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to report the hardship experienced on Pine Ridge. But neither does he omit the quiet pleasures of being part of this community, from preparing the dancers' sweat lodge to feeling the earth turning in the silence of the night at Slim Buttes. Honest and gritty, *Keeping Heart on Pine Ridge* turns a thoughtful eye on a way of life that people just "rolling through" the reservation would not be able to see.

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Memories of Lac du Flambeau Elders. Edited by Elizabeth M. Tornes, with a brief history of Waaswaagoning Ojibweg by Leon Valliere Jr. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004. 284 pages. \$24.95 paper.

This collection of interviews with fifteen elders of the Lac du Flambeau Band of Lake Superior Chippewa is the first publication by the University of Wisconsin-Madison's Center for the Study of Upper Midwestern Culture. It is a provocative anthology and a promising start to the center's mission of studying and preserving the history and cultural diversity of the Great Lakes.

Memories of Lac du Flambeau Elders is richly illustrated with twenty-five historical and contemporary photographs, and a portrait accompanies each elder interview. There are also two maps showing the location of the reservation in Wisconsin. These maps inspire my only criticism: I wished for a better representation of the space in which the elders lived. A town plan locating the places mentioned would have been exceedingly helpful, as would a larger map of the region showing the various schools, hospitals, and Native communities that are frequently mentioned in the interviews and accompanying footnotes. The footnotes themselves are useful in explaining and contextualizing the many people and places referred to, but again would have benefited from a more detailed spatial reference.

The text opens with a brief introduction from Elizabeth M. Tornes, a community member who coordinated the 1996 Lac du Flambeau Oral History Project that resulted in the book. Tornes conducted workshops for tribal members in Lac du Flambeau that taught basic interviewing techniques, and together they devised the set of questions used for each interview. Tornes herself did not conduct the interviews; instead, most of the elders spoke with family members and friends, allowing for the sense of openness and trust that is reflected in their individual stories. The template of questions used in each interview is included in an appendix, a useful reference for readers, as well as a starting point for others wishing to conduct similar projects.

Following Tornes's introduction, tribal member and coordinator of the Lac du Flambeau Ojibwe Language Program Leon Valliere Jr. provides a brief cultural and historical overview of the community. Unlike the bulk of the volume, this section isn't narrative. It's a descriptive list highlighting the main events in the band's history, places of significance in the community, seasonal subsistence practices, and modern battles over treaty rights, concluding with a two-page lesson in "Ojibwe sounds" designed to assist in pronouncing Ojibwe

words used by the elders in the succeeding pages. Scholars will find little new here, but then, this book is not aimed at them. Rather, it is first and foremost a project for the people of Lac du Flambeau. Tornes notes that the interviews were first published serially in the *Lac du Flambeau News* and eagerly read and shared across the community. It is a locally rooted and produced work, but, much like Julie Cruikshank's *Life Lived Like a Story* (1990), it provides a profoundly authentic and dynamic portrait of a Native community that challenges wider essentialist paradigms. This is an oral history collection that does not feel like a preservation project, nor is there any palpable agenda. Instead, the reader is keenly aware of how the lives shared in its pages are a vital and organic element of the entire community. Their stories are not representative of merely one generation's experiences but of the spectrum of identities and backgrounds that collectively define what it means to be a Lac du Flambeau Ojibwe.

The result is a sort of narrative prosopography of a community forced to confront an array of challenges to their way of life, in many ways with conspicuous aplomb. Lac du Flambeau was perhaps the most isolated Lake Superior Chippewa community in the nineteenth century, certainly more so than Bad River and Red Cliff to the north, Lac Court Oreilles to the west, and L'Anse in Michigan. This relative seclusion allowed them a measure of agency in maintaining traditional means of subsistence even as they selectively incorporated new means of support—with wage work in the lumber industry being the primary addition to their seasonal round of fishing, hunting, trapping, and the harvesting of rice, berries, and maple sugar. Their failure to take up the plow and advance toward "civilization" continually frustrated federal officials, who repeatedly bemoaned their lack of thrift and muted enthusiasm for government programs and schools. Yet life in nineteenth-century Lac du Flambeau was anything but insular, as is evidenced by the myriad backgrounds represented in the family trees of the elders in this collection. Bay Mills and L'Anse in Michigan, White Earth in Minnesota, other Ojibwe and Oneida communities in Wisconsin, Prairie Band Potawatomi, Santee Sioux, as well as French, Scottish, Irish, and Norwegian ancestries are all evident. No identity crisis in Lac du Flambeau existed, however. As Agnes Archdale put it: "That was our life. And everybody was just a person. People. We never thought of segregation or different nationalities. We were just people. We all lived together and got along with everybody" (85).

As one might expect, the infamous boarding schools played a significant role in creating this diversity of lineage. As children, these elders and their parents attended Haskell Institute, Flandreau, Carlisle, Mount Pleasant, and smaller local schools—some were forced to enroll, others went at the behest of their parents. Their recounting of experiences in these schools is particularly interesting, as the audience tries to reconcile those who fondly remember their time in school with the more characteristic tales of punishment and suffering on the part of the children and their families. In describing her life at various schools growing up, Rose Anne Fee declares, "I liked Flandreau. I loved the boarding school here, though. Because we stayed there, and all the kids were there, you know" (220). At the other end of the spectrum are stories like Cecelia Defoe's recollection of receiving a "good licking" for stealing peanut butter for a classmate denied her dinner. Reva Chapman's memories of the Lac

du Flambeau school are at once positive and condemnable: "I liked it, but it was more like a military school. You had to march to classes, you'd get punished . . . you'd really get punished. But I was never involved in being punished though . . . I wasn't perfect, but I just never got involved in anything very wrong" (121). Thus, even as she recounts severe corporal punishments doled out for speaking their Native tongue, even accidentally, Chapman considers her own experience a positive one. Collectively, their divergent descriptions—from Wilhemina Mae Chosa's statement that the local school "was like heaven!" (173) to Marie Spruce's admission, "I don't have a lot of good memories" (270)—testify not only to the variety of experiences Indian children had at these schools but also to the power of memory and how characteristically human it is to imbue even our darkest experiences with a nostalgic patina.

The responses given to questions about their experiences during the Depression are similarly intriguing in their uniform description of an era that was difficult, but ultimately no more so than the preceding or succeeding years. Such testimony suggests both their relative poverty and how the blend of traditional and modern subsistence in many ways shielded them from the fluctuations of the market economy that surrounded them. Defoe's response is typical of many: "I didn't even know [when the Depression was]. I asked Reva. 'I don't either,' she said. We were never hungry. Because we lived off the land" (199). Ben Chosa explains how they relied on their small gardens and continued to fish and hunt for food, and the men made good wages as guides for vacationing whites, concluding that "it was hard, but I don't remember missing a meal" (141). In the 1930s, tourism created many profitable positions for Ojibwes as guides that helped to fill the void left by the departing lumber operations that had provided well-paying jobs for Ojibwes for almost fifty years. Gilbert Chapman tells of the transition from working in the woods to being employed as a guide, as well as his experiences in the Civilian Conservation Corps camps established across the region that employed hundreds of American Indians in Michigan and Wisconsin.

As noted earlier, this book was designed not as a piece of scholarship for academics but as a community project to provide the Lac du Flambeau Ojibwe with a portrait of their elder's lives in the twentieth century. That does not mean, however, that the book has no scholarly value. On the contrary, those interested in gender roles, kinship networks, economic behavior, language, social relations, Native participation in World War II, boarding schools, and a host of other topics will find much of value in its pages. Folklorists, on the other hand, probably will not, as Tornes did not organize the interviews to preserve Ojibwe mythology and oral traditions. Rather, the book provides a portrait of many lives that collectively offer striking testimony to the fluidity of life and identity, the tenacity of Ojibwe culture, and above all the immutable social, economic, spiritual, and familial interdependence that remains the bedrock of the Lac du Flambeau community. This is an important book that deserves to be read widely by students and scholars alike.