This is the assigned reading for Week 5 of Storytelling & Religion:

Lawrence W. Gross, "Storytelling in the Anishinaabe Context," from his book *Anishinaabe Ways of Knowing and Being* (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2014).

The Anishinaabeg, also called Ojibway, Chippewa, Saulteaux and other appellations, are an Indigenous people whose territory ranges from around the Great Lakes into the Prairies, on both sides of what is now the Canada-US border. Winnipeg is on Anishinaabe land (as well as Red River Métis territory). Professor Gross is Anishinaabe from the White Earth Nation in what is now called the US state of Minnesota.

We'll discuss this reading in class on Friday October 14 – so please read it before then. Your written reflection on it is due Wednesday October 19.

Chapter 7
Storytelling in the Anishinaabe Context

The Anishinaabeg are storytellers.[1] In saying that the Anishinaabeg are storytellers, we are not making any kind of new or radical observation. For example, Christopher Vecsey pointed out that in the old days, elders could tell stories every night from the first snowfall through the spring thaw and never repeat the same story.[2] What has not been explored to any great extent, however, is how the storytelling tradition actually functions in Anishinaabe society. In that regard, there are several aspects of the tradition in which I am interested, and which we will explore in turn below. The first is the manner in which storytelling is part of the educational system in traditional Anishinaabe culture. Not only do stories teach the stock of knowledge and wisdom found in the culture, but the storytelling tradition also promotes "respectful individualism." The idea is to create strong individuals, as will be explained below. However, there is another aspect of the storytelling tradition involving the affective response storytelling generates in the hearts of the Anishinaabeg which is of interest. When these two aspects are put together, I believe they can help us understand why the Anishinaabeg are both strong and effective advocates for the earth. To make this argument, I will first introduce my main thoughts on storytelling and the affective nature of storytelling. Taking an accretive approach to my discussion, I will then provide more details about those two topics. Finally, I will finish with some case studies to illustrate my point about the Anishinaabeg being effective advocates for the earth.

First, I am interested in how the Anishinaabeg are trained to be storytellers. There are several reasons why the Anishinaabeg stress the importance of learning to be a storyteller. Storytelling is recognized as one important way of conveying knowledge about the world. This is a very important consideration. If we accept the premise that knowledge is power, it becomes evident that the Anishinaabeg seek to empower their children by providing them with the intellectual tools necessary to exercise authority. Emphasizing the importance of storytelling also encourages the development of a strong voice among Anishinaabe children.

Learning to tell stories themselves opens up space in the culture for children to be heard. That privilege in turn gives children the confidence to speak for themselves or, in other words, to have a strong voice. Finally, for the Anishinaabeg, as in many societies, storytelling is a way to convey cultural knowledge. As argued by Thomas Overholt and Baird Callicott, traditional storytelling among the Anishinaabeg helps teach the values involved with *bimaadiziwin,* the good life, to cite but one example.[3] We will discuss *bimaadiziwin* in more detail in Chapter 9. Suffice it to say at this point, the teaching of *bimaadiziwin* basically provides instruction for how to live as a human being on this earth.

Second, I believe there is an affective part of storytelling that has been little explored in the scholarly literature. There is an interplay between the contents of the stories and the lived experience of the Anishinaabeg. Many of the stories concern elements from the natural world. A lifestyle that puts the people in regular contact with the natural world helps make the stories come alive. In this regard, then, there is a two-fold response. First, the elements of the natural world take on meaningful associations drawn from and inspired by Anishinaabe stories. However, the stories also come alive because the Anishinaabeg are in contact with the characters in the stories. In other words, there is a mutually reinforcing dynamic at work in which the stories and the elements of the natural world imbue each other with meaning and emotion.

There is another feature of the affective aspect of Anishinaabe life that we discussed in Chapter 3, the importance of silence in the Anishinaabe tradition. As will be recalled, the Anishinaabeg are taught the importance of maintaining silence while in the woods. We examined one of the effects of maintaining silence in Chapter 3, the development of what I called heartstrings. Here, we will explore the effect of developing heartstrings in more detail. That is, maintaining silence in the woods can result in a feeling of peace and contentment. This has the further effect of inspiring the Anishinaabeg to want to return to those same places where they are experiencing this type of spiritual fulfillment. Keep in mind, this type of spiritual fulfillment is multifaceted. For example, by maintaining the traditions of the Anishinaabeg, a sense of connection is developed both with the culture and with the land. Later in this chapter, we will use making maple syrup as a case study to examine this phenomenon. By knowing the story connected with the origins of maple syrup, and then actually making maple syrup, one develops an entirely different feel for the process. Again, using the accretive approach, we will build up layers of meaning by drawing on the material from Chapter 3 concerning Jim Northrup and his accounts of making maple syrup. We will see that making maple syrup is both

something sacred and an activity the Anishinaabeg have done in the woods for generations. By engaging in these activities—telling the story and making maple syrup—there is the sense one is fulfilling one's obligations to keep the culture alive for future generations.

What happens as a result of the interplay between all these different elements is that the stories the Anishinaabeg tell are written on the land of the people and also written on the hearts of the people. In other words, the Anishinaabeg become emotionally invested not only in the stories, that is, having the stories written on their hearts, but also become sincerely attached to the non-human relatives and places celebrated in their stories. We will begin exploring these issues by examining the role of storytelling in the educational approach of the Anishinaabeg.

Roger Spielmann in his work with the Anishinaabeg in the Pikogan and Winneway communities in Canada has discussed the educational system of the Anishinaabeg in some detail, and his observations are well worth considering.[4] In his estimation, probably the most critical aspect of Anishinaabe storytelling is the role it plays in Anishinaabe life. "Legends and myths," Spielmann writes, "are viewed by Anishnaabe people as culture-based understandings which provide important lessons for living and give life purpose, value, and meaning."[5] He continues, "Understanding these legends and myths, according to the elders, is understanding yourself, understanding your world, understanding where you came from, and understanding where you are going."[6] In essence, then, Anishinaabe storytelling is about passing on knowledge, in particular, "the culture's stock of knowledge and the practices necessary for survival for individual and collective growth."[7] Storytelling is an integral part of traditional education; it operates to a large degree within the nexus of Anishinaabe pedagogical techniques. In order to fully understand storytelling among the Anishinaabeg, then, Anishinaabe approaches to education need to be delineated. In this regard, it is enlightening to quote Spielmann at length:

> It seems to me that the foundation for traditional teachings is the belief that true learning is flexible and open-ended, that change is a permanent part of life, and that absolute knowledge is not the goal of the quest. What can be learned is the capacity to pay attention to all the details which may influence the outcome of a particular course of action, a capacity learned as much by the way one lives as by what one hears. ...

> Different people in a community have different powers and different ways of gaining knowledge, and therefore, have different responsibilities to those around them.
>
> The elders at Pikogan taught me in subtle ways that everyone is at times a teacher and at times a learner, from children, strong dreamers, interpreters, visionaries, and skilled hunters to storytellers, orators, and ethnohistorians. Traditional education prepared Aboriginal children to become fully functioning members of their communities and nations. ... This form of education is practical, life-long [sic], and integrated into the fabric of community and society.[8]

There is something deeper at work here, though, too. The educational philosophy of the Anishinaabeg is firmly anchored in Anishinaabe attitudes of respect for individual autonomy. Again, it is illustrative to quote Spielmann at length:

> [E]ach individual is seen as having a sacred purpose for being. To intrude upon an individual's development and destiny would be rude and inappropriate. Thus in Pikogan parents rarely spanked or severely reprimanded their children. Children are disciplined, for sure, but in subtle ways. They are encouraged to learn by experience and observation. ... In fact, the underlying principle of not forcing one's way of thinking on another is at work here. In the minds of the Native people I know, each individual is placed on this earth by the Creator to fulfil his or her own destiny. So Native parents respect their children's freedom of choice and let their children *be* as much as possible, unless there exists the threat of direct physical danger. After all, in the Native view of things, the development of an individual's will to do right is of greater importance than coercing that person to behave in a certain way.[9]

The principle of not forcing one's thinking on anybody else has been called "respectful individualism" by Jack Weatherford.[10] In his book, *Dancing with a Ghost: Exploring Aboriginal Reality*, Rupert Ross referred to this practice as the "ethic of non-interference."[11] In either case, respectful individualism goes a long way towards explaining the educational processes of the Anishinaabeg and the storytelling tradition which overlaps with it. As can be seen, the Anishinaabeg believe everybody has a certain destiny to fulfill in line with the Creator's wishes. Everyone has a purpose in life. As such, no one person can tell another person how he or she should live the life granted by the Creator. This implies that everyone has something to offer to the community. The different

powers possessed by individuals are to be used as community resources, and this explains why everyone in the community, from the youngest child to the most senior elder, can be both a teacher and a learner. Further, it is recognized that life is ever changing. Thus, the process of education is never complete. It is a lifelong quest in being practical, flexible, and open-ended. An important component of the educational process is the capacity to pay attention. The signals that can influence a course of action or indicate an educational opportunity are many, and come to the Anishinaabeg in a variety of guises. Thus, for example, dreams are an important and legitimate way to gain knowledge in the culture. The animals and the natural elements also speak to people, and their messages need to be carefully heeded. And, of course, storytelling plays an important role as well. In a culture that operates, in part, on the principle of respectful individualism, lessons and warnings have to be conveyed by indirect methods. The method of choice for the Anishinaabeg is storytelling. Thus, storytelling operates within the larger frame of Anishinaabe approaches to education and attitudes toward individual autonomy.

There is another aspect of the pedagogy of storytelling that we can consider. I would like to think about stories as "food" for children. To illustrate this point, I would like to engage in a thought experiment. What would it be like to live the day-to-day existence of the old Anishinaabeg? In this case, we want to imagine ourselves living in a traditional lodge, a *bikogaan,* or, *wiigiwaam.* In the close quarters of the lodge during the wintertime, there would be time for people to tell all the stories they wanted. Perhaps more importantly, the children would be able to hear all the stories they wanted. As a general observation, children love to hear stories. Any parent will no doubt agree that children want to hear stories, and I am sure most parents are familiar with the refrain from their children, "Tell me a story." In the old days, there was the time and the space for children to get their fill of stories.

The use of the term "fill of stories" is important here. The metaphor "fill with stories" can help us imagine stories as food for the mind. In other words, there is an aspect of stories that provide nutrition for growing minds. In the same way that food helps the body grow, there is a way in which stories help a child's mind to grow. The stories that are fed a child will help shape the way he or she sees the world in any countless number of ways. For example, stories have an impact on how children see themselves. They teach about societal rules and expectations. And, at least in the case of the Anishinaabeg, they shape how children will see the natural world, as will be illustrated below. We think about healthy food for a healthy body. We can also think about healthy stories for a healthy mind.

Another way to think about this is in relation to the modern world when we plunk our children down in front of the television. We have to ask ourselves, what kind of stories are we feeding our children when we let television do the storytelling for us? Are they receiving a healthy diet of good stories, or are they being filled up with junk stories that have as much of a deleterious effect on the mind as junk food does on the body? Of course, there are shows of different quality on television, and not all of it is junk. Still, thinking about storytelling as nutrition in this fashion can help us gain an appreciation for how important it is to fill our children up with good stories.

There is yet another way in which the stories we feed our children are important. There is a way in which we are the stories we tell ourselves about ourselves. One example of this is people who have eating disorders because they think they are too fat. The only story these people can tell themselves is, "I'm too fat. I'm too fat. I'm too fat." The story becomes so overpowering that they waste away to practically nothing, even while they remained convinced they are too fat. Some people even die as a result of telling themselves this sad story. Conversely, as we will see below, teaching children to be good storytellers and providing them with a voice of authority can be very empowering. Knowing stories, and being able to tell good stories, including stories about themselves, helps children grow up to be powerful individuals who are full and effective members of their communities.

Finally, in the case of the Anishinaabeg, stories can help create a seamless experience between their individual lives and the life of the culture. This is where we start to move into our case study of making maple syrup. But, to state our main point up front, stories are one device by which the Anishinaabeg learn how their culture works in a holistic manner. There are sacred stories about all the food and medicines of the Anishinaabeg and how they came to the people. There are stories about relatives engaging in the processes that make up the seasonal round of Anishinaabe life, from making syrup in the spring to the gathering activities of summer, from harvesting wild rice in the fall to hunting in the winter. The year is full of stories. So, the stories, and the subjects of the stories—such as the sugar maple trees—and the various food gathering activities are all related together. They give a totality of experience to living the traditional life of the Anishinaabeg. This is how the stories are written on the hearts of the Anishinaabeg. For the Anishinaabeg, sacred stories are not something that happened long ago in a far off place. They are alive and functioning in everyday life. This helps promote a feeling of love and connection with the land, and helps make the Anishinaabeg fierce defenders of the earth. Let us see how this process

works by examining the role of making maple syrup for the Anishinaabeg. I will start off by relating the origin tale of maple syrup as was told to me by Tom Shingobe:

> A long time ago, the people were sick. There was an illness moving through the community, and nobody had a cure. The people were suffering quite badly.
>
> During this time, a young man started receiving a visit at night from a handsome stranger. The stranger visited with this young man every night for four nights in a row. Each night, the stranger taught the young man about the proper conduct of life.
>
> Finally, on the fourth night, the stranger said that he knew the people were suffering from illness and that he took pity on them. He said he brought a cure that will help the people. He then gave the young man instructions, "The next day after you say your morning prayers, you are to go out into the woods. You will find a tree in a certain location. You are to take your axe and strike that tree. The sap that flows from the tree will be medicine for your people. That tree will be me. This is my gift to the people."
>
> The next day, the young man did as he was told. He said his morning prayers and went into the woods and found the tree just where the visitor said it would be. He offered tobacco to the tree and then took out his axe. He had tears in his eyes because he knew he was going to be striking the visitor who had taught him about the proper conduct of life and who had come to save the people. Still, he did as he was told. Sure enough, sap came flowing from the tree. The young man gathered the sap in a bucket and brought it to the people. He told the people about the visitor and what he had been told. The people drank the sap, and they were cured from their illness.
>
> That is how maple syrup came to the Anishinaabe people. The sugar maple tree saw that the people were suffering, and offered its life blood to cure the people. Now the reader knows the story of the sugar maple tree.

When Spielmann talks about legends and stories as "culture-based understandings which provide important lessons for living and give life purpose, value, and meaning," these are the kinds of stories he is talking about, in part.[12] They put the life activity of the Anishinaabeg in a sacred context. They help the Anishinaabeg understand who they are and how they stand in relation to the world. Stories give life meaning and purpose for the Anishinaabeg, and, more importantly, provide a sense of satisfaction that one is living in harmony with the earth and with one's culture. This is how stories come to be written on the hearts of the Anishinaabeg.

The above processes are still at work among the Anishinaabeg today. To discuss this phenomenon, let us review our discussion from Chapter 3 of Jim Northrup, an Anishinaabe who lives on the Fond du Lac reservation and who writes a regular newspaper column for *The Circle* newspaper. The column is entitled, Fond du Lac Follies. A quote from Northrup's April, 2000, column speaks to the issues we have been discussing. On the surface, he is talking about making maple syrup. However, something far deeper is at work here:

> While sitting around the fire with friends and family it is easy to tell stories. There is enough time for everyone to tell all the stories they want. Still, there is always more silence at the fire than stories. The sound of the fire and boiling sap tells its own story.[13]

At least as it pertains to the Anishinaabeg, there is no difference between the storyteller and the audience. The storyteller becomes a member of the audience and, in turn, becomes the storyteller again. So, the whole process is very organic. Playing off one another's stories, the stories become greater than the sum of their collective parts. A broader picture of reality emerges than if it were based simply on one storyteller's perception of the world, or even between the dialogue that occurs if the storyteller and audience maintain their respective distinct identities.

Also, as argued above, storytelling is a method for conveying knowledge about the world. If we further acknowledge that knowledge is power, the mutual exchange of stories becomes a way for family and friends in a storytelling tradition to mutually enrich each other, and also enrich the stories, and thereby, the knowledge base of the society. Stories belong to the common weal. Once they become public, people will play with them, embellish them, and add to them. This is as much true for traditional stories as for modern inventions. There is no need for any particular story to have any particular form. Nor is it the case that any one story can ever be said to have achieved its final form. Instead, all stories are works in progress. In other words, the Anishinaabeg are taking one knowledge base in their society, storytelling, and constantly working with it to best meet the current needs of the population.

There is also a conscious effort to train the younger generation in storytelling. In April, 2001, Northrup wrote about making maple syrup, as is his yearly custom:

> Once again it will be storytelling time around the fire as we boil the sap down into syrup and sugar cakes. I will have a captive audience of three grandchildren. I can

> already see Aaron Ezigaa roll his eyes back and ask if I am going to tell the same stories again. At that point, I will invite him to tell a story.[14]

More than simply giving a young one a chance to practice storytelling is at work here. This sentiment demonstrates respect toward children. It indicates their voices should be listened to as well, just the complete opposite of the notion that children should be seen and not heard. Further, if, as is being argued here, storytelling provides a means for conveying knowledge and adding knowledge to their society, allowing children to tell stories, then, can be seen as an act of empowerment. It recognizes that even children have something to contribute, and encourages them to do so. So more than having children exercise their storytelling voice is at work here. It is also a means by which children can practice voicing their authority.

So storytelling is a way to convey information about the world and to empower young people. However, we want to join together stories with the activities related in the stories in order to understand how the stories and a love for the land get written onto the hearts of the Anishinaabeg as well. In order to do so, it would also be fruitful for us to revisit some of the material we discussed in Chapter 3. Seeing that material through the lens of our overall discussion here will provide us additional ways to appreciate that material. So, it will be recalled that in Chapter 3 we discussed the sentence, "The sound of the fire and boiling sap tells its own story." As we stated, this sentence indicates the elements of the natural world have their own stories to tell. Again, as we saw in Chapter 3, one important aspect of this phenomenon is the need for human beings to be able to maintain silence when appropriate. Let us revisit another one of Northrup's columns about making maple syrup:

> Before we went into the woods we gave the three grandchildren the standard lecture.
>
> "We are quiet in the woods because this is the deer's house and we are just visitors. See the tracks?" ...
>
> When we went to gather the sap the kids got the standard lecture.
>
> "Spilling sap is a felony, anyone spilling sap spends a night in the box. (Oh, wait a minute, that's from *Cool Hand Luke*.) Just be careful with the sap. Remember, we are quiet in the woods."
>
> The laughter of the children broke the quiet rule as they run from tree to tree, laughing, wanting to be first to empty a full jug. ...
>
> This has been a good learning season for the grandchildren. They learned to be quiet in the woods, to respect the gifts we have been given.[15]

In revisiting our discussion from Chapter 3, it would also be helpful to recall what we said about the relationship between silence and storytelling:

> Before one can hear the stories nature has to tell, one has to learn to be quiet, to be comfortable with silence, and open one's heart and mind to the wider world.
>
> After one can open one's heart and mind, nature begins to open itself up in turn. It then becomes apparent that the fire and the sap have their own story to tell. The complete manner in which storytelling permeates Anishinaabe life starts to become clear. This is why Northrup can say, "By gathering the stories throughout the year, I can mark the places we have been and expand the limits of where we can go."[16] Northrup can mark the places he has been because he has listened to their stories. One important lesson he has learned is that the seasonal cycles are an ever-unfolding story. No two seasons are the same, and each new season presents new twists, new possibilities on the patterns of the seasons. This is why he can also write that seasons are questions and answers, patterns and surprises.[17] They answer who we are. But they also pose new questions and in doing so challenge us to imagine new possibilities, to "expand the limits of where we can go."

This is how the heartstrings we discussed in Chapter 3 are developed. By listening to the stories, such as the origin story of making maple syrup, and then listening to the stories nature has to tell while engaging in that activity in a respectful manner, one is able to develop heartfelt connections with the land and the elements of the natural world. As again will be recalled from Chapter 3, that heartfelt connection is not some abstract sense of connection, but can involve strong feelings of physical connection. One is connected to the land and to the elements of the natural world in a very literal manner. Those heartstrings help fill one's heart with peace and satisfaction. One becomes a fulfilled human being. So it is not just a sense of empowerment or learning about the traditions that is going on here in the storytelling tradition. There is an affective element to the tradition as well involving the heart. This is the heart of Anishinaabe storytelling. The stories are written on the heart of the Anishinaabe people. And a love for the land and for the elements of the natural world are written on the heart of the Anishinaabe people as well.

So the Anishinaabeg are trained to be storytellers. That storytelling empowers individuals and gives them a strong heart. They are thus able to become voices of authority within their culture, and beyond. To what use is that voice of authority put, then? In some cases, it is to protect the natural resources the Anishinaabeg

hold dear. Without going into too much detail, I am impressed with the efforts the Anishinaabeg made in the state of Minnesota to ban genetically modified wild rice. The inspiration for this movement has its roots, as might be imagined, in the stories of the Anishinaabeg. Most often, these stories involve Wenabozho.[18] The actual process of enacting a ban against genetically modified wild rice took several years, starting with proposed legislation in 2005. The efforts came to fruition in 2007 when the governor signed Senate File 2096, an Omnibus Environment, Natural Resources, and Energy Appropriations bill that included provisions for protecting wild rice.[19] Of interest is the role the Anishinaabeg played in getting this legislation passed. Upon hearing that the University of Minnesota was mapping the DNA sequence of wild rice, activists on the White Earth reservation worked to prevent the researchers from developing genetically modified forms of wild rice. Meeting no success in negotiating with the University, they turned their attention to the legislative process. Eventually, Anishinaabeg from all of Minnesota and other parts of Anishinaabeaki, the Anishinaabe land, joined the effort. Many gave testimony at the state legislature in support of these efforts.[20] In their analysis of this process, Rachel Durkee Walker and Jill Doerfler write that, "Throughout the course of Minnesota's legislative hearings, it is unclear whether the spiritual and cultural significance of wild rice to Ojibwe affected the outcomes."[21] What they mean is that it is not certain the degree to which the importance of wild rice to the Anishinaabeg influenced state legislators to support the bill. On the Anishinaabe side, however, the spiritual and cultural significance of wild rice to the Anishinaabeg was determinative in affecting the outcome. The Anishinaabeg are tremendously invested in wild rice. Part of their commitment comes from the stories they have heard about wild rice. Part of it comes from getting out on the lakes and harvesting the rice. As I argued above, there is an interplay between these factors. Knowing the stories and being trained in storytelling, the Anishinaabeg had the voice to speak for wild rice in seeking its protection. The affective quality of storytelling gave them the heart to carry on their efforts through to success.

A similar dynamic was at work in Anishinaabeg efforts to maintain their treaty rights during the fishing rights controversies during the late 1980s and early 1990s. I will not repeat that history here.[22] In the case of the treaty rights struggles, again, it was knowing the history, knowing the stories, of the treaties that helped contribute to the passion exhibited by the spear fishers in defending their treaty rights. They knew the sacrifices their ancestors had made in order for the Anishinaabe people of today to have their treaty rights.[23] Again, it was the interplay between knowing the stories and being out on the lakes that played a

significant role in inspiring the spear fishers. In other words, the affective aspects of living the values of the Anishinaabeg helped see the spear fishers through.

Of course, it is difficult to get into the mind of any one person, let alone make observations about the mind-set for an entire group of people. However, I think the case can be made for some aspects of Anishinaabe ways of thinking and feeling. This is not to argue that non-Native Americans cannot be defenders of the earth. Certainly, they can. However, what I am interested in here is the particular constellation of cultural phenomena that lend power to the Anishinaabeg when they seek to defend our other-than-human relatives. In short, I maintain there is at least a two-fold interplay of different factors at work here. First, there is the storytelling tradition. The Anishinaabeg know the stories associated with the land and they are trained to be storytellers. This gives them a strong voice to defend the land. Second, living on the land, they have a personal connection with the stories they hear and tell. Together, an affective response is generated so the Anishinaabeg become emotionally invested in the land and culture, among other ways they become attached to the same. In other words, they develop heartstrings that connect them to the earth and all the natural elements. This gives them the strong heart to speak up for the earth. When the voice of authority developed through the storytelling tradition is joined with the strong heart created by being connected to the earth, the Anishinaabeg are able to take on the challenges involved in protecting their land and other-than-human relatives. This is how the Anishinaabeg become defenders of the earth.

Endnotes

[1] I gave a version of this chapter entitled, "Storytelling in the Anishinaabe Context: Listening, Speaking, Learning, Living," at the *Earth Rights: Learning the Languages of Indigenous Environmentalism* conference, which was held at Montana State University—Bozeman in April, 2010. I want to express my thanks to the conference organizers and audience members. The conversation I had with the audience members helped me develop my thinking on the issues raised in this chapter, and gave me the insight for the section about stories being food for the mind.

[2] Christopher Vecsey, *Traditional Ojibwa Religion and Its Historical Changes* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1983), 84.

[3] Thomas W. Overholt and J. Baird Callicott, *Clothed-in-Fur and Other Tales: An Introduction to an Ojibwa World View* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1982), 151–52.

[4] Roger Spielmann, *'You're So Fat!': Exploring Ojibwe Discourse* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998).

[5] Spielmann, *'You're So Fat!,'* 184.

[6] Spielmann, *'You're So Fat!,'* 184–85.

[7] Spielmann, *'You're So Fat!,'* 90.

[8] Spielmann, *'You're So Fat!,'* 91–92.

[9] Spielmann, *'You're So Fat!,'* 39. Emphasis in original.

[10] Jack Weatherford, *Indian Givers: How the Indians of the Americas Transformed the World* (New York: Fawcett Columbine, 1988), 121.

[11] Rupert Ross, *Dancing with a Ghost: Exploring Aboriginal Reality* (1992; repr., Toronto: Penguin Canada, 2006), 13–24.

[12] Spielmann, *'You're So Fat!,'* 184.

[13] Jim Northrup, Fond du Lac Follies, *The Circle* (Minneapolis), April, 2000, 20.

[14] Northrup, Fond du Lac Follies, *The Circle* (Minneapolis), April, 2001, 16.

[15] Northrup, Fond du Lac Follies, *The Circle* (Minneapolis), May, 2001, 18.

[16] Jim Northrup, *The Rez Road Follies: Canoes, Casinos, Computers, and Birch Bark Baskets* (1997; repr., Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 97.

[17] Northrup, *The Rez Road Follies*, 37.

[18] For examples of these stories, see Thomas Vennum Jr., *Wild Rice and the Ojibway People* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1988), 58–70.

[19] For a history of this process, see Rachel Durkee Walker and Jill Doerfler, "Wild Rice: The Minnesota Legislature, a Distinctive Crop, GMOs, and Ojibwe Perspectives" *Hamline Law Review* 32 (2009): 499–527.

[20] Winona LaDuke, "Minnesota's Manoomin Gets Protection," *Anishinaabeg Today* (White Earth, MN), May 30, 2007, 4, 19.

[21] Walker and Doerfler, "Wild Rice," 511.

[22] Rick Whaley and Walter Bresette, *Walleye Warriors: An Effective Alliance against Racism and for the Earth* (Philadelphia: New Society Publishers, 1994); Sandra Johnson Osawa, *Lighting the 7th Fire* (Seattle: Upstream Productions, 1994), videocassette.

[23] Whaley and Bresette, *Walleye Warriors*, 6–22.

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