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Virginia's Indian Contributions to English

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## VIRGINIA'S INDIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO ENGLISH

By WILLIAM R. GERARD

Virginia, for which has been claimed the honor of being the "Mother of Presidents" and the "Mother of States," can claim for herself the maternity of a certain number of aboriginal words which have been adopted into the English language, and which, with their offspring, have added somewhat largely to their fostermother's vocabulary. The majority of these adopted vocables (many of them, as such, dating back to the first years of the settlement of Jamestown) are doubtless more or less familiar to most of the intelligent people of this country, while some of them, such as 'tomahawk,' 'moccasin,' 'hickory,' 'hominy,' 'raccoon,' and 'opossum,' having had the advantage of extensive travel abroad, have become as widely known wherever English is spoken as is the word 'Indian' in its sense of an original inhabitant of America.

These terms, all of Algonquian lineage, embrace the names of a few animals that were strange to the *Utāsantuwâk*, as the settlers at Jamestown were called by the natives; names applied to certain plants indigenous to the country and which the newcomers found it easier to adopt than invent new ones; names of a few food preparations which the settlers were early forced to add to their scant bill of fare; names of a number of articles found in use among the Indians and not possessed by the Europeans; a few names of a miscellaneous character; and certain titles applied by the natives to themselves in their political relations, and which, with the passing away of these whilom lords of the forest, died out with them, but are still kept in remembrance in dictionaries.

Through the transference of some of these native terms to objects, animate and inanimate, of precisely the same or of a very similar kind, and, by metaphor, to others of a nature totally diverse; through the very numerous compounds into which others have entered; and through the change of sense of others again from that

of substantives to that of verbs and adjectives, and from that of adjectives to that of substantives with a meaning different from that which they possessed among the Indians, the original application and etymological scope of these adopted words, many of them more or less corrupted, have been extended to somewhat wide limits.

To present an enumeration of these terms, along with the different senses which they have taken, some of the combinations into which they have entered, their etymology, and notes on their history, is the object of this article.<sup>1</sup>

ATAMASCO; earlier, ATTAMUSCO. — A name, usually employed in combination with the word 'Lily,' for *Zephyranthes Atamasco*, of the order Amaryllidaceæ, a plant with long and very narrow bright green leaves, arising, with a short scape (which bears a pretty white and pink flower), from a coated bulb. It is a native of Virginia and the Carolinas, where it is held in like esteem with the daisy in England. It is sometimes called stagger-grass, from its long grass-like leaves and its production in horses and cattle of an affection termed "staggers." Having suspicious properties and being of no economic use, the plant probably had no aboriginal name, the one that it bears having possibly been given *ex tempore* by a native to some colonial collector or admirer who had shown him the entire plant and asked its Indian appellation. The plant was introduced into England under this name at an early date.<sup>2</sup>

ETYMOLOGY: From Tapehanek of Virginia *ätamäsku*, 'under grass,' a name descriptive of the bulb surmounted by grass-like leaves; from Tapehanek *ätam*, Cree *ätam*, Lenäpe *älam*, *äram*, Ojibwe *änam*, 'under,' and *-äsku*, 'grass.'

CHINQUAPIN, CHINQUOPIN, CHINCAPIN, CHINCOPIN; earlier, CHE-

<sup>1</sup> In the etymologies, the vowels have the following sounds: *a* as in far; *ä* nearly as in what, not; *ä* as in hat; *ä* as in law; *e* as in they; *ë* as in met; *i* as in pique; *ï* as in pick; *o* as in note; *u* as in rule; *ü* as in but. Of the consonants, it is only necessary to explain that *ch* has a guttural sound as in Ger. *ich*; *tsh* is like *ch* in church; and <sup>n</sup> represents a nasal sound of the preceding vowel. An apostrophe (') denotes the syncope of a short vowel, while a superior reversed comma (ˆ) before a consonant is a mark of aspiration.

<sup>2</sup> "The Indians in Virginia do call it *Attamusco*." — Parkinson, *Paradisus*, p. 87 (1629). "The *Attamusco Lily*." — Catesby, *Nat. Hist. Canada, Florida*, etc., II, append., p. 12 (1754). "*Atamasco lily* . . . blossoms in April." — Drayton, *View of S. Carolina*, p. 67 (1802).

CHINQUAMIN,<sup>1</sup> CHICHIQUAMIN, CHINCOMEN.<sup>2</sup>— The fruit of *Castanea pumila*, consisting of a very small ovoid pointed nut scarcely half the size of a common chestnut, enclosed in a bristly and prickly bur. This nut, which is very sweet, and tastes somewhat like a filbert, was gathered in large quantities as it lay on the ground, after the frosts of autumn, by the Indian women, who, after drying it, stored it in large baskets in the wigwam for future use. It was highly prized by the Virginia Indians, whose women, after boiling it four hours, made from it both broth and bread for the chief men, or for use at the greatest feasts; or, converting it into meal, employed it as an ingredient in their meat soups. (2) The seed of *Nelumbo lutea*, called also “water chinquapin.” (3) *Quercus prinoides*, from the resemblance of its foliage to that of *Castanea pumila*; called also “chinquapin oak.” (4) *Quercus Muhlenbergii*, from the resemblance of its acorns, in size, shape, and taste, to the chinquapin. (5) The fruit of *Castanopsis chrysophylla*, of California, a small nut enclosed, like the chinquapin, in a spiny bur. “Chinquapin perch” is a Southern name for the fish *Pomoxis sparoides*.

ETYMOLOGY: With erroneous change of suffix from *-mĕn* or *-mĭn*, meaning ‘seed,’ ‘nut,’ ‘fruit,’ to *-pĭn*, meaning ‘root,’ from Renâpe of Virginia *tshĭ<sup>n</sup>komen* or *tshĭ<sup>n</sup>kwĕmĕn*, an aphæretic form of *tshĭtshĭ<sup>n</sup>kwĕmĕn*, ‘rattle-nut;’ from, or from the same root as, Virginia *tshĭ<sup>n</sup>kwan*, a rattle, an aphæretic form of *tshĭtshĭ<sup>n</sup>kwan*, cognate with Nipissing and Montagnais (Cree) *shĭshĭkwan*, Ojibwe *jĭshĭgwan*, Prairie Cree *sĭsĭkwan*, Menomini *ssĭsĭkwan*.

The change of the suffix *-mĕn* or *-mĭn* to *-pĭn* seems to have occurred at the beginning of the last quarter of the 17th century.<sup>3</sup>

Since the nuts do not rattle in the dry bur, the name is probably due to the fact of their having been used by the Indians in their squash-shell rattles or *tchĭ<sup>n</sup>kwanâk*. By the Renâpe of Roanoke island, the nut was

<sup>1</sup> “They haue a small fruit growing on little trees, husked like a Chesnut, but the fruit most like a small Acorne. This they call *Chechinquamins*, which they esteeme a great daintie.” — Smith, *Map of Virginia*, p. 11 (1612).

<sup>2</sup> “Many goodly groues of *Chincomen trees* with a huske like vnto a Chesnut, raw or boyled, luscious and hartly meate.” — Hamor, *A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia*, p. 23 (1615).

<sup>3</sup> “A Chincopine, which is like a Chesnut with a Burry huske, but lesse by far.” — Glover in *Philosoph. Transact.*, XI, p. 629 (1676). “Chinkapins have a Taste some thing like a Chesnut :” — Beverley, *Hist. of Virginia*, bk. 11, p. 16 (1705).

called *sapumën*, or 'transpiercing fruit' (in allusion to the prickly burs), a name which, in the form of *sabomîn*, is applied by the Ojibwe to the prickly gooseberry (*Ribes Cynosbati*), which, in turn, was called by the Renâpe of Virginia *ärâkomën*, 'scratch fruit.'

COCKAROUSE, COCKEROUSE, CAUCOROUSE, COCCOROUS. — A war captain<sup>1</sup> and Elder<sup>2</sup> of the Algonquians of Virginia, selected from among the oldest, bravest, and wealthiest men of the community to which he belonged,<sup>3</sup> and performing the function of adviser<sup>4</sup> to the wirowance of his town. (2) Later on, a good hunter or a man who was noted for performing daring deeds.<sup>5</sup> (3) A term used by the English colonists for a person of consequence.

ETYMOLOGY: From Renâpe of Virginia *kakârusu*, 'he speaks at some length,' 'he speaks repeatedly,' frequentative form of *kârusu*, 'he speaks,' 'he talks.'

CUSHAW, CASHAW, KERSHAW. — The crook-neck squash (*Cucurbita Pepo*, var.), called also, by market-gardeners, "cashaw pumpkin." *Cushaw* was mentioned first by Beverley (1705)<sup>6</sup> as the name of one of the plants which the Virginia Indians had growing near their towns, along with pumpkins and melons.

ETYMOLOGY: A word of uncertain meaning. Perhaps, short for a form *askushaw*, from the root *ask*, 'to be green,' 'unripe' (the state in which squashes are gathered for food); but the meaning of the suffix *-ushaw* (probably miswritten) is not clear.

<sup>1</sup> ". . . *Caucorouse*, which is Captaine." — Smith, *Gen. Hist. of Virginia*, lib. 2, p. 38 (1624).

<sup>2</sup> ". . . their Elders called *Caw-cawwassoughes* [*kakarusus*]." — Smith, *Map of Virginia*, p. 23 (1612).

<sup>3</sup> "Every small Town is a petty Kingdom govern'd by an absolute *Monarch*, assisted and advised by his *great Men* selected out of the gravest, oldest, bravest and richest; if I may allow their *Dear-Skins*, *Peak* and *Roenoak* . . . . to be *Wealth*." — Jones, *The Present State of Virginia*, p. 8 (1724).

<sup>4</sup> "A *Cockarouse* is one that has the Honour to be of the King or Queen's Council, with Relation to the Affairs of Government, and has a great Share in the Administration." — Beverley, *Hist. of Virginia*, bk. III, p. 57 (1705).

<sup>5</sup> "Thus a Fish finding it self intangled, wou'd flounce and often pull him under Water, and then that Man was counted a *Cockarouse*, or brave fellow, that wou'd not let go:" — Beverley, *Hist. of Virginia*, bk. II, p. 33 (1705).

<sup>6</sup> "Their *Cushaws* are a kind of *Pompion*, of a bluish green Colour, streaked with White, when they are fit for Use. They are larger than the *Pompions*, and have a long narrow Neck." — Beverley, *Hist. of Virginia*, bk. II, p. 27 (1705). ". . . *Cashaws*, an excellent Fruit boil'd:" — Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina*, p. 77 (1709). "The *Cashaw*, or *Kershaw*, . . . a pumpkin, may possibly be a corruption of an Indian name:" — Devere, *Americanisms*, p. 56 (1872).

HICKORY, HICKORIE, HICKERY, HICCORY, HIQUERY, HICCORA ; earlier, PECKICKERY, PIECK HICKERY, POKIKERIE, POCKICKERY, POKAHICHORY, POCOHICQUARA, PAWCOHICCORA, POWCOHICORA. — In the uncorrupted form, a name for a milk-like emulsion prepared by the Virginia Indian women from the nuts of *Carya tomentosa* (called by the Southern Renâpe *äsînimënâr*, or ‘stone-nuts,’ from the hardness of their shell ; and the tree, *äsînimînĵ*), and used for giving richness and flavor to their food preparations, such as broths, boiled corn, beans, peas, squashes, etc. ;<sup>1</sup> afterward, among the colonists, a name for the nuts<sup>2</sup> themselves and for the tree that bore them ; and later, by a further extension of the metaphor, a general designation for all the trees of the genus *Carya*. “Hickory,” used without an attributive, is the popular name for *C. tomentosa*, the most widely distributed species. The name has been extended in Barbadoes, Tasmania, and New South Wales to certain trees of other genera (those of *Rivinia*, *Acacia*, and *Eriostemon*), of which the wood possesses characters resembling those of the wood of the American hickories. (2) As an epithet, the word is used to express the qualities of “strength,” “toughness,” firmness,” “flexibility,” or “elasticity” in the object qualified, as in “hickory acacia,” *Acacia lep-rosa* ; “hickory Catholic ;” “hickory elm,” *Ulmus racemosa* ; “hickory eucalyptus,” *Eucalyptus punctatus* ; “hickory pine,” *Pinus pungens* ; “hickory Quaker” ; “hickory shad,” *Pomolobus mediocris* ; “hickory shirt,” etc. The name has entered into many compounds, in some cases attributively, as : “Hickory-borer,” *Clytus pictus*, a beetle ; “hickory-girdler,” *Onciderus cingulatus*, a beetle ; “hickory-head,” the ruddy duck, *Erismatura rubida* ; “hickory leaf,” a variety of tobacco, etc. Finally, “Old Hickory” is a term which will live in history as a nick-name applied in 1813

<sup>1</sup> “Then doe they dry them [‘walnuts’] againe vpon a mat ouer a hurdle. After, they put it into a mortar of wood, and beat it very small : that done, they mix it with water, that the shels may sinke to the bottome. This water will be coloured as milk ; which they cal *Pawcohicora*, and keepe it for their vse.” — Smith, *Map of Virginia*, p. 12 (1612).

“ . . . . a kind of mylke, or oylie liquor, which they call *powcohicora*.” — Strachey, *Hist. of Trauaile into Virginia* (1616).

<sup>2</sup> “The ingredient which performed the milky part was nothing but dry pockickery nuts.” — Norwood, *Voyage to Virginia*, p. 37 (1649). “Hickory-nuts are of several Sorts :” — Beverley, *Hist. of Virginia*, bk. II, p. 16 (1705).

to General Andrew Jackson, in allusion to his tough, unyielding disposition.

ETYMOLOGY: By aphæresis,<sup>1</sup> from Renâpe of Virginia *pakâhikâré*, 'it is brayed,' an inanimate verbal adjective used substantively as a name for a product obtained by braying.

HOMINY, HOMONY, HOMINI, HOMINE, HOMMONY, OMINI. — A well known food product consisting of Indian corn simply hulled, or of the kernels hulled and coarsely ground and cracked. It was formerly prepared for domestic use in Virginia in what was termed a "hominy block," a successor to, but no great improvement on, the *takwahâk* ('pounding utensil'), or wooden mortar, in which the Indian *krenepo*, or woman, prepared it, and consisting of a block of wood three feet long with a cavity burned in it at one end, wide at the top and narrow at the bottom, so that the action of the pestle threw the corn up the sides, whence it fell to the bottom again. At present, it is manufactured in large quantities by machinery in what are called "hominy mills."

This was unquestionably the first native food that the colonists undertook to prepare for themselves. Although the process of manufacture was very simple and easy, the pronunciation of the Indian name for the article presented difficulties and consumed time; and, as it is a characteristic of man to endeavor to do what he has to do with the least possible exertion, the word of six syllables was, in order to economize effort, shortened to a word of three, which, in one of its forms, that of "homini," was mentioned in print first by Capt. John Smith, in 1630.<sup>2</sup>

The word enters into several compounds: "Hominy grits," in some parts of the country called by the corrupted Narragansett name of *samp*, is corn cracked in particles as small as grains of rice. "Wheaten hominy" is wheat hulled and finely crushed. "Lye

<sup>1</sup> Many notable examples of the application of the "law of least exertion" in the way of shortening words by aphæresis are found in the Renâpe dialects; and it is possible that the Indians themselves finally abbreviated the word under consideration. John Banister, who resided near Jamestown, says, in a communication to John Ray about the middle of the seventeenth century: "Ex similitudine quam habet cum suo lacte Juglandium, Indi lac nostrum *Hickery* vocant." — Ray, *Hist. Plantarum*, II, p. 1915 (1688).

<sup>2</sup> "Their servants commonly feed upon Milke Homini, which is bruized Indian corne pounded and boiled thicke, and milke for the sauce." — Smith, *True Travels, Adventures and Observations*, p. 43 (1630).

hominy" is corn of which the hull has been removed by steeping the kernel in weak lye. In entomology, "hominy beater" is a name for a species of spring-beetle (*Elater*). The size of the grains into which corn is cracked in the manufacture of the material has given rise to the simile "as coarse as hominy." "Hog and hominy" is a common metaphor for pork and Indian corn,<sup>1</sup> the standard dish of early settlers in Virginia. (2) A porridge prepared from corn treated as above described by boiling it in milk or water.

ETYMOLOGY: From Renâpe of Virginia *ûsêkutehemên*, 'crushed by pounding.' This word, corrupted to *usketehamun*,<sup>2</sup> *uskatahomen*, etc., was soon abbreviated to the verbal suffix *hamun*, *homen*, *homin*, etc., by the colonists, who, by the addition of a vowel (as in "rockahominy" for *rokêhamên*, and "monohominy" for *mânâhamên*), formed such terms as *hamuni*, *homeni*, *homini*, etc.

HUSKANAWING. — An ordeal to which certain promising young Virginia Indians were submitted, upon reaching the age of virility, as an initiation into a new state of life, that of manhood, and for the purpose of rendering them oblivious to every event of the preceding state of adolescence, and of preparing their mind for the reception of new impressions. The candidates selected by the Elders for such initiation were sent to the woods in charge of a custodian, and, after having been confined in a lodge constructed of saplings, were deprived of food and dosed with *wisâkan* (meaning 'it is bitter'; an inanimate verbal adjective used substantively), an infusion or a decoction of the fresh roots of the spreading dogbane or American ipecac (*Apocynum androsæmifolium*),<sup>3</sup> medicinally a

<sup>1</sup> "Hog and hommony" were proverbial for the dish of which they were component parts." — Kercheval, *Hist. of the Valley of Virginia*, p. 384 (1833).

<sup>2</sup> "The growtes and broken pieces of the corne remainyng [after braying] they likewise preserve, and by fannyng away the branne or husks in a platter or in the wynd, they lett boyle in an earthen pott three or four howres, and thereof make a straung thick pottage which they call *Vsketehamun*:" — Strachey, *Hist. of Trauaile into Virginia* (1616). "*Vskatahomen*, corne brused and boyled." "Meale made of gynny wheat [Indian corn] called *vsketehamû*." — Strachey, *Dictionarie*, loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup> *Wisâkan* was noticed first by Gabriel Archer (in May, 1607), who mistook the plant for the bloodwort (*Erythraea Centaurium*) of England, as did also the colonists of Massachusetts, the Indians of which used it for the same initiatory purposes as did those of Virginia. According to Smith, the natives of Virginia made themselves sick every spring by copious draughts of the juice of the root mixed with water, which purged them so violently that they did not recover from the effects of its action until three or four days afterward. The root was used by them also as a vulnerary.



very active plant which was highly valued by the Southern Indians, and the extremely bitter, nauseous, milky root of which possesses emetic properties of about two-thirds the strength of the officinal ipecac. The effect of this treatment was to render the subjects of it delirious and to cause them temporarily to forget everything that had passed in their life. Thus, says Beverley, they unlied their former life and began as men (prepared to exercise the function of priest and cockarouse) by forgetting that they had ever been boys. The last case of the practise of huskanawing on record is said to have occurred among the Appomatox Indians in 1690.<sup>1</sup> "Huskanawed," an expression used of a person who looks as if he had been submitted to the action of an emetic.<sup>2</sup> "Huskanaw" (vb.), to submit a person to the process of huskanawing.

ETYMOLOGY: Formed, with the English participial suffix *-ing*, from Renâpe of Virginia *huskînawewu*, an aspirated form of *uskînawewu*, 'he has a new body'; said of a youth who had reached the age of virility.

MACOCK, MAYCOCK. — A general name among the English settlers in Virginia for several varieties of the pumpkin and squash (*Cucurbita Pepo*), called also "macock gourds."<sup>3</sup> According to Prof. Schele Devere (*Americanisms*, p. 60), the name, in the form "maycock," still survives.

ETYMOLOGY: From Renâpe of Virginia *măkăk* or *măkăkw* (Minsi *măchgachk*, pumpkin), an Algonquian name, with slight changes according to dialect, for a hollow receptacle, such as a bark box, tub, or barrel (Menomini *măchkak*, Ojibwe *măkăk*, *măkăk*, Fox *măkăkw*, Cree *măkăk*, etc.); applied by the Renâpe to certain cucurbits which they had in cultivation before the advent of the English because, through the ultimate drying of the pulp and flesh and hardening of the rind, they afforded, after removal of the contents, hollow shells for rattles and vessels for hold-

<sup>1</sup> ". . . . *Huskanawing* is commonly practis'd once every fourteen or sixteen Years, or oftener as their young Men happen to grow up." — Beverley, *Hist. of Virginia*, bk. III, p. 39 (1705). "*Huskanawing*, a Solemnity practised by the Virginia Indians." — Bailey, *Etymolog. Engl. Dict.* (1735).

<sup>2</sup> "He [Luzerne] is a good man, too, but so much out of his element, that he has the air of one huskanoyed." — Thos. Jefferson, in a letter to Jas. Madison (1788).

<sup>3</sup> "*Macôquer* [pl.] according to severall formes called by vs Pompions, Mellions, and Gourdes." — Hariot, *Briefe and True Relation of . . . Virginia*, p. 14 (1590). "A fruit like unto a musk millon but lesse and worse; which they call *Macocks*." — Smith, *Map of Virginia*, p. 17 (1612). ". . . Symnels, Maycocks and Horns like Cucumbers." — Plantagenet, *Descrip. of Prov. of New Albion*, p. 28 (1648).

ing liquids. The calabash, or gourd properly so called (*Lagenaria vulgaris*), was unknown to the Indians of Virginia before its introduction by Europeans.

MATCH-COAT, MATCHCOAT. — A loose winter mantle worn by the better class of Southern Indians (both male and female), made of the skin of a deer or of other animals, dressed with the hair on, the edges, for the sake of ornament, cut into narrow strips or strings (*rāsawānār*) forming a fringe, and the back embroidered with figures of beasts, birds, etc., in white shells or shell beads (*rārēnawok*),<sup>1</sup> or beads of copper (*mīnsār*); or, when the hair was worn inward, decorated with figures in color. This garment, when worn by men, was sometimes thrown over the left shoulder and secured around the body in such a way as to afford the right arm full liberty. It descended to, or below, the knees, and was occasionally lined with the fur of animals other than the one of which it was made. But fashions change, and a little more than a century after the settlement of Jamestown the Indians were wearing a mantle of plain deer-skin provided with holes near the shoulder through which to put their arms — an idea evidently suggested by the European coat.

“Feather matchcoat.” The variety of mantle so called was designated by the Indians, according to dialect, as a *kawāson* or *pūtawīs*. “We have seene some,” says William Strachey, “use mantells made both of Turkey feathers and other fowle, prettily wrought and woven with threeds [so] that nothing could be discerned but the feathers, which were exceeding warme and very handsome.” Again, in an account of a visit that he paid to the wife of the ex-wirowance of Tapehanek, he says: “her mayd fetcht her a mantell, which they call puttawus, which is like a side cloake, made of blew feathers, so arteficyally and thick sowed together, that it seemed like a deepe purple satten and is very smooth and sleeke.” According to Lawson, these feather mantles were worn by men as well as women.

After the introduction of the material by the British traders, the Indian mantle was made also of a coarse white, blue, or red woolen fabric known as “Match Cloth,” an Indian-English name, but now

<sup>1</sup> See the illustration of “Pohatan, King of Virginia’s habit” (pl. v), accompanying Mr Bushnell’s article in this number.

seemingly understood to mean a cloth made to match the skins which it was designed to supersede.

ETYMOLOGY: From Renâpe of Virginia *Mâtsh'kor*,<sup>1</sup> a garment made of skin, and, by a metaphor, the skin of which it was made; from *mâtshî*, 'bad,' 'unpleasant,' and *kor*, a word of uncertain origin, but perhaps, from its general meaning of 'covering,' an apocopated form of the old Algonquian word *kora*, 'skin,' 'robe,' 'vestment,' etc. The garment was characterized as bad, unpleasant, or disagreeable because it was more or less of an encumbrance to the wearers, whose sole article of apparel in all seasons except that of winter was a finely dressed piece of deer-skin secured around the waist and caught up at the sides so as to form two wide, handsomely fringed flaps that covered the middle part of the body before and behind. After the advent of the English, the name was applied to garments of European material and pattern. The colonists changed the word *kor* of the Indian vocable to "coat" to give it a significance in English, and thus produced the hybrid word *matchcoat*.<sup>2</sup>

MAYPOP, MAY-POP; earlier MAYCOCK.<sup>3</sup> The fruit of *Passiflora incarnata*, a yellow berry about the size of a hen's egg, containing a juicy pulp of an agreeable acidulous taste, and much esteemed by the Virginia Indians, who cultivated the plant for the sake of it. "In every field where the Indians plant their corne," says William Strachey, "be cart-loads of them."

ETYMOLOGY: *Maypop*<sup>4</sup> is a corruption of *Maycock*, a word of unknown meaning, first mentioned in the beginning of the 18th century. It may be, through syncope, from *maracock* (*märäkäk*),<sup>5</sup> the Renâpe name

<sup>1</sup> "Matchcores. Skins or garments." — Smith, Vocab. in *Map of Virginia* (1612). "Matchkore, a stags skyn." — Strachey, Dict. in *Hist. of Trauaile into Virginia* (1616).

<sup>2</sup> "He threw off his *Match coat* (or upper covering of skin)." — Norwood, *Voyage to Virginia*, p. 36 (1649). "The proper *Indian Match-Coat* . . . is made of Skins drest with the Fur on, sewed together, and worn with the Fur inwards, having the Edges also gashed for Beauty Sake." — Beverley, *Hist. of Virginia*, bk. III, p. 5 (1705). "Their Feather Match-Coats are very pretty." — Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina*, p. 191 (1709).

<sup>3</sup> "The *Maycock* bears a glorious Flower, and Apple of an agreeable Sweet mixt with an acid Taste." — Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina*, p. 95 (1709). "Grana-dillas, *Maycocks*, *Maracocks*, *Passiflora incarnata*." — Jefferson, *Notes on Virginia*, p. 63 (1785).

<sup>4</sup> "Fruit called *maypops*." — Gray, *Man. of Bot.*, p. 194.

<sup>5</sup> "A fruit that the Inhabitants call *Maracocks*." — Smith, *Map of Virginia*, p. 12 (1612). "They plant also the field apple, the *maracock*, a wyld fruit like a kind of pomegranatt." — Strachey, *Hist. of Trauaile into Virginia* (1616). "*Maracock*. . . . A plant of the genus *Passiflora*." — Webster, *Dictionary* (1858).

of the fruit, which, with the last edition of Webster, ceased to be a dictionary word. Gray and Trumbull (in *Amer. Jour. Sci.*, xxv, p. 130) remark that as our *P. incarnata* is so like the *P. edulis* of Brazil that botanists have been unable clearly to distinguish between the two, we may infer that the fruit and its name were originally derived from the same South American source. According to this view, the Renâpe name *märäkäk* would be ultimately from Tupi (Lingoa geral) *marakuja* or *murukuja*, which was adopted in the form of *merécoya* by the Caribs of the Lesser Antilles, by way of which the fruit, with its Tupi-Carib name, would have reached the country of the Southern Algonquians. The objection to such an inference is that the Carib *merécoya* is not the fruit of *P. edulis*, but the narcotic berry of a passion-flower-vine of a different genus and species, viz. *Murucuia ocellata*.

MOCCASIN, MOCCASON, MOCCASSIN, MOCASSIN, MOCKASIN, MOGGIZON. — The name of the shoe worn by the Algonquians, and, by extension, a term for the foot-covering used by American Indians of other stocks or families. The first mention of the word in print was made by Capt. John Smith in 1612.<sup>1</sup>

The Virginia moccasin was made of a single piece of tanned<sup>2</sup> deer-skin with a gathering seam along the top of the foot, and another at the heel, leaving the bottom seamless. Flaps were usually (though not always) left on each side to reach a few inches up the leg, and these were tied over the ankle and to the lower part of the leg by thongs of deer-skin called by the colonists "whangs"; or else were provided with drawing strings, which drew the skin together like a purse on the top of the foot, and were tied around the ankle. The moccasin was worn mostly in winter, when it was usually well stuffed with deer-hair or dry leaves in order to keep the feet comfortably warm. Sometimes in cold weather (or in warm weather when the men went hunting or the women fruit or mat-material gathering) the Indians wore, in addition to moccasins, a pair of deer-skin leggings (*kâkwowânär*), called by the colonists

<sup>1</sup> "Moccasins, Shoes." — Smith, Vocab. in *Map of Virginia* (1612). "The Indian Name of this kind of shoe is *Maccasin*." — Beverley, *Hist. of Virginia*, bk. III, p. 3 (1705). "Some make *Moccasons* or leather Purses for their Feet." — Jones, *The Present State of Virginia*, p. 10 (1724).

<sup>2</sup> "According to John Lawson, the Southern Indians, like some of those at the North, used the brain of the deer for tanning their deer skins; and sometimes also corn "in the milk" beaten to a pulp.

“stockings,” secured at the knee to a sort of trunk-hose of the same material, which was tied about the waist.

A strip of the silicious culm of the cane (*Arundinaria macrosperma*), with an edge ground almost as sharp as that of a razor, furnished the knife (*rikäskw*) to shape the moccasin leather; a small bone near the ankle-joint of the deer provided the awl or needle (*pokohâk*); and the sinews of the animal split into filaments and twisted by the women between the hand and thigh supplied the thread (*pēmēnätân*). (2) A Virginia Indian name for the stemless lady's-slipper, *Cypripedium acaule*,<sup>1</sup> adopted by the whites and since extended, in combination with the word *flower*, and with various attributives, to other species of the genus. (3) A name for several kinds of serpents: *Natrix fasciata*, *Ancistrodon contortrix*, *Toxicophis atrofuscus* and *T. piscivorus*,<sup>2</sup> the cotton-mouth, the species originally so called, and said to be the ugliest snake in North America. By the negroes of South Carolina and elsewhere, every water-snake is called a “moccasin.” From this metaphorical application of the name to snakes (the reason for which is not apparent), is perhaps due the South Carolina locution “to be moccasinized,” in the slang sense of “to see snakes,” that is, to be intoxicated.

The word has entered into several compounds besides that of “moccasin flower,” such as: “Moccasin embroidery,” a kind of needle-work executed with a species of grass by several Indian tribes; “moccasin fish”, a name in Maryland for the sun-fish (*Pomotis vulgaris*); and “moccasin game”, a game of chance played by the Ojibwe and Menomini.

(4) “Moccasinized” (adj.). Shod with moccasins.

ETYMOLOGY: From Renâpe *mākāsīn*, a radical word with cognates in nearly every Algonquian dialect.

NONDO. — A name in Virginia for *Ligusticum actæifolium*, an umbelliferous plant, called also angelico, which was cultivated by the Southern Indians for the sake of its large aromatic root, which was used by them for boiling with their meat and other food in

<sup>1</sup> “They call it the *moccasin* flower, which also signifies, in their language, *shoe* or *slipper*.” — Catesby, *Nat. Hist. Canada, Florida, etc.*, II, append., p. 3 (1745). “*Moccasin* [*C. acaule*].” — Clayton, *Flora Virginica*, p. 40 (1762).

<sup>2</sup> “There is another snake in Carolina and Florida, called the *moccasin*.” — Bartram, *Travels in N. America*, p. 269 (1791).

order to give it an agreeable flavor; hence the Renâpe name, on Roanoke island, of *habo<sup>n</sup>sikan*, 'used with what is boiled.'

ETYMOLOGY: From Renâpe of Virginia *wo<sup>n</sup>deu*, 'it is boiled'; pronounced *wo<sup>n</sup>do*, and corrupted to "nondo."<sup>1</sup>

OPOSSUM, OPUSSUM, OPASSOM; earlier APOSSUME, APOSSOUN, POSSOWN, PASSOUNE, POSSUM. — A North American marsupial, *Didelphys Virginiana*, about the size of the domestic cat, with grayish-white hair; with face pure white near the snout; and with black ears. When captured or slightly wounded, it has the habit of feigning death, and, by this artifice, often escapes from the inexperienced hunter.

The name, which was first mentioned in a brief account of Virginia published in 1610,<sup>2</sup> has, with various adjuncts, since been extended to species of the genera *Sarcophilus*, *Thylacinus*, *Belideas*, *Micoureus*, *Chironectes*, and *Acrobates*. The name enters into several compounds, as: "Opossum mouse," *Acrobates pygmaeus*, a pygmy species of opossum of New South Wales; "opossum rug," a commercial name for the skin of an Australian species of *Phalanger*; "opossum shrew," an insectivorous mammal of the genus *Soledon*; "opossum shrimp," a crustacean, the female of which carries its eggs in pouches between its legs.

"Possum," the common aphæretic form of the name, is often used as an epithet with the meaning of "false," "deceptive," "imitative," as in the name "possum haw" (*Viburnum nudum*), the berries of which counterfeit the edible fruit of the black haw (*V. prunifolium*), but differ therefrom in being very insipid; and "possum oak" (*Quercus aquatica*), from the deceptive character of its leaves, which vary in shape and size and often imitate those of *Q. imbricaria*, and thus lead to a confusion between the two species. Used as a verb, the word means "to pretend," "feign," "dissemble,"

<sup>1</sup> "Called Nondo in Virginia:"—Bartram, *Travels in N. America*, p. 45 (1791). "*L. actæifolium* . . . (*Nondo. Angelico*)."—Gray, *Man. of Botany* (1858).

<sup>2</sup> "There are Arocouns and Apossouns, in shape like pigges shrowded in hollow roots of trees."—*A True Declaration of Virginia*, p. 29 (1610). "An *Opassum* hath a head like a Swine, and a taile like a Rat:"—Smith, *Map of Virginia*, p. 14 (1612). "*Apossumes* of the bignesse and likenesse of a Pigge of a moneth ould:"—Hamor, *A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia*, p. 20 (1615). "An *Opossum* as big and something shaped like our Badgers."—Clayton, *Virginia*, p. 36 (1688).

this sense, as well as that of the attributive, being derived from the animal's habit of throwing itself upon its back and feigning death upon the approach of an enemy; whence the expression "playing possum" or "possuming."

The flesh of the opossum, which is white and well flavored, was eaten by the Virginia Indians, but its fur was not esteemed and was used only for making girdles. (2) The "opossum" of English-speaking people of the West Indies and South America is *Didelphys Opossum*, the *manitu* of the Caribs and *sarigueia* of the Tupi.

ETYMOLOGY: From Renâpe of Virginia *âpäsûm*, 'white beast'; an aphæretic and dialectic form of *wâpäsûm*.

PERSIMMON, PERSIMON (*vulgo* SIMMON); earlier PARSIMENA, PARSIMON, POSIMON.—The berry of *Diospyros virginiana*, of the Ebenaceæ, or Ebony Family. This fruit, which resembles a yellow plum, but is globular and about an inch in diameter, is exceedingly austere and astringent before maturity, and, as Captain John Smith (who was the first to notice it, under the name of *putchamin*)<sup>1</sup> observes, draws "a man's mouth awry with much torment"; but, in the fall, after it has been bletted and softened by the frost, becomes sweet and fine flavored. In the South, the fruit remains adherent to the branches long after the leaves have been shed (a fact to which the name mentioned by Smith alludes)<sup>2</sup>, and, when it falls to the ground, is eagerly devoured by wild and domestic animals. It was much esteemed by the Virginia Indians, who preserved it by drying it upon mats spread upon frames or barbecues. It is from the berries in the form of prunes that the name, after undergoing many vicissitudes of spelling, has been handed down to us, that probably being the condition in which the fruit was locally first seen, by the English settlers, in use among the Indians. The

<sup>1</sup> ". . . The other [plums], which they call *Putchamins*, grow as high as a palmeta; the fruit is like a medlar."—Smith, *Map of Virginia*, p. 11 (1612).

<sup>2</sup> *Pütchamin*, or *pütchämën*, 'persistent fruit.'

<sup>3</sup> "There are Cedars, Cypresses and Sassafras, with wilde fruits, pears, wilde cherries . . . and the dainty Parsemenas."—Plantagenet, *Descrip. of Prov. of New Albion*, p. 23 (1648). "The fruits natural to the island are Mulberries, Posimons, Grapes:."—Denton, *A Brief Account of New York*, p. 3 (1670). "These *Persimmons* amongst them retain their *Indian* Name."—Beverley, *Hist. of Virginia*, bk. 11, p. 14 (1705). "In the choicest Part of this Land grow *Parsimon* Trees:."—Tailfer, *A True and Hist. Narrat. of the Col. of Georgia*, p. 68 (1741).

name of the fruit in a fresh or growing state (*putchamin* or *pitchamin*) became obsolete at the beginning of the third quarter of the 18th century. The fruit is used in the South for making a beverage called "persimmon (or simmon) beer," which is much liked by country folk.<sup>1</sup> "Persimmon wine" is a spirituous liquor obtained by distilling persimmon beer.

"Huckleberry above the persimmon" is a Southern phrase meaning to excel (Bartlett). "To rake up the persimmons" is a Southern gambling term for pocketing the stakes, or gathering in the "chips." "The longest pole knocks down the most simmons" is a Southern adage meaning that the strongest party gains the day. "That's persimmons" is a Southernism for "that's fine."

The hard flat seeds of the persimmon were used by the Southern Renâpe in playing their *mamantuwâkan*, or dice game.

ETYMOLOGY: An apocopated form of Renâpe *pasimënan*, 'dried fruit,' i. e., fruit dried artificially; from *pasimëneu*, 'he (or she) dries fruit.' Fruit dried spontaneously would be *pasimën*, 'dry fruit.' The word is cognate with Nipissing *pasimīnan*, a name in that dialect for a raisin or a dried huckleberry; Cree *pasimīnan*, a name for any fruit dried artificially.

The epenthetic *r* is due to the long vowel of the root, as in *carcajou* for *câcajou*; *sagamore* for *sagimâ*; English *lawr* for *law*, etc.

POAQUESSON, POQUOSEN, POQUOSON, POCOSON, POCASON, PERKOSON.—A name applied in eastern Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina to a low wooded ground or swamp, which is covered with shallow water in winter and remains in a miry condition in summer.<sup>2</sup> Some of these swamps in North Carolina, such as the "Holly Shelter Pocoson," are forty miles in length, and overgrown with great bodies of valuable timber trees, rendered inaccessible to the outer world by reason of overflow and the perpetual miry state of the ground. The name is applied also to a reclaimed swamp.

<sup>1</sup> "Here were Virginia slaves, dancing jigs and clapping Juber, over a barrel of persimmon beer, to the notes of the banjo."—Jones, *Southern Sketches*, p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> "The first night, we lay in a rich *Perkosen*, or low Ground:."—Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina*, p. 57 (1709). "There we were stopped by a miry pocoson full half a mile in length."—Byrd, *Hist. of the Dividing Line*, p. 15 (1728). "These swamps are locally known . . . as 'dismals' or 'pocasins.'"—Whitney in *Encyclop. Brit.*, XIII, p. 809, 1888.



The word, slightly misspelled and combined with another misspelled word, by a typographical blunder, is mentioned for the first time in the vocabulary appended to Strachey's *Historie of Trauaile into Virginia* (1616).

ETYMOLOGY: From Renâpe of Virginia, *pâkwēsēn*, 'it is but slightly watered,' or, more accurately, 'it is *put* in a condition of scant water.' An inanimate verbal adjective used substantively as a designation for a place covered with shallow water. From the root *pâkw*, 'to be dryish,' 'to have little water,' + the inan. verbal adjective suffix *-sēn*, denoting that the object qualified is *put* or *laid* in the condition expressed by the root.

POKE, POKAN. — A popular name for *Phytolacca decandra*, a widely distributed and well-known plant, called also "Virginia poke," "pokeweed," "pokeroot," etc., the dark purple berries of which contain a crimson juice, which the Indian women used as a stain for their mats and basketry. The color is evanescent, however, and soon changes to a dirty brown, although, with urine as a mordant, it becomes a fixed blue dye.

ETYMOLOGY: *Poke*<sup>1</sup> is an apocopated form of *pokan*,<sup>2</sup> a variant of *pā kon*. See *Puccoon*.

PONE. — Among the Virginia Indians, a ball or flat round cake made of a paste of corn-meal and hot water, covered with hot ashes in a fire-bed until baked, and then immediately dipped in water to cleanse it, and afterward allowed to dry by its own heat;<sup>3</sup> or, a similar cake or ball made of flour obtained from certain edible roots and seeds, and sometimes "buttered" with deer's suet (*rûnga*).<sup>4</sup> (2) A kind of bread or cake made of corn-meal, milk, and eggs, and baked in a tin pan; called also "corn pone." (3) "Sweet-potato-pone," a kind of cake made by grating sweet potatoes,

<sup>1</sup> "Poke, *Phytolacca decandra*." — Jefferson, *Notes on Virginia*, p. 66 (1785).

<sup>2</sup> "*Phytolacca decandra*, Poke, Pokan of Virginia Tribes." — Rafinesque, *Med. Flora of U. S.*, II, p. 251 (1830).

<sup>3</sup> See Smith's *Map of Virginia*, p. 17, where the bread is called *ponap*, a misprint for *ponak*, plural of *pon*. "We made a good provision of *Pone* to bait on by the way." — Norwood, *Voyage to Virginia*, p. 47 (1649). "Their [the poor people's] constant bread is *Pone*, not so-called from the Latin *Panis*, but from the Indian name *Oppone*." — Beverley, *Hist. of Virginia*, bk. IV, pp. 55-56 (1705).

<sup>4</sup> The cake or ball was sometimes put into a pot and boiled, and afterward laid upon a smooth stone and allowed to harden.

expressing the juice, mixing the residue with sugar and spices, and baking in a tin pan. "Better than pone and molasses" is a homely simile used in reference to a thing considered superlatively good.

ETYMOLOGY: An aphæretic form of Virginia Renâpe *âpân*, 'baked'; not a past participle, but a substantive of regular formation (by change of verbal suffix *-eu* to nominal suffix *-ân*) from *âpeu* 'she bakes.' Cognate with Middle Lenâpe *âpân*, Minsi *âchpân*, and Abnaki *âba<sup>n</sup>n*.

PUCCOON, PUCKOON; earlier spelling, POHCOON, POUGHKONE, POCONE. — A popular name for *Lithospermum vulgare*, the root of which (the part to which the Indian name was applied) contains a red coloring matter which the Virginia Indians extracted from it by powdering it in a mortar, after desiccation, and then mixed with acorn or hickory-nut oil or bear's-grease. The pigment thus formed was used for painting their head and shoulders<sup>1</sup> and decorating their skin garments, for anointing their joints, for reducing swellings, for assuaging pain, and for protecting them against heat in summer and cold in winter. "They account it [the root]," says Captain Smith, "very pretious and of much worth." Upon passing one of their "royal tombs," or "temples" (*kwaïokosonâk*) on their way up and down the river, "they solemnly cast some pieces of copper, white beads or *Pocones* into the river, for fear their *Oke* [their god, the devil] should be offended and revenged of them." Their conjurers, too, for the purpose of quelling a storm, cast this root, along with tobacco and copper, "after many hellish outcryes and invocations," into the river to appease their god, of whose great wrath they believed the storm to be a manifestation. (2) *Sanguinaria canadensis*, blood-root or Indian paint, sometimes called, by way of distinction, "red puccoon," and in West Virginia and southwestern Virginia, "'coon-root"; a plant with a thick rootstock surcharged with an acrid red-orange juice, which was used by the Indians for staining their pelts, mats, basketry, etc., and, mixed with oil or bear's grease, for painting their body and head.<sup>2</sup> (3) *Hydrastis cana-*

<sup>1</sup> "Their heads and shoulders are painted red with the roote of *Pocone* braied to powder and mixed with oyle." — Smith, *Map of Virginia*, p. 21 (1612). "The Indians also pulverize the Roots of a kind of *Anchuse* or yellow *Alkanet*, which they call *Puccoon*." — Beverley, *Hist. of Virginia*, bk. III, p. 52 (1705).'

<sup>2</sup> "At their going on enterprizes of war they dress in their greatest gallantry, daubing their hair with bear's-fat and the juice of the *puckoon*-root." — Catesby, *Nat. Hist. of Canada, Florida, etc.*, 1, p. ix (1754). "*Puccoon* [*Sanguinaria*]." — Clayton, *Flora Virginica*, p. 80 (1762).

*densis*, distinguished as "yellow puccoon," and containing a juice of a brilliant yellow color which was used by the Indians for staining their pelts, etc.<sup>1</sup>

ETYMOLOGY: From Renâpe of Virginia *păkon*:<sup>2</sup> from the same root (*păk, păch, păg*) as an Algonquian name for blood.

RACCOON, RACCOON, RACKOON (*vulgo* COON); earlier, AROCOUN, ARACHKONE, ARACOUNE, ARRAHACOUN.—A well known quadruped, *Procyon lotor*, of the Ursidæ, or Bear Family, esteemed alike for its flesh and its pelt, which was one of the skins used by the Southern Indians for making their loose winter mantles, or matchcoats. One of these, styled by Smith a "couering of *Rahaughcums*,"<sup>3</sup> invested the person of Powhatan when the Captain, in January, 1608, was presented as a prisoner at the "court" of the "emperor" at Wirowocomoco. The first mention of the name in a recognizable form, that of *arocoun*,<sup>4</sup> was made in 1610, and the second, in that of *aroughcun*,<sup>5</sup> in 1612.

The most widely known name of the animal among the Algonquians, however, is *esiban* or *esipan*, or variants thereof,<sup>4</sup> meaning the "ex-shellfish," or the "shellfish that was"; and, to account for it, a widespread Algonquian fable ascribes the origin of the animal, through a process of evolution, from a mollusk, which, according to some native scholiasts, was the oyster. The animal, which is nocturnal in its habits, sleeps in the daytime in some hollow tree, during the successive climbings of which to seek its abode, the sharp nails with which its forepaws are provided leave long scratches upon the bark. Such a tree is hence called by the Indians by a name signifying 'raccoon tree.' According to Abbé Cuoq, the Nipissing humorously say of a man who has had a misunderstanding

<sup>1</sup> The rootstocks of *Xanthorrhiza apifolia*, the yellow-root, were also employed by the Southern Indians as a yellow dye.

<sup>2</sup> The present pronunciation of the word is due to the old spelling, in which the doubling of the *o* in the last syllable was an orthoepic expedient to denote that the vowel had a long sound.

<sup>3</sup> ". . . their Emperour . . . couered with a great Couering of *Rahaughcums* :"—Smith, *Trve Relation of Virginia* (1608).

<sup>4</sup> "There are Arocouns and Apossouns, in shape like pigges, shrowded in hollow roots of trees."—*A Trve Declaration of the Estate of Virginia*, p. 29 (1610).

<sup>5</sup> "There is a beast they call *Aroughcun*, much like a badger, but useth to live on trees as squirrels doe."—Smith, *Map of Virginia*, p. 13 (1612).

with his squaw and bears the mark of her finger-nails on his face : *o ki esipanatikonan*, 'she has made a raccoon-tree of him.'

It was from such tree-scratching custom that the animal received from the Virginia Indians the name by which, in a slightly altered form, it is universally known to English-speaking people.

The name is sometimes applied in British Guiana to the coatimondi (*Nasua fusca*), and, along with its aphæretic form of "coon" (which also is a humorous name for a negro, and, in 1844, was a nickname applied to members of the Whig party, which adopted the raccoon as an emblem), enters into several combinations, as : "Raccoon-berry," the fruit of *Podophyllum peltatum* and *Symphoricarpos racemosus*, on which the animal feeds ; "raccoon dog," a kind of dog (*Nyctereutes procyonoides*) of Japan and China ; "raccoon grape," a species of grape (*Vitis æstivalis*) of which the animal, and his relative the bear, is very fond ; "raccoon (or coon) oyster," a small southern variety of the mollusk on which the animal subsists when vegetable food is scarce ; "raccoon perch," the yellow perch (*Perca flavescens*), the dark bands upon the sides of which bear a remote resemblance to those of a raccoon's tail ; "coon bear," a large carnivore of Tibet ; and "coon-heel," a name in Connecticut for a long slender oyster.

In the presidential campaign of 1844, "Coonery" was a derogative synonym for Whiggery or Whiggism, meaning the doctrines of the Whig party.

The animal has the reputation of being very knowing ; hence the simile "as sly as a coon," and the metaphor "he is an old coon" said of a person who is very shrewd. Finally, "to coon" is to creep, cling close, to creep as a coon along a branch ; a "gone coon" is a person whose case is hopeless ; and a "coon's age" is a Southern figurative expression meaning a long time ; while to be "as forlorn as an unmated coon" is to be very wretched indeed.

ETYMOLOGY : From Renâpe of Virginia *ärä'kun*, an apocopated form of *ärä'kunëm*, 'he scratches with the hands.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The fore paws of quadrupeds and the feet of large birds are called 'hands' by the Algonquians. The Lenâpe name for the turkey, for example, is *tshikênâm*, 'he scrapes with the hands,' and one of the names of the raccoon among the same Indians is *watakë-ântsheu*, 'he has soft hands.'

ROANOKE, ROANOAKE, RONOAK, ROENOKE, ROENOAK; earlier, RAWRANOKE, RAWRENOCK. — Small discoidal white beads made from sea shells and pierced in the center, strung and used by the Virginia Indians as money<sup>1</sup> and as ornaments for the person. The first mention of these was made by Smith in 1612, under the name of *rawrenock*,<sup>2</sup> and, by the same writer, twelve years later, under that of *rawranoke*,<sup>3</sup> which, apparently, is a syncopated plural of *rarenaw*, a word defined by William Strachey as a 'chain' (i. e., a 'string' of beads), but which more probably meant a 'bead' of a chain. The word, which fell into disuse with the disappearance of the Indian, still finds a place in dictionaries.

(The word *Peak* used in Virginia in the early part of the eighteenth century as a name for shell money in the form of cylindrical beads was borrowed from coastwise traders from the North, and consists of the last two syllables of the Massachusetts word *wamp-ampeag* (*wɑ<sup>n</sup>pa<sup>n</sup>piag*), 'white strings.' The division of the word by the English colonists produced the two absolutely meaningless vocables *wampam* or *wampum* and *peag*).<sup>4</sup>

ETYMOLOGY: A word of uncertain meaning; but perhaps, as above suggested, from Renâpe *rârênawok*, plural of *rârênaw*. Provided the Southern Renâpe secondary radical *-naw*, 'body,' had the meaning also of 'shell,' 'rind,' as had the Abnaki, Narragansett, Massachusetts, and Middle States Lenâpe secondary radical *-hak*, the word *rârênawok* would mean 'smoothed shells'; from the root *râr*, 'to be smoothed,' 'polished,' 'r bbed,' 'abraded.' The word was early confused with *Roanoke*,<sup>5</sup> an

<sup>1</sup> "*Roanoake* (a small kinde of beades) made of oyster shels, which they vse and passe one to another as we doe money (a cubites length valuing six pence)." — Hamor, *A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia*, p. 41 (1615).

<sup>2</sup> ". . . *Mowchik rawrenock* ['many beads']": — Smith, Vocab. in *Map of Virginia* (1612).

<sup>3</sup> ". . . *Rawranoke* or white beads": — Smith, *Gen. Hist. of Virginia*, lib. 3, p. 58 (1624).

<sup>4</sup> "They valued . . . *Peak* and *Roenoke* for Ornament." — Beverley, *Hist. of Virginia*, bk. III, p. 56 (1705). "This peak consists of small cylinders cut out of a conch shell, drilled through and strung like beads." — Byrd, *Hist. of the Dividing Line*, p. 35 (1728).

<sup>5</sup> The name of the island (*Roanoak*, as phonetically spelled by Ralph Lane) was that of its Renâpe inhabitants, the *Rowanok*, or 'Northerners,' so-called probably because they and their congeners of Virginia originally came down from the country beyond the Ohio river.

island name which had become familiar to the English long before the settlement of Jamestown.

ROCKAHOMINY, ROCKAHOMINIE, ROCKAHOMINE. — An Indian food preparation (the “cold flour” of Western hunters), used under different names (*psitamun*, *nuk'hik*, *yok'hig*, *rok'hig*, *pinole*, *tiste*, etc.) from Canada to Peru, and made of parched corn (called by the Virginia Renâpe *âpârumënan*, ‘parched grain’) pounded into a very fine powder. At the North, maple sugar is sometimes mixed with it, and, in Texas, powdered mesquite beans, while still farther south chocolate and cane sugar enter into its composition. This preparation is carried in a skin bag or pouch by the hunter, who is able to subsist upon it solely for several days at a time. It was formerly the principal food of Indian war parties going on distant expeditions, its bulk being reduced to the smallest possible compass, and it being so light that the Indians could, without inconvenience, carry a supply sufficient for a long journey. Under the name of *mashika*, it forms an important part of the rations furnished to the soldiers of the Peruvian army.

ETYMOLOGY: From Renâpe *rokëhamën*,<sup>1</sup> ‘softened,’ + an excrescent vowel due to English-speaking people.

TERRAPIN, TERRAPEN, TERRAPINE, TERREBIN, TERAPIN, TARAPIN, TURAPIN, TURPIN; earlier, TOROPE. — Originally, in the uncorrupted form, a general name for turtles inhabiting water — fresh or salt; specifically, in the present spelling, the *Malacoclemmys palustris*, a small turtle living in salt water in the vicinity of marshes from Long Island sound to Texas, and regarded as one of the greatest delicacies of the American table. Of this species, known in Maryland as the “diamond back,” Virginia furnishes about one-third of all that are consumed in the United States. The reptile (or “bird” as epicures call it) is now extensively bred for the market in what are called “terrapiin farms” (one of which exists on Hog island below Jamestown), which consist of several acres of land and water enclosed by a fence sunk twelve inches in the mud to prevent the

<sup>1</sup> “*Rokohamin*, parched corne grownd small.”—Strachey, Dict. in *Hist. of Trauaile into Virginia* (1616). “*Rockahominie*, that is, the finest *Indian Corn*, parched and beaten to Powder.”—Beverley, *Hist. of Virginia*, bk. III, p. 18 (1705). “. . . rockahominy . . . is nothing but Indian corn parched without burning, and reduced to powder.”—Byrd, *Hist. of the Dividing Line*, p. 70 (1728).

animals from burrowing out. (2) *Pseudemys scabra*, the "yellow-belly," which is caught in large numbers and sent to market, where it masquerades under the name of "terrapin." (3) In common parlance, all the species of the Emydoidæ Family, and, with various qualificatives, a name for many of those of other families of the *Testudinata*. (4) A dish made of terrapin.

The first mention of the Indian name was made in 1613,<sup>1</sup> and the second (in MS.) about 1616, in a misspelled plural form defined by William Strachey as a "sea turtle";<sup>2</sup> after which no chronological bridge intervenes to connect it with its next appearance in 1672,<sup>3</sup> when it had assumed about the same form that it has at present.<sup>4</sup>

ETYMOLOGY: From Renâpe of Virginia *turûpeu*, with a substitution of the English diminutive suffix *-en*, varied to *-in*, *-ine*, for the suffix syllable *-eu*; from the adverbial root *tur*, the meaning of which has been lost, and the verbal suffix *-peu* denoting action in or upon water. The form of the hybrid word was probably suggested by such diminutives as *chicken*, *kitten*, *maiden*, etc., and the name applied to the small edible species in distinction from the snapping turtle, which also is edible and attains a large size.<sup>5</sup> The Virginia word is cognate with Middle States Lenâpe *tur'peu*, *tu'peu*, and Caniba *turêbe*, and coradicate with Natick *tunûpäs*.

TOMAHAWK, TOMAHAUCK, TOMMYHAWK, TOMAHACK, TOMAHAAK. — A Virginia Indian hatchet consisting of a hard stone in the shape of a wedge or double wedge<sup>6</sup> six or eight inches in length, ground to an edge at the extremity and secured to a wooden handle by means of thongs of deerskin. The instrument, the name of which

<sup>1</sup> I haue caught with mine angle, Pike, Carpe, Eele . . . Crea-fish, and the Torope or little Turtle."—Whitaker, *Good Newes from Virginia*, p. 42 (1613).

<sup>2</sup> "A sea turtle, *tuwucupewêk* [for *turrûpewâk*]."—Strachey, *Dictionarie* (1616).

<sup>3</sup> "The Turtle that lives in Lakes and is called in *Virginia* a *Terrapine*."—Josselyn, *New Englands Rarities*, p. 34 (1672).

<sup>4</sup> ". . . a small kind of Turtle (or *Tarapins* as we call them)."—Beverley, *Hist. of Virginia*, bk. III, p. 14 (1705). "Water Terebins are small; containing about as much meat as a Pullet:"—Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina*, p. 133 (1709). "We caught a large terrapin in the river, which is one kind of turtle."—Byrd, *Hist. of the Dividing Line*, p. 78 (1728).

<sup>5</sup> A Renâpe verb *turûpen* would be the indefinite form of *turûpeu*, and not applicable as a name for a living being.

<sup>6</sup> "Some use a long stone sharpened at both ends, thrust through a handle of wood . . . and these last they were wont to use instead of hatchets to fell a tree, or to cut any massy thing in sonder."—Smith, *Map of Virginia*, p. 106 (1612).

Capt. John Smith was the first to make known, in 1612,<sup>1</sup> was used not only as a weapon of war,<sup>2</sup> but also for severing logs by repeated blows, as well as for girdling trees preliminary to burning the wood of the trunk in order to cause their downfall.<sup>3</sup> After the introduction of European hatchets of iron, the name was transferred to the latter, and the stone instrument gave way to the metal one. With the Indians, the tomahawk was the emblem of war itself. To bury it, meant peace; to dig it up, meant to declare the most deadly warfare. Hence the phrases "to bury the tomahawk," and "to dig up the tomahawk," sometimes used by writers and public speakers with reference to the settlement of past disputes or the breaking out of new ones. (2) A name erroneously applied by early writers in New England to a war-club, or *casse-tête*, used by the Massachusetts Indians.<sup>4</sup> (3) "Tomahawk" (vb. tr.). To cut or kill with a tomahawk.

"Tomahawk Right." An inferior kind of land title, secured in the early period of the settlement of Virginia, "by deadening a few trees near the head of a spring, and marking the bark of some one or more of them with the initials of the name of the person who made the improvement."<sup>5</sup>

ETYMOLOGY: From Renâpe of Virginia *tâmêhâk*, an apocopated form of *tâmêhâkan*, 'used for cutting,' a cutting utensil, from *tâmêhâkeu*, 'he uses for cutting,' from *tâmêhâm*, 'he cuts.'

TUCKAHOE, TUCKAHO; earlier TUCKAHOV, TUCKAHOO, TUCKAHO, TOCKAWHOUGHE. — One of several vegetable productions used by the Virginia Indians as food: (1) A tuber-like object often turned up by the plow in old fields. It is sometimes round or roundish and often as large as a man's head. It was formerly supposed to be a fungus, and, as such, was described under the name

<sup>1</sup> "Tomahacks, Axes." — Smith, Vocab. in *Map of Virginia* (1612).

<sup>2</sup> "The weopons they use for offense are Bowes and Arrowes with a weopon like a hammer and ther *Tomahaucks*." — Spelman, *Relation of Virginia* (about 1613).

<sup>3</sup> "When they wanted any Land to be clear'd of the Woods, they chopp'd a Notch round the Trees quite through the Bark with their Stone Hatchets or *Tomahawks*, and that deadn'd the Trees:?" — Beverley, *Hist. of Virginia*, bk. III, p. 61 (1705).

<sup>4</sup> "Tomahaukes be staves of two foote and a halfe long, and a knob at one end as round and bigge as a foote-ball." — Wood, *New Englands Prospect*, p. 66 (1634).

<sup>5</sup> Kercheval, *The Valley of Virginia*, p. 327 (1833).



of *Pachyma cocos*, but is now known to be due to a disintegration of the roots of certain trees (mostly coniferous).<sup>1</sup> The interior mass of this production (which was called *okip̄en*, or 'earth tuber,' by the Renâpe of Roanoke island) consists entirely of pectose and has no nutritive value, and was eaten by the natives only when other food was scarce. The negroes of Maryland and Virginia are fond of it, and eat it roasted and seasoned with salt. (2) The thick fleshy rootstock of *Peltandra alba*, the arrow-aram,<sup>2</sup> which after being sliced and dried in the sun or by a fire, or roasted in a fire-pit, in order to dissipate its acidity, was pounded into flour, which (sometimes with the addition of corn-meal and sorrel) was made into bread. (3) The rootstock of *Orontium aquaticum*, the golden club, which was roasted and eaten. (4) The tuber of *Apios tuberosa*, the earth-nut or wild potato.

Metaphorically, the term has been applied to the poor land of lower Virginia and to an inhabitant of it. In colonial days, "Tuckahoe" was a name in Virginia for any one of the settlers living east of the Blue Ridge; while any settler living west of it was called a "Cohee."<sup>4</sup> The Tuckahoes were almost exclusively English immigrants, and the Cohees mainly people of Dutch origin coming down from Pennsylvania. It was not till the Revolutionary war, when both fought for a common cause, that the people of these two sections became amalgamated.

One or another of the vegetable productions mentioned above has given the name of "Tuckahoe" to places in North Carolina, Maryland, New Jersey, and New York.

ETYMOLOGY: From Renâpe *p' tûkweu* (often pronounced *p' tûkweo* or *' tûkweo*), 'it is round' (1) like a ball, (2) like a cylinder; an inani-

<sup>1</sup> "There is a root common in the woods called Tuckaho, the natives eat it for bread:"—Shrigley. *A True Relation of Virginia and Mary-Land*, p. 5 (1669). "Tuckahoe, Lycoperdon tuber."—Jefferson, *Notes on Virginia*, p. 63 (1785).

<sup>2</sup> "The chiefe roote they have for foode is called *Tockawhoughé*."—Smith, *Map of Virginia*, p. 14 (1612). "Out of the Ground they dig . . . a Tuberos Root they call *Tuckahoe*, which while crude is of a very hot and virulent quality; but they can manage it so as, in case of Necessity, to make Bread of it."—Beverley, *Hist. of Virginia*, bk. III, pp. 15-16 (1705).

<sup>3</sup> "Indians also eat the earth-nuts, which they call *Tuccaho*."—Catesby, *Nat. Hist. Canada, Florida, etc.*, I, p. x (1754).

<sup>4</sup> From the use by these people of the corrupt form "Quo'he" for "Quoth he."

mate verbal adjective used substantively as a name for a round or roundish root employed as food.

WIROWANCE, WEROWANCE, WEROANCE, WYROANS, WYROAUNCE, WIROANS. — In the monarchic form of government of the Virginia Algonquians, (1) an absolute ruler of a town ;<sup>1</sup> (2) of several towns constituting a wirowancedom ;<sup>2</sup> (3) of several wirowancedoms forming a nation, or a confederacy (such as that of Powhatan), having at its head a great wirowance<sup>3</sup> to whom the wirowancedoms paid tribute and who had the power of appointing or deposing the latter's ruler. When the ruler of a wirowancedom was deposed from "office" he appears to have been allowed to retain, as a retreat, in the country of his former jurisdiction, a small village to which was applied the term *kâsun*, or 'place of concealment' (place of political oblivion, as it were), from *kâsu*, 'he hides himself.' The dignity of wirowance was not elective, or attainable by superior intellect or bravery, but was entirely hereditary, the sons succeeding the father in the order of their birth, and, upon the death of the last son, the succession devolving in the same order on the sons of the wirowance's eldest daughter.<sup>4</sup> In the event of a wirowance's death during the minority of his eldest son, the latter was committed to the care of his mother or of some other relative who acted as regent till the boy's majority. Of such an "infant" in the eyes of the Indian law it was said *tatakopisu*, 'he continues tied,' that is (figuratively), he remains confined to the cradle-board. Owing to the tribute in the way of peltry, shell beads, pearls, copper, etc., constantly paid to them by their people, the wirowances were, from the Indian viewpoint, men of affluence. Notwithstanding this, they were not

<sup>1</sup> "Every small town is a petty kingdom govern'd by an absolute *Monarch* assisted and advised by his *great Men*:" — Jones, *The Present State of Virginia*, p. 8 (1724).

<sup>2</sup> "Sometimes there are general *Emperors*, who have several petty kingdoms in some Measure under their Protection and Power." — Jones, loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup> "The forme of their Common-wealth is a Monarchicall government, one as Emperour ruleth over many Kings or Governours." — Smith, *Gen. Hist. of Virginia*, lib. 2, p. 37 (1624).

<sup>4</sup> *A Relation of Maryland*, p. 30 (1635). Powhatan decreed that, in his case, he should be succeeded by his three brothers in the order of their birth, and, after their death, by his sisters, and then by the heirs, male or female, of his eldest sister

distinguishable by dress or bodily decoration from men of the better class, but only by the great deference shown them.<sup>1</sup>

ETYMOLOGY: From Renâpe of Virginia *wirôwa<sup>ts</sup>*,<sup>2</sup> contracted from *wirowa<sup>ts</sup>* (and the place of accent changed by compensation), 'he is rich,' or 'exists in affluence.' From *wiro*, 'to be rich,' and the animate verbal adjective suffix *-a<sup>ts</sup>* (Menomini *-a<sup>ts</sup>*, Montagnais (Cree) *-âtishiu*, Prairie Cree- *âtisiu*, Nipissing *-âtisi*, Ojibwe *-âdîsi*), denoting a state of being or of existence. The word had been familiar to the leading men among the colonists for several years previous to their arrival in Virginia, and the spelling used by them was adopted from that employed by Thomas Hariot (1590) and Ralph Lane (in Hakluyt, 1600).

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<sup>1</sup> "The King is not known by any difference from other of y<sup>e</sup> chefe sort in y<sup>e</sup> country but only when he cums to any of ther houses they present him with copper Beads or Vitall, and show much reverence to him." — Spelman, *Relation of Virginia* (about 1613).

<sup>2</sup> Indian personal or titular names were more liable than any other class of words to become apocopated through long and familiar use, "letters, like soldiers," to use the words of Horne Tooke, "being very apt to desert and drop off on a long march."