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## The Turtle Mountain Reservation in North Dakota: Its History as Depicted in Louise Erdrich's *Love Medicine* and *Beet Queen*

JULIE MARISTUEN-RODAKOWSKI

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Now that she was in the city, all the daydreams she'd had were useless. She had not foreseen the blind crowd or the fierce activity of the lights outside the station. And then it seemed to her that she had been sitting in the chair too long. Panic tightened her throat. Without considering, in an almost desperate shuffle, she took her bundle and entered the ladies' room. (LM, 131)<sup>1</sup>

This panic, depicted in the novel *Love Medicine* by Louise Erdrich, is felt by Albertine Johnson, a fifteen-year-old who is running away from home, not an untypical situation except that Albertine is a Native American and the home she runs away from is a reservation, one similar to the Turtle Mountain Indian Reservation in north central North Dakota. Albertine sits in a bus depot in Fargo, ND, her destination, her panic partly attributable to the fact that she's never been away from home alone. Through the depiction of the fictitious lives of multiple generations in *Love Medicine* and *Beet Queen*, Erdrich portrays the movement from an

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Indian culture to American culture, with the process of assimilation culminating in one individual in particular, Albertine Johnson. These two novels are part of a tetralogy proposed by Erdrich (*Tracks*, the third novel, has been published recently and expands more fully on the members of the earlier generations). Of the two novels that are the basis of this article, *Love Medicine* provides more information about this cultural transition, but *Beet Queen* also provides relevant information, despite the fact that it's not based totally on Native American culture. In these two novels, Erdrich traces the unique Indian history of the Turtle Mountain Reservation in a manner that is both captivating and informational for the reader, providing an enjoyable fictional story that is solidly based in the facts of the Chippewa Indians of the Turtle Mountain Reservation.

The Chippewa Indians originally were an Algonquian-speaking tribe which was driven west by the expanding Iroquois in the Great Lakes area. Many of these Chippewa settled in the Turtle Mountain area, with the reservation itself established later by an executive order dated 21 December 1882. It is in this area along the Canadian border that Erdrich places the "original Kashpaw" (LM, 17), a member of the first generation the author alludes to in her novels. She gives him a name similar to that of a distant relative of her own, Kaishpau Gourneau ("the elevated one"), who was the tribal chairman in 1882.<sup>2</sup> The fictional Kashpaw married a woman named Rushes Bear (LM, 17). Just from the names it seems evident that these two fictional characters were indeed "native" Americans. Their language was most likely Cree (although several synonyms are used academically, including Ojibwa and Chippewa—in the novel, Erdrich uses Cree), an Algonquian language of the Chippewa tribe. These two Native Americans are the great-grandparents of Albertine Johnson who, four generations later, sits in the bus depot in Fargo after running away from life on the reservation.

A major historical influence on this Turtle Mountain Chippewa Tribe, one which began long before the time of Kashpaw and Rushes Bear and which continues to be felt even today, was that of the French and English fur traders. These traders, representing either the Hudson Bay Company or the Northwest Fur Company, traveled from Canada to obtain valuable furs from the tribesmen. The Chippewa and the traders maintained considerable friendly contact even though, according to the 1897 journals

of two of the earliest traders, Alexander Henry and David Thompson, the voyagers often cheated the Indians out of valuable furs and taught them to use alcohol:

The Indians totally neglect their ancient customs; and to what can this degeneracy be ascribed but to the intercourse with us, particularly as they are so unfortunate as to have a continual succession of opposition parties [the fur companies] to teach them roguery, and to destroy both minds and bodies with that pernicious article, rum?<sup>3</sup>

The use of alcohol also arises as a problem in these first generations in *Love Medicine*, for Nector Kashpaw (the son of Rushes Bear and the Original Kashpaw) describes the family of Marie Lazarre as a "family of horse-thieving drunks" (LM, 58). Nector Kashpaw nevertheless marries Marie Lazarre.

The contact between the French fur traders and the Native Americans, however, became more than economic. The French males often married Algonquian-speaking women, but whether married or not, they fathered many children. These children, sometimes called *bois brulés* because of their dark skin, are labeled half-breeds, mixed-bloods or Metis (a Canadian term). The Metis appeared as early as mid-seventeenth century in eastern Canada, and during the time of Erdrich's first fictional generation at Turtle Mountain, the mixed-bloods were quite common. Robert and Winona Wilkins in their centennial history, *North Dakota*, relate that these unions often were encouraged by the fur companies because the unions "tended to keep the men contented with their nomadic life in the wilderness as well as to provide new employees for their enterprises."<sup>4</sup> Their influence must have been significant because, according to the centennial history, by mid-eighteenth century the French fur traders "swarmed" the area.<sup>5</sup> Even now on the reservation, some of the mixed-bloods speak French and celebrate the French holidays.<sup>6</sup> However, most of these Frenchmen returned to eastern Canada when the fur companies no longer needed their services, leaving their families behind.<sup>7</sup> Marie Lazarre, the grandmother of Albertine, is most likely a "mixed-blood," for Marie says that she doesn't "have that much Indian blood" even though she lives on the reservation (LM, 40). Her French name provides another clue to her mixed heritage.

Another allusion to French heritage emerges in this early

generation of the novels. The "original Kashpaw" (married to Rushes Bear) apparently had an affair with a woman named Regina, a common French name. In *Beet Queen* we learn that this "original Kashpaw" fathered three children by Regina (Russell Kashpaw, Isabel Kashpaw, and an unnamed Kashpaw), and that Regina later married Dutch James, with whom she had one daughter, Celestine. The older three children, described as Chippewa, were never adopted by James, and thus kept the name Kashpaw, but Celestine's surname was James. After Celestine's parents died, she was reared largely by Isabel, her "Chippewa" half-sister:

It was the influence of her big sister that was important to Celestine. She knew the French language, and sometimes Celestine spoke French to lord it over us in school. (BQ, 28)

Isabel Kashpaw, then, even though described as being Chippewa, speaks French, and her knowledge of this language places her in a higher class than her non-French-speaking friends. No clues appear about the origin of the French, but we might assume because of her mother's French name that the mother had considerable association with those French fur traders. According to John Crawford, an expert in the language of this tribe, some of these Native American women did indeed learn French, but some of the French men also learned the Algonquian language of their mates and of their Indian business associates.<sup>8</sup>

In the second generation of the novel, the infiltration of the French continues, as portrayed in two other families in the novels: The Pillagers and the Lamartines. Fleur Pillager, in *Beet Queen*, carries the young Karl Adare with her as she journeys into a village in the area:

We began to visit low cabins of mud-mortared logs, inhabited by Chippewa or fiercer-looking French-Indians with stringy black beards and long moustaches. There were board houses, too, with wells, barns, and neat screen doors that whined open when we approached. The women who came out of these doors wore house-dresses and had their hair cut, curled, and bound in flimsy nets. They were not like Fleur, but all the same they were Indians and spoke a flowing language to each other. (BQ, 48)

There is no indication what this "flowing language" is, but any Algonquian language could be described in this way. We might also assume that the women of the village were full-blooded Indians since "they were not like Fleur." Later in the novel, we find that Fleur is Celestine James's aunt. We might presume, then, that Fleur is Regina's sister and that Regina's birth name was Pillager, also a French name, although old man Pillager is described in *Love Medicine* as "a Nanapush man" (p. 244). Nanapush is a family name in the novel (Lulu Nanapush—perhaps he's "her" man), but also is an appellation for a trickster-like cultural hero amongst the Chippewa.

We learn additional information about Regina and Fleur through a conversation between Celestine and Mary Adare, a brief dialogue in which Celestine begins by naming Fleur as her aunt and ends by disdainfully translating the French that she uses:

"What aunt?" [Mary asked.]

"Fleur. The one that came down here, you know, when Mama died."

"What a name. Floor."

Celestine looked down at me with strained indulgence.

"Fleur," she said. "It's French for flower." (BQ, 177)

The influence from the French is obvious here. It seems evident that both Regina and Fleur Pillager were French-speaking "mixed-bloods," and that their French language heritage was passed down to Isabel Kashpaw and then to Celestine James, who used the French language "to lord" over her friends at school (BQ, 28).

Another direct reference to the French heritage on the reservation is portrayed through the Lamartines, another family with a French name. Beverly Lamartine, a member of the novels' second generation, has assimilated into the white culture in Minnesota:

In the Twin Cities there were great relocation opportunities for Indians with a certain amount of natural stick-to-it-iveness and pride. That's how Beverly saw it. He was darker than most, but his parents had always called themselves French or Black Irish and con-

sidered those who thought of themselves as Indians quite backward. (LM, 77)

This generation of Lamartines is also then a generation of "mixed-bloods," although they prefer associating themselves with their European ancestry. The backwardness of the Indians (full-blooded ones, we might assume) did not, however, stop Beverly's brother from marrying one, Lulu Nanapush, a Chippewa, nor did it stop Beverly himself from both having an affair with Lulu and fathering a child by her.

The earlier generations in the novels represent not only the generations which had considerable contact with the fur traders but also the generations which were a part of the land allotment programs designed to assimilate Indian people into the mainstream of Anglo-American society. The program within the United States began with the General Allotment Act of 1887, sometimes known as the Dawes Act, the purpose of which was to divide tribally-allotted lands among individual Indians so that these Indians could leave their own culture behind and become "civilized." After the Indian Allotment Act of 21 April 1904, each full-blooded enrolled member of the Turtle Mountain Band born before 1909 received one-quarter section of land, with single members of the tribe receiving various lesser amounts depending upon their age. However, according to Mary Jane Schneider in her book *North Dakota Indians*, the land allotment had the immediate effect of reducing the total acres of Indian land by 65 percent.<sup>9</sup> One of the problems was that the Indians who lived on the Turtle Mountain Reservation had to prove their Indian ancestry to receive an allotment from this first treaty—a major problem given the considerable French "influence" in the area. Further treaties rectified this situation and mixed-bloods also received land, but another dilemma arose. Since supposedly there was not enough land available on the reservation, several of the Indians received land off the reservation, in places as far away as Montana, although several of them chose not to move. Albertine Johnson has her own opinions about this program and its effect on her ancestors:

I grew up . . . in an aqua-and-silver trailer, set next to the old house on the land my great-grandparents [the original Kashpaw and Rushes Bear] were allotted when the government decided to turn Indians into farmers.



The policy of allotment was a joke. As I was driving toward the land, looking around, I saw as usual how much of the reservation was sold to whites and lost forever. (LM, 11)

Later in the chapter, after she has arrived home, Albertine expands on the program and its effects on her family:

This land had been allotted to Grandpa's mother, old Rushes Bear, who had married the original Kashpaw. When allotments were handed out all of her eighteen children except the youngest—twins, Nector and Eli—had been old enough to register for their own. But because there was no room for them in the North Dakota wheatlands, most were deeded less-desirable parcels far off, in Montana, and had to move there or sell. The older children left, but the twin brothers still lived on opposite ends of Rushes Bear's land. (LM, 17)

As this passage shows, the fiction of Louise Erdrich, although not set directly on the Turtle Mountain Reservation, is based solidly on the facts of that area in North Dakota and on its Native American history.

Another massive sociological and linguistic influence on this tribe arose with the coming of Roman Catholicism in 1817, when residents of the Red River Colony (Winnipeg) wrote to the Bishop of Quebec asking him to send religious leaders to minister to the Indians. In 1818, Bishop Joseph Norbert Provencher blamed contact with the whites for most of the problems of the Indians and the Metis:

I believe that one could say, without fear of making a mistake, that their commerce with the whites, far from bringing them closer to civilization, has kept them from it, because the whites have spoiled the Indians' characters with strong drink, of which the natives are extremely fond, and by their example have taught them debauchery. Most of the *engagés* keep women, by whom they have children, who, like the mothers, are left later to the first comer.<sup>10</sup>

The Catholics felt a moral obligation to "save" the Indians, and established schools which educated the children and convents

which ministered to the needs of the people. Father Belcourt started a school on the reservation in 1885. Others followed, bringing with them several nuns for teachers and building convents for their residences. In Erdrich's novels, the Sacred Heart Convent becomes a "sanctuary" for the fourteen-year-old Marie Lazarre. She feels inferior to the nuns, despite the fact that her French heritage must have been quite similar to theirs. She longs for a time when they will bow down to her:

So when I went there, I knew the dark fish must rise. Plumes of radiance had soldered on me. No reservation girl had ever prayed so hard. There was no use in trying to ignore me any longer. I was going up there on the hill with the black robe women. They were not any lighter than me. I was going up there to pray as good as they could. Because I don't have that much Indian blood. And they never thought they'd have a girl from this reservation as a saint they'd have to kneel to. But they'd have me. (LM, 40)

Marie is staunch in her belief that she is an equal to the nuns, even superior, but she soon leaves the convent because of physical abuse from one of the nuns. Marie later hears that the Sacred Heart Convent is a place for nuns that didn't get along anywhere else, and she finds some solace in that. So much for the ministering spirit of the Roman Catholics, if this is true. But another fact, one more important for the historico-linguistic aspects of this study, is that these nuns from eastern Canada spoke French also. The nuns are described by Marie as "mild and sturdy French," and after Marie does not respond to something which was done to her, they remark, "Elle est docile" ("She is docile.") (LM, 51). Later, after an "accident" to her hand, Marie lies on a couch in the Mother Superior's office:

They looked up. All holy hell burst loose when they saw I'd woke. I still did not understand what was happening. They were watching, talking, but not to me.  
"The marks . . ."  
"She has her hand closed."  
"Je ne peux pas voir." [I can't see.]  
I was not stupid enough to ask what they were talking about. (LM, 54).

The nuns were speaking to each other, apparently in a combination of French and English, doing their own form of code-switching, and despite her partial French heritage, Marie doesn't understand what they say.

The Turtle Mountain Tribe of Chippewa Indians, thus, has been influenced by the French, an influence which affected both the race and language of the tribe, and both these influences are visible in Erdrich's two novels. Normally in this kind of linguistic situation, the higher or "H" language—the language of religion, education, trade—eventually overtakes the lower or "L" language, the language of the family. But this did not occur with this tribe. Instead, what developed among those who needed to communicate but who did not know one another's language was a mixed language. This mixture is called Michif (an Algonquian pronunciation of the French word Metis), a new language which combines both French and the various Algonquian languages of the tribe, making the polylinguistic nature of the tribe quite unique.

Michif, according to Dr. John Crawford, the editor of the *Michif Dictionary*, is appropriately labeled as " 'the Cree language of the Turtle Mountain Reservation.' It is also appropriate that it have another label, 'Michif,' because the combination of Cree and French developed under special cultural influences that produced a population neither clearly Indian nor European."<sup>11</sup> The language is a distinct part of the Metis movement; however, "mixed-bloods" from the United States who are closer to Indian than to a European heritage are sometimes called "Michif," and this label also has been given to the language of the area. The Michif of the Turtle Mountain Tribe is dominated by the French and Cree languages in a syntactic structure that is unique in that the noun phrases are French (including the use of the appropriate French gender), while the verb phrases are Cree. Crawford expands on this situation in the introduction to the *Dictionary*:

There are many areas in which there is openness [sic] as to the amount of French used, and the patterns of syntactic organization are probably best looked at as Cree but with important influence from French. Nevertheless the overall patterning of the language is anything but haphazard; Michif is a very specific sort of combination of languages.<sup>12</sup>

Perhaps the added influence of English was another factor in this unusual combination of languages, but perhaps the fact that Michif developed at the community level also was a factor. Crawford believes that "given the prominence of French in education, religion, and commerce, it is likely that Cree had to be the primary element in the French-Cree mixture in the community where it developed, that is at the popular core of that community."<sup>13</sup>

Michif thus developed as the language for communication between the Indians and the French fur traders. Crawford adds that there is evidence that Michif might have developed on this reservation, but it also might have developed elsewhere before the time of the reservation.<sup>14</sup> At any rate, these languages are alluded to in Erdrich's *Love Medicine*, with different generations speaking different languages; the language transformation of the Turtle Mountain Reservation is evident in the novels.

The following dialogue appears in the novel. The second generation Uncle Eli, a Faulknerian Uncle Ike, embodies the ancient culture of the Indian heritage, but Gordie, the uncle of Albertine and a member of the third generation in the novel, is trying, although seemingly not very seriously, to maintain Michif:

"Can you gimme a cigarette, Eli?" King asked.

"When you ask for a cigarette around here," said Gordie, "you don't say can I have a cigarette. You say *ciga swa*?"

"Them Michifs ask like that," Eli said. "You got to ask a real old Cree like me for the right words."

"Tell 'em Uncle Eli," Lynette said with a quick burst of drunken enthusiasm. "They got to learn their own heritage! When you go it will all be gone!" (LM, 30)

Uncle Eli, the son of the original Kashpaw, is a Cree speaker—apparently the last Cree speaker in their family. He degradingly speaks of the Michif spoken by his nephew Gordie Kashpaw, reflecting a real-life attitude which has been typical on the reservation. The novels indicate that by the third generation, not only some of the language but also much of the Native American culture has changed, creating a redefinition of the "Indianness" of the members of the tribe.

We learn very little in these two novels about the first generations (the subject of *Tracks*), but the later generations are dealt

with extensively. Two prominent individuals are Nector Kashpaw, the tribal chairman, and his twin brother Eli Kashpaw, both sons of the original Kashpaw and Rushes Bear. One is the grandfather of Albertine, the other, the uncle. Nector has played a prominent role in the politics of the tribe as tribal chairperson, including going to Washington and talking to the governor. Also, he received a formal education, unlike his brother Eli. Their mother, Rushes Bear, recognized the need for schooling, but apparently couldn't bear to lose both her youngest sons to the new culture:

She [Rushes Bear] had let the government put Nector in school, but hidden Eli, the one she couldn't part with, in the root cellar dug beneath her floor. In that way she gained a son on either side of the line. Nector came home from boarding school knowing white reading and writing, while Eli knew the woods. (LM, 17)

Eli was the one who was the "last man on the reservation that could snare himself a deer" (LM, 27), who was a "real old-timer" (LM, 28), who "could chew pine sap" (LM, 70), and who could sing songs, "wild unholy songs. Cree songs that made you lonely" (LM, 69). He also reared June after "them ignoret bush Crees" found her (LM, 64)—June, the girl that many people said was "the child of what the old people called Manitous, invisible ones in the woods" (LM, 65). June dies in *Love Medicine*, and even though others of her generation are still living, the Indian heritage is changing. This transformation becomes even more evident in Albertine Johnson, who runs away to Fargo in a section called "The Bridge," in which the bridge indicates the "precarious, linked edges" (LM, 135) of the transition from old ways to new ways. She is the one to cross that difficult bridge, and as previously indicated, she feels panic. The Indian and French heritage of the first two generations is changing, and no indication is given that Albertine speaks any language other than English.

The Turtle Mountain Tribe has, however, made a concerted effort to maintain some of its linguistic heritage. Chippewa is the most common language of the parents and the grandparents of tribal members and continues to be spoken by some, according to John Crawford.<sup>15</sup> But Michif, which originally was viewed as

a less-prestigious language, currently is spoken by more people than speak Chippewa and is the language the tribe is trying most to preserve. When surveying the tribe on its language use, Crawford found several respondents who affirmed that "they, or their parents or grandparents, had made a switch from speaking Ojibwa (or French) to speaking Michif."<sup>16</sup> The general picture on this Indian reservation, he adds, is that "people over about fifty years of age generally know the language [Michif], practically all over sixty-five or seventy learned it as a first language. But the level of use falls off quite rapidly with age, and young persons with familiarity are likely to be those who have spent more time with their grandparents."<sup>17</sup> Although Erdrich does not give many definite ages in her novels, it seems clear that the relationships between age and linguistic patterns in her novel follow the general pattern outlined by Crawford.

How does Louise Erdrich know so much about this tribe? She is a member of the Turtle Mountain Tribe, and it is one with which she has familiarity. Her grandparents, the Pat Gourneaus, lived on the reservation and Erdrich visited them often. Even though she doesn't label herself a traditionalist like Eli Kashpaw, she respects the traditions of the tribe, including those of her grandparents:

My grandfather (who was tribal chair of the Turtle Mountain Reservation) was traditional. He spoke the old language, Ojibwa. He was the last person in our family who spoke it from childhood. But it's making a big come-back there. I could never claim to be part of this traditional resurgence, but I support it.<sup>18</sup>

Her parents also were involved with reservation life; both of them taught at the Bureau of Indian Affairs School in Wahpeton, ND. She understands well the Indian heritage, and writes about it powerfully in her novels. She also understands that her task as a Native American writer is perhaps more onerous than the task of other writers; she says in a *New York Times Book Review* that "in the light of enormous loss, [she] must tell the stories of contemporary survivors while protecting and celebrating the cores of cultures left in the wake of the catastrophe."<sup>19</sup> These contemporary survivors, and Erdrich's celebration of them, will be the subject of the fourth novel in her tetralogy—*American Horse*.

Many critics have understood the depth of her sensitivity about

this Indian heritage, including James McKenzie, who writes that *Love Medicine* performs the task of "protecting and celebrating the cores of cultures" for the Chippewa and, "thereby, for the American culture as a whole":

The novel is an act of deep respect for people whose lives are seldom the subject of literary art; it pays homage to the tenacity of a small, minority culture pitted against the juggernaut of contemporary American life.<sup>20</sup>

The culture of which Erdrich speaks covers several generations, and other reviewers have emphasized the transformation and the difficult process of assimilation into contemporary American life that has occurred in the Native American tradition over those generations. Scott Sanders has written of this assimilation process:

They are mostly Chippewas, four generations of them, living on a North Dakota reservation or in Minnesota's Twin Cities. In each succeeding generation, their ancestral blood and ways are thinned out by mixture with the ways and blood of whites. If you were drawing a graph of what remains distinctly Indian about them, the curve, as it passes through our time would be heading unmistakably toward zero.<sup>21</sup>

Sanders' curve, applied to Erdrich's novels, would start with the Chippewa Indian heritage of the original Kashpaw and Rushes Bear and would follow through the French and English influences, ending with Albertine Johnson sitting in a bus depot in Fargo, her ancestral heritage "thinned out by mixture with the ways and blood of whites." She is one member of the younger generation who leaves the reservation for the white world, but perhaps her Indian blood is less "thin" than Sanders suggests. She carries with her the Native American culture of her tribe, yet is unsure of her place in that white world, and becomes even more unsure as she listens to her aunt chastising her mother for criticizing a "white girl" in Albertine's presence:

"How do you think Albertine feels hearing you talk like this when her Dad was white?"

"I feel fine," I said. "I never knew him." I under-

stood what Aurelia meant though—I was light, clearly a breed.

“My girl’s an *Indian*,” Zelda emphasized. “I raised her an Indian, and that’s what she is.” (LM, 23)

An Indian, yes, but a light-skinned Indian, one whose heritage has passed from full-blooded Chippewa to a mixture of Chippewa, French and Swedish (her father), through the heritage of an Algonquian language mixed with French, all the way to Michif, then to English. Albertine Johnson is an “Indian,” but one whose Indian heritage has gone through a rapid transformation that has redefined the concept of “Indian.” And because the transformation has been so rapid, Albertine is unsure of her place in this changing culture. She is human, and she is afraid.

#### NOTES

1. Quotations from Louise Erdrich’s works are cited in the text using the following abbreviations:

LM: *Love Medicine* (New York: Bantam, 1984)

BQ: *Beet Queen* (New York: Bantam, 1986).

2. *St. Ann’s Centennial* (Belcourt, ND: 1985), 130 and 358.

3. Elliott Coues, *New Light on the Great Northwest: The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and David Thompson, 1799–1814* (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1897), 1:209.

4. Robert P. Wilkins and Winona H. Wilkins, *North Dakota: A History* (New York: Norton, 1977), 31.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *St. Anne’s*, 92.

7. Wilkins, 31.

8. John Crawford, cited by M. J. Schneider, *North Dakota Indians* (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing, 1986), 43.

9. *Ibid.*, 91.

10. Provencher to Bishop Plessis, cited by Grace Lee Nute, ed., *Documents Relating to Northwest Missions, 1815–1827* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1985), 158.

11. John Crawford, *Michif Dictionary: Turtle Mountain Chippewa Cree* (Winnipeg, Manitoba: Pemmican Publications, Inc., 1983), vii.

12. *Ibid.*, viii.

13. John Crawford, “Speaking Michif in Four Metis Communities,” *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 3:50.

14. John Crawford, personal communication, April, 1988.

15. Crawford, *Dictionary*, viii.

16. Crawford, “Speaking Michif,” 50–51.

17. *Ibid.*, 51.



18. Gail Hand, "Native Daughter: Author Louise Erdrich Comes Home," *Plainswoman* 8:4.
19. Louise Erdrich, "Where I Ought To Be: A Writer's Sense of Place," *New York Times Book Review* July 28, 1985.
20. James McKenzie, "Lipsha's Good Road Home," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 10:56.
21. Scott Sanders, *Studies in American Indian Literature* 9:8-9.