Indigenous Visual Culture at OCAD University Library: Diffusing the discourse of power

Payne, Daniel

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Bozhoo. Aaniish naa ezhiaayin? Daniel Payne ndizhinikaaz

[English trans. from Anishinaabemowin: I formally welcome you. How are you? My name is Daniel Payne]

I begin with photographs by OCAD University Indigenous Visual Culture (INVC) instructor Keesic Douglas, a Chippewa of the Rama First Nation, who offers a humorously confrontational challenge to Edward S. Curtis and the anthropological photographic documentation of First Nations. Keesic asked participants to inscribe their portraits with images of how they feel that they are perceived through popular culture stereotypes. The T-shirt and jeans worn by those portrayed form a "blank canvas"; yet serves as a challenge to viewers given the stereotypes often imposed on First Nations’ by Western culture as indicated so overtly by the child-like red drawings superimposed on the photographs. Also it is a challenge to the portrait subjects themselves, showing not only how racism has been internalized, but also how they too are figuring out what it means to be Indigenous in this new digital, globalized, capitalistic world; do the drawings betray a fear that it is almost impossible to maintain traditional cultural values without becoming a sort of anachronistic caricature?
Throughout this presentation, I try to use both Haudenosaunee [Iroquoian or Six Nations] and Anishinaabeg [Algonquian] traditions to structure my ideas as these are the First Nations groups that initially inhabited the city of Toronto. In both cultural traditions, one begins a speech by thanking the hosts, so I would like to offer thanks to the Powhatan Confederacy and the Lenape nation [Delaware] whose ancestral lands we are situated on. Interestingly, the Lenni-Lenape nation spoke three dialects, including Munsee speakers; the Munsee Delaware reservation is located immediately beside my birthplace in London, Ontario, Canada, which has some of the last speakers of this dialect in the world. In addition, of course, I would like to thank ARLIS/NA and you the attendees for participating.
It is fortuitous that the name of this session mimics the seminal publication on contributions of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit on Canadian culture. Some, such as cultural theorist John Ralston Saul, even theorize that Canada is a Métis nation, heavily influenced and shaped by Aboriginal ideas: valuing egalitarianism, maintaining an equal balance between individual and group needs, providing universal healthcare, and preferring negotiation over violence are all Aboriginal values that Canada has absorbed. Also, it’s why Canadians have produced so many comedians and why we are seen as being so polite; one comedian joked that we have several dozen different ways of saying “sorry”! As we will see in the latter part of the presentation, humour is a powerful and essential tenet of First Nations culture. But the danger is that this becomes another insidious form of appropriation; as some activists claim, whites took everything: our land, our religion, our economies, our art for museums, our children for residential schools …and now you are claiming our culture too?

At OCAD U we welcome the hybrid intercultural dialogue; as long as all interlocutors are heard and understood. This sadly has not been the case for most of Canadian history especially since the 1814 Treaty of Ghent, when the Canadian colony fully betrayed First Nations, who then, in turn, ceased to be considered as founding contenders in the nation’s affairs.

So where do we start? Absolutely the most fundamental core of First Nations culture is found in the telling of stories, but to fully evaluate the power of Indigenous narrative, we need to appreciate how to hear and understand them.

Anishinaabe writer/historian/linguist Basil Johnston points out that words in Anishinaabemowin have three levels of interpretation:

- **surface or literal meaning**: semiotic “signifier”
- **fundamental meaning**: semiotic “sign”
- **philosophical meaning**: which provides the foundation for both surface & fundamental interpretation

To interpret Basil Johnston’s linguistic analysis of narrative understanding in the Anishinaabe language [Anishinaabemowin], I might make reference to Keesic Douglas’s photos:

1) **literal meaning**: these are altered photographs with drawings scribbled on them;

2) **fundamental meaning**: the combined photograph and drawings represent symbols of underlying racism towards First Nations people in Canada;

3) **philosophical meaning**: the altered photographs’ meaning is complex, reflecting our own stereotypes of Indigenous cultures as well as how the subjects are striving to find self-definition.
A linguistic clue to the multivalent ways of understanding might be found in the following conceptualizations of “truth”:

**w’daeb-awae**

- **w’daeb-awae**: truth as it is “perceived by the speaker”
  
  When an "Anishinaubae" says that someone is telling the truth, he says "w’daeb-awae." But the expression is not just a mere confirmation of a speaker's veracity. It is at the same time a philosophical proposition that, in saying, a speaker casts his words and his voice only as far as his vocabulary and his perception will enable him (Johnston 12)

- **w’kikaendaun**: knowing as it is “experienced by the speaker” (Niigaanwewidam 88)


As a non-Indigenous person, I am definitely presenting from the second **w’daeb-awae** level of meaning; a stance with which I find great resonance in my own career as a librarian. I do find that this dualistic understanding of the act of “understanding” seems to fit well with almost everything we do through reference services and in information literacy: we can only approach an area of research proposed by a library user from an external vantage point; I am not the individual conducting the research, but through a combination of empathy, practical searching skills and intuition, I can try to “perceive” the user’s experience of truth.

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**Indigenous Visual Culture**

Three domains of narrative assumptions:

- Stories form social relationships
- Stories form human perception
- Stories form material reality

(Garotte and Westcott)

At the very core of Indigenous cultural understanding is the narrative; which, I must emphasize, is NOT myth! As Basil Johnston claims, stories become a sort of “pre-fix” to all understanding of the world. Everything one perceives should be filtered through the morality and ethics of foundational stories; yet, reciprocally, foundational narratives are constantly filtered through the realities of everyday existence. Stories in Anishinaabe culture are viewed as animate; new meanings and understandings occur every time they are told and re-told depending on the cultural context or time period.

Given the importance of stories to understanding the world, it is not surprising that the work of assimilation and colonization has been so devastating. The loss of language is only part of the story, but, perhaps more importantly, the fragmentation of foundational stories has been even more disorienting and disempowering.

At OCAD U the goal is not to produce artists who can mimic the works of our great Indigenous artists, but to develop practitioners who see the world through the lens of Indigenous cultural knowledge. Notably, the curriculum is opened equally to Indigenous and non-Indigenous students. INVC curricular goals are to provide maximum flexibility for students and to reach a maximum number of students.

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**Indigenous Visual Culture @ OCAD U**

**The program**
Indigenous Visual Culture at OCAD U prepares students to engage in complex and evolving global discourses in Indigenous history, art history and contemporary art practice across a range of expressions, material and media.

**The students**
The unique curriculum is designed to develop Indigenous and Non-Indigenous students’ critical and aesthetic responses and practical expertise in Indigenous culture and artistic practices. Art and design students are introduced to the fundamentals of First Nations, Metis, and Inuit art and design, located within Canadian and international contexts.

**Major**
In addition to 14 required credits, the BFA in Indigenous Visual Culture includes 6 credits of electives from a broad range of studio and critical theory courses. The electives allow students to take courses of interest or to meet the requirements for a minor in Art, Design, Liberal Arts & Sciences, or School of Interdisciplinary Studies. Students are urged to consult the appropriate Program Guides and seek academic advising to ensure these requirements are met.

**Minor**
An interdisciplinary minor in Indigenous Visual Culture focuses on contemporary practice, theory and expression in First Nations, Métis and Inuit art and design in Canadian and international contexts. This minor integrates Indigenous perspectives into course syllabi and places Indigenous faculty in studios and classrooms.
At OCAD U overall, our curriculum encourages breadth of content in the introductory years, then greater depth of focus through upper levels; for INVC programming, breadth occurs in understanding stories and narrative theory. The specific INVC curriculum includes art, liberal arts and design courses; but also, many existing course have been revised to include Indigenous topics, such as our introductory Visual & Material Culture course for which we have created, in consultation with Pearson publishing, our own textbook featuring extensive material on Indigenous topics.

**Indigenous Visual Culture @ OCAD U**

**Sample Courses**

1st YEAR:
- Narrative Strategies: Contemporary Aboriginal Sculpture & Installation

2nd YEAR:
- Ways of Telling: Indigenous Literature and Narrative Tradition
- The Story of Us: Indigenous Peoples of the Americas

3rd YEAR:
- Bringing Visual Literacy to Indigenous Communities (internship)
- Rethinking Abstraction from an Indigenous Perspective
- Designing Across Difference: Indigenous Communities

4th YEAR:
- Kanata, The Village: Sustainability & Survivance in Indigenous Design
- Indigenous Visual Culture Interdisciplinary Studies Thesis

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The medicine wheel is common to most First Nations’ cultures and integrates all aspects of the natural world; note how psychology, chronology, history, aesthetics, biology, sociology, astronomy and spirituality are holistically correlated in this framework.

It is not a critique or replacement for the Western European “scientific method,” but instead offers a guide for placing science and technological research within a broader cultural, ethical and environmental context. It takes a lifetime of learning to fully understand the wheel from a w’kikaendaun perspective, so for the purposes of the seminar, I will focus on the “place” for the quadrants, mainly because this the fulcrum of physical environment, psychology and human agency.

The medicine wheel functions so that there is seamless balance of elements through a “cause and effect” relationship between quadrants.

How can this work for libraries? I will use an example with a basic lesson in terminology stemming from Canada’s Constitution Act of 1867:

- First Nations have signed treaties with Canada
- there are not official treaties with the Inuit, which includes speakers of Inuktitut, Yupik and Inupiaq languages
- Métis and “Non Status” as of 2013, after a 13 year legal battle with the federal government, have recently been officially recognized by the Federal Court of Appeals as an Indigenous people as outlined in section 91(#24) of the Constitution Act of 1867 (http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/Constr/page-4.html#docCont); sadly, though, this decision is being appealed by the Canadian Federal Government.

Cataloguing, in this light, can become a pedagogical tool to disseminate knowledge of these concepts.
For the ensuing presentation, I will posit that our actions in the OCAD U Library in support of the INVC curriculum can be rationalized using the medicine wheel. Perhaps the act of cataloguing—which ultimately decides how a researcher will physically maneuver through and makes sense of our collections—best demonstrates the relationships between quadrants in the medicine wheel.

In a way, the subject headings we employ serve as a meta-narrative that contextualizes the “story of our collections.” Michel Foucault’s *Les Mots et les choses* [*The Order of Things*] highlights the role that...
Institutions play in establishing discursive terminologies used to describe our world through setting standards for cataloguing and categorization. Rather than being a benign or unobtrusive action that creates a framework for organizing knowledge to assist people in conducting research or pursuing open intellectual inquiry, the way a culture classifies “things” sends out powerful messages almost as a set of cognitive grammar rules that define how we can or cannot “read” our world.

Often these discursive strategies present worldviews enshrined in a history so ancient that the inhabitants of a given culture will view these structures as permanently unchanging and in fact form immutable natural laws. This can lead to much inequity and cultural misunderstanding: the categorization of knowledge may seem so intuitively implicit to one group that when someone from outside this network holds a divergent understanding of the “order of things,” he or she might be viewed as lacking in understanding and thus incapable of building knowledge.

But how can we accommodate Indigenous knowledge within our Western European informational framework? Haudenosaunee False Face masks offer a challenging example. All wooden and corn husk masks of are sacred, regardless of size or age. By their very nature, masks are empowered the moment they are made. Individuals who make masks for sale or sell masks violate their intended use, and such individuals cause great harm to the Haudenosaunee. Masks are never to be publicly displayed and it is forbidden to examine, interpret, or present the beliefs, functions, and duties of the secret medicine societies that make these sacred objects.

Keewatinong
Mind/Decisions

Where should a book on Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) false-face masks be shelved?

- Canadian sculpture? would this ignore the Six Nations Confederacy as a political entity, while disregarding the religious and healing power of these objects?
- Should it even be considered a book about Art or Design?
- Woodworking? Does this convey a message that anyone can make a false face mask, thereby disrespecting the fact that it is a skill accorded only to people with appropriate spiritual status from medicine societies.
- Health sciences? Religious studies? but would this prevent access to users browsing for imagery for creative research and thus prevent the possibility of an artistic image-based cultural dialogue?

So how do we currently catalogue First Nations publications? Frequently the E Main class is used, but does the standard practice of relegating books on most aspects of first nations culture, education, residential schools, society, social issues, artisanal production, spirituality, architecture, etc. embody a holistic Indigenous viewpoint or represent an example of colonial misrepresentation?
At OCAD U, we do use this section to help support a visual and material culture approach to First Nations art. Perhaps inadvertently, the E main class does provide some concept of flow between mind, body, emotions, values; but often this happens strictly by coincidence.

Some fortuitous occurrences do appear, such as where a book on false face masks is placed proximate to one on substance abuse in First Nations communities:
The resulting agglomeration, unfortunately, is not always satisfactory. Although there is a First Nations cataloguing system, the Brian Deere Classification Scheme used at the University of British Columbia’s X̱w̱í7x̱w̱a Library (http://xwi7xwa.library.ubc.ca/files/2011/09/deer.pdf), it would be impossible to integrate this within our Library of Congress information environment. We have, however, implemented cataloguing modifications to try to embrace a more egalitarian framework. Unique to OCAD U Library—part of our “Dot Hoover cataloguing system”—is the N 6504 First Nations Artists section, which allows us to present Native artists in support of a visual culture curriculum, but not categorized as “Canadian” artists.

**Keewatinong Mind/Decisions**

**N 6504 sub-class:**

- First Nations Artists section
  - Part of our “Dot Hoover” system
  - Allows us to present Native artists in support of a “visual culture” curriculum, but not categorized as “Canadian”
But how do we establish “Aboutness” from a First Nations perspective? Listen to the story of the book.

**Keewatinong Mind/Decisions**

**Establishing “Aboutness”:**
- Listen to the story of the book
  - N 6504 (First Nations artists of North America)
  - E class (First Nations art as an expression of culture)

The following slides show books from our collection in comparison to other university collections, primarily from the University of Toronto which represents the largest academic collection in Canada. It is interesting noting the different approaches to formulating Library of Congress subject headings:


Keewatinong Mind/Decisions

Subject search: Bill Reid
- OCAD U interfiles Reid’s writings with exhibition catalogues, monographs in sculpture (NB)

Subject search: Bill Reid
- U of Toronto separates
  - artwork (NB)
  - writings (E)
The INVC programme is active in supporting lectures, talks, roundtable discussions, workshops, and activities, such as the weekly “Buffalo Stew” luncheons where the entire OCAD U campus is encouraged to create community through our stomachs! One of the other initiatives is the “Materials Trading Post” where students, staff, faculty can use a barter exchange to trade art supplies. We were fortunate to be able to offer this event in our Library’s Learning Zone space this winter.

Sha'ngabi'hanong
Body/Actions

Programming: Materials Trading Post

BODY influences

Emotions
Values
Mind


Rather than simply being a forum to get “free stuff,” it becomes a meeting place for discussing art and design materials and techniques, methodologies, new projects. Participants physically experience the difference between impersonal commercial transactions and the social bonds of a gift exchange, or potlatch, thereby gaining firsthand knowledge of the economic egalitarianism of First Nations’ concepts of community.

Sha'ngabi'hanong
Body/Actions

MIND
Participants internalize Indigenous values through direct participation

BODY
Students engage in non-commercial exchange economies with art supplies

VALUES
Participants actively engage in values of common ownership of goods, sustainability principles and community building aspects of gift economy

EMOTIONS
Participants physically experience the difference between impersonal commercial exchange and the social bonds of a gift exchange (potlatch)
OCAD University elder Duke Redbird—member of the Saugeen First Nation and an active poet, scholar, storyteller, artist—launched a series of meetings in our Learning Zone space to support our library’s INVC programming. By using such a humorous and slightly controversial approach, he clearly was working from an emotions-based domain to begin interacting with the OCAD U community. But Duke’s entire artistic practice has been firmly rooted in playfully deriding expectations to enact change. Perhaps this is most evidently depicted in his biography, titled *Red on White* which, when considering the medicine wheel, can be read in many different philosophical w’kikaendaun ways.

Duke shows how changes to one’s thoughts, beliefs, ideas can oftentimes occur most meaningfully by starting through the portal of the emotional sphere.
For me, the most exciting prospect for supporting the programme was being invited to present information literacy sessions for two of our introductory INVC courses: both of which help ground students in the importance of narratives in understanding Indigenous visual culture.

Rather than simply offering recommendations for research tools and strategies, I sought to use a values-based approach to my information literacy presentations, then show how library collections can be used to meet the needs of the INVC curriculum.
I began with a values-focused question: is the oral historical transmission of foundational stories in First Nations cultures a form of "peer-review"?

To answer the question, I used a case study found in Dr. Oronhyatekha’s entry in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography (DCB). Obviously the goal was not to instruct on the history of his life, but to present a “discourse analysis” of the entry that should offer an unbiased presentation of fact in the tradition of a true enlightenment-styled reference resource. Although I do have to admit that I specifically used him as an example given that he is one of the most noteworthy social reformers in all Canadian history, yet few have heard of him! His collection of Aboriginal art also became the foundation for the Royal Ontario Museum’s collection.

Wabanong Spirit/Values

MIND
Participants are asked to analyze Indigenous values in contrast to Western European practices & procedures

BODY
Through debate/dialogue in the classroom students try to find correlations/build consensus

VALUES
Is the oral transmission of foundational stories Indigenous “peer-review”?

EMOTIONS
Students have to confront deeply held convictions about academic discourse, publication protocols and concepts of scientific methodologies

To answer the question, I used a case study found in Dr. Oronhyatekha’s entry in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography (DCB). Obviously the goal was not to instruct on the history of his life, but to present a “discourse analysis” of the entry that should offer an unbiased presentation of fact in the tradition of a true enlightenment-styled reference resource. Although I do have to admit that I specifically used him as an example given that he is one of the most noteworthy social reformers in all Canadian history, yet few have heard of him! His collection of Aboriginal art also became the foundation for the Royal Ontario Museum’s collection.

Wabanong Spirit/Values

Information literacy:
• VALUES : What is peer-review in First Nations’ culture?
• Case study: ORONHYATEKHA (meaning “burning cloud,” baptized Peter Martin) in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography

“Although it is difficult to assemble a balanced picture of Oronhyatekha’s life and career – biographies written during his lifetime are marred by hagiography and embellishment, much of which the subject propagated – it is still possible to present an outline of his achievements.”

In 1860 he was chosen by the chiefs of the Six Nations Council to deliver an address of welcome to the visiting Prince of Wales. At age 19, Oronhyatekha possessed the striking physical appearance and bearing that would be his signature throughout his public life: he was six feet tall and a portly 230 pounds, with gleaming copper-coloured skin and large, protruding eyes set in an enormous head.

His mediocre two-minute address, in English, was greatly enhanced by his deep voice. The prince was reputedly so impressed that he invited him to further his education at the University of Oxford in England. Though there exists some doubt as to the prince's sincerity, Oronhyatekha did go to England later in 1860 and studied at Oxford under the tutelage of regius professor Henry Wentworth Acland, who had accompanied the prince to North America. It is not certain what program Oronhyatekha followed, but he did not come back as a medical doctor, as his later advertisements would claim.

He built a huge house for his family of four but his annual salary of $500 was hardly enough to keep him in the style he felt appropriate to his new station...He was soon bankrupt – he claimed he extended credit too generously – and after mortgaging all his property he started a new practice in London, Ont., in 1874.

In London, Oronhyatekha advertised as an Oxford physician and a former government official. To gain the social contacts he seemed to crave he joined a series of fraternal, temperance, and Masonic organizations; he even became a member of the Orange order [which] was remarkable, since the constitution of this American-based fraternal order stated that it was open only to “white males.”

Oronhyatekha took to the IOF and the concept of fraternalism like a born-again Christian to the Bible. He described his version of a fraternal society as one based upon brotherly love and the principle of insurance. In such an organization all members pooled their resources to help those in need and protect individuals and families against uncertain futures, especially in Victorian Canada, where low industrial wages and high death rates due to disease and accident prevailed. According to official reports in Ontario after 1892, ...one-third of the male population belonged to at least one.
Oronhyatekha both studied and exploited public taste and opinion. Success in late Victorian Ontario meant presenting the IOF as a sound business operation run by sober, Christian men dedicated to the British crown. With more than a little contradiction in style and execution, he fused these elements in innovative ways that never failed to attract attention.

Characteristically, he had organized the details of his funeral, and it was a lavish affair. His body lay “in state” at Massey Music Hall in Toronto; within a four-hour period on 6 March, over 10,000 people paid their respects.

Over the period of Oronhyatekha’s leadership, the IOF distributed more than $20 million in social-welfare benefits and insurance moneys to over 100,000 recipients. No single private or public institution in the world could claim this record of financial help in the same space of time. Not only was the IOF the most solvent fraternal institution in the world but its first supreme chief ranger, as one American biographer noted, was “one of the strongest and greatest builders of fraternalism in America.”
Dr. Oronhyatekha’s career was astounding in that he was able, as a Haudenosaunee, to join Masonic organizations such as the Orange order, and through the Independent Order of Foresters (IOF) distributed more than $20 million in social-welfare benefits and insurance moneys to over 100,000 recipients. No single private or public institution in the world could claim this record of financial help in the same space of time. Not only was the IOF the most solvent fraternal institution in the world but its first supreme chief ranger, as one American biographer noted, was “one of the strongest and greatest builders of fraternalism in America.” Despite these remarkable achievements, how could such a disrespectful, if not derogatory tone be used in the DCB?

Although Anishinaabe and Eastern Algonquian groups do have a tradition of the “trickster” figure, Haudenosaunee do not officially, although the foundational creation story of Aetensic falling from the sky and giving birth to twin sons have resonances of the trickster figure in the brother Tawiscaron, who represented all evil in the world and ironically is sometimes credited with the creation of humans.

Still it highlights the greatly contrasting cultural approaches to social change; in many First Nations cultures, the most powerful means of enacting social justice is through humour. But it is not simply hollow irony or cynical parody; it is the act of destroying power through laughter, which is reminiscent of Mikhail Bakhtin’s book *Rabelais and his World* where the laughter of the carnival overthrows hierarchies, allows the underprivileged to mock pretentiousness and, ultimately, equals all in society by “levelling the social playing field” so to speak. Similar to Bakhtin, Indigenous laughter allows all in society to enact change.

**Wabanong Spirit/Values**

**The trickster:**
- openly questions and mocks authority, encourages impulse and enthusiasm, seeks out new ideas and experiences, destroys convention and complacency, promoting chaos and unrest
- at the same time, the trickster brings new knowledge, wisdom and many new insights (Ma).
- is also admired for being a risk taker, rule breaker, boundary tester, and creator transformer (Ryan 6).


For, ultimately, many pre-contact leaders that were faced with the onslaught of a capitalist economic structure—including chief Thayendanega [Joseph Brant] who led a group of loyalist Mohawks to Canada after the US war if independence—had never seen nor experienced social inequity so could not fathom how it could be tolerated by those in power.
In Haudenosaunee culture the predominant symbol is “one bowl, one spoon”–included in article 57 from the Six Nations constitution and used in wampum belt treaties–which philosophically represents that goods and products should be shared in common. If an individual goes hungry in one’s community, it impoverishes all.

Conclusion

Loretta Todd’s impassioned call for creating a unique Indigenous scholarship, made on the 500th anniversary of Columbus’s landing in North America, is as prescient as ever. Can the library as conceived by Western European culture be the best forum for supporting this endeavour?

Indigenous
Visual Culture @ OCAD U

How can we, then, create our own scholarship and practice of art and aesthetics in the face of what would appear to be positions that are opposed to our world view, and where there is a real risk of assimilation, at worst, or serving the agenda of the dominant culture’s own critics at best?

When Western—even progressive—ideologies talk about decolonization, it remains problematic for me, both in theory and practice. I am still expected to discuss my culture and explore my imagination through “their” language, in terms of the traditional versus the contemporary, where Native is still inscribed with the outsider’s “fixed values and practices” (Todd 76).

The answer requires constant negotiation; however, there are bold experiments from across Canada where the Western conceptualization of the library has been reinterpreted in support of Indigenous scholarship. X̱wi7x̱wa Library, for example, uses the Brian Deere classification system; while the Resource Centre at First Nations House at the University of Toronto offers a flexible subject / cutter numbering systems that fully embodies the “animate” nature of knowledge. If a subject no longer is appropriate or falls out of common usage, it can easily be changed.

The “Two Row Wampum” [Guswhenta] offers guidance for the relationship between Western worldviews and those from Indigenous cultures. From the Tawagonshi Agreement of 1613 with the Dutch in present day New York State, the agreement is considered by the Haudenosaunee to be the basis of all of their subsequent treaties with European and North American governments.

This [two row wampum belt] symbolizes the agreement under the Iroquois/Haudenosaunee welcomed the white peoples to their lands. We will NOT be like father and son, but like brothers. These TWO ROWS will symbolize vessels, travelling down the same river together. One will be for the Original People, their laws, their customs, and the other for the European people and their laws and customs. We will each travel the river together, but each in our own boat. And neither of us will try to steer the other’s vessel.

(Huron Miller qtd. in Fleischmann 187)


www.onondaganation.org/culture/wpm_tworow.html
Although the two rows *literally* travel on their own paths graphically on the surface of the belt, one might read a more nuanced *philosophical* meaning: the structure of a wampum belt requires warp and weft threads that connect and intersect and ultimately hold the entire belt together. This should be the metaphoric story that we share with First Nations in their pursuit of an authentic Indigenous scholarship.

Miigwech giibinbwaachiweyin; Wiingezin [Thank you for visiting with me; Take it easy!]

**Works Cited**


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