

## Book Reviews

*Walam Olum or Red Score: The Migration Legend of the Lenne Lenape or Delaware Indians: A New Translation, Interpreted by Linguistic, Historical, Archaeological, and Physical Anthropological Studies.* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1954, pp. xiv, 379. Illustrations, bibliography, and index. \$15.00.)

This handsome volume is an impressive attempt to assess the historical accuracy of the Walam Olum or Red Score, a document composed of pictographs and an explanatory text in Lenape (Delaware) words. The contributors to this study—Eli Lilly, C. F. Voegelin, Erminie Voegelin, Joe E. Pierce, Paul Weer, Glenn A. Black, and Georg K. Neumann—regard the pictographs and accompanying songs as “the tribal story from the Creation to the coming of the White man to North America. The main themes are the migration from Asia to Alaska and south and east across the North American continent, and the chronological presentation of the chiefs by which time was measured in the epic.” The significance of the Walam Olum to students of Indiana history is that such documentation as is available indicates that “the original painted records are reported to have been found in Indiana . . .” (p. 250). The results published in this volume are a permanent record of the investigations by a coordinated and competent group. Future research can build on the work accomplished so far and will not have to repeat the tasks recorded here.

Publications of translations and interpretations of the Walam Olum have appeared in the past. The first, in 1836, was the work of Constantine S. Rafinesque, and the volume under review reproduces the manuscript of this author from the original in the possession of the Brinton Memorial Library of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania. This excellent reproduction is in itself a valuable contribution, since the Rafinesque manuscript appears to be the only source of information on the Walam Olum. The second publication was by Ephraim G. Squier in 1848, with subsequent inclusion of his paper in volumes of collected papers on Indian subjects. In 1885 Daniel G. Brinton made a more complete study of the Walam Olum and his account has been the standard up to the present.

It is the virtue of this volume that a much more comprehensive and intensive study has been made than was done in the 1800's. Eli Lilly has contributed a painstaking examination of the symbols of the Walam Olum for internal consistency, for comparison with native American pictographs and petroglyphs, and similar symbols in other early picture writing. His interpretations are ingenious and strongly indicate a connection between the pictographs and the accompanying text.

Carl F. Voegelin has contributed a new translation of the words recorded as explanatory of the glyphs which seems to differ from the Brinton and Rafinesque versions, but an accompanying explanation of the differences is lacking. Perhaps the discrepancies were the result of Voegelin's preference for his recent field work, the Delaware dictionary that he compiled, and the understanding of modern informants of words written down 125 years ago as a basis for translation. However, the linguistic interpretation as a phase of the Walam Olum is beyond my competence to evaluate, and I gladly leave the problem to other students.

The running commentary by Erminie Voegelin on the translation of the songs provides possible interpretations of the historical and cultural significance. It is unfortunately true that the Walam Olum in itself offers extremely little precise geographical information, and it is not too clear to the reviewer whether the happenings recorded in the several books form a continuous sequence. Certainly there are very few references to material culture, social organization or mythological beliefs from which could have been formed a more adequate comparative picture. The comments are of interest but one wonders if it might not have been possible to find more connections with historical and modern accounts of Delaware life. The suggested movements of the Delaware in the comments on Book V provide a picture of an extremely mobile group whose wanderings covered a rather large area from Indiana to the Atlantic and from at least Lake Erie on the north to south of the Mason-Dixon line, within Lilly's suggested chronology from about 1145 A.D. to the 1600's. I shall return to this in the discussion of Glenn A. Black's chapter.

I view Paul Weer's chapter on the "History of the Manuscript and Painted Record" as an excellent presentation

of his energetic and conscientious search for historically verifiable evidence regarding the acquisition of the painted record by Rafinesque and the poems or songs which he published with the pictographs. It is an interesting and important record and is presented in a clear and constrained tone. His conclusions are as follows: "We have presented rather strong circumstantial evidence, and suggested a motive for a Dr. Ward being on White River in Indiana in 1820. We have failed to find any facts to elaborate Rafinesque's statement that he acquired the Walam Olum material in 1822, except to show that his travels for that year were within a restricted area wherein dwelt a Dr. Ward." In Rafinesque's account of this acquisition of the Walam Olum he states that the "actual Olum [painted glyphs on wood or bark] were at first obtained in 1820, as a reward for a medical cure, deemed a curiosity; and were unexplicable. In 1822 were obtained from another individual the songs annexed thereto in the original language; but no one could be found by me able to translate them." However, the version recorded by Rafinesque on his manuscript is "This Mpt. and the wooden original was procured in 1822 in Kentucky, but was inexplicable till deep study of the Linape enabled me to translate them with explanations. (Dr. Ward)" Apparently "Dr. Ward" obtained ". . . some of the original Wallum-Olum (painted record) of the Linape tribe of Wapahani or White River," and transmitted these to Rafinesque. But who was "another individual" who provided for Rafinesque in Kentucky the accompanying songs? Rafinesque provides no data on this vital point of "another individual" who would know the songs to accompany the pictographs, could provide the Delaware words that corresponded to the glyphs so that Rafinesque could record them with his drawings, but who could also not give him in English any inkling of the meaning of the Indian words. Another feature of Weer's phase of the work is the suggestion that in the considerable archives at Moravian College there may be manuscript data which will be of value in understanding the origin and meaning of the Walam Olum.

Lilly has contributed a stimulating chapter, "Speculations on the Chronology of the Walam Olum and Migration of the Lenape." This might have been placed at the end of the volume as an interpretative summation of the investi-

gations of the Indiana Historical Society team. The thesis is presented that the *Walam Olum* can be viewed as a native historical account which documents the movement of the Delaware (or perhaps the Algonkians as a group) from their early Siberian home across Bering Strait about 366 A.D. According to the *Walam Olum* account, the ancestral Delaware proceeded up the Yukon after the Bering Strait passage and crossed the divide to the east side of the Canadian Rockies. From here they migrated southward to a point between the headwaters of the Columbia and the Mackenzie where one group turned east to become the northern Algonkians, while the second group advanced in a southeasterly direction to "Snow Mountain" in southern Montana which they reached about 808 A.D. The second group then moved southeastward into the Mississippi Valley, crossing the Mississippi and Illinois rivers and occupying the southern Indiana-southern Ohio area about 1136 to 1300 A.D. From there they crossed the Alleghenies about 1327 into eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey. The time scale is based on the number of chiefs mentioned in the *Walam Olum* and an averaged 13.67 years as the reasonable tenure period for each chief. The route is based on interpretations as to the geographical location of the vague references to landscape features, neighboring Indian group names, and to some degree on other anthropological data. The picto-map on the front flyleaf has a rather curious presentation of the relationship of Bering Strait to the mouth of the Yukon. Lilly has this to say about this series of speculations. "The most intriguing question in connection with the *Walam Olum* is how much of it is reasonably accurate history and how much mere romance. Both are undoubtedly present. . . . While results thus far have not been conclusive, and not always encouraging, such studies should not be discontinued until the truths and falsities of this interesting tradition are finally determined." With this we can fully concur.

Glenn A. Black had the difficult task of assimilating a considerable body of archaeological data from the Middle West and the East. Much of this is unpublished and there are unfortunate areal gaps. Furthermore, as is apparent from his bibliography, he did not have our present knowledge of a fairly large number of radiocarbon dates for the area concerned. At the present time (November, 1954)

many archaeologists have accepted a beginning date for the Woodland culture around 2000 to 1000 B.C., while the climax of the Hopewell culture seems to be of the order of 2000 years ago. Even without radiocarbon dates, some archaeologists by cross-correlating Mississippi Valley materials into the Southwest were suggesting a date for Hopewell of the order of 1500 years ago. This is important because Black suggests the possibility of the Delaware as the prehistoric group responsible for the Hopewell culture in the Ohio Valley, and the time of their occupancy would be around 1100 to 1300 A. D., according to Lilly's estimates. These latter dates are actually the ones which the majority of archaeologists accepted in the late 1930's and early 1940's. I seriously question that the archaeological evidence in the Delaware eastern locations indicates that a migration took place from the Ohio Valley to eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey for any or all of the three tribal groups which came to be called Delaware well along in the historic period. My interpretation would be that the prehistoric materials in the area of the Munsee, Unami, and Unalachtigo represent separate and distinctive prehistoric cultures which could not be brought together in a single archaeological culture in past time.

Woodland and Hopewell materials in the central and northern Plains have been consistently interpreted by archaeologists as a westward expansion from the Upper Mississippi Valley and the same thing is true of the Woodland from the southern Canadian plains where it is known to be late and both Siouan and Algonkian. This is the reverse of the situation required in the present interpretation of the Walam Olum. I do not believe the archaeological evidence supports the migration story of the Walam Olum.

There is much that is valuable in Black's chapter. He effectively documents the difficulty of identification from early historic documents and maps of specific archaeological sites and cultures. He presents a summary and suggests a correlation of the prehistoric Delaware traits of "Lenape" with the Hopewell occupation of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois and of "Talligew" (a group mentioned in the Walam Olum) with the Adena culture. Black is by no means dogmatic in this chapter, and, while I am skeptical of the implication of many of his questions, I respect the cultural evidence which

he has used to show connections between archaeological groups.

Neumann's chapter deals with the skeletal material attributed to the Delaware and the evidence it offers for prehistoric Delaware movements and origins. Neumann's chapter was the last to be submitted, and his interpretations have, I think, benefited from data not available to other contributors. He believes that the Delaware in late prehistoric times in the east belonged to a relatively homogeneous physical division of the American Indians which he calls Otamid. This physical type is of considerable antiquity in the New World and a similar physical type also has considerable antiquity in northeastern Asia. It is also the physical type of the Hopewell culture in the Middle West. We do not know, however, if the physical type of Hopewell times in the historic Delaware area was Otamid, although that would be a reasonable guess. Since the Otamids were in the Northeast, according to Neumann, in the Early Woodland period, the possibility is open that the historic Delaware could have been descended from that early Otamid population in the Northeast and was not necessarily an eastward extension during Hopewell or later times.

One interesting result of Neumann's work is that the prehistoric population to which he assigned the term Lenapid he no longer believes to be the physical remains of the Lenape. Perhaps a change of name would make things less confusing.

I have long been intrigued with the probable Asiatic origins of some of the Woodland culture traits. As a result of a year's study in Europe on northern Eurasian prehistory, I am more than ever impressed with the cultural similarities in prehistoric times between Northeast Asia and the Woodland area of eastern North America. There are, however, considerable difficulties in the simple thesis that the Delaware or the Algonkians migrated from the Minusinsk-Baikal area to the Mississippi Valley carrying Woodland culture with them.

There are relatively few of the inevitable errata. On pages 351 and 364 the reference to Hrdlicka's "Crania of Siberia" should be Volume XXIX, and not XIX, of the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*. On page 365 Tolstoy's title should be "Some Amerasian Pottery Traits in North Asian Prehistory." On page 369 Mrs. Lafferty's

account of the connection between Rafinesque and Dr. Ward is curiously reversed, for here it says, "See page 51 for undocumented account of transfer of Walam Olum from Rafinesque to Ward."

This study of the Walam Olum is a stimulating attempt to validate the historical accuracy of a migration legend attributed to the Lenape. I believe that it has not been successful because of chronological conflicts between the legend and the archaeological data; because the archaeological data can be interpreted in a number of different ways and the "truth" is not yet apparent, and because the physical anthropological data is also open to a variety of interpretations. Current linguistic attempts at providing a relative time scale for large language families in the New World also indicate a much greater time depth for Algonkian in North America than Lilly's speculations would allow.

This monograph and this review are a reflection of the present status of the interpretation of eastern United States prehistory. Reasonable men can arrive at different solutions for a given problem, and it is not always likely that any student, or group of students, will be wholly right or wholly wrong. This volume is a significant contribution, and the effort which has gone into it will have and has had many interesting by-products.

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*A History of the Southern Confederacy.* By Clement Eaton.  
(New York: The Macmillan Company, 1954, pp. ix, 351.  
Index. \$5.50.)

This compact, scholarly, judicious history of the South during its great struggle fills a place all its own. "I have sought to achieve a balance between the social, political, and military history of the Southern Confederacy," writes Dr. Eaton, and in this he has been successful. Whereas Robert Selph Henry's *The Story of the Confederacy* is primarily a military narrative, and E. M. Coulter's *The Confederate States of America* is most important for its socio-economic materials, Dr. Eaton's work blends all the elements of the story in just proportions. Built largely on the immense