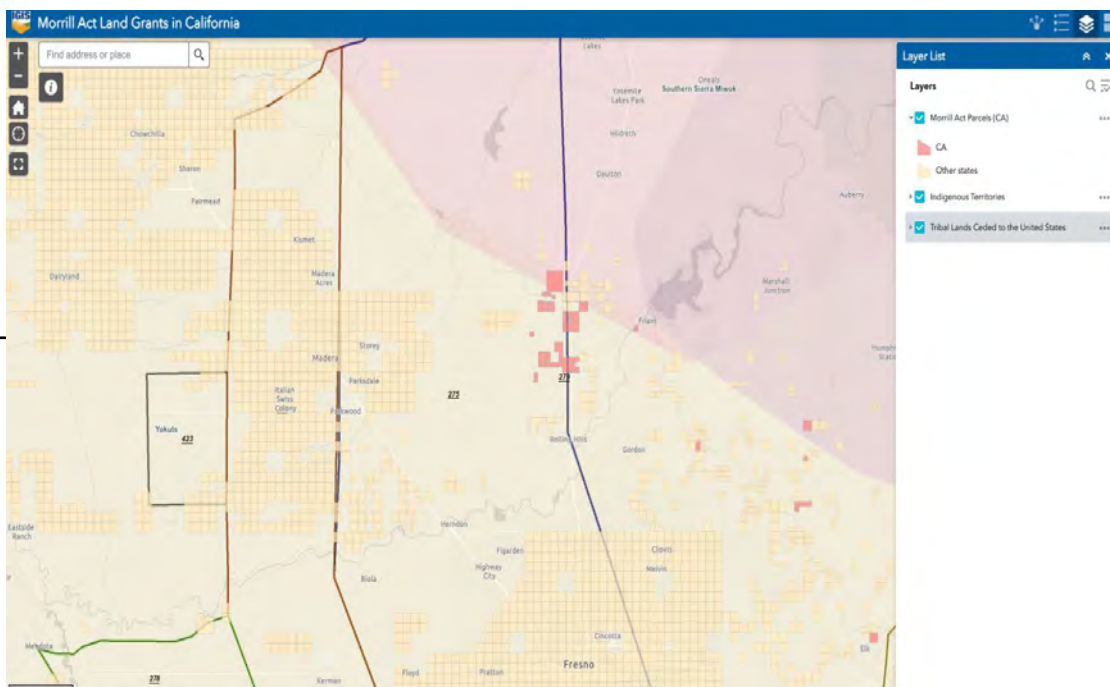
The Morrill Act at first stipulated that only surveyed land could be sold. Since most surveyed federal land in California was already bought up, the state successfully petitioned Congress to allow the sale of reserved railroad grants and unsurveyed lands to benefit the university (Nevada and Oregon received this exception as well) (Gates, 1961). The amendment resulted in the UC Regents having control of the most desirable tracts of "public land" left in California. The State of California's Morrill Act scrip therefore increased in value over that of the 27 other states who used Morrill Act scrip to sell land in California. The Regents took advantage by raising the minimum price of land to \$5.00 per acre, "just double the highest price any federal lands were bringing at the time" (Gates, 1961, p. 112). This savvy business move is visible in the size of the University of California

5 See details at <https://www.landgrabu.org/universities/university-of-california>.

6 See details at <http://bit.ly/ca-morrill-map>, and Appendix D for the full list of California tribes acknowledged on Lyons's version of the map.

endowment accrued from the sale of Morrill Act lands. In 1914 (the last year for which data is available), the endowment was worth \$732,233—the seventh largest among the state Morrill Act endowments (Lee et al., 2020). Adjusted for inflation, this is worth \$19,554,575 in 2021.⁷ Again, California Indians received no payment for the 150,000 acres sold for the benefit of the University of California.

In 2018, the UC Office of the President produced a [150th-anniversary celebratory website](#) which declares that “On March 23, [1868], Gov. Henry Haight signed the charter that creates UC, setting in motion the bold idea that college should be available for everyone” (UC Office of the President, 2018). Complete with an animated timeline celebrating settler expansion into California along with agricultural and medical advances, the website proclaims that the founding of the university “[set] in motion the audacious idea that California should have a great public university—one that would serve equally the children of immigrants and settlers, landowners, and industrial barons.” Native Californians are notably absent from the narrative.



Land sold via the Morrill Act. Parcels in red were purchased for the benefit of the University of California, and parcels in yellow benefitted universities in other states. Lyons, A. (2021, January 30). *California Morrill Map: Allocations for the UC Endowment by Tribal Group*. https://ucanr-igis.github.io/morrill-map/ca_indig-territories.html

⁷ Calculated May 22, 2021 on <https://www.usinflationcalculator.com>.

The University of California's Growth as Land-grant University

150,000 acres of California Indian land were sold via the Morrill Act to fund the original University endowment. This Morrill Act land is no longer owned by UC, but the University has extensive land holdings today across the ten UC campuses and throughout the state (University Office of the President, 2020). **All of this land was and is California Indian land. Akins and Bauer (2021) remind us: "As a place, California has always been and remains Indigenous land, and Indigenous People are central to the history and future of the place" (p. 3).**

All of this land was and is California Indian land. Akins and Bauer (2021) remind us: "As a place, California has always been and remains Indigenous land, and Indigenous People are central to the history and future of the place" (p. 3).

When the University of California was founded in 1868, Berkeley was the sole campus. The federal Hatch Act of 1887 provided additional funding to the land-grant institutions to broaden their function to include agricultural research, which furthered the development of State Agricultural Experiment Stations. In 1907 the Davisville Farm (later shortened to Davis) and the Citrus Experiment Station in Riverside were launched as agricultural research sites. In 1959 Davis and Riverside became independent, full UC campuses. The Smith-Lever Act of 1914 further expanded the land-grant mission by establishing the cooperative extension system to provide community-based education on agriculture, home economics, and rural energy.

The University of California Division of Agriculture and Natural Resources (UCANR) is responsible for overseeing the UC Cooperative Extension program through campus-based extension specialists, local advisors throughout the state, county-level programs, twelve statewide programs (including, for example, 4-H and Master Gardeners) and nine Research and Extension Centers. UCANR serves as the lead community-facing entity by bringing research in agriculture, nutrition, youth development, and natural resources to the California public.

In addition, the UC Natural Reserve System (UCNRS) operates under the Office of the President, with each of the 41 reserves overseen by one of the UC campuses. UCNRS launched in 1965 with a mission "to contribute to the understanding and wise stewardship of the Earth and its natural systems by supporting university-level teaching, research, and public service at protected natural areas throughout California" and currently "encompass[es] 47,000 acres owned by UC and provide[s] access to millions of acres of public lands" (UC Natural Reserve System, n.d.). Individual UC campuses also manage multiple other field stations around the state, country, and even overseas. The recommendations in this report consider both the original Morrill Act land expropriation and current UC land holdings.

Today, the full University of California system is considered a land-grant institution, with Berkeley, Davis, and Riverside continuing to be funded as the three Agricultural Experiment Station (AES) campuses designated to fulfill the original land-grant mission. 750 AES faculty and cooperative extension specialists in the Berkeley Rausser College of Natural Resources, Davis College of Agricultural and Environmental Sciences, Davis College of Biological Sciences, Davis School of Veterinary Medicine, and Riverside College of Natural and Agricultural Sciences all have joint appointments in UCANR with an explicit mandate to serve the state through research and outreach (Doval, 2018; Mikowicz, 2018). Thus, the UC Land Grab Forum focused on UCANR, Berkeley, Davis, and Riverside as the entities primarily responsible for the Morrill Act's ongoing legacy. As UC's original land-grant institution, Berkeley staff, graduate students, and faculty served as the primary leaders in envisioning and developing the forum, with key input from colleagues at UCANR, Davis, and Riverside. Academic speakers featured in the forum represented these four institutions.



Lee, R., Ahtone, T., Pearce, M., Goodluck, K., McGhee, G., Leff, C., Lanpher, K., & Salinas, T. (2020). *Land Grab Universities*. <https://www.landgrabu.org/universities>

Forum Genesis

In 2019–20, researchers at UC Agriculture and Natural Resources and UC Berkeley were simultaneously undertaking two separate projects to shed light on the University of California’s founding through the sale of expropriated Indigenous land. At UCANR, Andy Lyons (Program Coordinator, Informatics and GIS Statewide Program), Jennifer Sowerwine (Associate Cooperative Extension Specialist, UC Berkeley), Lucy Diekmann (Urban Agriculture/Food Systems Advisor, Santa Clara and San Mateo Counties), and Jason Lam (Undergraduate Student, UC Berkeley) were working on mapping all the Morrill Act parcels sold in California and overlaying the data with traditional Indigenous territories. At the same, Rosalie Zdzienicka Fanshel (PhD Student, Environmental Science, Policy, and Management; Program Manager, Berkeley Food Institute, UC Berkeley) was writing on how the Morrill Act applied settler-colonial epistemology to powerfully intertwine the expansion of private property with public education. Fanshel was researching the specific land sales that benefited the founding of the University of California and exploring the possibilities and limitations of this data in serving existing efforts by California Indian communities to rematriate land,⁸ obtain reparations from the state, and decolonize UC’s mission. Both the UCANR team and Fanshel were drawing on scholarship about the Morrill Act and Native American dispossession by UC Riverside professor of education Margaret Nash (2019). They did not know about each other’s work nor of that by Robert Lee and Tristan Ahtone until the release of their “Land Grab Universities” suite of articles in *High Country News* on March 30, 2020.

Upon the publication of “Land Grab Universities,” both Lyons and Fanshel immediately wrote to Lee to introduce themselves and their own nascent projects. Shortly afterward they learned of each other’s work. Fanshel proposed the idea of holding a public workshop on the University of California’s specific Morrill Act history, and organized a meeting among several scholars at UC Berkeley and UCANR, including Phenocia Bauerle (Director, Native American Student Development, UC Berkeley) and Deborah Lustig (Associate Director, Institute for the Study of Societal Issues, which houses the Joseph A. Myers Center for Research on Native American Issues). Holding a public forum on the topic of the Indigenous land dispossession through the University’s founding was synergistic with years of work by Bauerle, Lustig, and others on issues of California Indian sovereignty and restitution, particularly around the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). The UC Land Grab Forum was envisioned as a follow up to the 2017 “California Indian Tribal Forum,” which aimed to improve relationships between UC Berkeley administration and California Indian tribes by addressing the disposition, management, and use of Native American tangible and intangible cultural heritage and ancestors (human remains) held by Berkeley. It also followed the 2019 UC Los Angeles symposium “Lighting a Path Forward: UC Land Grants, Public Memory, and Tovaangar” which explored the past, present, and future of the University of California’s relationship with tribes. Building on these symposia, the organizing committee chose to center the convening on California Indian perspectives and voices, while also providing context for the history of the UC as a land grant institution.

⁸ The word “rematriation,” like “repatriation,” means to restore homelend while gesturing to the matrilineal traditions of some Native American societies. Tuck (2011) describes rematriation as “concerned with the redistribution of power, knowledge, and place, and the dismantling of settler colonialism” (p. 37).

Fanshel, Bauerle, and Lustig served as the primary forum organizers, with input from a large collaborative team (see **Acknowledgements** for the full organizing team). The forum was cosponsored by the following partners: **UC Berkeley**: Native American Student Development; Joseph A. Myers Center for Research on Native American Issues; Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology; Rausser College of Natural Resources; Berkeley Food Institute; Department of Environmental Science, Policy, and Management; American Cultures Engaged Scholarship Program; Native American Studies; American Indian Graduate Program; the Center for Race and Gender; and Native American Staff Council. **UC Davis**: Yocha Dehe Endowed Chair in California Indian Studies and Department of Native American Studies. **UC Riverside**: Rupert Costo Chair in American Indian Affairs; California Center for Native Nations; and Native American Student Programs. **Community Partner**: Native American Community Council of San Bernardino and Riverside Counties.

The next section provides a summary of presentations from the forum. Note that in the summaries that follow both first and third person are used to maintain faithfulness to each speaker's presentation style.

Forum Program

The University of California Land Grab: A Legacy of Profit from Indigenous Land

Wide-scale U.S. higher education began in 1862 when the Morrill Act provided each state with “public” lands to sell for the establishment of university endowments. The public land-grant university movement is lauded as the first major federal funding for higher education and for making liberal and practical education accessible to Americans of average means. However, hidden beneath the oft-told land-grant narrative is the land itself: the nearly 11 million acres of land sold through the Morrill Act was expropriated from tribal nations. This two-part forum examined the 150,000 acres of Indigenous land that funded the University of California, how this expropriation is intricately tied to California’s unique history of Native dispossession and genocide, and how UC continues to benefit from this wealth accumulation today. The second part explored current university initiatives with tribes and included a community dialogue on actions the University of California can take to address their responsibility to California Indigenous communities. The recommendations in the report are drawn from those discussion groups as well as the presentations during the forum.

See Appendix C for speaker bios.

Part 1: Unearthing Indigenous Land Dispossession in the Founding of the University of California

Friday, September 25, 2020, 9am – 12:00pm

Moderator: [Phenocia Bauerle](#) (Apsaálooke), Director, Native American Student Development, UC Berkeley

Opening

- Phenocia Bauerle (Apsaálooke), Director, Native American Student Development, UC Berkeley
- Land Acknowledgement: [Lauren Kroiz](#), Associate Professor, History of Art; Faculty Director, Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, UC Berkeley

Land-Grab Universities and the Morrill Act

- [Robert Lee](#), University Lecturer, American History, University of Cambridge
- [Tristan Ahtone](#) (Kiowa), Editor-in-Chief, Texas Observer

The University of California as a Land-Grab Institution

- [Brittani R. Orona](#) (Hupa), PhD Candidate, Native American Studies, UC Davis
- [Kat Whiteley](#) (Wiyot), Presidential Postdoctoral Fellow, Ethnic Studies, UC Berkeley
- [Beth Rose Middleton Manning](#), Professor and Chair, Native American Studies, UC Davis

Synthesis and Next Steps

- [Phenocia Bauerle](#) (Apsaálooke), Director, Native American Student Development, UC Berkeley

Closing

- [Ataya Cesspooch](#) (Ute, Assiniboine, Lakota), PhD Student, Environmental Science, Policy, and Management, UC Berkeley

Part 2: From Land-grab to Land Acknowledgement and Beyond

Friday, October 23, 2020, 9am–12:30pm

Moderator: [Rosalie Zdzenicka Fanshel](#), PhD Student, Environmental Science, Policy, and Management; Program Manager, Berkeley Food Institute, UC Berkeley

Opening

- [Rosalie Zdzenicka Fanshel](#), PhD Student, Environmental Science, Policy, and Management; Program Manager, Berkeley Food Institute, UC Berkeley
- Land Acknowledgement: [Isha Ray](#), Professor, Energy and Resources Group; Associate Dean, Equity and Inclusion, Rausser College of Natural Resources, UC Berkeley

Current Initiatives between the UC System and California Indigenous Communities

- Moderator: [Clifford Trafzer](#) (Wyandot, German), Distinguished Professor, History; Rupert Costo Chair in American Indian Affairs, UC Riverside
- [Valentin Lopez](#) (Amah Mutsun), Chairman, Amah Mutsun Tribal Band
- [Jennifer Sowerwine](#), Associate Cooperative Extension Specialist, Environmental Science, Policy, and Management, UC Berkeley
- [Bill Tripp](#) (Karuk), Director, Natural Resources and Environmental Policy, Karuk Tribe Department of Natural Resources
- [Beth Rose Middleton Manning](#), Professor and Chair, Native American Studies, UC Davis
- [Ron Goode](#) (North Fork Mono), Chairman, North Fork Mono Tribe

Inspirations for Accountability from Land-Grant University Siblings

- Moderator: [Christina Snider](#) (Dry Creek Rancheria Band of Pomo Indians), Tribal Advisor to Governor Gavin Newsom; Executive Secretary, Native American Heritage Commission
- [Stephen Kantrowitz](#), Plaenert-Bascom Professor, History; Faculty Affiliate in African American Studies and American Indian Studies, University of Wisconsin-Madison
- [Christie M. Poitra](#) (Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians, Latina), Interim Director, Native American Institute, Michigan State University

Breakout Sessions: Calls to Action

- **Teaching/Pedagogy:** Facilitated by [Joseph Lindsay](#) (Chemehuevi), Associate Director, Admissions and Financial Aid, Berkeley Law
- **Student Experience/Development:** Facilitated by [Louisa Harstad](#) (Bad River Nation), Assistant Director, Native American Student Development, UC Berkeley
- **Research:** Facilitated by [Ataya Cesspooch](#) (Ute, Assiniboine, Lakota), PhD Student, Environmental Science, Policy, and Management, UC Berkeley
- **Land Acknowledgements:** Facilitated by [Alexii Sigona](#) (Amah Mutsun), PhD Student, Environmental Science, Policy, and Management, UC Berkeley
- **Field Stations/UC Land:** Facilitated by [Leke Hutchins](#) (Kanaka Maoli), PhD student, Environmental Science, Policy, and Management, UC Berkeley
- **Cooperative Extension:** Facilitated by [Tiffany Anahi Santana](#) (Tucutnut Tribe), Financial Services Analyst, Haas School of Business, UC Berkeley

Synthesis and Looking Forward

- [Margaret Nash](#), Professor Emerita, Education, UC Riverside

Closing

- [Patrick V. Naranjo](#) (Santa Clara Pueblo), Director, American Indian Graduate Program, UC Berkeley

Part 1: Summary of Presentations



Part 1: Summary of Presentations

Unearthing Indigenous Land Dispossession in the Founding of the University of California

Friday, September 25, 2020, 9am – 12:00pm



Overview of the Day

Part 1 of the forum provided an overview of how the Morrill Act of 1862 functioned to intertwine the founding of the U.S. public higher education system with settler-colonial expansion. Phenocia Bauerle moderated throughout the day, and Lauren Kroiz offered an opening land acknowledgement. Robert Lee and Tristan Ahtone explained how the Morrill Act land sales funded the creation of an agricultural and mechanical arts school in each state. They then presented on their many years of scholarship to connect the dots between individual universities, the parcels sold through the Morrill Act, and the original Native stewards from whom land was expropriated. They also highlighted the University of California's specific land grab history. Their full work is available at <https://www.landgrabu.org/>.

Next was a panel on the State of California's unique history of land seizure and violence. Brittani R. Orona contextualized the founding of the University of California in the longer history of the genocide and dispossession of California Indians from the Spanish, Mexican, and U.S. colonial periods, with a focus on the decades surrounding the Morrill Act. Kathleen Whiteley discussed the 18 unratified treaties the federal government signed with California Native Nations that would have maintained 7.5% of land within the State of California for the 18 tribes. Beth Rose Middleton Manning set the stage for Part 2 of the forum by exploring how the University of California research land bases and reserves provide venues through which UC could address their responsibility to California Indian communities. At the end of Part 1, Phenocia Bauerle delivered synthesizing remarks, and Ataya Cesspooch offered a closing ceremony.

Opening Remarks

Phenocia Bauerle (Apsaálooke), Director of Native American Student Development at UC Berkeley, opened the day by welcoming our speakers and the 650-person audience on the Zoom webinar and YouTube livestream. Lauren Kroiz, Associate Professor of History of Art and Faculty Director of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology at UC Berkeley, offered a land acknowledgement that named the original stewards of the unceded lands upon which the three University of California land-grant campuses (Berkeley, Davis, and Riverside) stand. The acknowledgment further highlighted the people and lands of the 122 tribes⁹ across California whose expropriated land was sold through the Morrill Act to fund the establishment of the University (Lee et al., 2020).

⁹ Lee et al. traced the University of California's Morrill Act footprint to 122 tribes, whereas Lyons has mapped the University's land grab to 73 tribes. The discrepancy arises from the reference sources for Native territories. See Lee et al., 2020 and Lyons, 2021.

Kroiz stated that UC's founding rests on projects that participated in and were made possible by campaigns of genocide waged against California Indian people, ancestors whose descendants are still here alive with us today. With this event, the organizers hoped to open new ways to recognize and grapple with UC's specific origins and role within U.S. higher education. (See Appendix D for the full land acknowledgement text).

Keynote: Land-Grab Universities and the Morrill Act

Tristan Ahtone (Kiowa), Editor-in-Chief, *Texas Observer*

Robert Lee, University Lecturer in American History, University of Cambridge

In 1862, President Abraham Lincoln signed the Morrill Act, which distributed public domain lands to raise funds for fledgling colleges across the nation. Tristan Ahtone opened by stating, "But those institutions seldom ask who paid for their good fortune. The creation story that we're told is that these universities were given the gift of free land, but the truth is a little bit more sinister. The Morrill Act worked by turning land expropriated from tribal nations into seed money for higher education." 10.78 million acres of land from more than 250 tribal nations were redistributed for the benefit of 52 colleges across 47 states, including states that were later formed and grandfathered into the Morrill Act. The land that was sold was broken up into almost 80,000 parcels scattered across 24 states. Ahtone, Robert Lee, cartographer Margaret Pearce, and other collaborators created the Land Grab University project to remedy the fact that the "Morrill Act's place in the violent history of North America's colonization has remained comfortably inaccessible." Their data maps the individual land parcels to reveal the institutions that directly benefited from colonization.

◆

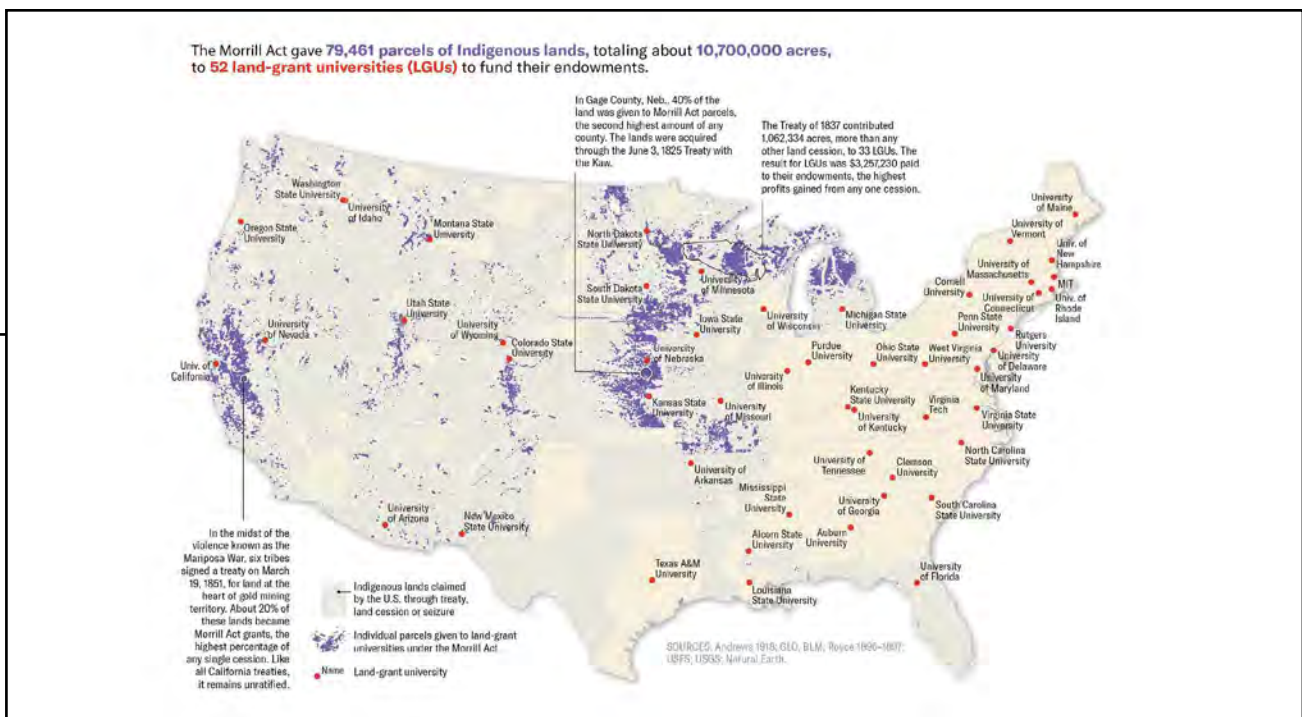
[T]he "Morrill Act's place in the violent history of North America's colonization has remained comfortably inaccessible."

◆

The dominant narrative about the Morrill Act is its effort to create "democracy's colleges" for agricultural and industrial classes, and the academic literature wrestles with the extent to which land-grant universities realized the goal of democratizing education in the United States. Until recently, the literature hadn't concerned itself with the Native American origins of the land itself, even though the Morrill Act was passed alongside the Homestead Act and Railway Act as a trio of "public" land laws in 1862 which pushed to convert what had been Indigenous territory into various public goods and private property. At 10.78 million acres, the Morrill Act was actually the smallest of the land distribution laws.

Lee and Ahtone's work builds on an emerging body of scholarship that focuses on the slave labor and Indigenous land undergirding American universities. Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, Sharon Stein, and Margaret Nash all have published on the Morrill Act and settler colonialism, and researchers at several land-grant universities had previously attempted to trace the parcels sold in relation to their schools. Lee emphasized that we are in an exciting moment of "thinking about what was until recently an entirely neglected issue in the scholarship and public memory of land-grant universities." He also highlighted that our forum on the University of California is particularly timely given Governor Newsom's recent acknowledgement of the California genocide of Native Americans during the mid 19th century and the current work happening at the state level to uncover its impact and move toward reconciliation.

Lee and Ahtone began their unusual collaboration as a historian and journalist in 2018. Their goal for the project was to unspool the Morrill Act by identifying every single parcel that was sold to benefit universities across the United States and to track down the Indigenous origins of each one of those parcels so as to reveal the enormity of the wealth transfer that the Morrill Act entailed. Lee and Ahtone were able to locate 99% of the 10.78 acres sold through the Morrill Act. They used geospatial analysis to compare the location of the parcels to the location of 162 Indigenous land cessions, treaties, unratified treaties, and seizures of territory by the United States. They were able to connect the land to about 250 different tribes and nations. Lee and Ahtone uncovered that only \$397,250 total was paid for this land, and in the case of California, Native people were paid nothing at all. Because sale of the land was invested in endowments, the value of the principal has increased with time such that "for every \$1 spent to extinguish title, \$57 was dropped into the coffers of land-grant universities."



Lee, R., & Ahtone, T. (2020). Land-grab universities. *High Country News*. <https://www.hcn.org/issues/52.4/indigenous-affairs-education-land-grab-universities>

They also explained that Eastern and some Midwestern states received Morrill Act “scrip” for lands to sell in the Western states, whereas Western and other Midwestern states received direct land in their own states. Thus, Eastern institutions are implicated in dispossession of tribal nations across large geographic areas. California in fact had the highest percentage of land cession of any state, with over 16,500 individual parcels funding institutions in 27 states. The number of acres each state received was tied to their number of congressional delegates (and thus tied to population). Cornell University is the land-grant university with the biggest footprint of dispossession and wealth accumulation. There are 16 Western universities that still collectively hold more than 500,000 acres of land from the Morrill Act which they lease for mineral rights. In fiscal year 2019, these universities brought in \$8.7 million in income from this remaining land. Lee emphasized that this illustrates that “the Morrill Act, as a redistributor of Indigenous wealth, isn’t just a historical artifact: it’s living in the settler colonial present both in terms of actual land that’s held by the universities and the continual pulling of the endowments.”

Lee and Ahtone’s goal is to have their project serve as an open source database to provide empirical evidence to push forward the study of the Native American origins of land-grant universities. Lee stated that it is “a means to understand the relationships between Indigenous dispossession and settler property creation through the Morrill Act.” They designed the project with different levels of curation. The *High Country News* article, “Land Grab Universities,” provides a snapshot of how the Morrill Act worked as a wealth transfer, rather than a donation for a vast system of universities within the United States. It follows the thread of a few of the violent encounters that connect Native American dispossession and specific land-grant universities. The article also shows photographic portraits of some of the Morrill Act parcels today. Next, the landgrabu.org website provides the full data they collected in interactive maps, which users can explore from the vantage point of tribal nations, states, or universities. The website also shares statistics on parcels, acres, dollars paid, and endowment values. It was developed by project partners Geoff McGhee and Cody Leff. Finally, Lee and Ahtone provide the raw data on a GitHub site as downloadable tabular and geospatial files with a user guide so that researchers can utilize it in their own work, build curriculum, and develop land acknowledgements. Ahtone emphasized that they wanted to subvert typical academic and journalistic practices by purposely making “our data available to anybody who wanted to do additional reporting or research, or to even fact check our findings.” Lee and Ahtone stated that several academic projects, policy briefs, and journalistic investigations have already used the data, and they expressed their gratitude to others who are critiquing and building on the work in valuable directions. They hope that open source methodology will become more common.

Lee and Ahtone concluded their talk by turning to the case of the University of California. In part due to the unratified treaties in California (which were discussed further in Kathleen Whiteley’s talk, summarized below), the data on California Indian land were more challenging to track than in some other states. Their *High Country News* article begins with the story of Ishi, the Yahi man whose life is deeply connected with UC. In the article, they describe the thousands of acres of Yahi land that were being sold to fund UC during the very same decades that Ishi was hiding out in canyons east of the Sacramento River. He was later exhibited in the UC anthropology museum. Lee shared that he himself studied in the history department in Dwinelle Hall, which encloses Ishi Court. In 1886, the Morrill Act provided one-third of the operating expenses for UC. The funds functioned as

seed money, together with other state land-grants, for the University to get off the ground. As the University grew into the 20th century, the percent of the operating budget covered by the original Morrill Act endowment diminished. In the 1880s, for example, the value of the endowment per pupil was \$21,000, compared to the \$7,000 per pupil value of the current UC endowment.

Question and Answer

Bauerle moderated audience questions to Lee and Ahtone. The first question asked how their unusual collaborative partnership came to be. Both see this kind of interdisciplinary collaboration between academics and journalists as incredibly important to each of their fields. The two met in 2018 while they were both fellows at Harvard. Lee had been working with the Bureau of Land Management land patent database for several years, which contains the records of land sold through the Morrill Act, Homestead Act, Military Act, and others. He gave a talk to pitch for help because he thought the only way to do justice to the enormity of the Morrill Act footprint was through a collectivist approach that tried to reach as many people as possible. He was inspired by the collaborative historic journalism and websites on universities and slavery, work that stretches the boundaries of what we think of as conventional scholarship. Ahtone added that when he heard Lee's presentation he saw it as a fantastic investigative story that, while historic, would reveal the many impacts that the Morrill Act is still having on universities as well as Native communities.

Lee and Ahtone responded to questions about mineral rights. Only Western states had mineral rights separated from land rights, and it isn't clear in the original Morrill Act language how it came to be. Data on mineral rights is available on the landgrabu.org website. The University of California still retains 441 acres with mineral rights that earned \$2,000 in 2019. This compares to \$663,000 at Colorado State University and almost \$3,000,000 at North Dakota State University in the same year. An audience member asked why the map does not include the U.S. territories even though each has a land-grant institution. Lee responded that the study is restricted to financial beneficiaries of the Morrill Act of 1862. Although there are land-grant universities in Guam, Puerto Rico, U.S. Virgin Islands, Hawai'i, etc., these institutions received cash endowments from the U.S. in the second half of the 20th century. Alaska and Oklahoma are also excluded from the database because they received land for their land-grant universities through different laws than the Morrill Act.

The discussion next turned to how Lee and Ahtone identified Native territories presented on the map. They used the digital versions of the maps created by Charles Royce, a cartographer for the Smithsonian in the late 19th century. Royce undertook a major project to map the boundaries of ratified and unratified treaties and created a list of about 700 land cessions across the continent. These maps are considered standard and were used widely in litigation during the 20th century. However, a major caveat is that they are representations of how the United States considers legal acquisition of territory and political boundaries, representations that are not congruent with Native American understandings. Furthermore, we know that treaties were often made under force and/or signed by people who did not represent a tribal nation and that the boundaries of treaty land did not represent traditional territorial boundaries. A more accurate mapping of traditional territory would require a lot of consultation with tribal nations everywhere. Lee and Ahtone are aware of this limitation, as well as the limits of the language they use. For example, they chose to use "land cession" as an umbrella term for ratified treaties, unratified treaties, and forced removals.

The next question was about what percent of given university endowments come from the Morrill Act land grabs. Lee and Ahtone explained that this would involve further research. They were able to create a basement floor for others to build upon. The method would be to take the principal of these funds, look at how much was earned and spent on a yearly basis, how much was put back into the fund, and the investment on returns. The endowments were designed by law as income producing funds, not growth funds. Over time, the original Morrill Act funds became a smaller percentage of university operating funds but they were crucial for the survival and stability of the institutions in their early years. Circa 1918, University of California President Benjamin Ide Wheeler praised the land-grants for attracting other gifts. It is an enormous open problem to try to understand the long term and contemporary impact of the Morrill Act. Lee and Ahtone see their project as a preliminary look at the Morrill Act; it provides a methodological model for looking at land and financial gains that can be applied to other areas, such as land that is currently held by universities.

Lastly the conversation turned to how people can use Lee and Ahtone's data to work with UC to make positive social change, and how they envision their work impacting both the academy and other institutions at large. The scholars responded that the project turned an abstract idea into a concrete one by providing specific land data and receipts for the wealth transfer. Thus, people are able to assert that UC benefited from Indigenous land on "X" specific acres that were sold for "Y" amount. Their goal is to educate readers in hopes that institutions will take responsibility for the harm they have perpetuated. There is no one-size-fits-all approach for every community and institution. Tribal nations and Native communities who are impacted by the Morrill Act can explore what it means for them, and universities should form relationships with these communities to discuss the implications. From the university side, the project can serve teaching ends, for example a course can use the data as a scaffold for a deep dive into the university's archives to better understand its benefits from the Morrill Act. The information can be used for expanding land acknowledgements, creating new scholarships for Native American students, hiring new faculty, and thinking about new ways that university resources can be steered to tribal communities who are impacted by the Morrill Act. Lee and Ahtone also hope other journalists will use the data to do more creative coverage of Indigenous issues with universities.

Panel on the University of California as a Land-Grab Institution

1). Brittani R. Orona (Hupa), PhD Candidate in Native American Studies, UC Davis Presentation Title: Connecting State of California History to UC Land during 1860s

Brittani R. Orona provided an overview of the connections between California State history and University of California seizure of Indigenous land during the 1860s. California is unique because of the cultural diversity across tribal groups and Native language families. California Indian people have been here since time immemorial, and each have creation stories from where we/they are from. We/they know this land better than anybody. Orona's own Hupa people come from Hoopa Valley and Humboldt County in Northwestern California. She began by contextualizing how California Indian people had already experienced significant disease, genocidal acts, sexual violence, and forced labor prior to the 1860s. Colonization in California is generally

parceled out into three different time periods: Spanish, Mexican, and American, even as it also includes Russian and other colonial incursions. The Spanish period (1769–1821) began when Junipero Serra founded Mission San Diego, the first of the 21 missions along the California coast. The mission system devastated Indian cultures along the California coastline and inward through sexual and other violence, slave labor, forced conversion to Catholicism, and land dispossession. The Spanish mission system also used livestock agriculture for the first time in California, which changed the ecology and political economy of Indigenous landscapes.

In 1821, Mexico gained independence from Spain and took control of Alta California, beginning the Mexican period. The mission system was secularized and land-grants given to settlers in the interior of California. For example, where Orona is located at UC Davis on Nisenan and Miwok lands in the Sacramento Valley, John Sutter became a Mexican citizen and obtained a land grant to grow hops and livestock. He used forced Indian labor, buying and selling Native Californians with other large European landowners. When talking about violence towards California Indian people during these times, however, it is also important to talk about their strength and the resistance to colonialism. For example, Toypurina, a Tongva woman, led a rebellion at the San Gabriel mission. California Indians continued their traditions and land practices often at great physical danger.

In 1846, the United States government seized California from Mexico and then institutionalized control through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Thus began the American period, which continues into the present. In 1848, the Gold Rush brought an influx of American and immigrant settlers who traveled to California to acquire land. The Gold Rush mining caused extensive environmental degradation. These violent acts in the past are very present today in that they still scar the landscape over traditional homelands.

In 1850, the first California legislature passed the Act for the Government and Protection of Indians, which facilitated removing California Indians from their traditional lands and separating a generation of children and adults from families, languages, and cultures. The law forced child and adult Indian labor including through public auctioning. During a speech in 1851, California's first governor Peter Burnett said, "That a war of extermination will continue to be waged between the races until the Indian race becomes extinct must be expected" (Burnett, 1851). The violence was perpetrated upon Native bodies and personhood and through cultural acts of removal including outlawing ceremonies.

When the Morrill Act was passed in 1862, it was during the height of violence against California Indian people. Scholars of the California Indian genocide, such as Lindsay (2012) and Madley (2016) often say the genocide ended in 1873, but in fact it is a continuous process through the present. This is due to removal of California Indians from our lands, the unceded land status, continuous policing of culture, and an inability to interact with our traditional landscapes. When we think about the Morrill Act we should not only think of it as a land grab, but also of the policies within the University towards California Indian cultural heritage. For example, there is a connection between the passing of the Morrill Act and the University's nonconsensual collection and continuous holding of California Indian ancestral remains and cultural patrimony. Credit is due to California Indian people who have been fighting for decades and continue to lead efforts toward land reclamation and repatriation of our ancestors and funerary objects.

2). Kathleen Whiteley (Wiyot), Presidential Postdoctoral Fellow in Ethnic Studies, UC Berkeley

Presentation Title: The “Lost” Treaties of California: Dispossession, Memory and Futures

Kathleen Whiteley presented on the “lost”—or rather, broken—treaties made with 18 California Indian communities. In 1905, Charles Kelsey, of a Christian missionary organization called the Northern California Indian Association (NCIA), revealed to the public that California’s Indigenous peoples had signed 18 treaties with the Federal government in 1851–52, yet on July 8, 1852, the U.S. Senate unanimously voted to reject ratifying the treaties. The NCIA also shared that the federal government had insisted that an injunction of secrecy be placed upon the treaties’ very existence: they literally wrapped the 18 treaties in red tape. The unearthing of the unratified treaties captured public attention and had a lasting legacy on land rights for California Indians.

The 18 treaties had promised about 7.5% of the total acreage of California. The California legislature urged Congress not to ratify the treaties. Governor Peter Burnett argued that the land reserved for use by Indians was worth \$100 million (far more than the \$5 million California Indians won through a compensatory lawsuit 100 years later). The federal relationship with California Indians is an exception to the typical pattern of treaty making in the 19th century, with a lasting impact in shaping California Indigenous peoples’ relationship with the government. California Indians were subjected to persecution, abuse, and discrimination to an extent unequalled in other states. As Orna discussed above, in 1850 California passed the Act for the Government and Protection of Indians, which legally sanctioned indentured servitude and slavery of Native Californians and barred Indian persons from testifying or representing themselves in court. After the 18 treaties were rejected by the senate, some military reservations were established, but many tribal nations were forcibly removed from their traditional homelands. Whiteley cited scholar Brendan Lindsay’s work *Murder State*, which articulates how Americans saw California Indians as obstacles to land-holding and used notions of democracy, ultra-individualism, and the pioneer spirit to orchestrate mass murder in California.



Image Credit: Royce, C., & Thomas, C. (1899). Indian land cessions in the United States. <https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3701em.gct00002/?sp=7>

The treaties had been negotiated in 1851–52 by three federal agents appointed by President Millard Fillmore: George W. Barbour, Redick McKee, and Owen Wozencraft. Not one of them had any prior experience working with Native peoples or treaty making. The three commissioners drew straws to decide where each one would go and then spread throughout the state with the military in tow. They sent out word through various means that they were a treaty making party and visited different tribal groups and villages to invite them to attend treaty making sessions. Some tribal groups were suspicious and refused to attend. Of the treaties that were signed, they differ somewhat in their wording but were essentially all the same. They each defined areas to be set apart and forever held for the sole use and occupancy of the Indian tribes. The existence of the 18 treaties was not a secret within the tribal groups whose ancestors had signed them. The federal government was also well aware of the treaties in California. There were two maps of California among the 67 maps of Native American land cessions that Charles Royce published in 1899. One of the maps outlined lands promised in 18 treaties (note that Royce never visited California). Details about each unratified treaty can be found at <https://calindianhistory.org/california-unratified-treaties-map/>. Had the treaties been ratified, they might have prevented some of the violence Native Californians endured during the war of extermination. After the 18 treaties were rejected by Congress, no further treaties were negotiated with California Indians, and in 1871 Congress put a formal end to the institution of treaty making.

To conclude, Whiteley emphasized that the treaties were broken, not lost. The 1905 public outcry by the NCA offered traction for social reformers and community organizers to pressure the federal government to begin to make significant changes in its policies towards California's many Indigenous groups. Between 1905 and 1930, social and economic conditions among Native peoples in California changed as 59 settlements known as Rancherias were purchased by the federal government for landless Native communities. Held in trust by the federal government, the Rancherias were land bases on which modern California Indian communities lived collectively and received appropriations. The rediscovery of the 18 "lost" treaties prompted a wave of Native organizing and garnered unprecedented public support in matters which directly concerned Native Californians' political and legal standing. Native Californians and their supporters fought for better education, land, rights of citizenship, and legislation for settlement of the unfulfilled treaty conditions. The Indian Claims Commission was established to address ongoing land and treaty disputes with Native nations, and in 1972, California Indians were awarded a settlement of \$29.1 million. This was a payment of a mere 47 cents per acre and did not address the land in California sold through the Morrill Act. Is this justice? Native Californians continue to fight for land restitution with strength, resiliency, and wit to protect their cultures and place-specific practices.

3). Beth Rose Middleton Manning, Professor of Native American Studies and Yocha Dehe Endowed Chair of California Indian Studies, UC Davis

Presentation Title: Opportunities to Address UC's Land Grab Context: #LandGrabU to #LandBack

Beth Rose Middleton Manning set the stage for Part 2 of the forum by offering initial comments on how the University of California might respond to the information presented in Part 1 to move from being a land grab institution to being part of the greater movement toward land restitution. To show that land return is within the realm of possibility, she opened her presentation with an image of a ceremony recognizing the transfer of lands from Pacific Gas & Electric to the Maidu Summit Consortium.

UC land ownership goes far beyond the campuses and includes Natural Reserves, Research Stations, Experimental Forests, and other lands used for research and teaching. In the Natural Reserves system alone, UC has responsibility for 750,000 acres.¹⁰ UC is one of four trustee agencies recognized under the California Environmental Quality Act to reserve natural resources in trust for the people of California. What does it mean to hold land for the public trust? That is an important theme as we move forward. UC also has agriculture experiment stations, experimental forests, and research stations throughout the state. UC's land holdings continue to grow, with recent additions to the Natural Reserve System.

UC lands are designated for research and education to expand knowledge on California ecosystems and develop "best practices" for land management, which are typically construed only from a Western scientific point of view. All UC land holdings sit within California Indian tribal territories, yet Native nations received little to no benefit from land seizures and many continue to be landless today.

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"With these lands we have an opportunity to begin righting a great wrong. We may be frightened of outcomes we are unsure of but we should be even more frightened of living in a world where the foundation of injustice is honorable and the perpetuation of that injustice acceptable...."

~ Farrell Cunningham, Maidu Summit

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¹⁰ See <https://accountability.universityofcalifornia.edu/2020/chapters/chapter-10.html>.

To begin discussing land restitution, Middleton Manning shared the words of her mentor and friend Farrell Cunningham, who wrote in the first land management plan by the Maidu Summit Consortium: “With these lands we have an opportunity to begin righting a great wrong. We may be frightened of outcomes we are unsure of but we should be even more frightened of living in a world where the foundation of injustice is honorable and the perpetuation of that injustice acceptable...” At the point of reckoning we now face, Middleton Manning offered several opportunities for UC to lead the way among universities to make reparations to tribal nations.

- Financial transfers of assets derived from Indigenous lands are one option; many individuals occupying Indigenous land have done so.¹¹
- There is precedent of the federal government, cities, nonprofits, and churches making direct land transfers to tribal nations, which may or may not include conservation covenants.
- There is also precedent under Executive Order B-10-11, which requires California state agencies to consult with tribes
- UC’s land easement guidelines already provide language that would support the granting of easements to tribal organizations to carry out rights and responsibilities to land within tribal homelands. Conversely, UC could transfer land to a tribal organization and retain an easement for UC activities, which could include research on restoration practices.
- UC could develop memorandums of understanding to establish access and stewardship by Native nations on homelands that are currently under UC jurisdiction, and/or develop memorandums of understanding to establish access and stewardship by UC on lands transferred to tribes.
- Native advisory committees could cooperatively steward UC lands and be compensated for their work.
- UC could also invest in Native students by using the endowment revenue from expropriated Indigenous lands toward tuition waivers. Several universities across the U.S. already do this.
- Native students could receive scholarships to conduct research on UC lands.
- The natural reserves could also be used for hands-on, land-based education that recognizes and compensates place-based Indigenous expertise. This education could support tribal schools and youth groups in collaboration with UC teaching departments.
- UC recently revised its Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act policy. Ancestors and land were seized together, and the impacts reverberate into the present. Repatriation of ancestors and land go hand in hand. An aspect of NAGPRA is the requirement for consultation and consent for research and educational activities involving Native ancestors.
- This consultation process could be extended to acquiring consent for research, classes, and management that involve cultural resources and homelands.
- Faculty accountability could be measured by annual reporting that asks questions such as: Does your work involve tribal cultural resources, such as land and waters? Are you in consultation or communication with tribes whose homelands you are working within? What steps are you taking to ensure that your research is not only respectful and culturally sensitive, but responsive to tribes’ management goals, stewardship goals, land access, and land reacquisition goals? What steps are you considering to involve the tribe in work within their homelands?

¹¹ See for example the East Bay Shuumi Land Tax where individuals can voluntarily pay “tax” via donation to a land trust: <https://sogoreate-landtrust.org/pay-the-shuumi-land-tax/>.

The University of California has an opportunity to fulfill its public service mission by foregrounding research and education that does not further the injustices of our land grab history. We continue to hold land in trust for the public. By explicitly acknowledging limitations in the past on who has counted as part of the public and taking steps to rectify the impacts of the establishment of the University on Native Californian communities, we can build on our strengths to improve our work going forward.

Question and Answer

Bauerle moderated audience questions to Orona, Whiteley, and Middleton Manning. An overarching theme of the Q&A was that UC cannot carry out its mission as an educational, research, and service institution without acknowledging UC's land grab history. Middleton Manning emphasized that for some people this history has always been present, but for many University faculty and administrators this might be newer information. Lee and Ahtone's work provides clear and visible information for UC to look at how we can be attentive to our history of profit from Native land.

The discussion further elucidated the connection between the Morrill Act land expropriation and UC Berkeley's anthropological dispossession of deceased relatives and cultural objects. Orona emphasized that the colonial logic in early state formation connects the California Indian genocide, the dispossession of lands, and then the removal of cultural objects and ancestral remains from Native homelands. This logic continues to the present day, and there's a need to connect NAGPRA repatriation to the return of Native land, since few communities have land to which they can return ancestors. Orona described examples of tribes with larger land bases allowing other tribes to rebury ancestors and cultural objects on their lands, and collaboration with institutions such as state and national parks. There is an opportunity for UC to invite tribes to repatriate their ancestors and cultural objects on land that is currently owned by the University, such as at the natural reserves, and at least one precedent for doing so.

The Natural Reserves System was the topic of several audience questions about how UC scholars can work with tribes and address the environmental racism embedded in the disruption of traditional ecological knowledge. Western scientific management practices have led to the reserves becoming vulnerable to megafires and biodiversity loss. Middleton Manning suggested UC scholars who are interested in collaborating and consulting with Native Californians who are the traditional stewards of the land where they conduct research can refer to the [California Morrill Map: Allocations for the UC Endowment by Tribal Group](#). Each university should develop a process for determining whose lands their research lands are within and for establishing contact with those nations and communities to facilitate relationship building. She also suggested that the campus Native American Advisory Committees have an opportunity to engage with connecting faculty and tribes. She said that more information needs to be gathered about what is occurring on the different reserves throughout the system in terms of collaborations with tribes, but that she has heard openness from reserve managers to begin conversations and collaboration. Middleton Manning provided examples of UC scholars in the fields of ecology and education who are already building accountability with California Indians.

The speakers all emphasized that California Indians are leading change on environmental issues and it's time for UC to listen. Orona reminded us that anyone doing scholarship in environmental studies in settler-colonial countries is interacting with Indigenous people by virtue of being on their land and that their research takes place in contexts with histories of violence. She suggested that if scholars want to work with a tribe, to come with a sense of humility because the tribes that you are working with are going to have the most knowledge about their lands.

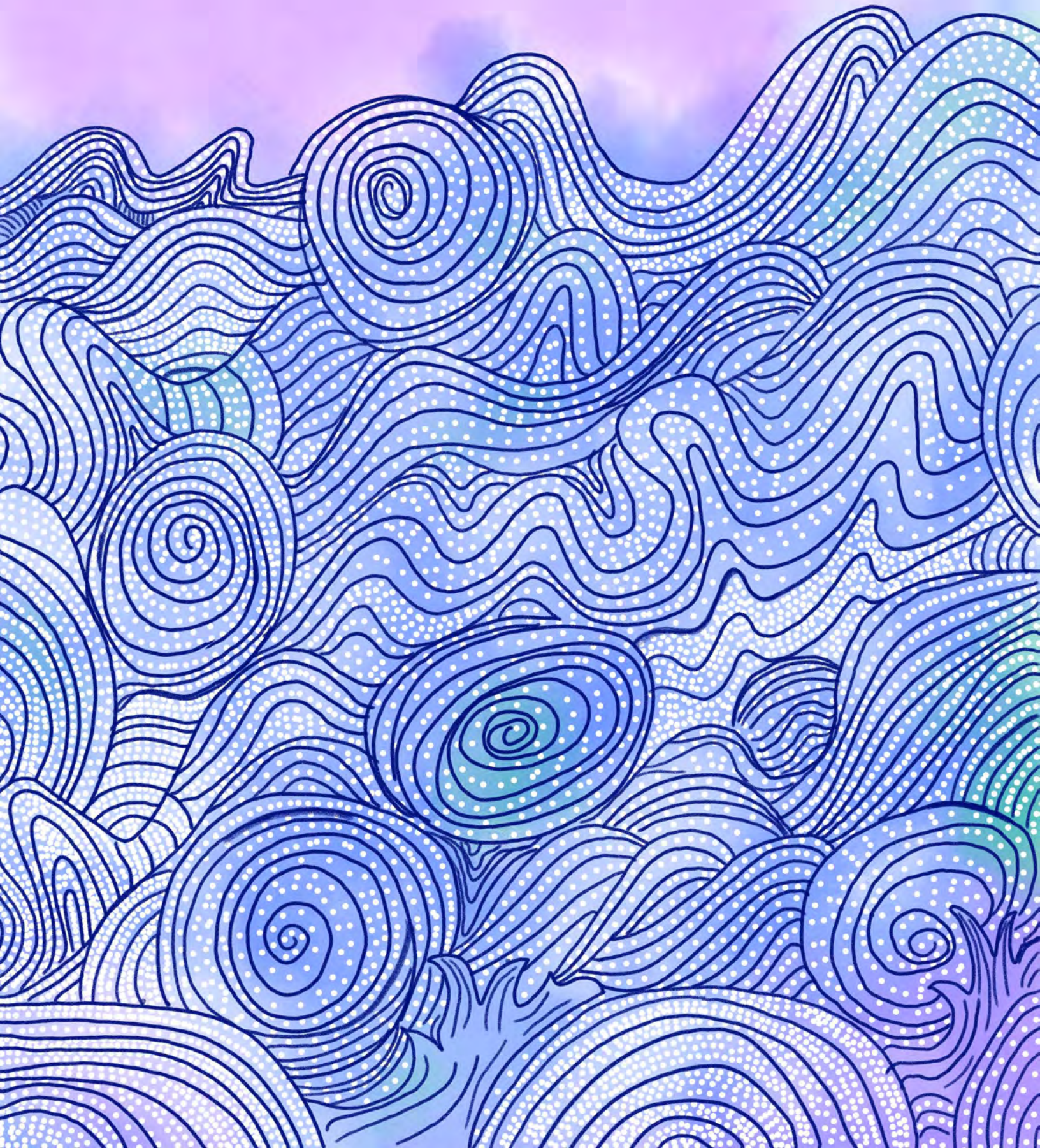
Bauerle asked Orona and Whiteley, as two Native Californian women working within the University of California, what they hope to change with their scholarship. Orona's scholarship focuses on connections between genocide and land dispossession and environmental injustice on the North Coast and Northern California. Orona sees Newsom's apology as an opportunity to push corporations that are impacting water systems towards a more equitable environment for California Indians. Her scholarship aims to bring light to multi-generational Native-led grassroots advocacy for land and water justice. Whiteley's research primarily focuses on California Indian history in the early 20th century, which is a big gap in the literature. California Indians are typically relegated to past time periods, stopping at the genocide during the early American era. Then narratives tend to skip ahead to Red Power in the 1960s and contemporary gaming. Whiteley's work sheds light on Native American activism for land reclamation in the early 1900s. She expressed that it is an exciting time in Indigenous scholarship because California Indian peoples are producing work that touches all facets of society, in environmental studies, history, anthropology, literature, philosophy, and more.

Synthesis, Next Steps, and Closing

Bauerle thanked all the speakers for their work in visiblizing history in ways that show a path forward toward justice for Native people. For generations, California Indians have been living with the impacts of governments and institutions acquiring land and resources. Native Californians have been incredibly resilient in the face of this history, and we are in a moment where many California Indian scholars are coming up through the UCs. We are also in a social justice moment where the U.S. as a whole is grappling with our uncomfortable history, and this national reckoning is an opportunity for change. Bauerle posed a final question to the audience to set the stage for Part 2 of the forum: How can UC education integrate the history and contemporary reality of Native American dispossession across a wide range of disciplines?

Ataya Cesspooch closed the day by expressing that as a Native student at Berkeley, she felt very moved to be part of a conversation in which UC begins to grapple with its land grab legacy. She thanked the audience for taking this step in a journey of trying to figure out how to bring justice to all those that have suffered the physical, financial, and spiritual weight of the expropriation of their lands. She offered a prayer in the tradition of her tribe, the Northern Ute, where she thanked Grandfather for holding the spirits of those that have been affected by land dispossession. The prayer set an intention for everyone present to work on these issues within our universities, own lives, and daily practices with good heart.

Part 2: Summary of Presentations



Part 2: Summary of Presentations

From Land-grab to Land Acknowledgement and Beyond

Friday, October 23, 2020, 9am – 12:30pm

Overview of the Day

Part 2 of the forum explored how the University of California can address our responsibility to California Indian communities. Rosalie Zdzenicka Fanshel moderated throughout the day, and Isha Ray offered an opening land acknowledgement. The first panel shared current initiatives between the UC system and Native Californians, with a focus on Berkeley, Davis, Riverside, and the statewide Division of Agriculture and Natural Resources. These are the entities within the University of California system that continue to receive funding from the U.S. Department of Agriculture and State of California to carry out the land-grant mission. Three California tribal leaders, Valentin Lopez, Bill Tripp, and Ron Goode, shared their work to steward land and culture and affirm sovereignty in their communities. We also heard from two of their UC research collaborators, Jennifer Sowerwine and Beth Rose Middleton Manning. The panel was moderated by Clifford Trafzer. In a second panel we heard from Christie M. Poitra of Michigan State University and Stephen Kantrowitz of University of Wisconsin-Madison about how their institutions are grappling with their land-grab origin and lessons we might learn for the University of California. The panel was moderated by Christina Snider.

We next turned to action: breakout sessions provided a space for community dialogue on concrete measures the University of California can take toward redress with California Indian communities. Forum participants joined Zoom breakout rooms facilitated by Native UC Berkeley doctoral students and professional staff members on the themes of teaching/pedagogy, student experience/development, research, land acknowledgements, field stations/UC land, and cooperative extension. Upon returning to the full forum space, each facilitator shared a summary of breakout session propositions. Margaret Nash synthesized learnings from throughout the day, and Patrick Naranjo closed the forum.

Opening Remarks

Part 2 was moderated by Rosalie Zdzenicka Fanshel, PhD Student in Environmental Science, Policy, and Management and Program Manager at the Berkeley Food Institute at UC Berkeley. Fanshel welcomed our speakers and 350-person audience to the interactive Zoom meeting and YouTube livestream. Isha Ray, Professor in the Energy and Resources Group and Associate Dean of Equity and Inclusion in the UC Berkeley Rausser College of Natural Resources, offered the same land acknowledgement as conceived for Part 1. (See Appendix D for the full land acknowledgement text).

Panel on Current Initiatives between the UC System and California Indigenous Communities

Clifford Trafzer (Wyandot, German), Distinguished Professor of History and Rupert Costo Chair in American Indian Affairs at UC Riverside, moderated the panel. He introduced themes of the day that connect Native history from the past through the present: the sacred, which encompasses the gifts given to people through their creation stories; theft of land and resources; genocide; reclamation and revitalization; and the relationships between UC and tribal communities.

1). Valentin Lopez (Amah Mutsun), Chairman, Amah Mutsun Tribal Band

Valentin Lopez opened the panel with a reminder that the theft of land did not begin in California or the United States. In 1453, Pope Alexander the VI issued a papal bull that said all Indigenous people were heathens, pagans, and savages, without souls. If you have no soul, then you are not a human being and therefore can be enslaved, killed, raped, tortured, and brutalized without it being a sin to the perpetrator. The Doctrine of Discovery, another papal bull passed in 1493, encouraged Christian European nations to go out to “discover” new lands and claim them as their country, and to either convert or else kill Native people. 100–200 million Indigenous people died around the world as a result of these papal bulls. It is important to remember that the papal bulls created the conditions for theft of Indigenous land.

Chairman Lopez emphasized that our Amah Mutsun people are blessed by our Creator—we are fortunate that we have plenty of resources. We have the lands of the Morgan Hill, Gilroy, Hollister, and Santa Cruz areas. There is plenty of water and wildlife. Our creation story tells us that Creator gave us the responsibility to take care of Mother Earth and all living things, and for thousands and thousands of years that’s exactly what our people did. We kept the rivers clean for the migrating fish, the plants, the insects, the birds, the four-legged, the finned, and the winged. We did not try to dominate the plants and animals and streams. The Creator made Mother Earth perfect and it was our responsibility to maintain that sacredness. We had prayers, ceremonies, and songs to maintain that sacredness. Then came the Brutal Periods: the Spanish, Mexican, and American eras. The colonizers wanted to destroy our spirituality, culture, environments, knowledge, and humanity. It was a forced assimilation or die policy. At the Spanish Missions they would separate men, women, and children to prevent Indigenous knowledge from being passed down. Families couldn’t be reunited unless they became citizens of Spain and agreed to convert to the Catholic Church. The Mission San Juan Bautista was established in 1797 in our homelands. A survey in 1823 reported that 19,421 Indians had died at the mission in 26 years. That is our history, and it continued through the Mexican and American periods.

Dominant discourse says that land was “sold” via the Morrill Act, but whoever sold it was selling stolen land. If someone were to steal your wallet and sell it to someone else who then sold it to someone else and then you are asked where you got it, you might say you bought it from someone, but that doesn’t mean it belonged to them. It is still stolen until it is returned to its rightful owner. That is true for the land today. In the morning when you wake up, you put your feet on land that was stolen. Don’t ever forget that. Our tribe doesn’t blame

the people attending this seminar for the theft of that land or for the brutality toward our people. A lot of people say, "Well, I wasn't the one who did it." We don't argue with that, but you must recognize that you benefit every day from that stolen land and the destruction of our culture and knowledge. What we ask is that people today help us restore our rights to the land and allow us to return to the path of our ancestors. UC Santa Cruz sits on 6,000 acres of land. When UC built the campus, they uncovered a number of our ancestors and kept them. We worked through the NAGPRA process and got our ancestors returned to us in 2019. Our tribe is very thankful for that. The land, however, is still stolen and universities have the responsibility to acknowledge that and work with tribes to access our traditional sacred and cultural sites on campuses to conduct Native stewardship to take care of the plants and animals, so that we can fulfill our obligation to Creator. It's time to move down that path together.

2). Jennifer Sowerwine, Associate Cooperative Extension Specialist, Environmental Science, Policy, and Management, UC Berkeley

Presentation Title: Strengthening UC Partnerships with Native American Communities: Examples from Cooperative Extension

UC Cooperative Extension (UCCE), within the UC Division of Agriculture and Natural Resources (UCANR), is the land-grant university outreach branch responsible for ensuring that the research being conducted at the UCs is relevant to the California public. The UCCE mission is to connect the power of UC research in agriculture, natural resources, nutrition, and youth development with local communities to improve the lives of every Californian. The UCCE network extends across the state with faculty and cooperative extension specialists conducting research primarily at the three Agricultural Experiment Station campuses, Berkeley, Davis, and Riverside. UCCE also has advisors and community educators doing program delivery at the county level, nine Research and Extension Centers, and twelve statewide programs. Some example programs are 4-H, the Master Gardeners program, and California Naturalist. Given that our mission is to serve all our California communities, UCCE staff have a responsibility to deepen our understanding of and own our history of Native dispossession. We also need to recognize that over 720,000 Native people across the state are flourishing members of our urban and rural communities and we have a responsibility and an opportunity to strengthen partnerships with Native communities in meaningful ways.

Sowerwine shared several examples of how UCCE is working to strengthen partnerships with California Indian communities. In 2016 she led a survey of 300 UCANR employees and found that 84% were aware of tribes and tribal organizations in their areas and 30% were working with tribes. She and colleagues created two professional development workshops in 2017 for UCANR staff to learn more about Native cultural norms and tribal history and to develop culturally-relevant programs for effective outreach. 93% of the 76 attendees reported more confidence in conducting outreach. UCCE staff established the UCANR Native American Community Partnerships Workgroup in 2018 to support ongoing professional development. In 2017, UCCE worked with the Bishop Paiute Tribe to develop food safety training for the tribe's six food sovereignty gardens.

In partnership with the Wishtoyo Chumash Foundation, the California Naturalist program incorporated traditional ecological knowledge into an 11-week course designed specifically for Native coastal communities. 40 certified Naturalists representing 30 tribes now work with 35 Native and community-based organizations. Since 2016, CalFresh Healthy Living, UC, has been partnering with tribes and organizations serving Native communities on trauma-informed nutrition education, garden-enhanced learning, and engaging youth in participatory action research. In 2019, a group of UCANR and Berkeley researchers began mapping the Morrill Act parcels, which resulted in a similar dataset to the one developed by Robert Lee and Tristan Ahtone.

In 2007, Sowerwine, Karuk tribal members, and other Berkeley researchers founded the Karuk-UC Berkeley Collaborative to leverage UC resources and scientific collaboration to support the Karuk Tribe's ecocultural revitalization initiatives and youth development goals. Motivated by the long history of injustices and extractive research with California Indian tribes, a central aim of the collaborative is to rebuild trust with a commitment to restoring tribal sovereignty over ancestral lands, cultural resources, and knowledge. We strive to do this by listening, decentering the role of the university as experts, and centering place-based Indigenous knowledge following the lead of our tribal partners as research colleagues. To ensure the protection of cultural and intellectual property, we co-created a research protocol and process that the tribe can use to govern all research and collaborative projects that respects and protects cultural knowledge and tribal sovereignty.

Putting these principles into action, the first big Karuk-UC Berkeley Collaborative project launched in 2012 to enhance tribal health and food security in the Klamath River Basin. It was a large USDA-funded project co-led by three tribes, the Forest Service, and nonprofits that sought to understand the causes of food insecurity and to support tribal-led solutions. Integrating cultural perspectives into our research, we found that 92% out of 711 survey respondents experienced some level of food insecurity, compared to 12% nationally, and that having access to Native foods was a strong predictor of food security. However only 7% had reliable access to Native foods due to limited availability resulting from a long history of resource degradation associated with colonization: logging, dams, and fire suppression, and the criminalization of traditional hunting, fishing, gathering, and place-based Indigenous stewardship practices. The grant supported over 380 community-led workshops, family camps, and community events focused on Native food gathering, gardening, cooking, processing, and canning, which had measurable impacts not only on improving household food security but also strengthening community wellbeing and self-reliance through intergenerational learning. The Karuk Tribe's Pikyav Field Institute was established for collaborative research with academic institutions to enhance job creation, environmental education, and to bridge Western and Indigenous science to support long term co-management goals within the Karuk ancestral homelands. You can learn more about the work of the Collaborative at: <https://nature.berkeley.edu/karuk-collaborative/>.

3). Bill Tripp (Karuk), Director of Natural Resources and Environmental Policy, Karuk Tribe Department of Natural Resources

Presentation Title: Past, Present, and Future of the Karuk-UC Berkeley Collaborative Model

Bill Tripp explained that the dispossession of land is not the only issue California Indians face. He said, “The Karuk people didn’t even understand the concept of land ownership when first contact occurred: It is the change in our relationship among humans in the natural world that has affected us the most as Indigenous peoples.” The Karuk Tribe is working through the Karuk-UC Berkeley Collaborative and many other partnerships to meet our eco-cultural revitalization goals and connect our human responsibility to place. The guiding policy of the Collaborative is “Practicing pikyav.” Pikyav means “to fix it.” The principles are: Community engaged scholarship; free, prior, and informed consent; benefits to the tribal community; mentorship, training, and youth development; confidentiality; mutual respect, inclusiveness, and empowerment; equity and reciprocity; self-determination, prior rights, and inalienability; respecting place-based Indigenous knowledge and intellectual property; and pikyav and appropriate conduct. For the past 13 years we have been building relationships, telling stories, and learning to understand each other under these principles. Ultimately, we created trust through a process that was sometimes all-consuming but has enabled us to progress toward our eco-cultural revitalization goals. Our collective past has brought us to a present where we now say xúus nu’ éethi: “we are caring for it.”

We are working together in partnership with the water, fish, wildlife, plants, and each other. The Karuk Department of Natural Resources has three branches: administration and development; watersheds; and eco-cultural revitalization, which together have nine integrated program areas. Two of the current projects of the eco-cultural revitalization branch are the Western Klamath Restoration Partnership and the Indigenous Peoples Burning Network of the Karuk, Yurok, and Hupa peoples. In working together across vast landscapes, we work hard not to draw lines between us, but instead respect the hard lines among us. Emerging through our efforts together is the need to revitalize our human relationships with fire. We are at a turning point where wildfires are burning at a scale of intensity unprecedented in our written and oral histories. County, state, and federal agencies often co-opt messaging about Native people using fire without sincere intent to revitalize place-based Indigenous knowledge. This is disrespectful and ineffective as a strategy. As Indigenous peoples, our present situation provides us with a series of choices. We could try to go it alone, get run over, and watch the natural world enter a time of suffering ultimately leading to the potential demise of human existence. We could give our knowledge away and watch the current trajectory shift toward economic gain of individuals instead of the whole, which would only delay this suffering. Or we could truly work together in fulfilling the human responsibility to the land, water, fish, wildlife, plants, and people. It is our hope that this latter path will be followed, and conversations like the UC Land Grab Forum have the potential to make it happen.



Photo by David McLain of the Salmon River, California.

Full integration of our collective knowledge, practice, and belief systems will be needed if we are to accomplish what may very well seem to be impossible. There are solutions to be found in the Morrill Act which is what inspired Tripp to join the conversation. The legacy of land grant institutions is that of dispossession, disenfranchisement, and Indigenous erasure, but the presence of so many people at the forum is an indication that we are ready to change that legacy to make one of recognition, reconciliation, and revitalization. The Morrill Act created the means for the state legislature to authorize the sale of lands stolen from Indigenous peoples. The UC system built an endowment from the land sales, and the Morrill Act required that the University target a 5% return and educate people in the agricultural and mechanical arts to develop a future workforce. One percent of UC's endowment revenue in 2020 amounts to about \$140 million.¹² At 5%, \$140 million could generate \$7 million worth of annual endowed action in perpetuity. That kind of money could set up 2–3 Native field institutes immediately. All it would take is the willingness of the UC system, and the strike of the pen in the California legislature.

People want to learn from Indigenous peoples how to live in harmony with our environment. Let's do just that, but in a way that reverses the systemic injustices plaguing Indigenous communities and that builds upon what we know together to achieve Indigenous agroecosystem resilience throughout California. There are coalitions of people that are primed and ready to make it happen. **#EndowActionNow.**

¹² The assets under UC management were \$140 billion as of August 31, 2020. See <https://www.universityofcalifornia.edu/press-room/uc-investments-grows-portfolio-140-billion-during-tumultuous-year>.

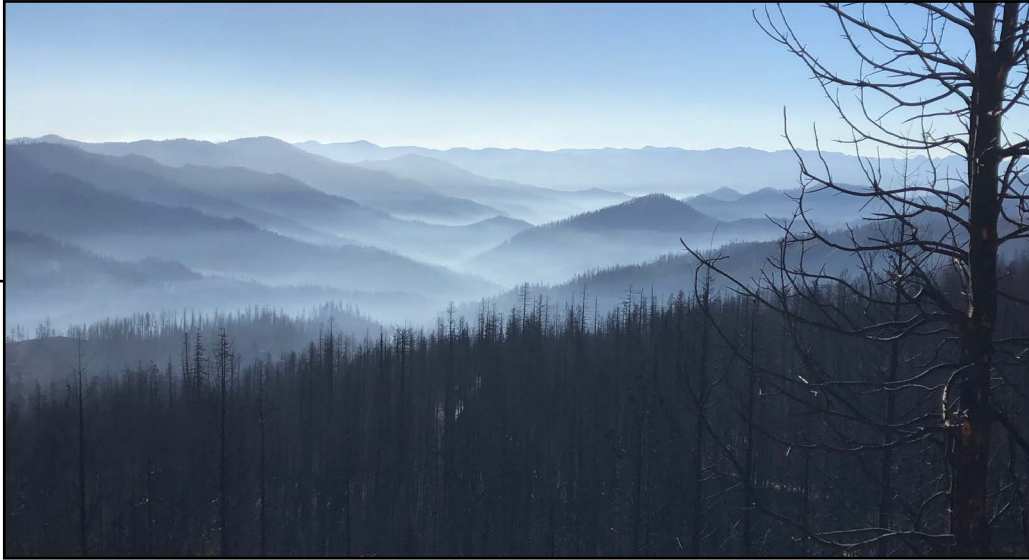


Photo by Vicki Preston of the Slater Fire in 2020.

**4). Ron Goode (North Fork Mono), Chairman, North Fork Mono Tribe
Beth Rose Middleton Manning, Professor, Native American Studies, and Yocha Dehe
Endowed Chair, California Indian Studies, UC Davis
Presentation Title: Current Initiatives: Land Stewardship**

Beth Rose Middleton Manning began with an overview of UC Davis collaborations with the Maidu Summit Consortium in the Northeastern Sierra, where the Mountain Maidu have never stopped fighting for the stewardship and return of their homelands. Humbug Valley, or Tásmam Koyóm, is a culturally important place and one of several mountain meadows that was not flooded for hydroelectric development. Through a process of land divestiture, the Maidu Summit Consortium was able to regain title to Tásmam Koyóm in 2019 when Pacific Gas & Electric transferred 2,325 acres. Native UC Davis students have been able to work with the Consortium to do hands-on learning and to respond to community needs. This collaboration contributes to Native student retention and wellbeing. Through a small fellowship program that Middleton Manning developed with the Intertribal Agriculture Council and Natural Resources Conservation Service, students engage with the Maidu Summit Consortium to gather seeds from culturally important plants, grow the seeds in the UC Davis Arboretum, and then bring the plants back to the mountains to cultivate and tend. As other forum speakers discussed, Middleton Manning strongly believes that University of California students educated in ecology and other fields need to be trained in building respectful collaborations with California Indian communities.

Ron Goode explained that he has used fire as a tool for restoration practices since 1991. He works with several universities across California and other Western states. The Keepers of the Flame Course is a collaborative field course between UC Davis and California Indian tribes to support Indigenous-led burning initiatives, work reciprocally, and recognize place-based Indigenous expertise. Representatives from multiple tribes work together with the students and community volunteers. Middleton Manning reiterated that the Keepers of the Flame Course has been life-changing for Native and non-Native students alike. One of the properties where the course takes place is 400 acres of privately owned land in Mariposa County held by Goode's family. It is Mariposa Miwok land and included a 40–50 acre village site for 600–1,000 people.

Goode explained that “cultural burning” is recent terminology for how Native Californians have used fire. He explained that it is different from “prescribed fire” that state and federal agencies use for fuel reduction. The government's goal is growth of their best economic development product. “Wildfire management” is about controlling wildfires. He said, “While tribes may use all three practices, cultural burning is about renewal of life. It is how tribes burn to rejuvenate the land.” Goode showed images of how after a burn, plants are restored such that elders are able to gather sticks for teaching basket weaving to younger generations, thus passing on cultural knowledge. Goode works in four counties—Mariposa, Madera, Fresno, and Tulare—and with various local and state agencies to increase the ability for tribes to hold cultural burns. He is currently also working on a master agreement with the Forest Service to conduct cultural burning. It will be the first such agreement in the United States, and tribes around the state and country are watching to see how it is implemented.

Question and Answer

Trafzer asked Tripp to share how the Western Klamath Restoration Network was able to form an intertribal collaborative, when each tribe often has their own specific issues. Tripp said that the Karuk, Yurok, and Hupa people share similar ceremonies, food cultures, and histories even though they have completely different language families. They had been working on several projects together to try to change the way things are done in their territory. They almost gave up on an intertribal plan but the Nature Conservancy provided some facilitation. Now the tribes and their partners are managing 5,500 acres through the Somes Bar Integrated Fire Management Project. The tribes have built a Healthy Country plan together, modeled after ones that are done by Indigenous Australians.

Trafzer asked Goode what he sees as first steps if UC professors and administrators would like to establish a cooperative relationship with a tribe. Goode suggested starting by inviting tribal experts to present in fire and ecology classes to see which faculty have real interest. Then to financially support tribes to hold land-based learning for students, which is most effective. He shared that a four-day cultural burning course for 100 people costs \$8,000, and that he often pays for most of it out of pocket.

Through land theft, billions of dollars of resources were taken by the State of California and the United States, leaving most tribes very poor. Trafzer asked Lopez for his thoughts on the University of California providing educational programs and financial aid for tribal students as a step toward reparations. Lopez explained that the Amah Mutsun have relationships with a number of universities, state, and federal agencies and are working

hard to move things forward. They create memoranda of understanding with institutions that provide the tribe rights to gather and steward Native foods, hold ceremonies, and protect cultural and sacred sites. It's important for universities to recognize their responsibility to work with tribes, to help them regain a lot of the knowledge and the rights that they had lost. Tribes have heard too many apologies with no follow-up action. Real honest talks are needed to heal from the brutal history. Both tribes and universities need to heal if they are ever going to be healthy partners with each other. Financial aid to Native students is part of it, as well as access to the lands that universities hold, and help with legal changes to protect sacred and cultural sites. These are all very important steps and there's many other additional steps that must be found and taken.

Finally, Trafzer asked Middleton Manning and Sowerwine to comment on how faculty members can begin to reach out to tribes. Middleton Manning emphasized that it is about listening, respecting the expertise of tribal collaborators, and bringing resources to the table to support the work. She has found it particularly moving to support Native Californian and other students to work with tribes on land stewardship initiatives. Sowerwine added that when faculty apply for grant funding, they need to think about equitable allocation of funding to tribal partners so that they can meaningfully engage in projects. Tribal partners also need to be acknowledged as co-researchers for their tremendous wisdom that can really inform the science that universities do. Faculty should uplift place-based Indigenous knowledges and invest in the partnerships in meaningful ways so that everyone can equitably and share ownership over the process.

Panel on Inspirations for Accountability from Land-Grant University Siblings

The second panel was designed for the University of California to learn from colleagues at other land-grant universities that are farther down the path of accountability for institutional injustices toward Native Americans. Christina Snider (Dry Creek Rancheria Band of Pomo Indians), Tribal Advisor to Governor Gavin Newsom and Executive Secretary of the Native American Heritage Commission, moderated the panel. Snider began by contextualizing UC's responsibility within Governor Newsom's Executive Order N-15-19, which apologized on behalf of the State of California to Native Americans of California for the state's role in the California Indian genocide. With the apology, the executive order established the Truth and Healing Council, which is responsible for bearing witness, recording, examining existing documentation of, and receiving California Native American narratives regarding the historical relationship between the State of California and tribal communities. The Council is charged with looking at reparations and restoration of historical and ancestral and cultural rights. Snider suggested that it's possible that the Council could examine the systemic and intentional destruction of Native ancestral lands and resources and make recommendations. In September 2020, Newsom issued a statement of administration policy on Native American ancestral lands to encourage state entities to seek opportunities to support California tribes' access to and co-management of natural lands within a tribe's ancestral homeland that are under the ownership or control of the State of California.

1). Stephen Kantrowitz, Plaenert-Bascom Professor, History; Faculty Affiliate in African American Studies and American Indian Studies, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Presentation title: Toward Accountability: Navigating “Our Shared Future” at University of Wisconsin-Madison

Kantrowitz discussed the University of Wisconsin-Madison’s relationship with the Ho-Chunk Nation and eleven other First Nations whose homelands lie within the borders of Wisconsin. Via the Morrill Act, land in Wisconsin benefited institutions in 26 states, including the University of Wisconsin (UW).¹³ Beyond the Morrill Act, however, UW also benefited from the Treaty of 1832, which was forced upon the Ho-Chunk Nation by the U.S. government in the aftermath of the conflict known as the Black Hawk War. UW was chartered 16 years later on land ceded through the coerced treaty. UW-Madison has rarely acknowledged, let alone reckoned with, its settler colonial history and has only recently begun to serve the state’s Native communities. The first known Native American graduate of the university was not until 1946, and Native American student organizations did not begin until 1968. The American Indian Studies program began in 1972. Native Americans remain a tiny percentage of the student population, around 600 out of 45,000 total.



Lee, R., Ahtone, T., Pearce, M., Goodluck, K., McGhee, G., Leff, C., Lanpher, K., & Salinas, T. (2020). *Land Grab Universities*. <https://www.landgrabu.org>

¹³ Wisconsin is second only to California in the number of acres of Indigenous land expropriated via the Morrill Act. 1,764,842 acres were sold in California and 1,338,055 in Wisconsin (Lee, 2020).

There are, however, some important landmarks in improving the state and university's relationship with Native peoples. In 1989, a series of state laws known collectively as Act 31 required the teaching of the history, culture, and tribal sovereignty of the First Nations of Wisconsin. It is an unfunded mandate that has been unevenly pursued. However, the UW-Madison School of Education has put significant efforts into advancing teacher education in this area. Since 2003, Native academic staff Aaron Bird Bear and Omar Poler have offered a First Nations Cultural Landscape Tour of the campus. The tour tells the story of 12,000 years of Native American history and culture rather than the 150-year story typically represented by Euro-American settlement. Over 1,000 tours have been offered to date, and after a decade, the official campus tour and visitor center now uses the material developed by the First Nations Cultural Landscape Tour to talk about tribal sovereignty and the deeper Native history of the campus and the region.

The tour led to a re-imagining of how campus signage worked. While this sounds minor, translating aspects of the First Nations Cultural Landscape Tour into signage led to a multi-year collaborative effort between UW-Madison and Ho-Chunk Nation constituencies. The sign was unveiled on central campus in 2018, during a special session of the Ho-Chunk legislature held at UW-Madison. It is called Our Shared Future and reads: "The University of Wisconsin, Madison occupies ancestral Ho-Chunk land, the place their nation has called Teejop (day-JOPE) since time immemorial. In an 1832 treaty the Ho-Chunk were forced to cede this territory. Decades of ethnic cleansing followed when both the federal and state government repeatedly, but unsuccessfully, sought to forcibly remove the Ho-Chunk from Wisconsin. This history of colonization informs our shared future of collaboration and innovation. Today, UW-Madison respects the inherent sovereignty of the Ho-Chunk Nation, along with the 11 other First Nations of Wisconsin." At the unveiling, the chancellor promised to make the moment "more than words and to help move the campus from ignorance to awareness."



The Story of Act 31: How Native History Came to Wisconsin Classrooms. *Wisconsin First Nations*. <https://wisconsinfirstnations.org/story-act-31-native-history-came-wisconsin-classrooms/>

Two important developments followed. The first was to dramatically raise the profile of Native American issues and constituencies on campus through the creation of two major staff appointments. Aaron Bird Bear became the first director of tribal relations in the vice chancellor's office, parallel to directors of federal relations, state relations, and community relations. Omar Poler was appointed as the first Indigenous education coordinator within the provost's office. They have created an ongoing Our Shared Future program of events that are led by faculty and staff across campus and supported institutionally and financially through the provost's office. Now UW-Madison is working on an institutional land acknowledgement, and the chancellor funded a public history project as part of Our Shared Future. Furthermore, new partnerships between UW-Madison and the College of Menominee Nation and the Lac Courte Oreilles Ojibwa Community College are providing \$500,000 in grants for students. Kantrowitz recommends that the next steps should be reparations for land grabs through the Morrill Act and other state land grants.

2). Christie Poitra (Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians, Latina), Interim Director, Native American Institute, Michigan State University

Presentation Title: Reimagining Collaborative Indigenous-Centered Outreach and Research

Christie Poitra began her presentation by situating her approach to leadership as a collaborative service to communities that stems from her mixed-race Native-Latina heritage. She spent her childhood traveling up and down California with her father, who worked as a tribal outreach officer for the Indian Health Service. At the heart of Michigan State University's (MSU) work on Indigenous issues is collaboration between eight campus programs. Poitra directs one of these, the Native American Institute (NAI), which was founded in 1981 and became part of the College of Agriculture and Natural Resources in 2003. NAI is an outward-facing center for education, applied research, and service activities. NAI's core values are to collaborate with communities based on what communities want; to honor Native cultures, traditions, knowledges, languages, and practices; and to support scholarship, programming, and research with practical applications in Indigenous contexts.

NAI supports MSU Native students through endowment funds and emergency loans. MSU's Indigenous-centered campus programs collectively hold Native graduation, as well as an annual student research symposium to support Native students in becoming more comfortable with their academic identities. NAI provides consultation on research proposals and has developed educational materials for faculty, staff, and students on how to conduct collaboration and outreach with tribal communities. They developed a guide to creating meaningful, action-based land acknowledgements. They also developed a workbook to train faculty to better mentor Native students within STEM and are using it as part of a USDA NIFA program to engage Native undergraduate students in agricultural studies.

Examples of recent campus public programming include a Black Ash basket making workshop that focused on the intersection of climate change, art, and gender empowerment, and a symposium centering community voices on the impacts of treaties that haven't been honored. NAI also provides support for tribes and tribal colleges throughout the Great Lakes region. They conduct program evaluation, such as one on agricultural curriculum for tribal college students, and strategic planning for community organizations. Tribal programs include community feasts, youth summer programs, and public events such as one to harvest seeds and winterize an Anishinaabe community garden in the city of Lansing.

Question and Answer

Snider asked the panelists to comment on how members of UC campus looking to embark on similar initiatives might approach navigating bureaucracy to get buy-in from their institutions to do more. Poitra and Kantrowitz both emphasized that the work is relationship-based. This includes forming relationships with individual administrators in positions of power and also bringing together like-minded campus community members to develop a rapport and shared vision of changes they would like to see.

Snider described that in California there is a lot of miseducation and erasure of Native American issues, such that many people think that Native people are extinct in the state, even when you are a Native person standing right in front of them. She asked the speakers how tribal communities and universities can help to elevate some of the problems of visibility. Poitra commented that she's accepted that the work is about incremental change and that in the course of her career the issues are not going to be resolved. She sees her role as supporting that incremental change. Institutional land acknowledgements are an important first step, and then you need to help people think about how they can keep moving forward with that momentum to put it into action. Since bureaucracies change slowly, it takes time. Kantrowitz agreed that it takes a lot of time to see change, and that there are moments where it's possible to press for more action. Wisconsin has comparatively more political visibility for some tribes, and the UW-Madison chancellor and provost decided that they wanted to advance Native issues as part of their legacy on campus. With a personnel change, that can all go away, so it is important to create a foundation of sustainable resources that extend beyond particular leaders.

Breakout Sessions: Calls to Action

Approximately 200 forum attendees participated in 30-minute Zoom breakout rooms for community dialogue on concrete measures the University of California can take toward redress with California Indian communities. There were six simultaneous discussions facilitated by Native UC Berkeley doctoral students and professional staff members on the themes of **Land Acknowledgements, Field Stations/UC Land, Cooperative Extension, Research, Teaching/Pedagogy, and Student Experience/Development**. Upon returning to the main forum session, each facilitator reported back on recommendations that emerged from the discussions. Brief summaries of each breakout room discussion are provided here, with further detailed integration into the **Synthesis of Recommended Actions**, above.

Each facilitator took a temperature check with participants about their experience of the forum. Common feelings were hopeful, inspired, energized, empowered, impatient, frustrated, and angry. There was awareness of the enormity of the task of moving forward and the need to hold ourselves accountable.

Land Acknowledgements

Facilitated by Alexii Sigona (Amah Mutsun), PhD Student, Environmental Science, Policy, and Management, UC Berkeley

The land acknowledgements breakout group began by emphasizing that land acknowledgement statements are a floor, not a ceiling, and that they need to be accompanied by action. To develop a statement and actions, universities need to form relationships with all affected Native peoples, rather than just one group. The Morrill Act sales of Indigenous land across large areas speak to an institutional debt to multiple communities. The onus is on the university, not Native peoples, to do the work of creating an authentic land acknowledgement, and on educating university faculty, staff, and students about use of a land acknowledgement. Land acknowledgements need not be in the form of a statement at all—the University of Wisconsin-Madison Cultural Landscape Tour is an action-based land acknowledgement. An example that was raised of an action that can accompany land acknowledgement statements is leveraging university power to support the interests of California’s dozens of non-federally recognized tribes who are seeking to gain recognition.

Field Stations/UC Land

Facilitated by Leke Hutchins (Kanaka Maoli), PhD Student, Environmental Science, Policy, and Management, UC Berkeley

The field stations/UC land breakout group focused on the importance of forging relationships between individual campuses that oversee the natural reserves and local tribal communities. Collaborative work between individual UCLA staff and faculty and tribes was discussed as a model that other campuses and reserves can learn from. UC Natural Reserve System director Peggy Fiedler emphasized that the reserves are “open to everyone.” Participants discussed that the Natural Reserve Systems only represents a portion of the UC field stations and overall land, so work with tribes should be integrated across all systems while honoring the importance of place-based connections. The group also commented that to increase access to UC for California tribes it is important to increase the number of Native mentors/faculty at UC institutions including at reserves, field stations, and central campuses.

Cooperative Extension

Facilitated by Tiffany Anahi Santana (Tucutnut Tribe), Financial Services Analyst, Haas School of Business, UC Berkeley

The cooperative extension breakout group celebrated the existence of some successful collaborative partnerships with Native communities, such as those presented by Jennifer Sowerwine and Bill Tripp, while recognizing the need to expand these programs. With a high percentage of Native Americans living in urban areas, there’s a particular need for Native-focused extension work in cities such as Los Angeles, Oakland, and San Francisco. Lack of federal recognition of many California tribes also needs to be considered; cooperative extension should also reach out to unrecognized tribes. The group recommended the creation of a tribal advisory council for UCCE that establishes clear goals and expectations for collaborative work with tribes. They also recommended establishment of a director of tribal relations at each campus, in alignment with the existing directors of federal, state, and community relations. They called for support for Bill Tripp’s proposal to #EndowActionNow.

Research

Facilitated by Ataya Cesspooch (Ute, Assiniboine, Lakota), PhD Student, Environmental Science, Policy, and Management, UC Berkeley

The research breakout group reiterated the need to reimagine research with Native communities as based on trust, reciprocity, restorative justice, and decentering the university as the sole “experts.” The group affirmed the guiding principles that Jennifer Sowerwine and Bill Tripp described for the Karuk-UC Berkeley Collaborative. Some specific challenges within the UC system are the invisibility of California Indian communities and that various people are coming from very different starting points of knowledge on Native issues. As an actionable step, the group named that non-Native people in particular need to understand their own background. Often Native people are asked to share their identities and culture, but the sharing isn’t often reciprocated. Areas where further research is needed are the specific intricacies of Morrill Act land sales in California and the myriad of other state land grants that funded the founding of the University.

Teaching/Pedagogy

Facilitated by Joseph Lindsay (Chemehuevi), Associate Director, Admissions and Financial Aid, Berkeley Law

The teaching and pedagogy breakout group discussed the importance of both public events such as this forum as well as integration of Indigenous Studies and the university’s settler-colonial history into course curriculum. Faculty can develop sustained relationships with tribal community members for classroom engagement, and compensate these community members. Coursework activities can also address the university’s debt to tribal communities. For example, law students can work with tribes on legal support as part of their coursework. The breakout session resulted in participants exchanging contact information to form new collaborations moving forward.

Student Experience/Development

Facilitated by Louisa Harstad (Bad River Nation), Assistant Director, Native American Student Development, UC Berkeley

The group on student experience and development emphasized that Native students thrive academically when Native people are visibilized. Each campus should provide sustained funding and staffing of Native student centers, and these centers should form a systemwide coalition to support each other with student recruitment and retention. K–12 outreach is vitally important, including support with the college application process. UC should offer free tuition to all California Indian students to address the legacy of the Morrill Act land dispossession.

Synthesis, Looking Forward, and Closing

Margaret Nash, Professor Emerita of Education at UC Riverside, provided a synthesis of themes that emerged from both days of the forum. The first theme that Nash identified is that **land-grant issues are historical, but they are not just historical**. They have repercussions in the present. Upwards of half a million acres are still currently held by 16 different land-grant universities, and many are still leasing mineral rights that generate large amounts of income, almost \$9 million in 2020 alone. The endowments that hold the proceeds of the land that was sold generate far more income. Furthermore, the land that was sold by universities is still stolen, and we have a moral obligation to acknowledge these origins and to work with tribes to steward the land that is involved.

Nash identified a second theme of **respect and honor**: respect for and honoring of Native cultures, traditions and, especially relevant for universities, respect and honor of place-based Indigenous knowledges. The forum provided many examples of what honoring can look like, such as research and programmatic collaborations that reflect the centering of place-based Indigenous knowledges, cultures, traditions, and values.

A third theme is **the need for patience**. Several speakers talked about how slow and incremental institutional change is and that we have to take a step-by-step approach while remaining vigilant to not let advances disappear. Although we have to move by steps and not leaps, it's worth it. Each step also needs to be valued and celebrated. Relatedly, there is a need for healing. We need to consciously and actively work toward healing and have patience with the process.

A fourth major theme is that **the work is about relationships**: fostering, maintaining, and nurturing relationships to build trust between universities and tribal communities. This can happen in all kinds of ways, from work of field stations and cooperative extension offices, to research collaborations, to collaborative creation of land acknowledgement statements that have embedded relationships toward action.

Finally, Nash highlighted the learnings we heard on **ways to move forward**. Michigan State University and University of Wisconsin-Madison shared examples of committing resources, developing programs, increasing visibility, and building support at high levels of an institution. There is a wide range of scope for change. The work need not be limited to just some university departments or fields, but can occur in virtually all fields. Beyond the university, there are legislative and political avenues for change, and work to be done in both urban and rural areas. Nash closed her comments by quoting Bill Tripp in saying that we all attended this symposium because we are grappling with the sad legacy of the Morrill Act. But rather than bemoan that legacy, let's change it. We have it in our power to create a new legacy that we can all be more proud of.

Patrick V. Naranjo (Santa Clara Pueblo), Director of the American Indian Graduate Program at UC Berkeley, closed the space by reminding the audience that Indigenous people such as himself are accountable to their obligation to their homelands and communities. The forum provided an opportunity to revisit the colonial history of the University of California so that our institutions can engage in healing and reconciliation with contemporary Native people.

Future Directions

The “University of California Land Grab” forum and this subsequent report are a beginning, not an end. The extraordinary attendance at the forum and ongoing viewership of the video recordings indicates the timely need to attend to the University of California’s Morrill Act legacy. We are encouraged by preliminary responses thus far by some individual departments across several campuses. We strongly urge systemwide, comprehensive action to address UC’s responsibility to California Indian communities per the findings and recommendations in this report.



Photo by Christopher Adlam. North Fork Mono Chairman Ron Goode leading a group of UC Davis students in a burn to reinvigorate the health of basketry plants.

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¹⁴ See <https://ohloneland.berkeley.edu>.

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Appendices

A). Forum Website, Speaker Presentations, and Video Recordings

The forum program, speaker presentations, and video recordings are available at uclandgrab.berkeley.edu. The video recordings can also be found on the Institute for the Study of Societal Issues YouTube channel at <https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLTTT4bzLbP4nbhwKw8aB2K1roOiYLhjkW>.

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B). Resources

See **References**, above, for full citations for each resource listed here.

1. Robert Lee and Tristan Ahtone's suite of articles in *High Country News* (March 30, 2020):
 - [Land Grab Universities](#)
 - <https://www.landgrabu.org/>
 - [Further reading on HCN's land-grants university investigation](#)
 - [How we investigated the land-grant university system](#)
 - [Lost and found: The story of land-grant universities](#)
2. Margaret Nash's article in *History of Education Quarterly*: [Entangled Pasts: Land-Grant Colleges and American Indian Dispossession](#) (2019)
3. Rosalie Zdzienicka Fanshel's two working papers:
 - [The Land in Land-grant: Unearthing Indigenous Dispossession in the Founding of the University of California](#) (May 2020)
 - [The Morrill Act as Racial Contract: Settler-Colonialism and U.S. Higher Education](#) (December 2020)
4. Andy Lyons' ARCGIS Map: [California Morrill Map: Allocations for the UC Endowment by Tribal Group](#) (January 2021). Interactive web map: <http://bit.ly/ca-morrill-map>
5. Jessica Douglas's article in *High Country News* (December 22, 2020): [Students and Faculty Urge Deeper Look at Land-Grant Legacy](#)
6. Fourteen essays in the Spring 2021 issue of the journal [Native American and Indigenous Studies](#) that respond to Lee et al.'s Land-Grab University project.

Further Reading

Here are a few readings and resources specific to California Indians, past and present:

Akins, D. B., & Bauer, W. J. (2021). *We are the land: A history of native California*. University of California Press.

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C. Speaker Bios

Part 1

Tristan Ahtone is a member of the Kiowa Tribe and is editor-in-chief at the *Texas Observer*. He has reported for multiple outlets including PBS NewsHour, National Native News, NPR, Al Jazeera America and *High Country News*, where he served as Indigenous Affairs editor. Tristan's stories have won multiple honors, including investigative awards from Public Radio News Directors Incorporated and the Gannett Foundation. He additionally was awarded a Nieman Fellowship to study at Harvard University in 2017. Tristan is a director of the Muckrock Foundation and is a former president of the Native American Journalists Association.

Phenocia Bauerle is director of Native American Student Development at UC Berkeley, and a citizen of the Apsáalooke (Crow) Nation of Montana. Prior to working at Berkeley, she served as Director of the Diversity Awareness Office at Montana State University. She holds a BA in English Literature, and attended graduate school at UC Berkeley, studying language revitalization and American Indian education in the Language, Literacy, Society & Culture program in the School of Education. The first full-time staff person in her current position, she has spent the last seven plus years working to build support for Native American students at UC Berkeley, and bring Native issues to the center of priorities of the campus. Currently, she serves on the Berkeley NAGPRA committee, the Berkeley Native American Advisory Council, the UC President's Native American Advisory Council (PNAAC), and co-chairs the Undergraduate Outreach and Retention Working group for PNAAC.

Robert Lee is a Lecturer in American History at the University of Cambridge, a Fellow of Selwyn College, and a former Junior Fellow at the Harvard Society of Fellows. His research on connections between Indigenous dispossession and U.S. state formation in the American West has appeared in venues from the *Journal of American History* to the *New York Times*, and has received awards and fellowships from the Organization of American Historians, the Western History Association, and the National Endowment for the Humanities. He has a PhD in History from UC Berkeley, and an MA in American Studies from the Universität Heidelberg.

Beth Rose Middleton Manning is Professor in the Department of Native American Studies and Yocha Dehe Endowed Chair in California Indian Studies at UC Davis. Beth Rose's research centers on Native environmental policy and Native activism for site protection using conservation tools, and her broader research interests include intergenerational trauma and healing, rural environmental justice, Indigenous analysis of climate change, African and Indigenous intersections in the Americas, and qualitative GIS. She is committed to participatory research that contributes to social justice, and to increasing underrepresented voices in academia and policy. Beth Rose received her BA in Nature and Culture from UC Davis, and her PhD in Environmental Science, Policy, and Management from UC Berkeley. She is the author of two books: *Trust in the Land: New Directions in Tribal Conservation* (University of Arizona Press 2011), which focuses on Native applications of conservation easements and land trust structures, and *Upstream* (University of Arizona Press, 2018), on the history of Indian allotment lands at the headwaters of the California State Water Project.

Brittani R. Orona is an enrolled member of the Hoopa Valley Tribe and is currently a fifth year PhD Candidate in Native American Studies with a Designated Emphasis in Human Rights at UC Davis. Her dissertation research evaluates Hupa, Yurok, and Karuk (Northwestern California) perspectives of grassroots activism, traditional ecological knowledge, and environmental health through dam removal efforts and cultural rights movements on the Klamath River Basin. She is interested in repatriation, cultural resources management, Indigenous environmental justice, and environmental history as they relate to California Indian tribes. Brittani is currently a Board Advisor for Save California Salmon and was a 2019 Switzer Environmental Fellow.

Kathleen Whiteley is currently a UC President's Postdoctoral Fellow at UC Berkeley. She completed her BA in Native American Studies at UC Berkeley. As an undergraduate, she worked as a liaison between the Multicultural Community Center and the Native American Student Development Office (2010–2013). She was also a Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellow (2011–2013). She received her PhD from the University of Michigan (2020). In 2021, she will start as an assistant professor of Native American History at UC Davis in the Department of Native American Studies. Her dissertation, "The Indians of California versus The United States of America: California Dreaming in the Land of Lost Treaties, 1900–1975," traced the history of two land claims cases brought by the Native peoples of California against the federal government. Dr. Whiteley was born and raised in Eureka, California.

Part 2

Rosalie Zdzienicka Fanshel is a doctoral student in the Division of Society and Environment in the Department of Environmental Science, Policy, and Management at UC Berkeley. She is broadly interested in the processes through which Historically White Land-Grant Universities envision, design, and enact—and inhibit—institutional change to improve justice, equity, diversity, and inclusion outcomes in their agri-food systems education. She began the PhD in 2019 after a 20-year career in food movement nonprofit work and service to the University of California, and continues to serve as the staff program manager at the UC Berkeley Food Institute while pursuing graduate education. She is also a National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellow.

The Honorable Ron W. Goode is the Tribal Chairman of the North Fork Mono Tribe. He is a veteran of the United States Army, a retired community college professor in ethnic studies, and a life member of the Sierra Mono Museum and of the United States Judo Federation. Ron holds a 6th degree Black Belt in Judo and still enjoys teaching. Ron has won many awards for his teaching and community service. He is the author of an ethnobotany book *Cultural Traditions Endangered* (Eagle Eye Enterprises, 1992) and in 2017–2018 was the coordinating lead author for the Tribal Indigenous Communities Climate Change Assessment for California's Fourth Climate Change Assessment. Ron and his tribal and ecological team have been conducting cultural burns with Sequoia Park, Bass Lake Ranger District – Sierra National Forest, Cold Springs Rancheria, and the Mariposa Miwok Tribe. Ron takes their practical work and presents it at universities and other public venues.

Stephen Kantrowitz is Plaenert-Bascom Professor of History and Faculty Affiliate in African American Studies and American Indian Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. He is a historian of race, indigeneity, politics, and citizenship in the 19th century United States. He has particular interest in work that spans the antebellum, Civil War, and postbellum eras, and in the connections between the histories of slavery, anti-slavery, emancipation, and Reconstruction and the dynamics of Native American life and U.S. conquest. He is currently at work on a project that explores the transformations of American citizenship in the Civil War era through a history of the Ho-Chunk people. His book on this topic will be published by the University of North Carolina Press. He has published several articles on related topics since 2015, most recently “White Supremacy, Settler Colonialism, and the Two Citizenships of the Fourteenth Amendment.” He is the author of *Ben Tillman and the Reconstruction of White Supremacy* (Chapel Hill, 2000), and *More than Freedom: Fighting for Black Citizenship in a White Republic, 1829–1889* (Penguin, 2012). He was a lead co-author of a 2018 report on the history of the Ku Klux Klan at UW-Madison. His public-facing work includes the Public History Project, which explores histories of exclusion and resistance at UW-Madison, and the campus’s reckoning with its Native past and present, *Our Shared Future*. Stephen holds a PhD from Princeton.

Valentin Lopez is the Chairman of the Amah Mutsun Tribal Band, one of three historic tribes that are recognized as Ohlone. The Amah Mutsun are comprised of the Indigenous descendants forcibly taken to Missions San Juan Bautista and Santa Cruz. Chairman Lopez is also the President of the Amah Mutsun Land Trust, which was established in 2012. He is a Native American Advisor to the University of California Office of the President on issues related to repatriation. He is also a Native American Adviser to the National Alliance on Mental Illness and the Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology. The Amah Mutsun are currently working to restore their traditional Indigenous knowledge regarding land stewardship so they can return to the path of their ancestors. Consequently, the Amah Mutsun are very active in conservation and protection efforts within their traditional tribal territory. Chairman Lopez is working to restore the Mutsun Language and is a traditional Mutsun singer and dancer.

Beth Rose Middleton Manning is Professor in the Department of Native American Studies and Yocha Dehe Endowed Chair in California Indian Studies at UC Davis. Beth Rose’s research centers on Native environmental policy and Native activism for site protection using conservation tools, and her broader research interests include intergenerational trauma and healing, rural environmental justice, Indigenous analysis of climate change, African and Indigenous intersections in the Americas, and qualitative GIS. She is committed to participatory research that contributes to social justice, and to increasing underrepresented voices in academia and policy. Beth Rose received her BA in Nature and Culture from UC Davis, and her PhD in Environmental Science, Policy, and Management from UC Berkeley. She is the author of two books: *Trust in the Land: New Directions in Tribal Conservation* (University of Arizona Press 2011), which focuses on Native applications of conservation easements and land trust structures, and *Upstream* (University of Arizona Press, 2018), on the history of Indian allotment lands at the headwaters of the California State Water Project.

Margaret Nash is an emeritus professor at UC Riverside. She is the author of “Entangled Pasts: Land-Grant Colleges and American Indian Dispossession” (*History of Education Quarterly*, 2019), *Women’s Education in the United States, 1780–1840* (Palgrave, 2005) and editor of *Women’s Higher Education in the United States: New Historical Perspectives* (Palgrave, 2018). Her research appears in the *Journal of the Early Republic*, *Perspectives on the History of Higher Education*, and *Educational Studies*. She has spoken on the history of women’s education on CNN Headline News for Women’s History Month, and lectured on 19th century women’s educational history for The Huntington Library.

Christie M. Poitra is the Interim Director of the Michigan State University Native American Institute (NAI). Dr. Poitra is Turtle Mountain Chippewa (Pembina Ojibwa), with family ties to Little Shell. She is an alumna of UC Berkeley, UC Los Angeles, and Michigan State University. Dr. Poitra is an affiliate faculty member in the American Indian & Indigenous Studies Program, and core faculty in the Gender Center for Global Context. She is an elected member of the Faculty Senate, University Council, and the University Curriculum Committee. She also serves on the American Indian Science and Engineering Society (AISES) Education Committee, and as an AISES Advancing Agricultural Science Opportunities for Native Americans mentor. Dr. Poitra is the recipient of the Distinguished Community Partnership Award and Excellence in Diversity Award. She has held several prestigious fellowships, including the Michigan Educational Policy Fellowship Program and New Sector Alliance Fellowship. Prior to NAI, Dr. Poitra was appointed for several years in the MSU Office of K–12 Outreach where she worked on issues of instructional leadership in diverse school contexts. She also served as a consultant for the Los Angeles Unified School District and the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation.

Christina Snider serves as Tribal Advisor to Governor Gavin Newsom and Executive Secretary of the Native American Heritage Commission. Christina’s work focuses primarily on tribal law and policy, with experience in tribal tax, economic development, gaming, child welfare, juvenile justice, cultural resource protection, voting rights, and government relations at the state and federal levels. She is an enrolled member of the Dry Creek Rancheria Band of Pomo Indians. Christina received her law degree from UC Los Angeles in 2013, and is licensed to practice law in California and the District of Columbia. She has served as a law clerk at the Office of Tribal Justice at the United States Department of Justice and the Hualapai Court of Appeals, and worked with the Wishtoyo Foundation/Ventura Coastkeeper as a legal fellow, the National Congress of American Indians as a staff attorney, Ceiba Legal, LLP as counsel, and the Dry Creek Rancheria Band of Pomo Indians as an Indian Child Welfare Act representative. Christina received her BA in history from UC Los Angeles.

Jennifer Sowerwine is associate cooperative extension specialist in the Department of Environmental Science, Policy and Management at UC Berkeley. Her research examines the cultural politics of resource access and the relationship between bio-cultural diversity, food security, food sovereignty, and human health. Through participatory and collaborative research and extension, her work engages diverse stakeholders across the food system to examine and co-create solutions to achieve equitable and sustainable food systems. She co-leads the Native American Community Partnerships work group of UC Agriculture and Natural Resources, and is a founding member of the Karuk-UC Berkeley Collaborative, which builds connections between tribal members and the UC Berkeley community to enhance and support tribal health, food sovereignty, culturally relevant K-12 curriculum, and eco-cultural revitalization of the people and landscapes within Karuk ancestral lands and territories.

Clifford E. Trafzer is a Distinguished Professor of History and Rupert Costo Chair in American Indian Affairs at UC Riverside, where he has taught since 1991. He has held positions at Northern Arizona University, Navajo Community College, Washington State University, and San Diego State University. He has served as a volunteer and consultant for the California Indian Nations College, a tribal college sponsored by the Twenty-Nine Palms Tribe. Most recently, he has published *Fighting Invisible Enemies: Health and Medical Transitions Among Southern California Indians*; *Willie Boy and the Last Western Manhunt*; *American Indian Medicine Ways*; *Shadows of Sherman Institute*; *Strong Hearts and Healing Hands: Southern California Indians and Field Nurses*; and *Where Puha Sits*, coauthored with Salt Song Singers Matthew Hanks Leivas. In 2019, Trafzer served as historical and cultural consultant on Jason Momoa's *The Last Manhunt*, a motion picture about Willie Boy, Carlota, and the consequences of breaking tribal laws. Trafzer grew up in Yuma, Arizona, and attended university in Flagstaff, Arizona, and Stillwater, Oklahoma, before returning to Yuma as a Museum Curator for the Arizona Historical Society. He is currently a member of the Board of Trustees of the California Historical Society and for 22 years served on the California Native American Heritage Commission.

Bill Tripp is a Karuk tribal member and Director of Natural Resources and Environmental Policy for the Karuk Tribe Department of Natural Resources. He is a co-founder of the Karuk-UC Berkeley Collaborative, and has worked hard through his career to build many network connections in multiple land management, policy development, academic, environmental justice, and intertribal coordination communities of practice. Bill has been a cultural fire practitioner since the age of four years old. He has been working to protect and enhance the cultural and natural resources and ecological processes upon which the Karuk People depend for over 27 years. Bringing fire back to the people has been a primary focus of these efforts. He is building the Endowment for Eco-Cultural Revitalization Fund in an attempt to perpetuate our cultural responsibilities and relationships with the natural world through the integration of Indigenous and Western science.

D. Land Acknowledgement

As read by Lauren Kroiz (Part 1) and Isha Ray (Part 2) during the forum.

Before we begin this event, we take a moment to recognize that UC Berkeley sits on the territory of Huichin, the ancestral and unceded land of the Chochenyo-speaking Ohlone people, the successors of the historic and sovereign Verona Band of Alameda County. This land was and continues to be of great importance to the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe and other familial descendants of the Verona Band. We recognize that every member of the UC Berkeley community has benefited, and continues to benefit, from the use and occupation of this land, since the institution's founding in 1868. Consistent with our values of community and diversity, we have a responsibility to acknowledge and make visible the university's relationship to Native peoples. By offering this Land Acknowledgement, we affirm Indigenous sovereignty and will work to hold UC Berkeley more accountable to the needs of American Indian and Indigenous peoples.

Together with UC Berkeley, UC Davis, and UC Riverside are cosponsors of today's event. We recognize that the land that Davis sits on has been the home of Patwin people for thousands of years. Today, there are three federally recognized Patwin tribes: Cachil DeHe Band of Wintun Indians of the Colusa Indian Community, Kletsel Dehe Wintun Nation, and Yocha Dehe Wintun Nation. The Patwin people have remained committed to the stewardship of this land over many centuries. It has been cherished and protected, as elders have instructed the young through generations. We are honored and grateful that some of you are joining us today from your traditional lands.

Our colleagues at Riverside would like to respectfully acknowledge and recognize our responsibility to the original and current caretakers of the land, water, and air their campus sits in: the Cahuilla, Tongva, Luiseño, and Serrano peoples and all of their ancestors and descendants, past, present, and future. Today this meeting place is home to many Indigenous peoples from all over the world, including UCR faculty, students, and staff, and we are grateful to have you joining us from these homelands.

We also hope that this event will open new ways to recognize and grapple with our own specific origins and role within U.S. higher education. As we'll learn, even before we existed as a university, our foundations began with sales of expropriated Indigenous land, across the area we now call the State of California. Therefore, our land acknowledgment extends to recognize the many Native communities not just in the locations where our physical universities stand, but whose unceded ancestral lands were sold via the Morrill Act. Part of our ongoing project is to match historic documents to contemporary names in order to make visible more fully the University's responsibility to tribal communities. The history of U.S. higher education is tied up in California's own unique history. The origins of our funding at UC and elsewhere rest on projects that participated in and were made possible by campaigns of genocide waged against Native Californian people, ancestors whose descendants are still here alive with us today. Thus concludes our land acknowledgment. Thank you!

Andy Lyons (2021) has subsequently mapped the University of California Morrill Act parcels to the following tribal group's traditional territories:

The University of California was established in part with the proceeds from land seized from the 'Amuwi, Achumawi, Acjachemen (Juaneño), Awaswas, Cahuilla, Central Pomo, Chalon, Chochenyo, Chumash, Coast Yuki, Cupeño, Eastern Pomo, Esselen, Graton Rancheria, Hul Kuhk'u, Ineseño, Karkin, Kashaya, Kawaiisu, Kitanemuk, Kizh, Koyom:k'awi (Konkow), Kumeyaay, Kuyam, Lassik, Mattole, Me-Wuk (Bay Miwok), Me-Wuk (Central Sierra Miwok), Me-Wuk (Coast Miwok), Me-Wuk (Lake Miwok), Me-Wuk (Northern Sierra Miwok), Me-Wuk (Southern Sierra Miwok), Mechoopda, Micqanaqa'n, Miwko? Waali?, Modoc, Mountain Maidu, Muwekma, Newe (Western Shoshone), Nisenan, Nomlaki, Nongatl, Northeastern Pomo, Northern Pomo, Northern Yukian, Numu (Northern Paiute), Nuwuvi (Southern Paiute), Nüwüwü (Chemehuevi), Obispeño, Ohlone, Patwin, Payómkawichum (Luiseño), Pit River, Popeloutchom (Amah Mutsun), Ramaytush, Rumsen, Salinan, Shigom, Shmuwich (Barbareño), Sinkyone, Southeastern Pomo, Southern Pomo, Tamyen, Tongva, Tübatulabal, Wappo, Wašišiw ʔítdeh (Washoe), Western Mono/Monache, Wint^hu• Po•m (Northern Wintu), Wiyot, Yana, Yokuts, and Yuhaviatam/Maarenga'yam (Serrano) tribes.

See https://ucanr-igis.github.io/morrill-map/ca_indig-territories.html.

