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HISTORICAL AND MYTHOLOGICAL TRADITIONS OF THE ALGONQUINS;

WITH A TRANSLATION OF THE "WALUM-OLUM," OR BARK RECORD OF THE LINNI-LENAPE.*

BY E. G. SQUIER.

THE discovery of America, in the fifteenth century, constitutes a grand era in the history of the world. From it we may date the rise of that mental energy and physical enterprise, which has since worked so wonderful changes in the condition of the human race. It gave a new and powerful impulse to the nations of Europe, then slowly rousing from the lethargy of centuries. Love of adventure, hope, ambition, avarice,—the most powerful incentives to human action,—directed the attention of all men to America. Thither flocked the boldest and most adventurous spirits of Europe; and half a century of startling events sufficed to lift the veil of night from a vast continent, unsurpassed in the extent and variety of its productions, abounding in treasures, and teeming with a strange people, divided into numberless families, exhibiting many common points of resemblance, yet differing widely in their condition, manners, customs, and civil and social organizations.

Along the shores of the frozen seas of the North, clothed with the furs of the sea-monsters whose flesh had supplied them with food, burrowing in icy caverns during the long polar nights, were found the dwarfed and squalid Esquimaux. In lower latitudes, skirting the bays and inlets of the Atlantic, pushing their canoes along the shores of the great lakes, or chasing the buffalo on the vast meadows of the West, broken up into numerous families, subdivided into tribes, warring constantly, and ever struggling for ascendancy over each other, were the active and fearless Hunters, falling chiefly within the modern extended denominations of the Algonquin and Iroquois families. Still lower down, in the mild and fertile regions bordering

the Gulf of Mexico, more fixed in their habits, half hunters, half agriculturists, with a systematized religion, and a more consolidated civil organization, and constituting the connecting link between the gorgeous semi-civilization of Mexico and the nomadic state of the Northern families, were the Floridian tribes, in many respects one of the most interesting groups of the continent. Beneath the tropics, around the bases of the volcanic ranges of Mexico, and occupying her high and salubrious plains, Cortez found the Aztecs and their dependencies,—nations rivalling in their barbarous magnificence the splendors of the oriental world,—far advanced in the arts, living in cities, constructing vast works of public utility, and sustaining an imposing, though bloody religious system. Passing the nations of Central America, whose architectural monuments challenge comparison with the proudest of the old world, and attest the advanced condition and great power of their builders,—Pizarro found beneath the equator a vast people, living under a well-organized and consolidated government, attached to a primitive Sabianism, fixed in their habits and customs, and happy in their position and circumstances. Still beyond these to the southward, were the invincible Aurucanians, together with numerous other nations, with distinctive features, filling still lower places in the scale of advancement, and finally subsiding into the squalid counterparts of the Esquimaux in Patagonia.

These numerous nations, exhibiting contrasts so striking, and institutions so novel and interesting, it might be supposed, would have at once attracted the attention of the learned of that day, and insured at their hands a full and authentic account of

* This paper was read before the New York Historical Society, at its regular meeting in June last. It has not been thought necessary to materially alter its original form, although as a general rule, the use of the first person is objectionable.

their government, religion, traditions, customs and modes of life. The men, however, who subverted the empires of Montezuma and the Incas, were bold adventurers, impelled for the most part by an absorbing avarice, and unfitted by habit, as incapable from education and circumstances, of transmitting to us correct or satisfactory information respecting the nations with which they were acquainted. The ecclesiastics who followed in their train, from whom more might have been expected, actuated by a fierce bigotry, and eager only to elevate the symbol of their intolerance over the emblems of a rival priesthood, misrepresented the religious conceptions of the Indians, and exaggerated the bloody observances of the aboriginal ritual, as an apology, if not a justification, for their own barbarism and cruelty. They threw down the high altars of Aztec superstition, and consecrated to their own mummeries the solar symbols of the Peruvian temples. They burned the pictured historical and mythological records of the ancient empire in the public square of Mexico; defaced the sculptures on her monuments, and crushed in pieces the statues of her gods. Yet the next day, with an easy transition, they proclaimed the great impersonation of the female, or productive principle of Nature, who in the Mexican, as in every other system of mythology, was the consort of the Sun, to be no other than the Eve of the Mosaic record, or the Mother of Christ; they even tracked the vagrant St. Thomas in the person of the benign Quetzalcoatl, the Mexican counterpart of the Hindoo Buddha and the Egyptian Osiris!

All these circumstances have contributed to throw doubt and uncertainty over the Spanish accounts of the aboriginal nations. Nor were the circumstances, attending European adventure and settlements in other parts of the continent, much more favorable to the preservation of impartial and reliable records. The Puritan of the North and the gold-hunter of Virginia and Carolina, looked with little interest and less complacency upon the "wilde salvages" with which they were surrounded, and of whom Cotton Mather wrote, that "Although we know not *when* nor *how* they first became inhabitants of this mighty continent, yet we may guess the devil

decoyed these miserable salvages hither, in hopes that the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ would never come to destroy his absolute empire over them."

The Jesuits and other enthusiasts, the propagandists of the Catholic faith among the Northern tribes, were more observant and correct, but their accounts are very meagre in matters of the most consequence, in researches concerning the history and religion of the aborigines. All treated the religious conceptions and practices and transmitted traditions of the Indians with little regard. Indeed it has been only during the last century, since European communication with the primitive nations of Southern Asia, and a more intimate acquaintance with Oriental literature, have given a new direction to researches into the history of mind and man, that the true value of the religious notions and the recorded or transmitted traditions of various nations, in determining their origins and connections, and illustrating their remote history, has been ascertained. And even now there are few who have a just estimation of their importance in these respects. It may however be claimed, in the language of an erudite American, that "of all researches which most effectually aid us to discover the origin of a nation or people, whose history is either unknown, or deeply involved in the obscurity of ancient times, none are perhaps attended with such important results, as the analysis of their theological dogmas, and their religious practices. To such matters mankind adheres with the greatest tenacity, and though both modified and corrupted in the revolutions of ages, they still preserve features of their original construction when language, arts, sciences and political establishments no longer retain distinct lineaments of their ancient constitutions."

The traveller Clarke, maintaining the same position, observes, "that by a proper attention to the vestiges of ancient superstition, we are sometimes enabled to refer a whole people to their original ancestors, with as much if not more certainty, than by observations made upon their languages, because the superstition is engrafted upon the stock, but the language is liable to change." However important is the study of military, civil and political history, the science is incomplete without

mythological history, and he is little imbued with the spirit of philosophy, who can perceive in the fables of antiquity nothing but the extravagance of a fervid imagination.* It is under this view, in the absence of such information derivable from early writers, as may form the basis of our inquiries into the history of the American race, its origin, and the rank which it is entitled to hold in the scale of human development, that the religious conceptions and observances, and authentic traditions of the aboriginal nations, become invested with new interest and importance. And although the opportunities for collecting them, at this day, are limited, and much care and discrimination is requisite to separate that which is original from what is derivative, still they perhaps afford the safest and surest means of arriving at the results desired. Not that I would be understood as undervaluing physical or philological researches, in their bearings upon these questions; for if the human mind can ever flatter itself with having discovered the truth, it is when many facts, and these facts of different kinds, unite in producing the same result.

Impressed with these views, I have, in pursuing investigations in another but cognate department of research, taken considerable pains to collect from all available sources, such information as seemed authentic, relating not only to the religious ceremonies and conceptions, but also to the mythological and historical traditions of the aborigines of all parts of the continent. An analysis and comparison of these have led to some most extraordinary results, which it would be impossible, in the narrow scope of this paper, to indicate with necessary fullness. It may be said generally, that they exhibit not only a wonderful uniformity and concurrence in their elements and more important particulars, but also an absolute identity, in many essential respects, with those which existed among the primitive nations of the

old world, far back in the monumental and traditional periods.

Among the various original manuscripts which, in the course of these investigations, fell into my possession, I received through the hands of the executors of the lamented NICOLLET, a series by the late Prof. C. S. RAFINESQUE,—well known as a man of science and of an inquiring mind, but whose energies were not sufficiently concentrated to leave a decided impression in any department of research. A man of unparalleled industry, an earnest and indefatigable collector of facts, he was deficient in that scope of mind joined to severe critical powers, indispensable to correct generalization. While, therefore, it is usually safe to reject his conclusions, we may receive his facts, making proper allowances for the haste with which they were got together.

Among these MSS. ("*rudis indigestaque moles*,") was one entitled the "*Walum Ohum*," (literally, "*painted sticks*,")—or painted and engraved traditions of the Linni-Lenape,—comprising five divisions, the first two embodying the traditions referring to the Creation and a general flood, and the rest comprising a record of various migrations, with a list of ninety-seven chiefs, in the order of their succession, coming down to the period of the discovery. This MS. also embraces one hundred and eighty-four compound mnemonic symbols, each accompanied by a sentence or verse in the original language, of which a literal translation is given in English. The only explanation which we have concerning it, is contained in a foot note, in the hand of Rafinesque, in which he states that the MS. and wooden originals were obtained in Indiana in 1822, and that they were for a long time inexplicable, "until with a deep study of the Delaware, and the aid of Zeisberber's manuscript Dictionary, in the library of the Philosophical Society, a translation was effected." This translation, it may here be remarked, so far as I have been able to test it, is a faithful one, and there is slight doubt that the original is what it professes to be, a genuine Indian record. The evidence that it is so, is however rather internal and collateral than direct.*

* "The existence of similar religious ideas in remote regions, inhabited by different races, is an interesting subject of study; furnishing as it does, one of the most important links in the great chain of communication which binds together the distant families of nations."—*Prescott's Mexico*, vol. i. p. 59.

* Since the above was written, a copy of

The traditions which it embodies coincide, in most important respects, with those which are known to have existed, and which still exist, in forms more or less modified, among the various Algonquin tribes, and the mode in which they are recorded is precisely that which was adopted by the Indians of this stock, in recording events, communicating intelligence, etc., and which has not inaptly been denominated *picture-writing*.

The scope of this system of picture-writing, and the extent to which it was applied, have not been generally understood nor fully recognized. Without, however, going into an analysis of the system, its principles and elements,—an inquiry of much interest,—it may be claimed, upon an array of evidence which will admit of no dispute, that under it the Indians were not only able to communicate events and transmit intelligence, but also to record chants and songs, often containing abstract ideas,—allusions to the origin of things, the power of nature, and to the elements of their religion. "The Indians," says Heckewelder, "have no alphabet, nor any mode of representing words to the eye, yet they have certain hieroglyphics, by which they describe facts in so plain a manner, that those who are conversant with their marks, can understand them with the greatest ease,—as easily, indeed, as they can understand a piece of writing."* This writer also asserts that the simple principles of the system are so well recognized, and of so general application, that the members of different tribes could interpret with the greatest facility the drawings of other and remote tribes. Loskiel has recorded his testimony to the same effect. He says: "The Delawares use hieroglyphics on wood, trees and stones, to give caution, for communication, to commemorate events and preserve records. Every Indian understands their

meaning, etc."* Mr. Schoolcraft also observes of the Ojibwas, that "every path has its blazed and figured tree, conveying intelligence to all that pass, for all can understand these signs, which," he adds, "are taught to the young as carefully as our alphabet." Testimony might be accumulated upon this point, to an indefinite extent, were it necessary to our present purpose.

Most of the signs used in this system are representations of things: some however were derivative, others symbolical, and still others entirely arbitrary. They however were not capable of doing more than to suggest classes of ideas, which would not be expressed in precisely the same words by different individuals. They were taught in connection with certain forms of expression, by which means they are made essentially *mnemonic*—a simple or compound sign, thus serving to recall to mind an entire sentence or a series of them. A single figure, with its adjuncts, would stand for the verse of a song, or for a circumstance which it would require several sentences to explain.

Thus the famous *Metäi song* of the Chippeways, presented by Mr. Catlin, although embracing but about thirty signs, occupied, in the slow, monotonous chant of the Indians, with their numerous repetitions, nearly an hour in its delivery. James observes, respecting the recorded Indian songs,—“They are usually carved on a flat piece of wood, and the figures suggest to the minds of those who have learned the songs, the ideas and the order of their succession. The words are not variable, but must be taught; otherwise, though from an inspection of the figure the idea might be comprehended, no one would know what to sing.” Most of the Indian lore being in the hands of the priests or medicine-men, the teaching of these songs was almost entirely monopolized by them. They taught them only to such as had distinguished themselves in war and the chase, and then only upon the payment of large prices. Tanner states that he was occupied more than a year in learning the great song for “medicine hunting,” and then obtained his knowledge only at the expense of many

Rafinesque's "American Nations," published in 1836, has fallen under my notice. It is a singular jumble of facts and fancies, and it is perhaps unfortunate for the MS., spoken of in the text, that it falls in such a connection. The only additional information we have respecting it, is that it was "obtained by the late Dr. Ward of Indiana, of the remnant of the Delawares on the White River."

* Hist. Acct. of the Indian Nations, p. 118.

* Hist. United Brethren in America, p. 25.

beaver skins. After the introduction of Christianity, among some of the Western tribes, prayers were inscribed on pieces of wood, in mnemonic symbols, in the making and teaching of which to their followers, some of the Christian chiefs obtained a profitable monopoly.

Admitting then, as we must do upon this evidence, that the Algonquins had the means of imperfectly recording their traditions, songs, etc., we can readily understand how these might be taught by father to son, and perpetuated in great purity through a succession of priests,—the sages of the aboriginal races. The fact that they were recorded, even in the rude way here indicated, would give them a degree of fixedness, and entitle them to a consideration which they would not possess if handed down in a simple oral form.*

The MS. under consideration seems to be a series of Indian traditional songs, in the original mnemonic signs, with the words attached to them, written out from the recitations of the Indians, by some person conversant with the Indian tongue, precisely as we find some of the songs recorded by James, in his Appendix to Tanner's Narrative. As already observed, it has strong internal evidence of being what it purports to be,—evidence sufficiently strong, in my estimation, to settle its authenticity. I may however add, that, with a view of leaving no means unemployed to ascertain its true value, I submitted it, without explanation, to an educated Indian chief, (Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh,) George Copway, who unhesitatingly pronounced it authentic, in respect not only

to the original signs and accompanying explanations in the Delaware dialect, but also in the general ideas and conceptions which it embodies. He also bore testimony to the fidelity of the translation.

In submitting, therefore, the following paraphrase of these singular records, I feel I am not obtruding the coinage of a curious idler, nor an apocryphal record, but presenting matter deserving of attention, and of important bearing upon many interesting questions connected with the history of our aboriginal nations.

It will be readily understood that I have, in numerous instances, been compelled to adopt forms of expression, not common to the Indian languages; so far as practicable, however, the words have been literally rendered, and the Indian form of expression preserved; and I feel some confidence in saying that no violence has been done to the original in the paraphrase.

For the sake of convenience, I have divided the MS. into two parts; the first embracing the traditions referring to the Creation, etc., and the second those which may be regarded as historical. It will be observed that there are various interruptions or pauses in the narrative, which indicate the individual traditions.

In illustration of the manner in which the MS. is written, the first two songs or chants are presented as they appear in the original. We have first, the original sign; second, the suggested verse or sentence in the Delaware dialect; and third, a literal translation of the same in English.

SONG I.—THE CREATION.

1. Sayewitalli wemiguma wokgetaki.†

At first there all sea-water above land.



* "Were it not," says Dr. Barton, in his paper on the 'Origin of the American Nations,' published in the Transactions of the Philosophical Society,—“Were it not for the traditions of many of the American nations, we might for ever remain in doubt concerning their real origin. These traditions are entitled to much consideration; for, notwithstanding the rude condition of most of the tribes, they are often perpetuated in great purity, as I have discovered by much attention to their history.”

† The terminal *aki* is a contraction of *hakki*, land, and frequently denotes *place*, simply.



2. Hackung-kwelik owanaku wakyutali Kitanitowit-
Above much water foggy (was) and (or also) there Creator
essop.*
he was.



- 3.† Sayewis‡ hallemiwis§ nolemiwi Kitanitowit-essop.
First-being, Eternal-being, invisible Creator he was.



4. Sohalawak kwelik hakik owak
He causes them much water much land much air (or clouds)
awasagamak.
much heaven



5. Sohalawak gishuk nipanum alankwak.
He causes them the Sun the moon the stars.



6. Wemi-sohalawak yulik yuch-aan.
All he causes these well to move.



7. Wich-owagan kshakan moshakwat kwelik
With action (or rapidly) it blows (wind) it clears up great waters
kshi-pelep.
it ran off.



8. Opeleken mani-menak delsin-epit.
It looks bright made islands is there at.



9. Lappinup Kitanitowit manito manitoak.
Again when Creator he made spirits or makers.



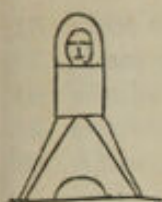
10. Owiniwak Angelatawiwak chichankwak wemiwak.
First beings also and Angels Souls also and all.

* Written *Getanitowit* by Heckewelder, p. 422

† Figure 3 is a representation of the sun, which was the Algonquin symbol of the Great Spirit.

‡ The termination *wiss* or *iss* makes, according to Mr. Schoolcraft, whatever precedes it personal, (*Algic Res.* vol. i. p. 201.) The better translation would therefore be, "The First," "The Eternal," &c.

§ *Allowini*, more, and *wulik*, good, enter into most designations of the Supreme. Heck., p. 422.



11. Wtenk-manito 'jinwis* lennowak mukom.
After he made beings men and grandfather.



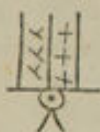
12. Milap netami-gaho owini-gaho.
He gave them the first mother first-being's mother.



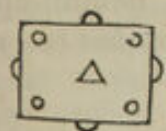
13. Namesik-milap tulpewik awesik cholensak.
Fishes he gave him turtles beasts birds.



14. Makimani-shak sohalawak makowini n'akowak
Bad Spirit but he causes them bad beings black snakes
amangamek.
monsters (or large reptiles).



15. Sohalawak uchewak sohalawak pungusak.
He causes them flies he causes them gnats.



16. Nitisak wemi-owini w'delsinewuap.
Friends all beings were then.



17. Kiwis, wunand wishi-manitoak essopak.
Thou being good God good spirits were there.

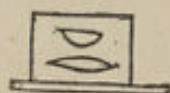


18. Nijini netami lennowak nigoha netami okwewi
The beings the first men mothers first wives
nantinewak.
little spirits (fairies).

* In the Chippeway, according to McKenzie and Long, *ninnce* or *inini* means *man*. Mr. Schoolcraft states that *ininee* is the diminutive form of the word, signifying *little-men*, as Puck-wudj-*ininee*, "vanishing little men," the fairy-men of Algonquin story. The cognate term of the text seems to have a slightly different meaning: it is translated *beings*, and is written *nijini* or *'jini*, beings; *owini*, first beings, *mako-wini*, evil beings, etc. In the Delaware dialect *lenno* or *lenna* meant man, and is so translated in the text. The true designation of the Delawares was "Linni-Lenape," which is usually understood to mean "Original" or "True men." It is not impossible that it is compounded of "*nijini*," beings, and *lenno*, men; literally, men-beings. This compound may have been suggestive of something superior to men in general or collectively.



19. Gattamin netami mitzi nijini nantiné.
Fat fruits the first food the beings little spirits.



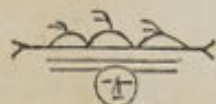
20. Wemi wingi-namenep wemi-ksin elandamep
All willingly pleased all easy thinking
wullatemanuwi.
happy.



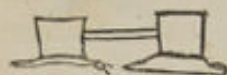
21. Shukand eli-kimi mekenikink wakon powako
But then while secretly on earth snake-god* priest-snake
init'ako.
worship snake.



22. Mattalugas pallalugas maktatin owagan
Wickedness crime unhappiness actions.
payat-chikutali.
coming there then.



23. Waktapan-payat wihillan mboagan.
Bad weather coming distempers death.



24. Wonwemi wiwunch-kamik atak-kitahikan netami-epit.
This all very long aforetime beyond great waters first land at.

PARAPHRASE OF THE ABOVE SONG.

1. At the first there were great waters above all the land,
2. And above the waters were thick clouds, and there was God the Creator :
3. The first being, eternal, omnipotent, invisible, was God the Creator.
4. He created vast waters, great lands, and much air and heaven ;
5. He created the sun, the moon and the stars ;
6. He caused them all to move well.
7. By his power he made the winds to blow, purifying, and the deep waters to run off :
8. All was made bright and the islands were brought into being.
9. Then again God the Creator made the great Spirits,
10. He made also the first beings, angels and souls :
11. Then made he a man being, the father of men ;
12. He gave him the first mother, the mother of the early born,
13. Fishes gave he him, turtles, beasts and birds.
14. But the Evil Spirit created evil beings, snakes and monsters :
15. He created vermin and annoying insects.

* The snake among the Algonquins was symbolical of evil or malignant force.

16. Then were all beings friends :
17. There being a good God, all spirits were good—
18. The beings, the first men, mothers, wives, little spirits also.
19. Fat fruits were the food of the beings and the little spirits :
20. All were then happy, easy in mind and pleased.
21. But then came secretly on earth the snake (evil) God, the snake-priest and snake worship :
22. Came wickedness, came unhappiness,
23. Came then bad weather, disease and death.
24. This was all very long ago, at our early home.

The grand idea of a Supreme Unity, a Great, Good, Infinite and Eternal Creator, so clearly indicated in the foregoing song, may be regarded by many as the offspring of European intercourse, or as a comparatively late engraftment upon Algonquin tradition. Without denying that the teachings of the early missionaries had the effect of enlarging this conception, and of giving it a more definite form, it may at the same time be unhesitatingly claimed that the idea was an original one with the Indian mind. The testimony of the earliest travellers and of the earliest missionaries themselves, furnishes us abundant evidence of the fact. "Nothing," says Charlevoix, "is more certain than that the Indians of this continent have an idea of a Supreme Being, the First Spirit, the Creator and Governor of the world."* And Loskiel, not less explicit in his testimony, observes, "The prevailing opinion of all these nations is, that there is one God, a great and good Spirit, who created the heavens and the earth; who is Almighty; who causes the fruits to grow, grants sunshine and rain, and provides his children with food."† Says Schoolcraft, "They believe in the existence of a Supreme Being, who created material matter, the earth and heavens, men and animals, and filled space with subordinate spirits, having something of his own nature, to whom he gave part of his power." From this great and good being, it was believed, no evil could come; he was invested with the attribute of universal beneficence, and was symbolized by the sun. He was usually denominated *Kitchi-Manitou* or *Gitchy-Monedo*, literally, Great, Good Spirit. Various other names were

employed to designate him under his various aspects, as *Waskeand*, Maker; *Waosemigōyan*, Universal Father.

Subordinate to this Supreme, Good Being, was an Evil Spirit, *Mitchi-Manitou*, or *Mudje-Monedo*, (Great Bad Spirit,) who, according to Mr. Schoolcraft, was a subsequent creation, and not co-existent with the *Kitchi-Manitou*. This seems implied in the song, where he is first spoken of after the creation of men and beings. Great power was ascribed to him, and he was regarded as the cause and originator of all the evils which befall mankind. Accordingly his favor was desired, and his anger sought to be averted by sacrifices and offerings. The power of the *Mitchi-Manitou* was not, however, supposed to extend to the future life.* He is represented in the text as the creator of flies and gnats, and other annoying insects, an article of belief not exclusively Indian. While the symbol of the Good Spirit was *the Sun*, that of the chief of the Evil Spirits was *the Serpent*, under which form he appears in the Chippeway tradition of his contest with the demi-god *Manabozho*.

The idea of a destruction of the world by water seems to have been general amongst the Algonquin nations. The traditional details vary in almost every instance where they have been recorded, but the traditional event stands out prominently. The catastrophe is in all cases ascribed to the Evil Spirit; who, as already observed, was symbolized as a great Serpent. He is generally placed in antagonism to *Manabozho*, a powerful demi-god or intermediate spirit, whose nature and character have already been indicated.† These two mythological

* Canada, vol. ii., p. 141.

† United Brethren in America, p. 34.

* Carver's Travels, p. 381.

† See American Review, vol. ii., p. 392.

characters have frequent conflicts, and the flood is usually ascribed to the final contest between them. In these cases the destruction of the world is but an incident. As recorded in the "*Walum-Olum*," it originates in a general conflict between the Good Spirits, "the beings," and the Evil

Spirit, *Maskinako*. The variation is, however, unimportant, for in this as in all the other versions of the tradition, Manabozho appears in the character of Preserver. The concurrence in the essential parts of the several traditions, is worthy of remark.

SONG II.—' E DELUGE.



1. Wulamo maskan-ako-anup lennowak makowini essopak.
Long ago powerful snake when men also bad beings had become.



2. Maskanako shingalusit nijini-essopak shawalendamep
Strong snake enemy beings had become became troubled
ekin-shingalan.
together hating.



3. Nishawi palliton, nishawi machiton, nishawi matta
Both fighting, both spoiling, both not
lungundowin
peaceful (or keeping peace.)



4. Mattapewi wiki nihanlowit mekwazuan.
Less men with dead keeper fighting.



5. Maskanako gichi penauwelendamep lennowak owini
Strong snake great resolved men beings
palliton.
to destroy (fight).



6. N'akowa petonep, amangam petonep akopehella
Black snake he brought, monster he brought rushing snake water
petonep.
he brought.



7. Pehella-pehella, pohoka-pohoka, eshohok-eshohok,
Much water rushing, much go to hills, much penetrating,
palliton-palliton.
much destroying.



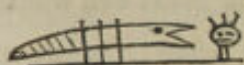
8. Tulapit menapit Nanaboush, maska-boush,
At Tula (or turtle land) at that island Nanabush (strong)
owinimokom linowimokom.
of beings the grandfather of men the grandfather.



9. Gishikin-pommixin tulagishatten-lohxin.
Being born creeping at Tula he is ready to move and dwell.



10. Owini linowi wemoltin pehella gahani pommixin
Beings men all go forth flood water creeping (floating?)
nahiwi tatalli tulapin.
above water which way (where) turtle-back.



11. Amangamek makdopamek alendguwek metzipannek.
Monsters of the sea they were many some of them they did eat.



12. Manito-dasin mokol-wichemass palpal payat payat
Spirit daughters boat helped come, come coming coming
wemichemap.
all helped.



13. Nanaboush, Nanaboush, wemimokom wini-
Nanaboush, Nanaboush, of all the grandfather, of beings the
mokom linnimokom tulamokom.
grandfather, of men the grandfather, of turtles the grandfather.



14. Linapima tulapima tulapewi tapitawi.
Man then turtle then turtle they altogether.



15. Wishanem tulpewi pataman tulpewi paniton
Frightened (startled?) turtle he praying turtle he let it be
wuliton.
to make well.



16. Kshipehelen penkwihilen kwamipokho sitwalikho
Water running off it is drying plain and mountain path of cave
maskan wagan palliwi.
powerful or dire action elsewhere.

PARAPHRASE.

1. Long ago came the powerful Serpent, (*Maskanako*), when men had become evil.
2. The strong serpent was the foe of the beings, and they became embroiled, hating each other.
3. Then they fought and despoiled each other, and were not peaceful.
4. And the small men (*Mattapewi*) fought with the keeper of the dead (*Nihan-lowit*).
5. Then the Strong Serpent resolved all men and beings to destroy immediately.
6. The Black Serpent, monster, brought the snake-water rushing,

7. The wide waters rushing, wide to the hills, everywhere spreading, everywhere destroying.
8. At the island of the turtle (*Tula*) was Manabozho, of men and beings the grandfather—
9. Being born creeping, at turtle land he is ready to move and dwell.
10. Men and beings all go forth on the flood of waters, moving afloat, every way seeking the back of the turtle (*Tulapin*).
11. The monsters of the sea were many, and destroyed some of them.
12. Then the daughter of a spirit helped them in the boat, and all joined, saying, Come help!
13. Manabozho, of all beings, of men and turtles, the grandfather!
14. All together, on the turtle then, the men then, were all together.
15. Much frightened, Manabozho prayed to the turtle that he would make all well again.
16. Then the waters ran off, it was dry on mountain and plain, and the great evil went elsewhere by the path of the cave.

The allusion to the turtle, in the tradition, is not fully understood. The turtle was connected, in various ways, with the mythological notions of the upper Algonquins. According to Charlevoix and Hennepin, the Chippeways had a tradition that the mother of the human race, having been ejected from heaven, was received upon the back of a tortoise, around which matter gradually accumulated, forming the earth.* The Great Turtle, according to Henry, was a chief Spirit of the Chippeways, the "Spirit that never lied," and was often consulted in reference to various undertakings. An account of one of these ceremonies is given by this author.† The island of *Michilimakanak* (literally, Great Turtle) was sacred to this Spirit, for the reason, probably, that a large hill near its centre was supposed to bear some resemblance, in form, to a turtle.‡ The Turtle tribe of the Lenape, says Heckewelder, claim a superiority and ascendancy, because of their relationship to the "Great Turtle," the Atlas of their mythology, who bears this great island (the earth) on his back.§

With these few illustrative observations, which might be greatly extended, I pass to the second or historical portion of the traditional record, with the simple remark that the details of the migrations here recounted, particularly so far as they relate to the passage of the Mississippi

and the subsequent contest with the Tallegwi or Allegwi, and the final expulsion of the latter, coincide, generally, with those given by various authors, and known to have existed among the Delawares.

The traditions, in their order, relate first to a migration from the north to the south, attended by a contest with a people denominated Snakes or Evil, who are driven to the eastward. One of the migrating families, the *Lowaniwi*, literally Northlings, afterwards separate and go to the snow land, whence they subsequently go to the east, towards the island of the retreating Snakes. They cross deep waters, and arrive at *Shinaki*, the Land of Firs. Here the *Wunkenapi*, or Westerners, hesitate, preferring to return.

A hiatus follows, and the tradition resumes, the tribes still remaining at *Shinaki* or the Fir land.

They search for the great and fine island, the land of the Snakes, where they finally arrive, and expel the Snakes. They then multiply and spread towards the south, to the *Akolaki* or beautiful land, which is also called shore-land, and big-fir land. Here they tarried long, and for the first time cultivated corn and built towns. In consequence of a great drought, they leave for the *Shillilakiny* or Buffalo land. Here, in consequence of disaffection with their chief, they divide and separate, one party, the *Wetamowi*, or the Wise, tarrying, the others going off. The *Wetamowi* build a town on the *Wisawana* or Yellow River, (probably the Missouri,) and for a long time are peaceful and hap-

* Charlevoix, Vol. ii., p. 143; Hennepin, p. 55.

† Henry's Travels, p. 168

‡ Ib. 37, 110.

§ Heckewelder, p. 246.

py. War finally breaks out, and a succession of warlike chiefs follow, under whom conquests are made, north, east, south and west. In the end *Opekasit* (literally East-looking) is chief, who, tired with so much warfare, leads his followers towards the sun-rising. They arrive at the *Messussipu*, or Great River, (the Mississippi,) where, being weary, they stop, and their first chief is *Yagawanend*, or the Hut-maker, under whose chieftaincy it is discovered that a strange people, the *Tallegwi*, possess the rich east land. Some of the *Wetamowi* are slain by the *Tallegwi*, and then the cry of *palliton! palliton!!* war! war!! is raised, and they go over and attack the *Tallegwi*. The contest is continued during the lives of several chiefs, but finally terminates in the *Tallegwi* being driven southwards. The conquerors then occupy the country on the Ohio below the great lakes,—the *Shawanipekis*. To the north are their friends, the *Talamatan*, literally *not-of-*

themselves, translated Hurons. The Hurons, however, are not always friends, and they have occasional contests with them.

Another hiatus follows, and then the record resumes by saying that they were strong and peaceful at the land of the *Tallegwi*. They built towns and planted corn. A long succession of chiefs followed, when war again broke out, and finally a portion under *Linkewinne*, or the Sharp-looking, went eastward beyond the *Talegachukung* or Alleghany Mountains. Here they spread widely, warring against the *Mengwi* or Spring-people, the *Pungelika*, Lynx or Eries, and the *Mohegans* or Wolves. The various tribes into which they became divided, the chiefs of each in their order, with the territories which they occupied, are then named,—bringing the record down until the arrival of the Europeans. This latter portion we are able to verify in great part from authentic history.

SONG III.—MIGRATIONS.

1. After the flood the true men (*Lennapewi*) were with the turtle, in the cave house, the dwelling of Talli.
2. It was then cold, it froze and stormed, and
3. From the Northern plain, they went to possess milder lands, abounding in game.
4. That they might be strong and rich, the new comers divided the land between the hunters and tillers, (*Wikhichik, Elowichik.*)
5. The hunters were the strongest, the best, the greatest.
6. They spread north, east, south and west ;
7. In the white or snow country, (*Lumowaki*), the north country, the turtle land and the hunting country, were the turtle men or *Linapiwi*.
8. The snake (evil) people being afraid in their cabins, the snake priest (*Nakopowa*) said to them, let us go away.
9. Then they went to the East, the snake land sorrowfully leaving.
10. Thus escaped the snake people, by the trembling and burned land to their strong island, (*Akomenaki*.)
11. Free from opposers, and without trouble, the Northlings (*Lowaniwi*) all went forth separating in the land of snow, (*Winiaken*.)
12. By the waters of the open sea, the sea of fish, tarried the fathers of the white eagle (tribe?) and the white wolf.
13. Our fathers were rich ; constantly sailing in their boats, they discovered to the eastward the Snake Island.
14. Then said the Head-beaver (*Wiklamok*) and the Great-bird, let us go to the snake land.
15. All responded, let us go and annihilate the snakes.
16. All agreed, the Northerlings, the Easterlings, to pass the frozen waters.
17. Wonderful ! They all went over the waters of the hard, stony sea, to the open snake waters.
18. In vast numbers, in a single night, they went to the eastern or snake island ; all of them marching by night in the darkness.

19. The Northerlings, the Easterlings, the Southerlings, (*Shawanapi*), the Beaver-men, (*Tamakwapis*), the Wolf-men, the Hunters or best men, the priests, (*Powatapi*), the *Wiliwapi*, with their wives and daughters, and their dogs.
20. They all arrived at the land of Firs, (*Shinaking*), where they tarried; but the Western men (*Wunkenapi*) hesitating, desired to return to the old Turtle land, (*Tulpaking*.)

It may be suggested that the account of the second migration, across frozen waters, is so much in accordance with the popular prejudice, as to the mode in which the progenitors of the American race arrived in America, that it throws suspicion upon the entire record. It is not impossible, indeed, that the original tradition may have been slightly modified here, by the dissemination of European notions among the Indians. McKenzie, however, observes of the traditions of the northern Chippeways:—"The Indians say that they originally came from another country, inhabited by a wicked people, and had traversed a great lake, which was shallow, narrow and full of islands, where they suffered great hardships and much misery, it being always winter, with ice and deep snows. * * *

They describe the deluge when the waters spread over the whole earth, except the highest mountain, on the top of which they were preserved."*

The preceding songs have something of a metrical character, and there is in some of the verses an arrangement of homophones which has a very pleasing effect. For instance, the last verse of the above song is as follows :

Wemipayat guneunga shinaking
Wunkenapi chanelendam payaking
Allowelendam kowiyey-tulpaking.

How far this system was carried it is difficult to say, but it is not unlikely that most of the transmitted songs or chants had something of this form.

The next song resumes, after the lapse of an indefinite period, as follows :—

SONG IV.—THE CHRONICLE.

1. Long ago our fathers were at *Shinaki* or *Firland*.
2. The White Eagle (*Wapalanewa*) was the path-leader of all to this place.
3. They searched the great and fine land, the island of the Snakes.
4. The hardy hunters and the friendly spirits met in council.
5. And all said to *Kalawil* (Beautiful-head) be thou chief (*Sakima*) here.
6. Being chief he commanded they should go against the Snakes.
7. But the Snakes were weak and hid themselves at the Bear hills.
8. After *Kalawil*, *Wapagokhas* (White-owl) was *Sakima* at *Firland*.
9. After him *Jantowit* (Maker) was chief.
10. And after him *Chilili* (Snow-bird) was *Sakima*. The South, he said
11. To our fathers, they were able, spreading, to possess.
12. To the South went *Chilili*; to the East went *Tamakwi*, (the Beaver.)
13. The Southland (*Shawanaki*) was beautiful, shore-land, abounding in tall firs.
14. The Eastland (*Wapanaki*) abounded in fish; it was the lake and buffalo land.
15. After *Chilili*, *Agamek* (Great warrior) was chief.
16. Then our fathers warred against the robbers, snakes, bad men, and stony men,
Chikonapi, *Akhonapi*, *Makatapi*, *Assinapi* (Assiniboins?)
17. After *Agamek* came ten chiefs, and then were many wars, south, east and west.
18. After them was *Langundowi* (the Peaceful) *Sakima*, at the *Aholaking*, (Beautiful land.)
19. Following him *Tasukamend*, (Never-bad,) who was a good or just man.
20. The chief after him was *Pemaholend*, (Ever-beloved,) who did good.
21. Then *Matemik* (Town-builder) and *Pihwihalen*.
22. And after these, in succession, *Gunokeni*, who was father long, and *Mangipitak*, (Big-teeth.)

23. Then followed *Ohumapi*, (Bundler-of-sticks,) who taught them pictures, (records.)
24. Came then *Takwachi*, (Who-shivers-with-cold,) who went southward to the corn land, (*Minihaking*.)
25. Next was *Huminiend*, (Corn-eater,) who caused corn to be planted.
26. Then *Alko-ohit*, (the Preserver,) who was useful.
27. Then *Shiwapi*, (Salt-man,) and afterwards *Penkwonowi*, (the Thirsty,) when
28. There was no rain, and no corn, and he went to the East, far from the great river or shore.
29. Passing over a hollow mountain (*Oligonunk*) they at last found food at *Shililaking*, the plains of the buffalo-land.
30. After *Penkwonowi*, came *Mekwochella*, (the Weary,) and *Chingalsawi*, (the Stiff.)
31. After him *Kwitikwund*, (the Reprover,) who was disliked and not willingly endured.
32. Being angry, some went to the eastward, and some went secretly afar off.
33. The wise tarried, and made *Makaholend* (the Beloved) chief.
34. By the *Wisawana* (Yellow river) they built towns, and raised corn on the great meadows.
35. All being friends, *Tamenend* (the Amiable, literally *beaver-like*) became the first chief.
36. The best of all, then or since, was *Tamenend*, and all men were his friends.
37. After him was the good chief, *Maskansisil*, (Strong-buffalo,) and
38. *Machigokhos*, (Big-owl,) and *Wapikicholen*, (White-crane.)
39. And then *Wingenund*, (the Mindful or Wary,) who made feasts.
40. After him came *Lapawin*, (the White,) and *Wallama*, (the Painted,) and
41. *Waptiwapit*, (White-bird,) when there was war again, north and south.
42. Then was *Tamaskan*, (Strong-wolf,) chief, who was wise in council and
43. Who made war on all, and killed *Maskensini*, (Great-stone.)
44. *Messissuwi* (the Whole) was next chief, and made war on the Snakes, (*Akowini*.)
45. *Chitanwulit* (Strong-and-good) followed, and made war on the northern enemies, (*Lowanuski*.)
46. *Alkouwi* (the Lean) was next chief, and made war on the father-snakes, (*Towakon*.)
47. *Opekasit* (East-looking) being next chief, was sad because of so much warfare,
48. Said, let us go to the sun-rising, (*Wapagishek*;) and many went east together.
49. The great river (*Messussipu*) divided the land, and being tired, they tarried there.
50. *Yagawanend* (Hut-maker) was next *Sakima*, and then the *Tallegwi* were found possessing the east.
51. Followed *Chitanitis*, (Strong-friend,) who longed for the rich east-land.
52. Some went to the east, but the *Tallegwi* killed a portion.
53. Then all of one mind exclaimed, war, war!
54. The *Talamatan* (Not-of-themselves,) and the *Nitilowan*, all go united (to the war.)
55. *Kinnehepend* (Sharp-looking) was their leader, and they went over the river.
56. And they took all that was there, and despoiled and slew the *Tallegwi*.
57. *Pimokhasuwi* (Stirring-about) was next chief, and then the *Tallegwi* were much too strong.
58. *Tenchekensit* (Open-path) followed, and many towns were given up to him.
59. *Paganchihilla* was chief, and the *Tallegwi* all went southward.
60. *Hattanwulatou* (the Possessor) was *Sakima*, and all the people were pleased.
61. South of the lakes they settled their council-fire, and north of the lakes were their friends the *Talamatan*, (Hurons?)
62. They were not always friends, but conspired when *Gunitakan* was chief.
63. Next was *Linniwalamen*, who made war on the *Talamatan*.
64. *Shakagapewi* followed, and then the *Talamatan* trembled.

SONG V.—THE CHRONICLE CONTINUED.

1. All were peaceful, long ago, at the land of the *Tallegwi*.

2. Then was *Tamaganend* (Beaver-leader) chief at the White river, (*Wapalaneng*, Wabash.)
3. *Wapushuwi* (White-lynx) followed, and much corn was planted.
4. After came *Walichinik*, and the people became very numerous.
5. Next was *Lekhihitin*, and made many records, (*Walum-Olumin*, or painted-sticks.)
6. Followed *Kolachuisen*, (Blue-bird,) at the place of much fruit or food, (*Make-liming*.)
7. *Pematalli* was chief over many towns.
8. And *Pepomahemen*, (Paddler,) at many waters, (or the great waters.)
9. And *Tankawon* (Little-cloud) was chief, and many went away.
10. The *Nentegos* and the *Shawanis* went to the south lands.
11. *Kichitamak* (Big-beaver) was chief at the White lick, (*Wapahoning*.)
12. The good prophet (*Onowatok*) went to the west.
13. He visited those who were abandoned there and at the south-west.
14. *Pawanami* (Water-turtle) was chief at the *Talegahonah* (Ohio) river.
15. *Lakwelend* (Walker) was next chief, and there was much warfare.
16. Against the *Towako*, (father Snakes,) against the *Sinako*, (stone or mountain Snakes,) and against the *Lowako*, (north Snakes.)
17. Then was *Mokolmokoni* (grandfather of boats) chief, and he warred against the Snakes in boats.
18. *Winclowich* (Snow-hunter) was chief at the north-land, (*Lowashkin*.)
19. And *Linkwekinuk* (Sharp-seer) was chief at the Alleghany Mountains, (*Talegahukang*.)
20. And *Wapalawikwan* (East-settler) was chief east of the *Tallegwi* land.
21. Large and long was the east land;
22. It had no enemies, (snakes,) and was a rich and good land.
23. And *Gikenopalat* (Great-warrior) was chief towards the north;
24. And *Hanaholend* (Stream-lover) at the branching stream, (*Saskwihanang* or Susquehanna.)
25. And *Gattawisi* (the Fat) was Sakima at the Sassafras-land, (*Winaki*.)
26. All were hunters from the big Salt Water (*Gishikshapipek*, Chesapeake, or literally Salt Sea of the Sun,) to the again (or other) sea.
27. *Makliuawip* (Red-arrow) was chief at tide water, (*Lapihaneng*.)
28. And *Wolomenap* was chief at the Strong Falls, (*Maskekitong*, Trenton?)
29. And the *Wapenend* and the *Tumewand* were to the north.
30. *Walitpallat* (Good-fighter) was chief and set out against the north—
31. Then trembled the *Mahongwi*, (the Iroquois?) and the *Pungelika*, (lynx-like, or Eries.)
32. Then the second Tamenend (Beaver) was chief, and he made peace with all.
33. And all were friends, all united under this great chief.
34. After him was *Kichitamak* (Great-good-beaver) chief in the Sassafras-land.
35. *Wapahakey* (White-body) was chief at the Sea-shore, (*Shayabi*.)
36. *Elangonel* (the Friendly) was chief, and much good was done.
37. And *Pitemunen* was chief, and people came from somewhere.
38. At this time from the east sea came that which was white, (vessels?)
39. *Makelomush* was chief and made all happy.
40. *Wulakeningus* was next chief, and was a warrior at the south.
41. He made war on the *Otaliwako*, (Cherokee snakes or enemies,) and upon the *Akowetako*, (Coweta? snakes.)
42. *Wapagamoski* (White-otter) was next chief, and made the *Talamatans* (Hurons) friends.
43. *Wapashum* followed, and visited the land of *Tallegwi* at the west.*

* "At present," says Loskiel, "the Delawares call the whole country as far as the entrance of the river Wabash into the Ohio, *Alligewi-nengk*, that is, a land into which they came from distant parts."—Hist. United Brethren, p. 127.

44. There were the *Hiliniki*, (Illinois,) the *Shawanis*, (Shawanoes,) and the *Kenowiki*, (Kenhawas?)
45. *Nitispayat* was also chief, and went to the great lakes.
46. And he visited the *Wemiumik*, (Beaver-children, or Miamis,) and made them friends.
47. Then came *Packimitzin*, (Cranberry-eater,) who made the *Tawa* (Ottawas) friends.
48. *Lowaponskan* was chief, and visited the noisy-place, (*Ganshowenik*.)
49. And *Tashawinso* was chief at the Sea-shore, (*Shayabing*.)
50. Then the children divided into three parts, the *Unamini*, (Turtle tribe,) the *Minsi-mini*, (Wolf tribe,) the *Chikimini*, (Turkey tribe.)
51. *Epallahchund* was chief, and fought the *Mahongwi*, but failed.
52. *Laugomuwi* was chief, and the *Mahongwi* trembled.
53. *Wangomend* was chief, yonder between. (?)
54. The *Otaliwi* and *Wasiotowi* were his enemies.
55. *Wapachikis* (White crab) was chief and a friend of the shore people.
56. *Nenachipat* was chief towards the sea.
57. Now from north and south came the *Wapagachik*, (white-comers,)
58. Professing to be friends, in big-birds, (ships.) Who are they?

Here stop the pictured records. There is, however, a fragment in the original MSS., which may be taken as a continuation, and concerning which Rafinesque says nothing more than that it "was translated from the Lenape by John Burns." The references, so far as I am able to verify them, are historically correct. It is here given in its original form, with no attempt at paraphrase. It resumes with an answer to the question which concludes the last song, "who are these *Wapsinis*?"

SONG VI.—THE MODERN CHRONICLE.

1. Alas, alas! we now know who they are, these *Wapsinis*, (East-people,) who came out of the sea to rob us of our lands. Starving wretches! they came with smiles, but soon became snakes, (or enemies.)
2. The *Walumolum* was made by *Lekhibit*, (the writer,) to record our glory. Shall I write another to record our fall? No! Our foes have taken care to do that; but I speak what they know not or conceal.
3. We have had many other chiefs since that unhappy time. There were three before the friendly *Mikwon* (*Miguon* or Penn) came. *Mattanikum** (not strong) was chief when the *Winakoli* (Swedes) came to *Winaki*; *Nahumen* (Raccoon) when the *Sinalwi* (Dutch) came, and *Ikwahon* (Fond-of-women) when the *Yankwis* (English) came. *Miguon* (Penn) and his friends came soon after.
4. They were all received and fed with corn; but no land was ever sold to them: we never sold any land. They were allowed to dwell with us, to build houses and plant corn, as friends and allies. Because they were hungry and we thought them children of *Gishaki*, (or sun-land,) and not serpents and children of serpents.
5. And they were traders, bringing fine new tools, and weapons, and cloth, and beads, for which we gave them skins and shells and corn. And we liked them and the things they brought, for we thought them good and made by the children of *Gishaki*.
6. But they brought also fire-guns, and fire-waters, which burned and killed; also baubles and trinkets of no use, for we had better ones before.
7. After *Mikwon*, came the sons of *Dolojo-Sakima*, (King George,) who said, more land, more land we must have, and no limit could be put to their steps.

* Note by Rafinesque. "*Mattanikum* was chief in 1645. He is called *Matta-horn* by Holm, who by a blunder, has made his name half Swedish. *Horn* is not Lenapi. *Mattawikum* means *Not-horned*, without horns, emblem of having little strength."

8. But in the North were the children of *Lowi-Sakima*, (King Louis,) who were our good friends, friends of our friends, foes of our foes; yet with *Dolojo* wished always to war.
9. We had three chiefs after Mikwon came,—*Skalichi*, who was another *Tamenend*, and *Sasunam-Wikwikhon*, (Our-uncle-the-builder,) and *Tutami*, (Beaver-taker,) who was killed by a *Yankwako*, (English snake,) and then we vowed revenge.
10. *Netatawis* (First-new-being) became chief of all the nations in the west. Again at *Talligewink* (Ohio, or place of Tallegwi) on the river Cuyahoga, near our old friends the *Talamatans*. And he called on all them of the east (to go to war).
11. But *Tudeskung* was chief in the east at *Mahoning*, and was bribed by *Yankwis*; then he was burnt in his cabin, and many of our people were killed at *Hickory* (Lancaster) by the land-robber *Yankwis*.
12. Then we joined *Lowi* in war against the *Yankwis*; but they were strong, and they took *Lowanaki* (North-land, Canada) from *Lowi*, and came to us in *Talegawink*, when peace was made, and we called them *Kichikani*, (Big-knives.)
13. Then *Alimi* (White-eyes) and *Gelelenund* (Buck-killer) were chiefs, and all the nations near us were friends, and our grand-children again.
14. When the Eastern-fires began to resist *Dolojo*, they said we should be another fire with them. But they killed our chief *Unamiwi* (the Turtle) and our brothers on the Muskingum. Then *Hopokan* (Strong-pipe) of the Wolf tribe was made chief, and he made war on the *Kichikani-Yankwis*, and became the friend of *Dolojo*, who was then very strong.
15. But the Eastern-fires were stronger; they did not take *Lowinaki*, but became free from *Dolojo*. We went to *Wapahani* (White river) to be further from them; but they followed us everywhere, and we made war on them, till they sent *Makhiakho*, (Black-snake, General Wayne,) who made strong war.
16. We next made peace and settled limits, and our chief was *Hacking-pouskan*, (Hard-walker,) who was good and peaceful. He would not join our brothers, the *Shawanis* and *Ottawas*, nor *Dolojo* in the next war.
17. Yet after the last peace, the *Kichikani-Yankwis* came in swarms all around us, and they desired also our lands of *Wapahani*. It was useless to resist, because they were getting stronger and stronger by joining fires.
18. *Kihtilkand* and *Lapanibit* were the chiefs of our two tribes when we resolved to exchange our lands, and return at last beyond the *Masispek*, near to our old country.
19. We shall be near our foes the *Wakon*, (Osages,) but they are not worse than the *Yankwisakon* (English-snakes) who want to possess the whole Big-island.
20. Shall we be free and happy, then, at the new *Wapahani*? We want rest, and peace, and wisdom.

So terminate these singular records. It is unfortunate that they lack that kind of authentication, which depends upon a full and explicit account of the circumstances under which they were found, transcribed and translated. Rafinesque was not particular in these matters, and his carelessness and often extravagant assumptions, have rendered his name of little weight in matters of research. Still, upon neither of these grounds may we reject these records. As already observed, they have the internal evidence of genuineness, and are well supported by collateral circumstances. Some of these circumstances were presented at the out-

set, and need not be recapitulated. Rafinesque himself has anticipated, and thus disposes of one objection, not among the least formidable: "That so many generations and names can be remembered, may appear doubtful to some; but when symbolical signs and paintings are accompanied with songs, and carefully taught from generation to generation, their retention and perpetuation is not so remarkable." To this may with propriety be added the subjoined observations of Loskiel: "The Delawares delight in describing their genealogies, and are so well versed in them, that they mark every branch of the family with the greatest

precision. They also add the character of their forefathers: such an one was a wise and intelligent counsellor; a renowned warrior, or rich man, etc. But though they are indifferent about the history of former times, and ignorant of the art of reading and writing, yet their ancestors were well aware that they stood in need of something to enable them to convey their ideas to a distant nation, or preserve the memory of remarkable events. To this end they invented something like hieroglyphics, and also strings and belts of wampum, etc.*

I have alluded to the general identity of the mythological traditions here recorded, with those which are known to have been, and which are still current among the nations of the Algonquin stock. The same may be observed of the traditions which are of a historical character, and particularly that which relates to the contest with the people denominated the *Tallegwi*. The name of this people is still perpetuated in the word *Alleghany*, the original significance of which is more apparent, when it is written in an unabbreviated form, *Tallegwi-henna*, or *Tallegwi-hanna*, literally "River of the *Tallegwi*." It was applied to the Ohio, (the present name is *Iroquois*, and literally rendered by the French *La Belle Rivière*,) and is still retained as the designation of its northern or principal tributary. The traditionary contest between the Lenape and the *Tallegwi* is given by Heckewelder, and is adduced in further illustration of the general concurrence above mentioned. The details vary in some points, but I am inclined to give the first position to the tradition as presented in the *Walumolun*; it being altogether the most simple and consistent. It must be observed, that Mr. Heckewelder's diffuse account is much condensed in the following quotations, and that part which refers to the wars with the Cherokees, etc., is entirely omitted:—

"The Lenni-Lenape (according to the traditions handed down to them from their ancestors) resided many hundred years ago, in a very distant country, in the western part of the American continent. For some reason which I do not find accounted for, they determined on migrating to the eastward, and accordingly set

out together in a body. After a very long journey, and many nights' encampment, ('nights' encampment' is a halt of a year in a place) they at length arrived on the *Namaesi-Sipu*,* where they fell in with the *Mengwi*, (Iroquois,) who had likewise emigrated from a distant country, and had struck upon this river higher up. Their object was the same with that of the Delawares; they were proceeding to the eastward, until they should find a country that pleased them. The spies which the Lenape had sent forward for the purpose of reconnoitering, had long before their arrival discovered that the country east of the Mississippi was inhabited by a very powerful nation, who had many large towns built on the great rivers flowing through the land. These people (as I was told) called themselves *Tallegwi* or *Talligewi*. Col. John Gibson, however, a gentleman who has a thorough knowledge of the Indians, and speaks several of their languages, is often of opinion that they were called *Alligewi*." * * * * *

"Many wonderful things are told of this famous people. They are said to have been remarkably tall and stout, and there are traditions that there were giants among them. It is related, that they had built to themselves regular fortifications or entrenchments, from whence they would sally out, but were generally repulsed. * * * When the Lenape arrived on the banks of the Mississippi, they sent a message to the *Alligewi*, to request permission to settle themselves in their neighborhood. This was refused them; but they obtained leave to pass through the country, and seek a settlement further to the eastward. They accordingly commenced passing the Mississippi, when the *Alligewi* discovering their great numbers became alarmed, and made a furious attack upon those who had crossed. Fired at their treachery, the Lenape consulted on what was to be done; whether to retreat, or try their strength against their oppressors. While this was going on the *Mengwi*, who had contented themselves with looking on from a distance, offered to join the Lenape, upon condition that they should be entitled to a share of the country, in case the combination was successful. Their proposal was accepted, and the confederates were able, after many severe conflicts, to drive the *Alligewi* down the Mississippi river. The conquerors divided the country between themselves; the *Mengwi* selecting the lands in the vicinity of the Great Lakes, and on their tributary streams, while the Lenape

* This differs from the foregoing record, and is undoubtedly incorrect. It is difficult to derive Mississippi from *Namaesi-Sipu*, which is made up of *Namaes*, a fish, and *Sipu*, river. The etymology is clearly *Messu*, *Messi*, or *Michi*, signifying *great*, or as Mr. Gallatin suggests, the *whole*, and *Sipu*, river.

took possession of the country below them. For a long period of time, some say many hundreds of years, the two nations lived peaceably, and increased their numbers with great rapidity. Ultimately some of the most adventurous among them crossed the mountains towards the rising sun, and falling on streams running to the eastward, followed them to the great Bay River, (Susquehanna,) and thence to the Bay (Chesapeake) itself. As they pursued their travels, partly by land and partly by water, sometimes near and sometimes on the great-salt-water Lake, (as they call the sea,) they discovered the great river which we call the Delaware; and still further to the eastward, the *Sheyicbbi* country, now called New Jersey. Afterwards they reached the stream now called the Hudson. The reports of the adventurers caused large bodies to follow them, who settled upon the four great rivers, the Delaware, Hudson, Susquehanna and Potomac, making the Delaware, which they call "*Lenape-wihittuck* (the river of the Lenape) the centre of their possessions.

"They add that a portion of their people remained beyond the Mississippi, and still another portion tarried between the Mississippi and the Mountains. The largest portion, they supposed, settled on the Atlantic. The latter were divided into three tribes, two of which were distinguished as *Unâmis*, or Turtle, and *Wnalachtgo*, or Turkey. These chose the lands lying nearest the coast. Their settlements extended from the *Mohicanittuck* (river of the *Mohicans*, or Hudson) to beyond the Potomac. * * * The third great tribe, the *Minsi*, (which we have corrupted into *Monseys*,) or tribe of the wolf, lived back of the others, forming a kind of bulwark, and watching the nations of the *Mengwi*. They were considered the most active and warlike of all the tribes. They extended their settlements from the *Minisink*, where they had their council-fire, quite to the Hudson on the east, and westward beyond the Susquehanna, and northward to the head waters of that stream and the Delaware. * * * From the above three divisions or tribes, comprising together the body of the people called Delawares, sprung many others, who, having for their own convenience chosen distinct spots to settle in, and increasing in numbers, gave themselves names, or received them from others. * * * * Meanwhile trouble ensued with the *Mengwi*, who occupied the southern shores of the Lakes, and resulted in fierce and sanguinary wars. The reverses of the *Mengwi* induced them to confederate, after which time the contests with the Lenape were carried on with vigor until the arrival of the French in Canada."

It will be seen that there is a difference between the traditions, as given by Heckewelder, and the *Walum-olum*, in respect

to the name of the confederates against the Tallegwi. In the latter the allies are called *Talamatan*, literally Not-of-themselves, and which, in one or two cases, is translated Hurons, with what correctness I am not prepared to say.* Heckewelder calls them *Mengwi*, Iroquois. This must be a mistake, as the *Mengwi* are subsequently and very clearly alluded to in the *Walum-olum*, as distinct from the *Talamatan*.

It is remarkable that the traditions of almost all the tribes, on the eastern shore of the continent, refer, with more or less distinctness, to a migration from the westward. "When you ask them," says Lawson, speaking of the Carolina Indians, "whence their fathers came, that first inhabited the country, they will point to the westward and say, 'Where the sun sleeps, our fathers came thence.'"[†] Most of the nations speak of the passage of the Mississippi river. The Natchez, who assimilated more nearly to the central American and Peruvian stocks, (the *Toltecan* family,) informed Du Pratz that they once dwelt at the south-west, "under the sun."[‡] The Muscogulges or Creeks, according to Bartram's manuscript, assert that they formerly lived beyond the Mississippi, and that they relinquished that country in obedience to a dream in which they were directed to go to the country where the sun rises. They claim that they crossed the river in their progress eastward, about the period that De Soto visited Florida. The Cherokees (a cognate tribe) have a similar tradition. They assert that "a long time ago all the Indians travelled a great distance and came to a great water. Upon arriving there, and immediately before or immediately after crossing, it is not remembered which, a part went north and another part south. Those who went northwards settled in two towns called *Ka-no-wo-gi* and *Nu-ta-gi*; the others at *Ka-ga-li-u*, or old town, and because they took the lead in the journey were

* In Heckewelder we find the Hurons sometimes called *Delamattenos*, which is probably but another mode of writing *Talamatan*. Although speaking a dialect of the Iroquois language, the Hurons seem to have generally maintained friendly relations with the Lenape.

† Lawson's Carolina, p. 170.

‡ Louisiana, p. 292.

considered the grandfathers of the Indians."* Roger Williams informs us that the south-west, or *Sawaniwa*, was constantly referred to by the Indians of New England. "From thence, according to their traditions, they came. There is the court of their great God, *Cawtantowit*; there are all their ancestors' souls; there they also go when they die, and from thence came their corn and beans, out of *Cawtantowit's* field."†

It will thus be seen that the general tenor and some of the more important details of the traditions of the Indians of the Algonquin stock, as they have been pre-

sented to us by various authorities, are the same with those of the foregoing remarkable records. These records are peculiar, chiefly as giving us a greater number of details than we before possessed. Whatever their historical value, they possess the highest interest, as coming to us through the medium of a rude system of representation, which may be taken as the first advance beyond a simple oral transmission of ideas, and from which we may trace upwards the progress of human invention to its highest and noblest achievement, the present perfected form of written language.

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