

This is a photograph from the late 1800's of an Odawa family from Waganakising. Notice the clothing styles.

A 200 Year History of Our Land Use

LITTLE TRAVERSE BAY BANDS OF ODAWA INDIANS

Compiled and Printed, November 2005

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1. Introduction

The purpose of this booklet is to provide the Waganakising Odawak with important information about our history and culture; and in particular, about the land within our reservation located in what is today Emmet and Charlevoix counties of Michigan.

The details contained in this booklet were acquired from a variety of sources such as historical documents as well as interviews with elder tribal members. Careful effort has been made to focus upon the places, events, people, and cultural beliefs that are significant to the Waganakising Odawak. As a result the sources that were used to compile this information are mainly those taken from the voices and memories of Odawa people themselves. However, the booklet does not claim to tell the whole story about our past nor is it a description of all our culture. What it does hope to accomplish is your interest so that you want to learn more.

The chapters are divided into time periods that group similar events and activities in our history and culture. At the end of each chapter there is a section called 'Principal Sources' which lists where the information was found for that chapter. To look the information up yourself simply find the name of the author and date of the publication in the bibliography section at the end of the booklet and go to your library to see if they have it or if they can order it for you through inter-library loan.

It is important to be aware of how the words *Odawa* and *Waganakising* are used in this booklet. The Waganakising Odawak are also known by the name of Little Traverse Bay Bands of Odawa Indians. It should be noted that the word 'Bands' is an important part of the name because it indicates that we consist of several related bands. Placing the letter 'k' on the end of the word Odawa makes it plural in our language. The 'ing' at the end of the word Waganakising means "at the place of".

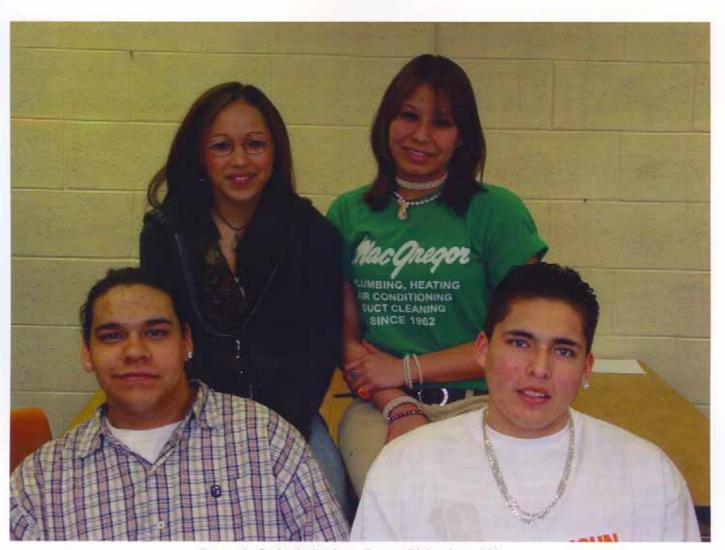
The word Waganakisi is a very old Odawa language name found in old documents for the general region where a large pine tree once stood along Lake Michigan near what is now Middle Village in west central Emmet County. The tree was bent at the top and was so large that it could be seen from a great distance and was used as a landmark when traveling by water. The word Waganakising does not contain any meaning about a tree. However it may have been shortened from the Odawa phase Waganakisi-a-mitig which means 'the top or head of the tree is crooked or bent'. Sometimes the French name of L'abre Croche was used which means 'Crooked Tree'. The Odawa who lived between what is now Harbor Springs and Cross Village were often called the Ottawa of L'abre Croche before about 1850.

The word Odawa is simply the way of spelling how our tribal name is pronounced in our language. The English equivalent is Ottawa. These two names however were not always used to describe the Waganakising Odawak. There are also other names by which we were known that are discussed in chapter 3. The word Anishinaabe is used by the Odawa, Ojibwe and Potowatomi to also describe ourselves. However that word does not provide any information about which band or tribe a person may belong.

The spelling of Odawa words in this booklet is only one way that a word might be spelled. In the historical documents a word is spelled many different ways. So if you should be interested with looking up some information in old records, remember that some of the names or words you find may not look familiar to you.

As you read this booklet it is also important to know that our culture has continually changed over the years. This is natural. Every culture changes as a result of the things it runs into over time. That is why a ceremony that was done two hundred years ago is often times not the same way it was done one hundred years later. The kinds of beliefs that people have about their culture also change over time. These are some of the things you will notice when reading about our history and culture that are described in this booklet.

It should also be noted that there is a great similarity between our culture and that of other Odawa bands and other Anishinaawbek such as the Ojibwe bands and Potowatomi bands. We share a certain amount of history with those two groups, especially in the distant past. However there are certain things that some of them experienced which others did not because of where they lived and how they lived. The information contained in this booklet shows many more similarities with those other groups in the time before we lived at Waganakising. After we moved to Waganakising, most of the information presented concerns just the history and culture of our bands that lived there from about 1740 to 1940. It also includes the band that lived on the Beaver Islands, which is now part of our bands.



Bottom Left: Justin Gavin Top Left: Allison Stav Bottom Right: Jesse Oldman Top Right: Ashley Gasco

2. Acknowledgements

Many people must be recognized for their efforts that contributed to the production of this booklet. The funding was provided by the Indian Land Tenure Foundation through a grant received by the tribe in October of 2004 and completed in October of 2005. The project director and editor was Winnay Wemigwase of the tribal Department of Archives & Records and Cultural Preservation. Heidi Yaple of the tribal Accounting Department created the final version of the proposal that was a key factor in funding the project. The elder interviews were done with the assistance of tribal youth including; Ashley Gasco, Jesse Oldman and Allison Stav. Wesley L. Andrews performed the research and wrote the booklet.

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3. Historical Beginnings

Our history teaches us that in ancient times we lived far to the east along the Ottawa River which is a tributary to the St. Lawrence River and Atlantic Ocean. We slowly moved toward the west, finally arriving at the Great Lakes where we lived upon Ottawa Island in northern Lake Huron, now called Manitoulin Island. That is also the place where we split into three major groups that eventually became known as the Ojibwe, Odawa, and Potowatomi. All three of these groups refer to themselves as Anishinawbek.

After living on Ottawa Island for several centuries and moving about because of war with the Iroquois and other tribes, we eventually settled at the Straits of Mackinac, then later at what is now McGulpin's Point. Slowly we spread down the Lake Michigan shoreline. The Mushcodens tribe is one of the groups with whom we waged war. Their name is the Odawa word for "a small field, or prairie". We drove them out and took over their lands which included what is now Emmet and Charlevoix counties. We also had many long wars with the Iroquois tribes. During one of the wars, in about 1650, we fled to the western parts of Lakes Michigan and Superior in what is now Wisconsin, where we remained until we, and other bands, defeated the Iroquois and then moved back to the area of the Straits in the 1680's.

Other groups of Odawa left the Straits and moved to the Detroit and Toledo area about the year 1700. In later years, many of those bands were either removed to Oklahoma or relocated to Walpole Island in Ontario, Canada. That is why we find Odawa people living at those places today.

The Odawa were known in the past by various names that are mentioned in old documents. In the 1600's and 1700's, there are four groups of Anishinaawbek who were later all known as Odawa or Ottawa. The names of these groups are: Sinago, Nissawakwaton, Kiskakon, and Sable. Each of these groups began to involve themselves more and more with the fur trade and eventually became called "Adawe or Odawa", which signifies 'to trade.' After about the year 1800, the other names for these bands fell out of use and all of them were just called "Odawa or Ottawa".

The historical story of how we became known by the name of Odawa was told by an Odawa chief known as Ogimawinini in the 1840's. He said that long ago when we lived upon the great island in northern Lake Huron, now called Manitoulin that a man by the name of Otandagamee had a child who died one spring when they were making sugar. When he was fasting and mourning the death of his child, he was told by a voice that he should travel to the east down the river and there he would meet people who would help him.

Therefore, Otandagamee killed a bear and gathered together his wife and some young men and they traveled straight through the woods to the east for weeks. Finally, they came upon the great river known today as the St. Lawrence Seaway. Here, they built canoes to continue their journey. One night as they were camped along the river, Otandagamee dreamed that someone came and told him that tomorrow he would see those who would help him. They left early the next morning and continued their journey.

In the fog they saw a man with two pails coming to the shore after water. The man left his pails at the shore and went up to a large building. He came back with many people who took Otandagamee and his group up to the house with them. The Anishinaabek believed these persons were spirits because of their white skin. The white skin people gave Otandagamee and his band many things; guns, kettles, axes and other utensils, as well as a chief's coat for Otandagamee. They asked him to come again next summer and bring more of his people to trade. When Otandagamee returned home before winter he gave many of the items to his friends. Next spring, a great number of the people went to Quebec to see and trade with the French.

This story records the first meeting between the French and the people of Otandagamee's band, who were called the Sable band. For many years following this first meeting, Otandagamee and his band traveled to the St. Lawrence to trade with the Frenchmen. Eventually they were called the 'traders' because they participated in so much of that activity. He became known as a great man among the people. Other chiefs became jealous of him because he was considered foremost among them by the French and was eventually murdered by someone that poisoned him. Some of the other bands of Anishinaawbek eventually were also called by the name 'Ottawa' or Odawa as a result of the fact that they were very closely involved with the fur trade.

The meeting between Otandagamee and the French is verified in old French documents which indicate that it took place in the year 1653, on July 31st. Similar stories were told by other Odawa people such as Francis Assikinack and Andrew Blackbird, who both wrote about it in the 1800's.

Further oral history told by our ancestors describes how our connection with trade identified us with the name Odawa or Ottawa. The Odawa chief Nabunwa stated that during the 1600's we became more knowledgeable about growing corn. At the same time most of the bands moved west due to wars with the Iroquois. As a result, we grew a great amount of corn that we traded to others during the 1700's while living at Waganakising.

Before Europeans arrived, and until the time when we moved to Waganakising, very little is known or understood about our cultural beliefs and ceremonies. However, it is known that we believed in life after death and that the spirit went to a very pleasant place in the west called the 'Land of the Dead'. The spirit of a person traveled on a path after death that led to the Land of the Dead. It crossed a river over which a tree had to be used as a bridge to reach the other side. This was believed to be very difficult and not everyone made it across.

During the 1600's, we carried out an elaborate burial ceremony for the dead where the entire band participated. Other bands and tribes also played a part and it may have been the largest ceremony that our ancestors performed during that time. People were buried and ceremonies were held for them when they died. But at certain times a larger ceremony was held where the graves were all dug up again and the remains collected and reburied together in another grave with people of the same family and clan. This larger ceremony was called the 'Feast of the Dead'. French people who came into the region in the 1600's saw and described these ceremonies when we lived near what is now St. Ignace.



This is a brass kettle of the type that was used by the Odawa at Waganakising during the 1700's. It not only provided the means for cooking, but they were also placed in the graves along with dead and filled with food for their journey to the Land of the Dead.

Elaborate preparations were made for these ceremonies. Special longhouses were constructed that were over 100 feet in length. A large pit was dug on the inside over the entire length of the lodge into which were placed the bones of the deceased. Large quantities of food and gifts made and placed into the pit with the deceased along with furs and other valuable items. A great feast was held of the food and many of the items were given to the guests who were invited to the ceremonies. The Feast of the Dead lasted for several days and involved many other ceremonies and activities that ended with the dead being taken out of the pit and buried together with other relatives of the same clan along with some of the gifts and personal items.

Other tribes also performed similar ceremonies and they invited various groups to participate with them, just as we invited them to our Feast of the Dead. The time of year and frequency of the ceremonies varied from group to group; some held them every year while others every 12 years.

Clans were also a very important part of Odawa culture. Every person was a member of a clan and those people who were of the same clan were considered relatives. You did not marry a person of your own clan and usually your parents or grandparents arranged your marriage when you were a child. Certain cousins were allowed to be married. If you were a woman you could marry one of your father's sister's sons. If you were a man you could marry one of your mother's brother's daughters. If these persons were not available or suitable, another person was arranged for you to marry.

que nous sommes entirement innocents et que sous marons envoy ni pipes ni Branches de Vouelaine et point de Collier et que nous somm toujours dispose a couter les varoles nous les Chits de Guerre Mous les Chefs de Village Mindauminance C V Nichkaushinine Onaintinoe! Meenokamigo Pindiguay Kowan Once gooy igan Siaukantay 7

The marks on this page are drawings that were made by 10 Waganakising Odawa chiefs from Waganakising to show their clan. The names of the chiefs are written next to their clan marks. This document was signed in 1797 by 5 Village Chiefs and 5 War Chiefs. These marks were used by all Odawa to indicate their clan.

Each of the Odawa bands had their own chiefs and headmen who managed the affairs of that band. Every village or band had at least one war chief and one village chief. Usually the sons of a chief were also appointed chiefs by their father assuming they met the potential for leadership. So the line of chiefs was often times inherited from within several families. However, sometimes a person that showed great leadership was appointed a chief even though they were not from one of the families of chiefs. For example, some men became Odawa chiefs who had been captured during war time and were not originally from our bands. Another important group of leaders from within each band were the heads of the families. These were men and women that were responsible for a small group of closely related people mostly of the same clan.

Each village, clan and family had certain areas of land that they claimed for their own use. This included their hunting, fishing and trapping places as well as where they grew crops and harvested natural foods and medicines. Winter hunting grounds on the upper reaches of various river valleys of southern Michigan were clearly known to belong to a certain group and others did not use it without first asking permission. Trading rights were also claimed in a similar way. A specific band, clan or family would have the rights to trade with another group and no others were permitted to trade with them without consent. One of the reasons that the French traders who came into the region in the 1600's were able to establish trade with certain tribal groups is because they married women who belonged to a band, clan or village that maintained the rights to trade with them.

One of the Odawa bands, known as the Nissawakwaton was also a clan name. The word Nissawakwaton means 'forked'. Our traditions state that those who are of this clan are the descendants of Seneca people captured in wartime. One of the names for the Oneida tribe used in the 1600's was 'Seneca' which was a name also used later for the Seneca tribe. The symbol used by the Nissawakwaton clan of the Waganakising Odawak is a fork of a tree. The ancient symbol used by the Oneida tribe is a fork with a stone in the middle. The name Nissawakwat was also a leadership name among certain chiefs during the 1700's which will be talked about more in the next chapter. Another oral tradition tells us that the Pipigwen clan among the Waganakising Odawak are also descendants of captured prisoners of war. The name Pipigwen is the Odawa word for the Sparrow Hawk.

It was very common for people to be captured during times of war. Sometimes it was done to replace a family member who had recently died and the person was adopted into a clan or family. At other times the prisoners of war were held in a kind of servant status and were not considered members of the band or tribe. Sometimes these persons married Odawa people and their children were considered members of the band but they maintained a separate identity with a different clan symbol that indicated their origin.

The fact that we adopted people, through warfare and friendship into our society as well as through intermarriage with other groups, resulted in a large number of different clans being represented within the tribe. It was very common for persons of the same clan to live in separate parts of the same village and together in the same long houses.

According to traditions told by Andrew Blackbird, the original symbol for the Ottawa is the moose, which possibly indicates that this clan was the first band of people who made up the Odawa. Additional information from the 1600's tells us that 5 symbols were used by the Ottawa to identify the 5 major bands. Four of them are pictures of a moose or elk, while the fifth is a pile of sand. The pile of sand symbol is most likely the Sable Band as that word means 'sand' in the French language.

When chiefs and headmen signed agreements with other tribes and Europeans they did so by using the symbol of their clan. There are examples of the clan symbols used by our chiefs who signed a peace treaty at Montreal in the year 1701 with the Iroquois tribes. It is important to note that these chiefs identified themselves by their clan and not by their personal name.

The Odawa bands would go south in the autumn to hunt and trap in the various river valleys of the Lower Peninsula of Michigan for the winter. Some went to the Saginaw Bay region every other winter to hunt and others to the Grand River Valley. They did not go to the Saginaw Bay hunting ground every year so that the animal populations would not be over-hunted.

It is most likely that one or more of the Odawa bands had lived at the Straits of Mackinac for a very long time before we were driven west by the war with the Six Nations Iroquois about 1650. From the time we returned to the Straits of Mackinac about 1680 until 1740 we established our principal settlements at St. Ignace and Gros Cap. It is not known exactly when we resettled the Beaver Islands during this period.

In addition to Otandagamee, one of the important Odawa leaders who lived during this time was named Sagimau. He was a war chief that led our warriors to defeat the Six Nations Iroquois in the late 1600's that resulted in the great treaty of peace with those tribes in 1701 at Montreal. His name was remembered and his exploits retold in oral history for the next 200 years.

French missionaries also began to come among the Odawak in the 1600's. One of the bands, especially the one called Kiskakon was the most numerous and nearly all of them converted to Christianity around 1680. The Kiskakon, however, did not completely abandon their culture and traditions. Many of the traditional ceremonies and beliefs were continued, but they began to incorporate Christian ideas into them.

The other Odawa bands such as the Sable, Nissawakwaton and Sinago did not all convert to Christianity as did the Kiskakon although a few individuals from those bands so did during this period. The Christian Kiskakon lived apart from the other bands partly because of custom and partly because they were Christians. The missionaries wanted those who converted to live together. The Kiskakon settlement was located at what is today the town of St. Ignace while the Sinago and Sable bands kept their settlement west of them at a place called Gros Cap on Lake Michigan.

Principal Sources:

Assikinack 1858; Baraga 1992; Blackbird 1887; Cadillac 1947; Cleland 1971; Kent 2004; Kinietz 1965; Lahontan 1905; McCoy 1808-1874; Schoolcraft 1851-1857, 1956; Thwaites 1896-1901.

4. Land, Culture and History 1740-1830

It is not clear if any Odawa groups lived at what is now Waganakising before about 1740. However, we were most certainly aware of the area and one of the bands probably used it for various purposes during the time when we were living at the Straits of Mackinac. Jonas Shawanessi, an Odawa leader in the mid twentieth century, has suggested that the Sinago band of Odawa lived in the Harbor Springs area during that time.

In the late 1730's, we were looking around for a place to move our major settlements away from the Straits of Mackinac. About 1740, we had begun to move to the area of Waganakising clearing land for our agricultural fields. The principal reason for this move was to find land where we could plant crops. The soils at the other places were becoming used up and less productive. The Nissawakwaton, Sinago, Sable and Kiskakon bands of the Odawak living at St. Ignace, McGulpin Point and Gros Cap grew large quantities of corn, peas, beans and pumpkins. Most of the agricultural work of planting and harvesting was done by the women and children. The clearing of the land was done by the men.

It has been written by some writers of history that Waganakising was one continuous village from Cross Village to Harbor Springs. But, there is no evidence to support that belief. What is known about it is that there were two principal settlements at Waganakising from about 1740 until the 1820's.

The village of the Kiskakon band was built a few miles south of Cross Village. These people had mostly converted to Christianity and the Catholic mission moved from the Straits at the same time and was built just north of the Kiskakon village at what is today Cross Village. Some of the Sinago band may have also moved there with them because a portion of that band had converted to Christianity in the 1680's.

The Nissawakwaton and Sinago bands built their principal settlement between what is now Seven Mile Point and Middle Village. These people were not Christians and their village was often referred to as L'abre Croche, the French words for 'Crooked Tree'. L'abre Croche was also used to refer to the entire Waganakising region.

The Sable band is not mentioned as moving to Waganakising in numbers large enough to have their own settlement. They may have been the ones who maintained a settlement in the Straits area. Many of the Sable had moved to the Detroit area about the year 1700.

Whenever our chiefs met in council with other tribes, or with French and English governmental officials, they always identified themselves by what band or village they represented. The chiefs of a particular village would appoint one chief to be the speaker at councils and conferences. They would say for which village, either Kiskakon, Waganakising or both, that they were speaking. Sometimes the villages did not always agree on certain matters and it was important to them that others understood that fact.

By the time the various Odawa bands moved from the Straits to build their settlements at Waganakising in the late 1730's, their role in the fur trade had changed. Now they did not control the trade into their country or carry goods to distant nations for furs. This role had been taken over by French men who came into the region with the goods themselves to trade directly with the various tribes. The Odawa no longer went to Montreal and Quebec every spring to attend the large trade fairs to purchase goods. Many of these French men married the relatives of the principal chiefs of various tribes and thereby established trade relationships for themselves with many tribal groups. The new role that the Odawak began to play in the fur trade was as the suppliers for the traders. They grew corn and prepared other foodstuffs that were used by the traders on their long trading journeys over the winter. The traders usually spent the winters among various tribes trading furs for goods and the Odawa furnished much of the food they needed. They also made the large canoes used by the traders on their travels and the Odawa were able to trade these things for the goods that they wanted.

The Odawa also continued to hunt, fish, trap, and gather other natural resources during this time. Winters were still spent to the south along the interior reaches of the major river valleys in southern Michigan such as the St. Joseph, Grand, Black, White, and Muskegon Rivers. Some groups even went into Wisconsin and the Illinois country along the Chicago and Kankakee Rivers. By this time some Odawa had permanently moved to the Grand River Valley and lived there the year around, moving only short distances to a wintering ground. They did not travel as far as the Wagankising Odawak did in the winter. Some Waganakising Odawak also spent the winter among their Odawa relations in the Grand River Valley.

A few Odawa did not leave Waganakising during the winter and stayed near what is now Harbor Springs to take advantage of its sheltered position upon the bay. Some would also go to the interior upon Crooked Lake and along Indian River west of Little Traverse Bay.

Life at Waganakising in the 1700's was closely tied to the land and water. The settlements in summer were all located next to Lake Michigan. The lake provided not only fish but was also the most important transportation system for the Odawak during this time. Our agricultural fields were situated back away from the shore above the bluff on the flat lands usually near a source of water such as a spring or small creek. This placement was made so that those who worked in the fields had a nearby supply of water. Some of the fields were 3-5 miles away from the settlements and it was necessary to build summer lodges there for those who worked in the fields, especially during the planting and harvesting season. New fields were constantly being created and moved as the soils became used up and produced fewer crops.

In autumn before the first crops were harvested, it was customary for the people to fast in preparation for that event. Gifts were provided and ceremonies conducted for the spirits who needed to be respected. Spirits were connected with all the crops and natural fruits the Odawa harvested.

Corn was usually dried, with some buried in pits to be used for seed the following spring and some sold to traders. Some was also given to other people and spirits. A portion was saved for people's own use over the winter. Corn was such a standard source of food that some Odawa said that when they did not have corn to eat that they considered themselves to be fasting.

Also during the autumn the chiefs and headmen, accompanied sometimes by members of their band, would go to visit the French or English forts in the region. Gifts would be exchanged, with the Odawa giving corn and other things that they grew. In return, the French and English gave the Odawak guns, knives, kettles, cloth, traps, gunpowder and other items that they would need throughout the winter.

After the trout fishing was completed in the autumn we packed up and went south for the winter as described above. Over the winter we hunted and trapped. Deer meat was dried by smoking it, bear meat was preserved in tallow and sometimes honey was found. Furs and hides were prepared and if a trader was nearby they traded these items for things they needed or made it into clothing. Beaver was the most sought after fur for trading purposes.

The Odawa made large quantities of maple sugar that was stored away in birch bark containers for later use. In the spring when the thaw began, all the families moved to their sugar-making camps and stayed there until the maple sap stopped running. The women and children did most of this work.

After the sugar season was done the people all gathered at the mouth of the Muskegon River, now where the city of Grand Haven is situated, to celebrate the 'Feast of the Dead'. This was a smaller version of what was described previously in the late 1600's but was none the less one of the principal ceremonial feasts among all the Odawak. This Feast for the Dead was held every spring at the full moon of the month of May and lasted for several days. It is not known if reburial of the deceased was still done.

After the Feast of the Dead the people would travel north and return to Waganakising where they would celebrate another Feast for the Dead and other ceremonies with those who spent the winter there. They would also pay another visit to the French or English and give them gifts such as dried venison, furs and maple sugar. They would receive in return things such as fishing spears, hoes and other utensils that they needed for summer activities such as maintaining the agricultural fields. After the fields were planted and the spring fishing season was over the people started the yearly round all over again. However, there were also many cultural activities and ceremonies that took place during the summer and at other times of the year.

According to an Odawa named Francis Assikinack, there were four major spiritual practices among the Waganakising Odawak during the 1700's and early 1800's. These were the Midewiwin, Wahbahnowin, Tchissahkiwin, and Gosahahndahwin.

The Midewiwin which is also called the 'Medicine Lodge' is a spiritual practice that helps cure people who are sick or need assistance with spiritual matters. The ceremonies are usually performed in groups in a specially constructed lodge. Plant medicines are used as well as songs and dances to cure those who are ill. The Midewiwin was said by the Odawa chief, Assikinack, to be the most important of all spiritual practices among the Odawak. Some of the items used in ceremonies include drums, rattles, medicine bags, stuffed animals and birds, as well as wooden figures. The people who practice the Midewiwin form a society that is divided into levels of skill sometimes known as 'degrees'. A form of writing was used to put down many of the songs and medicines used for the cures and ceremonies.

The Megis, which is a kind of sea shell that contains a powerful spirit, has an important role in the Midewiwin. It is mentioned in the migration story of the Anishinaawbek as rising from the waters at several locations during the westward journey from the shores of the Atlantic Ocean in ancient times.

The Wahbahnowin is primarily aimed at helping people with their spiritual and physical health. One of the major activities of the Wahbahnowin is the use of certain medicines to perform 'fire dances' which was one of the great ceremonies that took place every spring. Fire plays an important role in the Wahbahnowin. Another ceremony that they used very frequently was the sweat lodge. They also use items in their ceremonies that are similar and different from the Midewiwin people. For example the medicine bags, drums and rattles are made and used in different ways. Some of the ceremonies last all night and end at dawn which is a symbol, in part, of the meaning of the word Wahbahnowin which contains the concepts of 'tomorrow' and 'east' in English. Also for the fact that the Wahbahnowin believe the morning star is an important spirit.

The initiation ceremony for the Wahbahnowin is not as elaborate as that for the Midewiwin. Another major difference is that the people who practice the Wahbahnowin usually act as an individual rather than a group. One example is with healing ceremonies that are conducted by one person and not by a group of persons. The Wahbahnowin was said by the older men, who spoke about it during the 1800's, that it originated in the late 1700's. But there are mentions of it taking place among the Huron tribes in the 1600's. The Wahbahnowin is not as highly organized as the Midewiwin.

Some of the ceremonies of the Wahbahnowin were considered dangerous and eventually became known by the English name of 'Bear Walk'. Today the Bear Walk is generally believed to be a kind of witchcraft. But that does not mean that people who practice Wahbahnowin are evil.

The Tchissahkiwin is similar to the Wahbahnowin in the fact that those who practice it usually do so as an individual. The Tchissahkiwin ceremonies are very spiritual in nature and are used to establish contact with the spiritual world to obtain help or information on some matter of importance and/or to predict the future. A cone shaped lodge is built and used in the principal ceremony inside of which sits the person conducting the ceremony. The spirits speak in response to questions that they are asked from people who need help. The lodge will move around as the spirits enter into and speak from it which has led to the people who performed Tchissahkiwin ceremonies being called "Tent Shakers".

The Goosahndahwin is a spiritual practice used for obtaining information about the future and for obtaining remedies for sickness. It was also used by the Odawa during times of war to determine the course of travel while on war expeditions when in unknown territory. The Odawa left gifts for the spirits at the places where Goosahndahwin ceremonies took place when on war expeditions. These gifts were not to be disturbed by others.

Besides the symbols used to represent clans and tribal identity, the Odawa also had a system of writing that could communicate information to other people. Messages were left on trees using these symbols and some were included in wampum belts.

Wampum belts are very important cultural items that transmitted information about Odawa history and culture. As mentioned previously, the Megis is a kind of sea shell that contains a powerful spirit. Other shells also have spirits that were sometimes made into small beads that are woven together to make belts. These belts are very important spiritual and historical documents to the Odawak and some of the other tribes. Whenever a matter of great importance occurred, the event was documented by the making of a wampum belt. For example, when a group of Odawa wanted to ask another group of people to go to war with them; a wampum belt was made and sent to that group. When a treaty of peace was concluded with a certain tribe, a wampum belt was created and copies given to all those groups who agreed to the peace. All of the tribes in northeastern North America used wampum belts in this way.

Wampum belts were usually stored by wrapping them around a pipe. Whenever there was a conference of the tribes who were part of the agreement represented in the wampum belt, the belt was unwrapped. Then the pipe smoked and the keeper of the belt spoke about the meaning of the belt. The belief was that the belt contains the spirit of the shell who is the witness to the event and the keeper of that knowledge. The human who is responsible for the belt maintains it and speaks for it.

We had specific chiefs who were 'Keeper's of the Wampum Belts'. One of the better known chiefs who kept many old wampum belts was called Niskaushininy. He was appointed by other chiefs to be the wampum keeper in 1797 and lived to a rather old age. He died at Cross Village in 1839 where he had been a village chief for many years. During the last half of the 1700's, the majority of the Waganaksing Odawak continued to spend the winters in the Lower Peninsula of Michigan hunting and trapping. However, the supply of furs was getting smaller and some of the Odawa and Ojibwa decided to go further west and live where the hunting and trapping was thought to be more productive. In the 1790's many small family groups of Waganakising Odawak moved to what is now Manitoba Canada where they stayed for about 20 years. Some came back in the early 1800's to Waganakising to live.

In 1765 the missionaries in the Great Lakes region left the area including those at Waganakising. This was because France had lost the war with England and the English told them they had to leave. A few Waganakising Odawa maintained a relationship with Catholic French-speaking people in the Montreal, Canada area well into the early 1800's. One of these persons was Vincent Adawish who became a Catholic. His influence and teachings among other Odawa about the Catholic religion resulted in the Waganakising chiefs and headmen writing letters to the American government and church leaders requesting a priest. As a result of the efforts of Adawish, the Catholic religion was reintroduced among the Waganakising and missionary priests began to arrive in the 1820's. The activities of these missionaries created changes among the Odawa of Wagankising. Those who were converting to Christianity were encouraged to stop going south in the winter and to live more like European Americans. The people also began moving to establish a new settlement at what is now Harbor Springs. Log houses were built as well as a church and school. This community became known as New L'abre Croche or Wequotonsing the Odawa word for "upon a small bay."

We also began to change the way we governed ourselves and how we used the land. The new settlement at Harbor Springs consisted of persons from both of the major Odawa towns at Waganakising. This meant that new areas for the agricultural fields were established as well as internal arrangements for who was responsible for their care. The missionaries expected the men to do most of the farming work and the women were encouraged to attend to things in their homes like European and American women.

Housing also began change. Previously, until about 1830, most of the people at Waganakising lived in long lodges made of a bent saplings covered with bark or woven mats. Many of these long houses were 100 feet in length and had two or more fire pits. Inside there were platforms built along each side over the entire length of the lodge where people slept and kept their belongings. The size of the long house depended on how many people lived together in it. One long house was usually the home for 20-100 people.

Contrary to popular belief we did not live in the small dome and conical shaped wigwam type of housing on a regular basis. We only used them when we were traveling because they were easy to move. Another type of house was built in the summer at the agricultural fields. It was also made of saplings but the roof had a peak and the entire structure was covered with bark. It was smaller than the long house but it also had sleeping platforms inside. The bark used for covering these dwellings was taken from birch, elm and cedar trees. Woven mats made of reeds were used for the covering on wigwams when traveling.

Beginning in 1820's, new settlements were planned at Waganakising that contained more permanent type houses that were built from logs similar to European and American homes. Some of the people from the settlement at Seven Mile Point established a new town further north at what is now known as 'Middle Village'. The Seven Mile Point village, which was now abandoned, became known as "Old Middle Village." The people who had lived at the old Kiskakon village a few miles south of Cross Village, who had not moved to Harbor Springs, built a new town at the site of the old Catholic mission from the 1700's and called it 'Cross Village'.

Today the band that lives upon the Beaver Islands in Lake Michigan is considered part of the Waganakising Odawak. However, very little is known about them during this time period. A village is mentioned there in 1751. In the 1760's the main village is said to have been on the largest island. One of the principal chiefs at Beaver Island in the late 1700's was called Machikokowish or 'Bad Owl'. It can be assumed that they lived in a similar way to the bands residing at Waganakising on the mainland.

Principal Sources:

Annales 1829, 1830; Assikinack 1858; Blackbird 1887; Cadillac 1947; Carver 1956; Duggan 1795-1801; Johnson 1921-1965; Jones 1861; Kent 2004; Kinietz 1965; Kurath & Ettawageshik 1955; Tanner 1994; WHC 1855-1911.



Another photograph showing a Waganakising Odawa family from the late 1800's. Pictures like this were taken in a studio.

5. Land, Culture and History 1830-1870

Starting in the 1830's we no longer traveled to the south during the winter. One of the principal reasons is that those areas where we were accustomed to go were being settled by white Americans who were very quickly making drastic changes to the land. They were cutting the forests, building towns, establishing farms, making roads, and constructing sawmills on the rivers. All this activity meant that there were fewer animals to hunt and trap during the winter and fewer fish to catch in the waters.

During this period we still used clans to identify ourselves. As was mentioned in a previous chapter, the Odawak at Waganakising had adopted and incorporated a number of people from other tribes as well as Europeans and African slaves into our society. Each of these groups had a distinct clan that identified their national origin and status within the tribe. By the middle of the 1800's this situation resulted in a large number of clans found among the people living at Waganakising. Evidence of these clans exists in an old church document that lists the families living at Cross Village. The information contained in these records covers most of the period from the last half of the 1800's up to 1905 which is the last entry made to it, but the bulk of the information was compiled between about 1847 and 1859.

The document contains the names of persons organized by family. It also provides their age, date of birth, death, baptism, and relationship to other persons on the list. For many of the people, it also lists their clan name written in the Odawa language.

Toseph Chokwalibranik

Mariana Misanigrijigotive m. Eminando

Mariana Mariana

Matrica

A page from the Cross Village Church records showing names of people within families and their clan names. Church records are an important source of family history.

The clans that appear on the document are listed below along with an English translation. The clan names are spelled exactly as they are written on the original document:

Clan Name English Translation

Amasandamo (A kind of water snake)

Amik Beaver

Animiki Thunder

Atchitchiag Crane (a kind of large bird)

Atik Caribou

Gaiachkochen Tern or Gull (kinds of shore bird)

Kinoje Pike (a kind of fish)

Maingan Wolf

Makatawias Black meat (name for a Negro)

Makwa Bear

Makwa osid Bear's foot

Megisiwas Eagle

Mississe Turkey
Moos Moose

Moose
Namebine
Sucker (a kind of fish)

Ningik Otter

Nissawakwad Forked (as in the fork of a tree)

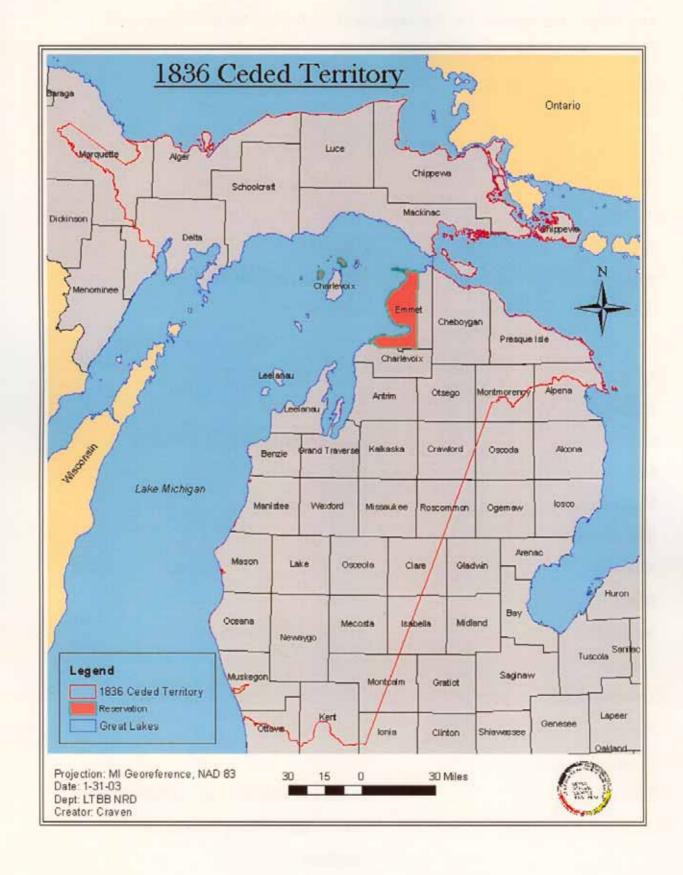
Pipigwen Sparrow Hawk

Wabijechi Marten

Wasissi (a kind of fish, possibly a Catfish or a

Burbot known as a 'Lawyer' in

English)



A total of 20 clans appear on the list. The most frequently occurring clans are the Bear, Crane, Moose, Burbot, and Eagle. Because this list is only connected with the people living at one community, which is Cross Village, it does not necessarily represent all of the clans that existed at Waganakising at that time. However, it probably does name most of them.

In the 1830's, one of the policies of the United States government was to remove all the Native people from east of the Mississippi River to the west. We were greatly concerned about this situation and some people from our bands moved to Canada. That is why there are many Odawa people at Wikwemikong on Manitoulin Island, Ontario who have the same last names and speak a very close a dialect of the language to our own.

The Treaty of 1836 not only sold a great deal of land to the United States but it also spoke of our removal to the west. This was a situation that we feared and saw that other tribes, such as the Potowatomi, who had already been removed west from their lands in southern Michigan did not do well. As a result, we developed a strategy to stay in our homeland and buy land. Because of the fear of removal, many Odawa people were not willing to improve their land should they have to abandon it to move west.

We received some of our payment for the land sales in cash every year. The Chiefs and Headmen began to purchase lands in their names for all the members of their band. People gave the chiefs money they had saved to purchase land in common. So we essentially bought back some of the land that we had just sold using the money that we were paid for it. The strategy worked and we were allowed to stay at Waganakising.



The federal government had the land at Waganakising surveyed in the 1840's. When the treaty of 1855 was signed, we created the reservation that incorporates most of what is today Emmet and Charlevoix counties including Garden and High Islands in Lake Michigan. The 1855 Treaty also called for the land within the reservation to be given out or allotted in small parcels to individual persons. The belief was that in this way it would be easier for us to adopt the American customs of land use and farming.

In the 1860's some Odawa men joined the United States army to fight in the Civil War. This was the first time that the Odawa fought on the side of the Americans. Some of the sons of chiefs enlisted, following the role of young warrior chiefs to fight alongside their people but the officers of the Indian units were all non-Odawa men.

At this time the land is still mostly occupied by Odawa, with very few non-Odawa people living on the reservation prior to 1870. Those who were there were associated with the mission and school. A sawmill built in the 1840's by the Odawa at Wycamp Creek, near Cross Village, provided the lumber used to build homes in Cross Village and at other Odawa settlements.

Many children attended school and learned about European and American cultural practices and beliefs. They also learned how to read and write in Odawa. New agricultural methods were introduced as well as some new types of foods, such as potatoes, currants and rutabagas. Chickens, pigs, and cattle were also beginning to be raised. Very few horses were found, but a small breed that was called an 'Indian Pony' with long shaggy hair was very common. However, it was used more for riding than for farm work.

Some of the children of chiefs were sent to American schools during this time using treaty land sale money. When we sold our land, we asked for payment in cash, goods and services. One of the services we requested was education for our children. As a result, the Catholic missionaries funded some schools with our money which was obtained from the sale of our land.

Fishing was still a major activity. Greater numbers of fish were being caught and sold on the market rather than smoked and consumed for our own use. At the beginning of this period, about 1870, we were still selling fish that was packed in barrels of salt. This was the usual way of preserving and packaging fish for the market at the time. Hunting passenger pigeons was a seasonal activity that provided an abundance of food. Wood boats constructed of milled lumber, rather than birch bark, were now being produced and used by the Odawak for water travel and fishing purposes.

As the trend toward selecting allotment of lands occurred, small family farms began to emerge as people moved onto those parcels. However, not everyone moved their residences to their farmsteads. Most kept a permanent home at one of the villages such as Middle Village or Cross Village and lived there during the winter. During the warm months they spent a lot of time at their allotment land, taking care of their crops.

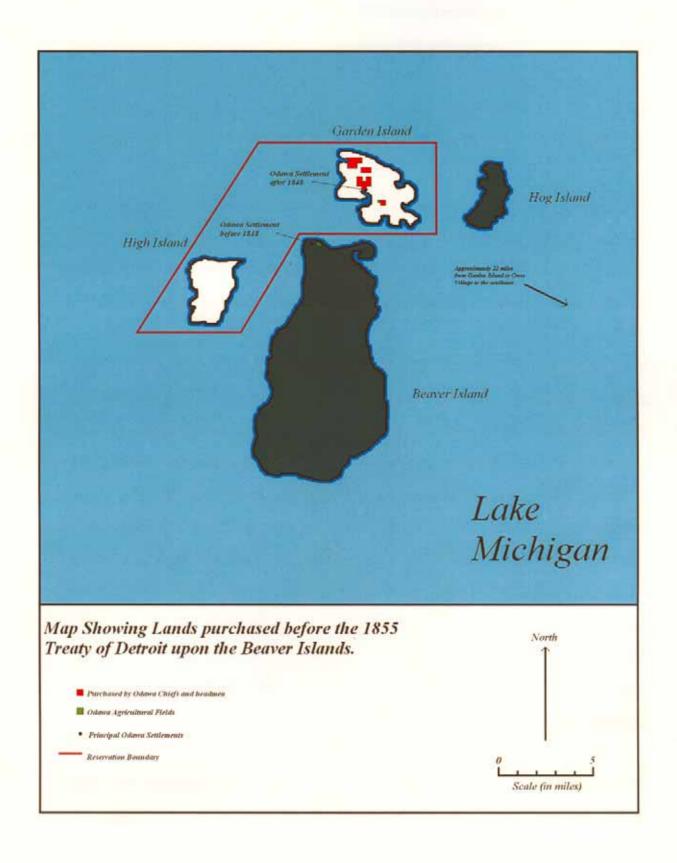
The Feast for the Dead was no longer held in the spring time but was replaced by a smaller ceremony in the autumn called the 'Ghost Supper'. The timing was designed to overlap with the Catholic 'Feast of All Souls' on November 1st each year. This new ceremony did not involve the reburying of the dead. Instead, it consisted of a dinner held in the evening following

the decoration of the graves during that day using brightly colored paper and cloth 'crowns'. The dead were believed to come and join in on the feast with their living relatives. The dead would also wear the crowns upon their heads and take the colors with them. These ghost suppers were modest in their quantity and usually only a limited number of people were invited to attend.

Ceremonies associated with the Wahbahnowin and Midewiwin became less frequent. However many of the traditional beliefs and stories were still told and carried on by many of the people. Wahbahnowin and Midewiwin knowledge of medicinal plants for healing purposes was still maintained.

A ceremony called 'Shooting the Devil' was done New Year's day. It was a common tradition where the men from the village would gather together with their guns and were accompanied by a couple of small boys who carried bags. They started at the north end of the settlement and went from house to house shooting their guns into the air. At each house they were greeted by the family living there and all shook hands saying 'boozhoo' which is the Odawa version of the French word 'bonjour' for 'hello'. This ceremony was performed to cleanse bad spirits from the households for the start of the new year. As a gift for their service, the men were given food that was placed in the bags and carried with them until they were done. Then, when they were done, they went to the chief's house where they feasted on the gifts of food.

Many families made maple sugar. This was an important product that was sold on the market for cash. Many potatoes were also being grown and sold to the Americans living at the Straits of Mackinac.



The Odawa living on Beaver Island moved to Garden Island about the middle of the 1800's. This was done, in part, to get away from the Mormons who had settled upon Beaver Island because the two groups were sometimes in conflict with one another.

Principal Sources:

Blackbird 1881, 1887; Holy Childhood Parish 1840-1870; Shurtleff 1963; United States 1860, 1870.

6. Land, Culture and History 1870-1940

The start of this period, in 1870, was the end of cash payments from the Treaty of 1855. This caused some disruption to the economy of the Waganakising Odawak. A large number of Odawa had to rely solely upon the land and water to make a living. Many of the land allotments that were obtained were quickly lost again through taxes and swindlers. The small farms and other lands that were being developed by the Odawa people were used primarily for growing food crops and sugar making activities. Very little of the things they produced were sold as a cash product. People survived primarily by participating in a wide range of activities.

Wage labor became the principal means of supporting families, especially toward the end of the period. The occupations of most men were connected with the lumber industry. They found employment in the woods cutting trees and working at sawmills. Some were also 'sawyers' or the men who kept the saws and axes sharpened. A few worked on farms as laborers. Some were trained as barbers, shoemakers, bakers, and other occupations from government schools but could not usually find employment in those jobs.

In the beginning of this period, when the reservation was first opened up for white settlement, many Odawa people were elected or appointed to local government positions such as township and county clerks, sheriff, postmaster, treasurer, etc. But as time went on, they were quickly replaced by non-Odawa people and we slowly lost a voice in the local affairs on the reservation.



Another photograph showing a Waganakising Odawa family from the late 1800's. Pictures like this were taken in a studio.

Less and less hunting, gathering and fishing was done, and some people still grew small gardens for foodstuff. A few people made modern versions of traditional cultural items for sale to tourists. Some of the items that were produced were baskets made of black ash splints, birch bark containers with some decorated with porcupine quills, bows and arrows for children, and pipes made of wood.

By the end of this period maple sugar and syrup was not made by many Odawak. A few families still had the large copper kettles that had been in their possession for many generations and was used to boil down the maple sap. A kind of maple candy was made for the children by mixing the thick syrup with wild hazelnuts and pouring it onto the snow to cool. The result was a taffy-like treat. The spikes used to tap into the maple trees were carved from sumac branches.

Some limited fishing and hunting still provided a supplement to the Odawa dinner table. At Middle Village, the fishermen would stop along the shore near the settlement and give away all the fish that were not sold in town. Deer and rabbit hunting provided some meat with the venison sometimes being canned for future use. A few men trapped muskrats.

Fishing for trout in winter was done by Odawa men from Cross Village and Middle Village off the first bank on Lake Michigan using a hook and line. Another favorite spot was on Sturgeon Bay where they would catch fish by spearing or by using a hook and line through the ice. The men stayed in shanties on the end of Waugoshance Point. They carried their equipment on a sled pulled by dogs. The dogs were fed frozen fish while they stayed there,



A photograph of the Odawa settlement called "Middle Village" taken about 1900 near what is now Good Hart. Notice the log houses.



Another photograph of "Middle Village" taken from a different angle about the year 1900.

sometimes for a week or longer, until a good supply was caught. A handmade decoy was used to lure the fish so they could be speared. It was carved of wood and painted to look like a herring. The fins were small pieces of metal cut from a tin can and the belly portion was hollowed out and filled with lead. The total length of the decoy was about 5 inches. This same method of fishing was described 100 years earlier among the Beaver Island Odawa and is also mentioned in the 1760's. It is remarkable how similar these techniques remained over such a long period of time.

In summer, small mouth bass were caught for food, and sometimes sturgeon, but they caused a lot of damage to the nets. The small mouth bass were also called 'green bass' by the Odawa because of their color. Another fish called a 'mazie', also known as a burbot or lawyer in English, was often caught and eaten, especially the egg sack. The egg sack when pan fried was considered a delicacy. The famous 'fish-head soup' is also widely remembered.

The Middle Village and Cross Village Odawa would pick blueberries every August at Sturgeon Bay. The Odawa would pick them for their own use and/or to sell and trade. The blueberry plains were maintained by the Odawak by burning the area in the winter to keep the land open for them to grow. Sometimes the Odawa took the berries as far away as Chicago to sell.

The strongholds of Odawa culture during this period were still the communities of Middle Village, Cross Village and 'Indian Town' at Harbor Springs. But many begin to move into local urban areas such as Harbor Springs, Petoskey. Some moved as far away as Detroit, Chicago and elsewhere. These moves were usually to find employment.



This is a picture of the Holy Childhood Catholic Boarding School in Harbor Springs about the year 1900. Many Odawa youth attended this school beginning in the 1820's.

At the beginning of this period in 1870, a large number of Odawa only spoke their own language and many of the older ones could also write in the language. However, language use was beginning to diminish by 1940. There were fewer people who only spoke Odawa, many also spoke some English. Younger people were not learning the language. The educational level continued to increase but very few Odawa ever graduated from high school.

The Catholic boarding school at Harbor Springs continued to expand using money from the government to educate Odawa people. The children were not learning how to read and write in their own language, and only English was being taught. Some children were sent to government-run boarding schools such as the one at Mount Pleasant and Carlisle in Pennsylvania.

Cultural traditions endured. Stories about the culture and history were still taught. Many of the people believed that some Odawa had the ability to use traditional ceremonies to do harm to others such as the 'Bear Walk'. However, there are also some Odawa who used traditional methods of healing such as plants, songs and dances that were obtained by consulting spirits through fasting and singing. Odawa men also continued to conduct the ceremony of cleansing the households in each village on New Year's Day by 'Shooting the Devil' away with their guns. However by 1940, this tradition was mostly an activity of the Children who went door to door and received food treats. Ceremonies called the 'Three Kings Feast' and the 'Pay Back Feast' were also still performed. However, the original meaning and purpose of these feasts is uncertain. In modern times it was apparently tied to the celebration of 'Little Christmas' in January with the 'Pay Back Feast' occurring after Easter.

Ghost Suppers were held every year on the first of November. At Cross Village the families who sponsored them during the early twentieth century were Edward Kenoshameg, Louis Gasco, Mary Odeimin, Alice Dubell, Grace King and Christine Wedash. The Three Kings Feast and the Pay Back Feasts were all held at the church hall. After about 1940, the Three Kings Feast was not held any longer at Cross Village. At Middle Village the families who put on Ghost Suppers were Mary Kosequat, Joe Donatus, Martin & Mary King, Tom King, and Saraphina & Matt Kenoshameg. They differed slightly from those at Cross Village in the fact that they were attended by invitation only. There is no mention of Three King's Feasts being held at Middle Village during this period.

Starting inn the late 1880's, at Cross Village, a picnic was held every summer on the church grounds. This festival was originally a feast and ceremony honoring the Great Spirit. Also at Cross Village, entire Odawa families would go and clean the cemetery every August. They took blueberries there with them that they had picked at Sturgeon Bay. This was done to honor the ancestors with gifts of the first fruits of the harvest.

Garden Island was abandoned during the 1930's and a few tribal members remained on Beaver and High Islands during this time. Fishing in winter near Garden Island for lake trout, sturgeon and whitefish, was done on the gravel shoals using hook and line as well as spears. This was a principal means of livelihood of those living on the Beaver Islands from the 1870's to the early twentieth century. Fishing declined sharply starting in the late 1800's on Lake Michigan. That situation drove many people off the islands to the mainland to look for employment.



Another photograph showing a Waganakising Odawa family from the late 1800's. Pictures like this were taken in a studio.

At Cross Village and Middle Village Odawa people had small gardens where they raised vegetables on small lots within the town. Some also had gardens outside of town on their old allotment lands or farms. They raised corn, potatoes, cucumbers, squash, beets, turnips, rutabagas, string beans, tomatoes, lettuce, parsnips and carrots. Most of this food was preserved for later use by canning it. Corn however was sometimes still dried using a fire, especially in the wood stove when such items became part of Odawa homes. Sometimes corn was 'scorched' while still on the cob by placing it on the wood stove and turning it over until it was completely dried out and then stored in this way. When they wanted to use it they removed it from the cob.

Some families still stored food in pits dug into the ground, some of which were under the house beneath the wood floors. However many of the older Odawa log homes only had the earth as a floor. In the Middle Village area many of these old storage pits can still be seen on the ground surface and are called 'Indian potato pits' by the summer resort people.

It was common to also raise chickens and to get a young pig every spring, feed it table scraps throughout the summer, then butcher it for the meat in the autumn. A few families had cow or two, and they made cottage cheese from the milk. Sometimes Odawa people would also work for local non-Odawa farmers picking potatoes and doing small jobs around their farms for food and cash.

Other cultural things that were happening concerned the personal names of people which began to take on a different meanings. As people became Christianized a first name was added to the Odawa family names. The Christian first name was sometimes also used as a last name and some of the people still have last names that sound like first names in English.

In general the Odawa people who lived during this time felt that everyone had a great deal of respect for the land and its use, even the non-Odawa people. They remember that everyone was welcome to go upon the land of others for purposes of getting what they needed. It was common to get fire wood, craft supplies, and food from anywhere, just as long as they respected the land. There were no signs posting 'private land' or 'no trespassing' to be seen anywhere during this time. People shared much more of what they had with one another because they all knew that everyone had very little.

Principal Sources:

Andrews 2005; Blackbird 1881; Dunlop & Blacklidge 2004; Keller 2005; Kurath & Ettawageshik 1955; Sagataw 2005; Samuels 2005; Shurtleff 1963.

7. Summary and Conclusions

The Waganakising Odawa have adopted people from many different origins into the tribe during their history. The result was a rich culture and history with many different traditions and a large number of different clans.

The period from 1740 to 1830 at Waganakising was a time when the Odawa used of a variety of natural resources over a wide geographic area during different seasons of the year. Winters were spent by most people in the river valleys that drain into the southern half of Lake Michigan, and the summers at Waganakising. Odawa people made their living during this time by a mixture of hunting, trapping, fishing and agricultural production that was mostly oriented toward the fur trade.

During the period of 1830 to 1870, some of the most important things that happened were the changes in using land outside of and within the reservation. These included a reduction of long range seasonal migrations. Seasonal activity still took place. However it was confined to the areas closer to Waganakising where we also spent the winters. Everyday livelihood still comprised a mixture of hunting, fishing, agriculture and gathering but the fur trade had declined to an unimportant economic pursuit by the beginning of the period. Land sales, and the creation of the Waganakising reservation, occurred during this time as well as tribal land purchase and land allotments. Land sales from the treaties begin to provide cash, goods and services that began to slowly replace traditional subsistence strategies by the end of the period.

The more recent period of 1870 to 1940 is marked by the migration onto the reservation by large numbers of non-Odawa people. The Odawa lost control over large land areas and many moved from rural areas to local towns. The livelihood of the Odawa people changed to primarily wage labor with less reliance upon agriculture, fishing and hunting. Many traditional beliefs and practices were maintained in spite of heavy influences from European Americans in everyday life.

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Notes about the bibliography

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