



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

## SOME POWHATAN NAMES

By WILLIAM WALLACE TOOKER

Many of the conclusions reached by Mr William R. Gerard in his article on "The Tapannek Dialect of Virginia"<sup>1</sup> are derived from exceedingly slender evidence based largely on false translations; radicals are named from the author's own conceptions, but which cannot be found in the language; terms are quoted from various dialects, transliterated, and given his own phonetic values without regard for the original so long as the sounds approach the real word. Mr Gerard quotes dialects that have no real existence, like "Tap," "Rap," "Nap," thereby creating confusion, for being founded on error they do not represent the true status of such changes; and he ignores the work of fellow students by substituting therefor erroneous derivations.

From the point of view of the present writer the substitution of "Tapannek," for "Powhatan" is objectionable. "Powhatan," which Mr Gerard says is inappropriate and loosely used, had its origin with the birth of the colonial settlement of Virginia, when Captain John Smith tells of neighboring tribes speaking Powhatan's language.<sup>2</sup> Since then retained, it has become permanently established in the mind and speech of the American people, and for that reason alone is far better than the corrupt "Tapannek" or any other designation that may be proposed.

Mr Gerard discusses "the *T*-dialect of Virginia," which he thinks corresponds with the *t* that, "in certain positions," characterizes the Cree as a linguistic group, and from his deductions reaches the conclusion that the Powhatan dialect belonged to the Cree group of Algonquian languages, and, at an early period, the people who spoke this dialect found their way from Canada to Virginia.

---

<sup>1</sup> *American Anthropologist*, April-June, 1904.

<sup>2</sup> Smith, *History of Virginia*, pp. 55, 351. Where Smith's works are quoted herein, Arber's English reprint is the edition cited.

As will be shown in my analysis of Mr Gerard's derivations, some of these words he has certainly mistaken, and others can be found in the Natick, Narragansett, Mohegan, and Lenape, as well as in the Powhatan; while others may be erroneous forms<sup>1</sup> due to typographical error or to mishearing on the part of the colonists, not to any change in the utterance of the native speaker. The fact is, the Powhatan dialect (I refer also to geographical names), as noted by our two authorities, Smith and Strachey, was closer in its family relationship and vocabulary<sup>2</sup> to the Natick of John Eliot and to the Narragansett of Roger Williams than it was to the Cree or to any other northern dialect, although in their grammatical structure all the Algonquian dialects are practically the same. In proof of this relationship, besides the parallels given in the following pages, I submit a few common words from three dialects which show it plainly. Of course, being in error as to his derivations, Mr Gerard must necessarily be in error as to his grammatical conclusions on which they are based.

*Comparisons from Three Dialects*

POWHATAN	NATICK	CREE
<i>auhtab</i> , a bow.	<i>ahtomp</i> .	<i>atchâbiy</i> .
<i>apome</i> , the thigh.	<i>apome</i> (Narr.).	<i>oppwâm</i> .
<i>aussab</i> , a net.	<i>hashab</i> .	<i>ayapiy</i> .
<i>coan</i> , snow.	<i>k8n</i> .	<i>kona</i> .
<i>muskins</i> , the eye.	<i>muskesuck</i> .	<i>miskijik</i> .
<i>musken</i> , the nose.	<i>mutchan</i> .	<i>miskiwan</i> .
<i>mettone</i> , the mouth.	<i>mutt8n</i> .	<i>miton</i> .
<i>mepit</i> , a tooth.	<i>meepit</i> .	<i>mipit</i> .
<i>meskott</i> , the leg.	<i>muhkont</i> .	<i>miskat</i> .
<i>messeate</i> , the foot.	<i>musseet</i> .	<i>misit</i> .
<i>meihtawk</i> , the ear.	<i>mêhtaug</i> .	<i>mittawokay</i> .
<i>peitaoh</i> , froth.	<i>pehteau</i> .	<i>pistew</i> .

<sup>1</sup> Such as Smith's *attawp*, 'a bow,' which Strachey writes *auhtab*, under B, and *hawtoppe*, under H, which surely cannot be dialectal variations, but errors of the ear or of the press.

<sup>2</sup> Trumbull remarks: "The language of the Powhatans was nearly the same as that of the tribes of southern New England. Judging from the specimens given by Captain John Smith and from a few others, gleaned from early accounts of the Colony of Virginia, the Powhatan and Massachusetts did not differ more from each other than either differed from the Delaware." — *Historical Magazine*, 1870, vol. VII, 2nd ser., p. 46.

<i>poponaw</i> , winter.	<i>poponae</i> .	<i>pipon</i> .
<i>tapacoh</i> , night.	<i>tuppaco</i> (Narr.).	<i>tibiskaw</i> .
<i>vtchepwoissuma</i> , the east.	<i>wutchepwoiyeu</i> .	(no cognate.)
<i>weihsatonowan</i> or <i>wysotonoan</i> , the beard.	<i>weeshitt8un</i> .	<i>miyistowan</i> .
<i>wouwh</i> , an egg.	<i>woou</i> .	<i>wāwi</i> .
<i>wohaikauk</i> , scales of a fish.	<i>wuhhogki</i> .	<i>wahākay</i> .
<i>wahchesao</i> , nest of a bird.	<i>wadtchat</i> .	<i>watjistun</i> .

Mr Gerard derives *Appamatuck* from “*A'pāmā'tēkú*, ‘curved river,’ a designation for the part of a tidal river in which a bend exists; verbally, *a'pāmātēkwé*, ‘the river makes a curve,’ ‘turns about.’”

The “*Appamatuck*” on the “*Tappahanock*” river quoted by him was taken from Smith's first book<sup>1</sup> and was inserted there by mistake, for such a town is not referred to in any of Smith's subsequent descriptions of the river, nor does it appear on his map, a fact which leaves only the James river town to be considered. Its possible transference in after years need not concern us here.

*Appamatuck* is mentioned eighteen times in Smith, and always as a country, place, or people, except in four instances, or really in two, as they are repeated. Where the river is mentioned like the “pleasant river of *Apamatuck*” and “we discovered the river and people of *Appameticuck*,” or with the English plural “*Apameticucks* river,” it is because, as the context shows, the river was in their country. The bestowal of the name on the stream was due to the colonists and not to the natives, and the same is true of all the names of rivers noted on Smith's map. Captain Gabriel Archer<sup>2</sup> describes the first visit there in June, 1607, as follows:

“We went a shore at a place I call *Queene Apumatecs* bowre. He<sup>3</sup> caryed vs along through a plaine lowe grownd prepared for seede, part whereof had been lately Cropt: and assending a pretty Hill, we sawe the Queene of the Country cominge in selfe same fashion of state as *Parw-atah* or *Arahatec*; yea rather with more maiesty: she had an vsher before her who brought her to the matt prepared vnder a faire mulberry tree, where she satt her Downe by her self. Captayne Newport stayed here some .2.

<sup>1</sup> *A True Relation*, etc., 1608.

<sup>2</sup> Smith, pp. xlix-l.

<sup>3</sup> The guide Nairaus, “who had learned me so much of the language, and was so excellently ingenious in signing out his meaning.”

hours and Departed. Now leauing her, *Nauiraus* Dyirected us to one of King *Pamaunches* howses some .5. myle from the Queenes Bower.’

The picture of the *mulberry tree, with the ‘Queen’ sitting on a mat*, gives us a clue to the etymology of the name, which was undoubtedly bestowed at the time by *Nauiraus* the interpreter. Among the variations of the term are *Apumatec*, *Appamatuke*, *Apamatic*, and *Appametuck*, which I derive from *appu*, ‘he (or she) sits,’ ‘abides,’ ‘remains,’ ‘rests,’ and *-metuc*, or *matuck*, ‘a tree,’ hence the ‘resting tree,’ or, as Archer delightfully calls it, ‘a bower,’—an etymology paralleled by the following cognates: Natick *appu-metug*, Narr. *apeu-mihtuck*, Lenape *appit-mehittuck*, Abn. *api-metek*, Cree *apiw-mistick* (Lacombe), *appu-mistick* (Howse), Nip. *api-mitik*.

Of all the examples of “curious speculation” with which Mr Gerard favors us, his derivation of the word ‘*Coiacohanauke*,’ or better ‘*Quiyoughquohanock*,’<sup>1</sup> is the least founded, when compared with what it actually is. He says “it stands for *Kaiäkühä’nek*,<sup>2</sup> ‘gull-stream,’ ” but he does not fully quote Strachey, who remarks: <sup>3</sup> “*Coiacohanauke*, which we commonly (though corruptly) call *Tapananock*, and is the same which Capt Smith in his Map calls *Quiyoughcohanock*, on the south shore or Salisbury side.” This was one of their ceremonial places, where certain religious rites were performed, from which fact the name was applied. Smith early wrote: <sup>4</sup> “*The Quiyoughquosicke*, which is a superior power they worship.” His brief vocabulary gives “*Quiyoughcosucks*”<sup>5</sup> or “*Quiyoughcosoughs*, Pettie Gods, and their affinities” (= *Quiyoughqu-suck* ‘black-boys’; <sup>6</sup> *quioughqu-* ‘a boy,’ *-suck* ‘black’ or ‘dark-colored’), a word related to the Narragansett *tiaquonquussu* ‘he is low and short’; *tiaquonquschick* ‘men of low stature’; Natick (Cotton) *tiohkoosue* ‘he is short’; Quiripi *tiaoquiah* ‘short.’ Smith says: <sup>7</sup> “They sent one of their *Quiyoughkasoucks* [priests] to offer peace, and redeeme their Okee.” Again <sup>1</sup> Smith was held in “such estimation

<sup>1</sup> Smith, p. 475.

<sup>2</sup> It did not designate a stream, but a ‘King’s house or town.’

<sup>3</sup> Strachey, p. 56.

<sup>4</sup> Smith, p. 22.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 45–382.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 373.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 393.

amongst them, that those Salvages admired him more than their owne *Quiyoughkosucks*." This name for the "Pettie Gods and their affinities" cannot be ignored in considering the derivation of the longer term, which has the same stem and must have the same concept. The *quiyoughqu-osucks*, to use the best notation, were therefore 'the lesser priests,' or 'black-boyes,' who were taught or chosen to be such; hence *Quiyoughqu-ohan-ock*, 'the place or country where the lesser priests or boys were beaten or initiated into the mysteries of the cult,' a compound of *quiyoughqu-* + the verb *-ohan*<sup>2</sup> 'to beat' or 'to strike,' together with the locative *ock* 'place' or 'country.'

Smith<sup>3</sup> corroborates this derivation as follows :

"In some part of the Country they haue a yearely a sacrifice of children.<sup>4</sup> Such a one was at *Quiyoughcohanock* some ten myles from James Towne, and thus performed.

"Fifteene of the properest young boyes, betweene ten and fifteene yeares of age they painted white. Having brought them forth, the people spent the forenoone in dancing and singing about them with rattles.

"In the afternoone they put those children to the roote of a tree. By them all the men stood in a guard, every one having a Bastinado in his hand made of reeds bound together. This made a lane betweene them all along, through which there were appointed five young men to fetch these children: so every one of the five went through the guard to fetch a childe each after other by turnes, the guard fiercely beating them with their Bastinados, and they patiently enduring and receiuing all defending the children with their naked bodies from the vnmercifull blowes, that pay them soundly, though the children escape. All this while the woman weepe and cry out very passionately, providing mats, skins, mosse, and dry wood, as things fitting their childrens funerals.

"After the children were thus passed the guard, the guard tore down the trees, branches and boughs, with such violence that they rent the body, and made wreaths for their heads, or bedecked their hayre with the leaues. What else was done with the children, was not seene, but they

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 395.

<sup>2</sup> A verb that appears in several Powhatan names in varying forms, such as "*Rok-o-ha-min*, parched corn ground small," and "*Vshucc-oh-men*, to beat corn into a meal."

<sup>3</sup> Smith, pp. 373-374.

<sup>4</sup> Smith (p. 373) on the margin has: "Their solemn Sacrifices of Children which they call Black-boyes." This I regard as a free translation of the word *Quiyoughquosuck*. The only dialect I can find in which the work *suck* 'black' or 'dark-colored' appears as an affix is the Nanticoke of Vans Murray, which will account for its use in the Powhatan.

were all cast on a heape, in a valley as dead, where they made a great feast for all the company.

“The *Werowance* being demanded the meaning of this sacrifice, answered that the children were not all dead, but that the *Okee* or *Divell* did sucke the bloud from their left breast, who chanced to be his by lot, till they were dead; but the rest were kept in the wilderness by the young men till nine moneths were expired, during which time they must not converse with any: and of these were made their Priests and Coniurers.

“This sacrifice they held to be so necessary, that if they should omit it, their *Okee* or *Devill*, and all their other *Quiyoughcosughes*, which are their other gods, would let them haue no Deere, Turkie, Corne, nor fish: and yet besides he would make a great slaughter amongst them.

“To divert them from this blind Idoletry, we did our best endeavours, chiefly with the *Werowance* of *Quiyoughcohanock*, whose devotion, apprehension, and good disposition, much exceeded any in those Countries.”

Mr Gerard speculates freely regarding the country of this people and the name “*Tapahanock*,” but no such name properly belonged to their river, country, or town. Strachey, as I have quoted under the foregoing name, says it was “commonly (though corruptly)” so called. Smith mentions *Tapahanock* twice only as applied to this place, and that exclusively in his earliest work, *A True Relation*, etc., hence he must have learned later that it was wrongly, or, as Mr Gerard remarks, “erroneously” bestowed. The facts, on close study of the early “Relations” and “Observations,” seem to be that on the entrance of the colonists into the James river, in the spring of 1607, the neighboring Indians living northward on the adjacent streams flocked to the banks of the James and established transient habitations there in order to resist the landing of the explorers;<sup>1</sup> and so, as Archer<sup>2</sup> relates in his story of the first voyage up the river, to which I have before alluded, they met the “*Wyroans of Pamaunche*”<sup>3</sup> (*Opechancanough*) on the south side of the river about five miles from Appamatuck, where he was temporarily residing on land of which “the kyng of Wynauh is the

<sup>1</sup> “With their Bowes and Arrowes, in a most warlike manner; with their swords at their backes beset with sharp stones, and pieces of yron able to claue a man in sunder.” (Smith, pp. lxxv-lxxvi.) On their return to the fort they found it had been assaulted by 400 Indians, and that many of the colonists were injured and one had been killed. (Ibid., p. 7.)

<sup>2</sup> Smith, pp. l-li.

<sup>3</sup> “This Wyroans Pamaunche I holde to inhabite a Rych land of Copper and pearle. His Country lyes into the land to another Ryver.” (Smith, p. li.)

possessor hereof." In a description of the same voyage, Percy<sup>1</sup> and Wingfield<sup>2</sup> relate they also met the "*Wyrowance Tapahanah*," as he called himself, "with all his traine, as goodly men as any I haue seene of Sauages or Christians," where "when we came to *Rapahannos* Towne hee entertained vs in good humanitie," which it was afterward learned was in the country of *Quiyoughquohanock*, and so the name *Tapahanock*, which really belonged to "a kingdome vpon another Riuer northward," was for a time wrongly applied to *Quiyoughquohanock*, and was so used until the colonists learned of their mistake. Thus Mr Gerard's statements in regard to the *Tapahanocks* of the James river will bear revision.

As to<sup>3</sup> "*Rapahanock*, by many called *Toppahanock*," Mr Gerard further remarks:

"Finally, then, *Tápěhă'něk* and *Rápěhă'něk* are (as may be seen under the root *tap* in the Glossary) dialectic forms of the same word, and mean 'the stream that ebbs and flows' (lit., that 'alternates in flow'), the definite and specific form of *Tápěhă'ne* and *Rápěhă'ne*, 'a stream that ebbs and flows.' In the *N*-dialect the word would have the form of *Nápěhă'něk*."

The foregoing corresponds with Heckewelder's etymology, viz., "*Lappi-hanne*, 'the stream with ebb and flow.'" This is unacceptable for many reasons, especially when we consider that all streams hereabout are tidal waters.

The name *Rapahanock* did not originally refer to the stream, but to the most noted town or country whose inhabitants dominated those waters. The following quotations indicate a transference of the appellation from land to water.

Early in 1608 Smith<sup>4</sup> wrote of an occurrence of 1607: "From hence, this kind King conducted me to a place called *Topahanocke*, a kingdome vpon another Riuer northward."

Five years, more or less, afterward, Strachey wrote:<sup>5</sup> The third navigable river by the Naturalls of old was called *Opiscatumeck*, of late *Toppahanock*, and we the Queen's river."

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. lxiv-lxv.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. lxxvi-lxxvii.

<sup>3</sup> Smith, p. 419.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>5</sup> Strachey, p. 37.



The suggestion that the last two syllables, *-han-ock*, stand for Del. *-hanné* 'a stream,' is not acceptable for the reason that *-ock* (= Natick *ohke*), which is a very persistent affix in all forms of the name given by Smith, signifies 'land' or 'country,' also that the Powhatan equivalent for *-hanne* is *-achoung*,<sup>1</sup> = Mass.<sup>2</sup> *-tchuan*, = Abn. *-ts8a'n*, 'rapid stream,' 'flowing water.' The prefix '*toppa*' or '*rapa*,' = Natick *tâpi* or *tâupi*, = Moh. *tupou*, = Lenâpé *tepi*, = Cree *tepi*, = Nip. *tebi*, = Ojib. *débi*, = Abn. *tébat*, 'enough,' 'sufficient,' 'plenty,' is found in several other Powhatan terms like *tapo*-<sup>3</sup> or *tapa-antam-minais*,<sup>4</sup> *vt-tapa-antam*, *rapa-antam*, and *toppa-woss*,<sup>5</sup> to which words I shall again allude; and so the two notations *toppa* and *rapa* can easily be accounted for as colloquial or dialectal variations, which, together with the verbal root *-ân* (= Natick *ân*), 'more than,' 'exceeding,' 'surpassing,' + *-ock* 'country,' 'land,' gives us *toppa-ân-ock* or *rapa-ân-ock*, 'the country of exceeding plenty,' a name probably applied to that country by the tribes residing on James river.<sup>6</sup>

Smith writes,<sup>7</sup> and he, as is evident, refers to the country bordering the stream: "It is an excellent, pleasant, well inhabited, fertile, and goodly navigable river." In fact, according to Smith's map, there were on the banks of the river, at the period of discovery, more native towns than on any other stream in Virginia.

In a foot-note Mr Gerard remarks:

"In the Niantic dialect it becomes *Ya'pêhâ'nek*, which, abbreviated first to *Yamphank*, and afterward changed to *Yaphank*, has been transferred as the name of a stream to that of a village in Suffolk county, on Long Island, N. Y."

Mr Gerard gives no authority for the above derivation, and it is not identical with the preceding name. The most exhaustive re-

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Trumbull, *The Composition of Indian Geographical Names*, 1870, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Strachey, p. 57.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., "Dictionarie."

<sup>5</sup> Smith, pp. 45, 381.

<sup>6</sup> This is the Powhatan numeral seven, *toppawoss*, = "Cree *tepa-kup*, = Abn. *ta'ba-wa's*, = Moh. *tupou-was*, and Montauk (L. I.) *tu'pa-wa*, 7, i. e., 2 + (or 2 of the second hand). The root, in the sense of 'equal,' and of 'enough,' 'sufficient,' is found in all Algonquian languages," etc. — Trumbull, *On Numerals in American Indian Languages*, p. 18.

<sup>7</sup> Smith, p. 119.

search and inquiry fail to reveal any earlier notation than that given in the Indian deed of 1664, granted by the "*Sacham of unchachage Tobacus*,"<sup>1</sup> for a tract of land bounded "on the Este with a river called *Yam-phanke*," and again repeated in an Indian deed, dated 1688, for '*Yamphank neck*,'<sup>2</sup> viz., "south by a smole River called *yamphank*," and so on down to-day with slight changes by dropping the *m*, and sometimes by inserting *c*, before the *k*. The stream is situated near the present hamlet of Brookhaven, and is nothing more than an ordinary creek, flowing southeasterly into a larger stream now known as Carman's river. The name *Yamphank*, = *ya<sup>m</sup>p'hanek*, 'to the bank or side of the stream,' corresponds with the Lenâpé *yapé* 'side,' 'bank,' 'edge,' + *-hanek* 'at a stream,' and was so bestowed because the 'bank of the stream,' bounded the first tract sold, and then retained so that the boundaries would be fixed in the Indians' mind, as is the case with many other Indian names. *Niantic* is objectionable as a designation for Long Island dialects, since the name *Yamphank* belongs to the dialect which Thomas Jefferson in his vocabulary calls the *Unquachog* or *Pusspátok*,<sup>3</sup> and is the same which Gallatin calls the *Montauk*. The last is really the best for several reasons, but *Niantic*<sup>4</sup> belongs to Connecticut and not to Long Island. About fifteen miles east of Yamp-hank creek is another stream, once called *Rapahamuck*, a name similar to the Powhatan term except in its affix *-amuck*, 'a fishing-place.'

*Warraskoyac*, as Smith almost invariably wrote the name, was a town near Smithfield,<sup>5</sup> on Pagan river. Our essayist says:

"Spelled also Waraskweag [not so in Smith], for *Wárasikik*, 'swamp in a depression' (of land). Judging from the name of the stream, the village was near what in the South is called a 'cypress brake' — a basin-shaped depression of land situated near the margin of a creek and filled with fallen cypress trees."

<sup>1</sup> *Records of Brookhaven*, vol. 1, pp. 10-11.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71.

<sup>3</sup> *Pusspátok*, where Jefferson obtained his vocabulary, is a small reservation less than five miles from Yamphank creek.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps by this term Mr Gerard means the Narragansett; if so, he is still farther astray, for the Narragansett cognate of the Powhatan *tappa* is *taúba*, 'it is enough.'

<sup>5</sup> Tyler, *Cradle of the Republic*, p. 10.

This is assumption, and it is strange that Mr Gerard could not determine its true etymology, for its main stem is identical with the Cree cognate. *Warraskoyac* < *wannasque* (= Natick *wannasque* 'top,' 'end,' 'point'; Abnaki *Sanask̄idi* 'le bout'; Cree (Lacombe) *wannaskusiw* 'un bout,' (Howse) *wannuskootch* 'end'), 'top,' 'end,' 'extremity,' together with the locative *-ack*, gives us *wannasqu-ack* 'the top or point of the land,' where probably the village was situated. Smith says: <sup>1</sup> "A Bay wherein falleth 3 or 4 prettie brookes and creekes that halfe intrench the Inhabitants of *Warraskoyac*." The same stem, in a variety of forms, occurs throughout New England, as in Suffolk county, New York, in a record of 1696: <sup>2</sup> "*Wanasquattan* on ye poynt of hilles"; another as a boundary, in 1677, as *Warrasketuck* 'the ending creek,' varied in some early deeds as *Wannasketuck*.

*Onawmanient*, Mr Gerard states, "is evidently personal, and the word stands for *Onā'māniū<sup>t</sup>*, 'he who paints' (i. e., himself). The term was perhaps applied by the Potomac river Indians to the warriors of the locality, individually, from the extraordinary and fantastic manner in which they decorated themselves with war-paint." In this he is again mistaken, as the place termination plainly indicates. All names of places referred to by Smith, or that appear on his map, with the terminal *-anient*, or *-manient*, have nothing of a personal application about them, for *-anient* is the Powhatan equivalent of the Lenâpé *-aney-in̄k* or *-anink*, Natick *-may-ut* or *mayet*, 'on a path or trail.' It occurs in *Mattapanient*, or *Mattapanyent*,<sup>3</sup> as three places so named on Smith's map, i. e., 'a stopping place on a path,' 'a portage,' and in *Tauxenent*, 'little path,' a king's residence on the Potomac. Var. *Ouawmanient*, Smith's map.

*Onaw* = Natick *wauonu* 'he goes astray,' 'wanders,' 'is betrayed'; Mass. (Wood) *waawnew* 'you have lost your way,' and *-manient* 'on a path,' hence 'a path where they were led astray or were betrayed' — a name probably bestowed by their guide at the time. Smith writes: <sup>4</sup> "Towards *Onawmanient*, where all the

<sup>1</sup> Smith, p. 346.

<sup>2</sup> *Huntington, R. I., Town Records*, vol. 2, p. 188.

<sup>3</sup> Smith, p. 601.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 417.

woods were layd with ambuscado's . . . (and exchanging hostage) James Watkins was sent six myles up the woods to their Kings habitation. We were kindly vsed of those Salvages, of whom we vnderstood, they were commanded to betray vs, by the direction of Powhatan." Also :<sup>1</sup> "Such another Lope Skonce would I haue had at Onawmanient." Thus did the name designate the path and not the village or the people.

*Orapikes* is not difficult of correct analysis, but Mr Gerard writes: "The name apparently of a deep pond or small body of water (-*pikës*) in a depression of land (*áro*, for *wáro*)." This name I translated more than thirteen years ago,<sup>2</sup> and see no reason now to modify the etymology. The name varies as *Oropikes*, *Orapaks*, and *Orapakes*, and was applied to a place in the wilderness where Powhatan immured himself in order to escape the proximity of the settlers. Smith remarks :<sup>3</sup> "But now he abandoned that and liueth at *Orapikes* by *Youghtanund* in the wilderness." Again: "He retired himself to a place in the deserts at the top of the river *Chickahamans* betweene *Youghtanund* and *Powhatan*. His habitation is there called *Orapacks*, where he ordinarily now resideth."

Mr Gerard is correct in regard to the termination -*pikës*, 'a water-place' or 'water-land,' but in error as to the prefix. *Oroh* is equivalent to the Natick *touoh*, *touou*, or *touweu*; Narragansett *towiu* 'wild,' 'deserted,' 'wilderness,' 'solitary,' + *pe-ack-es*, 'a little water-place,' a termination with a descriptive prefix frequently applied to marshy and swampy tracts of land, hence a 'solitary water-place, or swamp.' The same prefix occurs in the name of a dismal tract of wild land in the town of Islip, Long Island, namely *Orowoc* (= *towiu-ock*, 'wild land'), and is still retained to designate *Orowoc* brook at the village of Bayshore. The Virginia name probably described a portion of The Wilderness which became so well known during the Civil War.

*Werowocomoco* is also easy of identification, yet Mr Gerard derives the term from the Cree elements "*wirówáká*' *mäku*, 'fertile land';

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 601.

<sup>2</sup> *Some Indian Names of Places on Long Island, N. Y., and their Correspondences in Virginia, etc.*; Magazine of New England History, vol. 1, pp. 154-158, Newport, R. I., 1891.

<sup>3</sup> Smith, pp. 17, 80.

a tract about two miles in breadth on the east side of what is now known as Timber Neck bay, on York river." The late Dr J. H. Trumbull<sup>1</sup> translated this name correctly thirty-four years ago, viz. :

" *Werowocomaco*, on the North side of the river Pamaunkee (York), was one of the residences of Powhatan, and where Captain John Smith was carried as a prisoner. The name means, 'the *werowance* house,' or 'the house of the Chief,' who was called '*werowance*'<sup>2</sup> or '*weroance*' by the Powhatans, and '*sachem*' by the northern Algonkin tribes of New England. '*Werowocomoco*' is the equivalent of the Narragansett '*sachimma-comock*,' 'a Prince's house (Roger Williams),' and the Massachusetts "' *sachimo-comaco*,' for so they call the Sachems place, though they call the ordinary house '*witeo*.'" (E. Winslow, in Good Newses from N. England.)"

In corroboration of this, Strachey writes:<sup>3</sup>

"He hath divers seates or howses; his chief when we came into the country, was upon Pamunky river, on the north side or Pembroke side called *Werowocomoco*, which by interpretation, signifies Kinge's-house."

*Wynauk* is derived by Mr Gerard from "*winâk*, 'strong-scented wood,' in the Roanoke, Virginia, and Lenape dialects, the name of the sassafras tree." This was also Heckewelder's etymology.

Years ago Dr J. H. Trumbull<sup>4</sup> gave a derivation of this name, which I accept fully :

" '*Weanock*,' '*Wyanoke*,' '*Wynauk*,' a low meadow point, on the James river, about twenty miles above Jamestown, was the 'going around place,' or 'place about which the river' 'wound itself.' Eliot would have written this name '*waen-ohke*,' or '*weenohke*' — from '*waenu*,' 'going around,' 'winding about,' and '*ohke*' 'place.' By doubling the first syllable, the word becomes intensive or frequentive. We find this in the Abnaki *wêwîounîwî*, '*tout à l'entour*,' 'all about;' and in the Chipeway name of the site of Detroit, '*Wâweatun*' or '*Wâwîâton*'; with place termination, '*wâweâtun-ong*,' at the place of going around, or 'winding about,' — 'indicating,' as some suppose, 'the circuitous approach to the Indian village.' The root '*waen*' or '*ween*,' 'winding about,' is found in many local names in New England."

<sup>1</sup> *Historical Magazine*, 1870, 2nd ser., vol. VII, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> Smith (p. 377) writes: "But this word *Werowance*, which we call and construe for a King, is a common word, whereby they call all commanders: for they haue but few words in their language, and but few occasions to vse any officers more than one commander, which commonly they call *Werowance*, or *Caucorouse*, which is Captaine." — W. W. T.

<sup>3</sup> Strachey, p. 49.

<sup>4</sup> *Historical Magazine*, 1870, 2nd ser., vol. VII, p. 48.

Mr Gerard presents his ideas as to the etymology and meaning of several Powhatan names of which I have given the results of exhaustive studies that have been accepted by many Algonquian scholars, who are capable of judging impartially, and which are well corroborated by Smith. I do not intend to discuss these etymologies fully at this time, merely referring those interested to my essays for the full origin and derivation of the names.

Mr Gerard derives *Massawomek* from *Mä' cherwo' mik*, 'great-plain people,' but presents no facts to corroborate the derivation. I translate it<sup>1</sup> 'those who travel by boat,' *massow-omeke*. It was by this means that the Iroquois became known and feared by the tidewater natives of Virginia. Smith met seven boat-loads of these people at one time, and he remarks that "the *Massawomeks* had so many boats, and so many men that they made warre with all the world."

It is also asserted by Mr Gerard that *Chickahominy* stands for "tshíkēhā'mēn 'a clearing, literally,' 'swept off,' scraped off,'" which is as far removed from the true meaning as Heckewelder's 'turkey-lick.' *Chickahominy* was not a place name, but the designation of a people who contributed corn to the colonists under Smith, thus saving them from starvation. I give its etymology<sup>2</sup> as *chick-aham-min-anough*, 'coarse-pounded corn people,' or, in brief, 'hominny people.'

*Pamaunkee*, he says, is *pēma'ki*, 'sloping hill,' or 'rising upland'; but there is nothing to support this derivation. Strachey gives *Pomotawh*, 'hill or mountain,' lit. 'a sloping hill'; as also does Lederer<sup>3</sup> in the form *Paemotinck*, a name not cognate with *Pamaunkee*. In fact, in its full form, the name<sup>4</sup> means 'a place of secrecy in the woods,' which was one of Powhatan's 'places of superstition,' where some of his secret rites were performed.

The next etymology which Mr Gerard presents is :

<sup>1</sup> See *The Names Patowomeke and Massawomeke*, American Anthropologist, vol. VII, 1894, pp. 174-185, also *Algonquian Series*, vol. VIII.

<sup>2</sup> See *American Anthropologist*, vol. VIII, 1895, pp. 257-263; also *Algonquian Series*, vol. IX.

<sup>3</sup> *Discoveries*, p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> See *The Mystery of the Name Pamaunkey*, American Antiquarian, vol. XVII, 1895, pp. 289-295; also *Algonquian Series*, vol. IX.

“*Aitowh* (*etóu*, or *etóhu*), a ball. The prefix *ai* is probably miswritten for the usual Virginia prosthetic *û*; and, if so, the word would have been *ûtóhu*, an apocopated form, say, of *ûtóhurwân*, = Cree *tóhurwân*, a ball < *tóhurwéu*, ‘he plays ball,’ < root *tóhu*, which is a Cree radical, and, in Ojibwe, occurs only as a particle in words relating to the Canadian game of ‘lacrosse.’”

This derivation of the Powhatan *aitowh* deserves credit in a measure, but Mr Gerard does not go far enough into the subject to show the exact status of the radical. The word did not signify ‘a ball,’ ‘a round thing,’ as does the more common term (i. e., Cree *pitikonigan*, Lenâpé *p'tukhican*, Natick *petuhki*), but ‘a bauble,’ ‘a plaything.’ This is quite evident in the Cree *tóhurwân* ‘boule,’ ‘a ball,’ which Lacombe qualifies by the word in parenthesis (*jouet*), ‘a plaything.’ It also appears as a particle in the Cree term *kwaskwenetowan*, for playing football, as well as in the Ojibwe *pagaadowewin*, ‘Indian ball-play,’ played with crosier and ball (lacrosse), to which Mr Gerard refers. In the Narragansett (Roger Williams), however, the equivalent for the Powhatan term is more fully displayed in the word *pauocháutowwin*, “a Bable [= bauble] to play with,” from *pauochau* ‘to play,’ and *-áutow* ‘a bauble,’ ‘a plaything.’ Trumbull<sup>1</sup> offered a suggestion, with a query, that *autowwin* = Natick *ohteauun*, ‘to possess,’ ‘a belonging.’

*Attaangwassuwk* (Strachey), ‘a star,’ Mr Gerard believes to be a plural form, but his mistake is evident when we compare the name with its cognates, for the long form is seemingly *attaang*, ‘a star,’ + *-wassuwk* (= Natick *wohsumuk*, ‘bright’ or ‘shining,’ Lenape *waseleu* ‘bright’), hence ‘a shining star’ or ‘he appears shining.’ In a foot-note under this name Mr Gerard remarks that “Howse’s interpretation of Cree *âtchák*, as ‘other Being,’ and Trumbull’s explanation of the Natick *ânâ'kwús* as ‘he appears,’ ‘shows himself,’ may be mentioned merely as examples of curious speculation.” When it is considered how much speculation our essayist has indulged in, one can only regard the two well-known authorities which he cites as being nearer correct than he. In fact Trumbull’s *anôgqs* ‘star’ (not *ânâ'kwús*), which he derives from *anôgqussu* ‘he appears,’ is in accord with both Eliot and Cotton. Trumbull remarks: “In distinction from the sun, which rises or comes forth

<sup>1</sup> *Natick Dictionary*, p. 120.

and sets, the stars appear in their places when the absence of the sun and moon makes them visible." In total contradiction of Mr Gerard, I find in the Cree (Lacombe) "Esprit, *atchâk*, qui aussi veut dire âme," which corroborates Howse; while in the Abnaki (Rasles) I find "étoile, *ni édañt*, elle paroît," which confirms Trumbull. The transliteration of *anôgqs* into *änd'kwûs*, and all other changes of this character, are very objectionable, for as Eliot wrote these words two and a half centuries ago, so should they be written to-day.

Mr Gerard considers the Powhatan "*attemous*, dog, = Prairie Cree *ä'ttémús*," as a cognate of the Natick *änû'm*, Narragansett *äyî'm*,<sup>1</sup> Lenâpe *ärû'm* or *älû'm*, etc., in which he is evidently mistaken. I agree with Trumbull, who considered the two forms as derivatives from distinct elements; i. e., those words which have the *t* in "certain positions," like the Powhatan *attemous*, Cree *atim*, Abn. *atié*, Pequot *akteah*, indicate that the word is related to the Natick verb *adchu* 'he hunts,' while those with the form *anûm*, *alûm*, or *arûm* are from the verb *annumäü* 'he holds with his mouth.' This is proven by the Abnaki, in which language they are considered as distinct words by Rasles, who gives the forms *atié* and *aremδs* as two names for 'dog.' Consequently Mr Gerard's remarks under this paragraph should be revised. In a footnote Mr Gerard writes: "Another Lenape name for dog, probably the introduced species, is *môwekâneü*, 'he eats bones,' a very apposite term." On the contrary, the word signifies 'he cries or howls in the dark,' diminutive *moëkannetit* 'whelp of a dog' (*moë* = Natick *moü* 'to cry,' 'mourn').

"*Cattapeuk*, spring (season)," was copied by Strachey from Smith's names for the seasons, and Mr Gerard calls it "a loan-word from a dialect in which the form was *karápeék* < *kar*, 'fine,' 'beautiful,' = Lenape *kar*, *kal*, = Abnaki *kal*, = Nap. *kwan*, + the participial formative *-ápeék* denoting 'time when,' " hence, "'when the weather is fine.'"

No such roots as *kar*, *kal*,<sup>2</sup> or *kwan*, with the meaning of

<sup>1</sup> Mr Gerard gives *äyî'm* as the Niantic cognate. If he means the Narragansett this is correct, but if the Unquachog or the Montauk is intended, it is wrong, for Jefferson gives *arrum*.

<sup>2</sup> The Lenape *kal* or *kol*, "is from *ki*, expressing the 2nd person; *ol* is from *wulit*, and conveys the idea of good." *Mem. Hist. Soc. Penn.*, vol. XII, p. 397. See also my remarks under "Ottawm."



'fine,' 'beautiful,' are found in any of the dialects mentioned, consequently Mr Gerard's conclusions here are also erroneous. *Cattapeuk*,<sup>1</sup> 'sowing-time,' 'planting season,' corresponds with other names for the seasons mentioned by Smith and other authorities. In connection with *cattapeuk* Mr Gerard remarks, concerning the supposed root *kwan*, that it is "found in a Virginia name for rainbow, '*quannacut* (Strachey), for *kwannákät*, 'it is of a beautiful aspect.'" As a matter of fact the Powhatan term for 'rainbow' differs but slightly from the terms given in other dialects. Some of these, as Dr A. F. Chamberlain<sup>2</sup> has shown, and as is exemplified by other terms furnished me by Dr A. S. Gatschet, have the signification of 'he (the *manitou*) covers the rain (with his mantle),' 'the good covering,' 'the goblin's mantle,' 'he stops the rain,' 'the rain-stopper.' A similar concept is conveyed by the Powhatan *quannacut* (= *quann* 'long,' -*acut* 'mantle'), = Natick -*âqut*, -*aquit*, -*ogqut*, ' (when he is) clothed or covered,' or '(which) he is clothed with,' 'a mantle;' Narragansett *auhaqut* 'a mantle.' *Quannacut* ('he is in his) long mantle,' corresponds to the Natick *ukquanogquon*, from *uk*, prefix of the third person singular, *quan* 'long,' -*ogquon* 'covering,' 'clothing,' 'a mantle,' i. e., 'he is in his long mantle.'

Under the term *cattapeuk* Mr Gerard gives the Lenape -*âpeek*, 'time when,' which he finds in *macht-apeek*, 'bad-time,' 'war time,' lit., 'it is bad once more' or 'again.' The Natick cognate he gives as -*a<sup>n</sup>pek*, which he evolves from *ahquompak*, 'time when,' a compound from *ahque* 'he leaves off,' and the suppositive and indefinite *nompak* 'again' or 'once more,' hence *ahquompak* 'time,' 'a fixed time,' 'a period.' As will be observed, *nompak*, not *a<sup>n</sup>pek*, = Lenape -*âpeek*, both words being adverbs of time. *Nompe* is frequently used with a numeral and with other words to denote repetition, 'times,' as in *nishwudt nompe* 'to the third time,' *mšchekut nompe* 'oftentimes.' Without discovering the identity of the Lenape *lappi* with -*apeek*, or *ahquompak*, Mr Gerard makes another element by transferring the Lenape *lappi* to his "*Tôp*," and "*Tâp*," as '*râp*'

<sup>1</sup> Lenape *quitau* 'to sow,' Narr. *qutta*, Abn. *kikaž*, Ojib. *kitigé*, Cree *kistik*, Nip. *kitike*, all 'to sow' or 'to plant.' In his list of seasons, Loskiel, *Hist.*, etc., mentions "April as the planting month; Indian corn being planted towards the end, or in the middle of April."

<sup>2</sup> *Am Ur-Quell*, 1893.

and 'lâp,' and the Natick *nompe* as *na<sup>n</sup>p* with a fictitious Niantic *ya<sup>n</sup>p*, and gives as a cognate the Cree *tâp*, which is another element entirely, having no connection whatever with either the Lenape or the Natick terms. The Cree equivalent of the two terms is *eyâbi* 'encore,' 'once more,' = Ojibwe *neiâb* 'again,' 'once more,' a fact that overthrows all of his derivations, so far as his supposed radicals 'tâp' and 'râp' are concerned. This necessarily includes the derivation of *uttapaantam* and *tapaantaminais*.

As to the latter name, Mr Gerard remarks :

"*Tapaantaminais*, a string of cylindrical copper beads ('bugles'). The word is from the root *tap*, 'in alternation,' 'in succession' (on a string), and, apparently, *-ă'n'to* (for *-ănito*), 'strange,' 'mysterious,' *-min*, 'bead,' and the diminutive suffix *-ês*.

This is quite erroneous, for the term in no way described the chain or its links as Strachey supposed and as Mr Gerard has taken for granted. No Indian would have called a 'long link of copper' a 'bead,' nor have applied to it the diminutive termination. The probability seems to be that Strachey<sup>1</sup> asked the name for the chain, and that the Indian woman whom he was visiting at the time,<sup>2</sup> while holding it out for his inspection, said to him, "*Tâpaanta<sup>m</sup>minais*,"<sup>3</sup> i. e., 'she bought it with corn.' The word is cognate with the Natick *tâpa-antam*, 'enough-minded with,' 'he (or she) is satisfied' or 'contented with it' (= Lenape *tepelendam*, 'contented,' = Cree *tepe-yittam*, 'il est satisfait'), and the noun generic *-minais* (Natick pl. *minneash*) 'corn' or 'grain,' hence *tâpa-antam-minais*, 'he (or she) satisfied or contented with corn.' These chains, with long copper links, tubes or cylinders,<sup>4</sup> were no doubt manufactured by the colonists for the purpose of trading with the natives, and that is how the woman obtained this particular chain. At the beginning of this trade Smith captured their '*okee*,' to which previous reference has been made, and he told them<sup>5</sup> "if onely six of them would come

<sup>1</sup> There are several similar errors made by Strachey, among them "*Metucs* a bridge," the 'bridge' being probably 'a tree' (*metuc*) thrown across a creek.

<sup>2</sup> Strachey, p. 57.

<sup>3</sup> The tilde over the *m* marks the omission of the *m* following.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas, *Twelfth Report Bureau of Ethnology*, fig. 209 and text. Abbott, *Primitive Industry*, fig. 396 and text.

<sup>5</sup> Smith, p. 393.

vnarmed and loade his boat, he would . . . restore them their *Okee*, and giue them Beads, Copper, and Hatchets beside ; which on both sides was to their contents<sup>1</sup> performed, and then they brought him Venison, Turkies, wild foule, bread, and what they had."

*Uttapaantam*, 'deer,' and *rapaantam*, 'venison,' Mr Gerard informs us, means "' he chews once again,' and distinguishes the deer (the only ruminant with which the Virginia Indians were acquainted) as the 'cud chewer.'" These two words have quite a different meaning, for the termination *-antam*, as in the previous name, is a characteristic formative expressing a disposition of the mind, and was of common use in both Powhatan and Natick; it therefore furnishes additional evidence of the linguistic affinity of the two dialects. In the Powhatan it occurs also in *tsepaantamen*,<sup>2</sup> 'to kiss,' i. e., 'to be separately-minded'; *kemaantuñ*, 'speak softly,' i. e., 'be secret-minded'; *naantam*, 'a wolf' (= Natick *neuantam*, Narr. *noantam*), i. e., 'he grieves,' 'he is sorrow-minded,' referring to his 'mournful howling'; hence *uttapaantam* and *rapaantam*,<sup>3</sup> when applied to deer and to venison, indicated food that 'enough-minded,' i. e., 'satisfied' or 'contented them,' and not that which 'he chews once again.'

The following, from Mr Gerard's paper, presents some curious ideas in speculative analysis :

*Cutssenepeo*, *cuchenepeo*, woman (nickname); by assibilation of *t* < *kütë'něpó*, a loan-word < Rap. *kěřě'něpó* (contracted to *krě'něpó*), for *kěřě'něpéu*, water-carrier, lit., 'she carries water'; < root *kěřen*, = Lenape *gěłen*, = Natick *kěnúñ*, 'to carry,' and the intrans. vb. suffix *-peu*, denoting (according to the root) action in, upon, with, or by water."

This is entirely gratuitous, and although Trumbull<sup>4</sup> stated that he was unable to make anything of the name, it is comparatively simple. Smith's<sup>5</sup> name for 'man,' *nemarrowgh*, to which further

<sup>1</sup> "Content" seem to have been a common term among both parties, for Pory says (Smith, p. 568): "The next day, he presented me with twelue Beuer skinnes and a Canow, which I requited with such things to his content, that he promised to keepe them whilst hee liued, and burie them with him being dead."

<sup>2</sup> *Tsepa* is a Lenape form (= *tspüwi* or *tspat*, 'separately'), rather than the Natick *chippi*.

<sup>3</sup> Written *Rapantā* by Strachey.

<sup>4</sup> *Algonkin Names for Man*.

<sup>5</sup> Smith's Vocabulary, p. 44.

reference will be made, really means 'my brother.' This leaves no name for man, but following is *crenepo* 'a woman,' which is surely the Lenape (New Sweden, Campanius) *renappi* 'man'; Abnaki (Rasles) *arenambe* 'homme.' Strachey's *cucheneppo* or *cuttseneppo* has the same suffix, *-nepo* (= Natick *nepoh*, 'he stands erect'), a generic for man occurring in all Algonquian dialects. The prefix is cognate with the Narragansett *kutchinnu* 'an middle-aged man,' lit. 'he (or she) is growing old.' Therefore, in the Powhatan dialect *cucheneppo* (= *kutchin-nepoh*) would be 'a middle-aged man or woman,' for the generic would apply to any adult, although used generally to designate an adult male. In some dialects it is used in feminine appellations. The more familiar term for an Indian woman, squaw (Powhatan *usqua*), is given by Strachey in *wirona-usqua* 'woman-queen,' and in several other terms.

Again Mr Gerard writes :

"*Cuttoundg* (*kātu<sup>m</sup>ju*), 'to bark' (Strachey); lit. 'he makes a noise'; a doublet of Rap. *kärúsu*, 'he speaks,' found in the iterative form *kákärúsu*, 'he speaks at some length'; a word that has descended to us, in the spelling '*cockerouse*,' as the title of a Virginian *wiróance's* counsellor."

*Cuttoundg*, like many of the sounds uttered by animals, including birds, as noted in the Algonquian language, is of onomatopoeic origin; hence to attribute its derivation to a verb signifying 'to make a noise,' or 'to speak,' is a mistake, and to make *Cawcaw-wassough*<sup>1</sup> 'a captain,' appearing in the same *Dictionarie* and meaning 'one who advises,' 'urges,' or 'encourages,' a derivative from 'bark of a dog' is equally erroneous.

The name of the sachem of Pamaunkee, *Kekataugh*, Mr Gerard translates 'he harangues,' 'makes speeches,' failing to observe that this name is identical with the Powhatan numeral 'nine' (*kekataugh*<sup>2</sup> = *k'eka-tahwhau*) and that it means 'one remains,' or 'he is one left,' i. e., one less than ten.'

Regarding some of the letter changes, he remarks :

"Two curious exceptions to rule (5) are found in the dialect that was spoken in the vicinity of Jamestown. I refer to the words *mă' tshikóre*,

<sup>1</sup> See Chamberlain, *Algonquian Words in American English*, Journal of American Folk-Lore, vol. xv, pp. 240-267.

<sup>2</sup> Trumbull, *On Numerals in American Indian Languages*, p. 28.

'it hangs badly,' the name for a skin mantle; and *pákāhikārè*, 'it is brayed,' whence, by aphæresis, we have our word 'hickory.' In both of these words the *r* of the suffix would be regularly *t*. The effect of the change in the first-mentioned word is to make it ambiguous, since the suffix *kore* in the same dialect denotes 'flaming' or 'blazing.'''

Excepting the derivation of 'hickory,'<sup>1</sup> which has long been known, Mr Gerard's conclusions are based on conjecture. In another place he gives the Ojibwe *matshigode*, 'petticoat,' as the equivalent of Smith's *matchcores*, when in reality there is no affinity between the two. *Matchcores*, 'skins or garments,' *matchkore*, (Strachey), 'a stag's skin,' is from the Powhatan *match*, *mach*, *mash*, or *maco*, 'great,' 'large'; while *-cores* (pl.) = Narr. *-acòh* 'their deer-skin (mantle),' hence 'a great (mantle) of deer-skin.' Smith<sup>2</sup> says: "The better sort use large mantles of Deare skins."

The term *pawcohiccora* was neither the name for the tree nor for the fruit, but of a "milk which they use to put into some sort of spoonmeate;"<sup>3</sup> "milk made of walnuts, *pocohiquara*"<sup>4</sup> "walnut milk, *pawcohiccora*."<sup>5</sup> *Pawcohiscora*,<sup>6</sup> *pokahicora*, or *pocohiquara*<sup>7</sup> (= Natick *poqua-hogkδnie*, Lenâpé *poqui-hackeny*) signifies '(that which is) made from broken or pounded shells.'

Mr Gerard notes: "*Matatsno* (*metêtânô*), the tongue, < *m*, indef. prefix, + *têtânô*, = Wood Cree '*téthānii*, = Prairie Cree '*teyānii*, = Ojibwe '*dénānii*, = Menomini '*tā'nuniu*." In a footnote he remarks: "The second *t* here corresponds to the Cree *th*,

<sup>1</sup> See Chamberlain, *Algonquian Words in American English*, op. cit., pp. 240-268.

<sup>2</sup> Smith, p. 361.

<sup>3</sup> Hariot, p. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Strachey, *Dictionarie*.

<sup>5</sup> Smith, p. 353.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

<sup>7</sup> Smith (p. 353) tells us: "When they need walnuts they breake them betweene two stones, yet some part of the shels will cleave to the fruit. Then doe they dry them againe vpon a Mat over a hurdle. After they put 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 colored as milke, which they call *Pawcohiccora*, and keepe it for their vse." Strachey (p. 129) says: "The third sort is [of walnuts], as this last, exceeding hard shelled, and hath a passing sweet karnell; this last kind the Indians beat into pieces with stones, and putting them, shells and all, into a mortars, mingling water with them with long wooden pestells pound them so long together untill they make a kind of mylke, or oylie liquor, which they call *pawcohiccora*."

*y*, *r*, *l*, and *n* series of linguo-dentals." In this he is also mistaken, for the reason that he does not quote the Powhatan word correctly. Strachey gives it as "*mexatsno*," which is evidently a typographical error for *menatano*,<sup>1</sup> corresponding more nearly to the Narragansett *meenat* 'the tongue' than to the Cree *miteyaniy*.

The next term which Mr Gerard discusses is "*nimatewh* (*nimä'teü*), a man, = Rap. *nimä'rou* (for *nimä'reü*), = Mohegan *nimä-neü*; a loan-word from the Rap. dialect, with change of *r* to *l*." Trumbull<sup>2</sup> more logically concluded: "For 'man' Smith has *nemarough* (by a misprint, probably for *nematough*) and Strachey, *nimatewh*. This is the equivalent of *nemat* (Strachey); and so in the Massachusetts dialect 'my brother,' 'or mate,' with the verbal formative (Mass.) *nemat-ou*, 'he is my brother, or mate.'"

Again, Mr Gerard has "*nahapue* (*nähäpiu*), 'to dwell' (Strachey); lit. 'he (or she) is well (or comfortably) seated (or placed),' = Cree *nähäpiu* = Nipissing *nääpi*, = Ojibwe *nääbi*. The adverbial prefix *näh*, *nä*, 'well,' 'properly,' 'skilfully,' is found only in the Cree and Ojibwe groups." But it does not occur in the Powhatan term, for *nah* is the prefix of the third person, corresponding to the Natick *noh-apit* 'he that dwells,' 'abideth,' 'remains'; in proof of which Smith, in his Vocabulary, gives *nehawper* 'he staid,' and Strachey duplicates it in his "Dictionarie," as *nchapper* 'sit down,' 'sit further.'

Another mistake is:

"Ottawm (*otä'm*, apocop. < *otä'män*) defined by Strachey as 'earth,' but really a name for colored clay such as is used by the Indians as a body pigment: = Rap. *orä'män*, = Nap. *onä'män*, = Ojibwe *onä'män*, = Shawnee *olämän*, = Caniba *urä'män*, = Menomini *onämün*, = Lenape *wurämän*, *wulämän*, = Narragansett *wunäm*, = Prairie Cree *wiyä'män*."

Strachey did not define the word as 'earth,' but as 'the earth,' a distinction with some difference. The correct quotation is, "The earth, *aspamü*,<sup>3</sup> *ottawm*." The first *aspamü* = Lenäpé *achpinum*, 'our abode,' 'our habitation'; the second *ottawm* = Natick *ohtauum*, 'our possession,' 'our inheritance,' which carries out native ideas.

<sup>1</sup> It also corresponds better with other Powhatan terms for parts of the human body.

<sup>2</sup> Trumbull, *Algonkin Names for Man*.

<sup>3</sup> Long mark over the *u* signifies the omission of the *m* following.

Of the above supposed cognates for the Powhatan term, Mr Gerard remarks: "The root of these works is *thâm, tâm, yâm, râm, lâm,* and *nâm*; the suffix *-ân* is a formative, which is always discarded when the terms are used attributively; and the prefixed vowel is simply expletive." It will be seen, however, that no such roots appear in any name for 'red paint' which he quotes. Dr Brinton<sup>1</sup> gives a synopsis of the true root, of which Mr Gerard takes a portion, together with a portion of the formative, and calls it a root. The true roots from the cognates quoted (excepting the non-existent 'Râp.' and 'Nâp.') are Mass. *wun* or *ɛn*,<sup>2</sup> Del. *wur* or *wul*, Ojib. and Men. *on*, Shawnee *ol*, Cree *wiy*, Can. *ur*, Abn. *ɛr*,—a root appearing in many compounds denoting 'pleasing sensations,' of which the Natick, Lenape, and Powhatan offer many examples. The formative is *-amâm*, hence *wunâm, wulâmân,* or *oñâman*, 'red-painting,' 'vermilion,' from *wunne*, 'handsome,' 'fine,' 'good.'

Our essayist further remarks: "*Otâ'santâsu* means, possibly, 'wearer of leg-coverings,' the reference being to the breeches and long hose worn by the newcomers." In contradiction to this, Smith records:<sup>3</sup> "*Mosco* changed his name [to] *Vitasantassough*, which we interpret Stranger, for so they call vs." In his Vocabulary he gives the same name for 'English.' Strachey, in his Dictionarie, has it "*Uttassantassowaih*, stranger," varied as "*Tassantasses*, that is strangers." Compare Narr. (R. W.) *eenantowash* 'speak Indian.' I would interpret the name (= Natick, *k'uttass-antowash*) 'he speaks a strange language,' i. e., 'he speaks a language (different from those speaking).' At the time of the occurrence noted, *Mosco* was acting as Smith's interpreter and guide, and had performed the same function previously.

Mr Gerard likewise writes:

"*Paqwantewun* (*pâkwa<sup>n</sup>tehún*), 'leather that covereth their hips and secretts' (Strachey). This word is cognate with the Cree *pâkwâ'tehún*, a girdle. The root *pâkw*, 'to wind about,' or 'around,' is confined to the dialects of the Cree group. The particle *-a<sup>n</sup>t* (Cree *-ât*) denotes repetition, and, when used as a prefix, is the exact equivalent of Latin *re-*. The nominal suffix *-hún* (Ojibwe *-ón, -hón* = Natick *hóun*, = Abnaki *-hún*) is from the intransitive (sometimes reflective) verb

<sup>1</sup> *The Lenape and their Legends*, p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> Chamberlain, *Algonquian Words in American English*, op. cit., p. 265.

<sup>3</sup> Smith, p. 430.

suffix *-húw* (Ojibwe *-ó*, *-hó*, = Natick *hóu*, = Abnaki *-hú*), denoting the action or manner of wearing some article of apparel or bodily adornment (ear-rings, bracelets, finger-rings, etc.), or of carrying some object that aids or affords relief to the body or some part of it (as a cane, tooth-pick, etc.). The word describes an article of attire which, owing to the part of the body upon which it was worn, had to be frequently changed in order to assure cleanliness."

The above shows simply an accidental similarity which sometimes occurs between remote dialects, for there is no etymological connection between the two names. No Indian would have called a girdle an apron, or vice-versa, as the above would lead us to understand. Moreover, the Cree term is not given its true phonetic value as rendered by Lacombe, viz., "*pakwáttehun*." The Powhatan *paqwantewun* is from the term represented by the Natick *pahke* 'clean,' 'pure,' and *-ahtau-un* 'it hides'; Narragansett "*Aútah & aútawhun*, Their apron," of which Roger Williams remarks: ("Except their secret parts, covered with a little Apron, after the patterne of their and our first Parents) I say all else open and naked." Hence *paqwantewun* = Narr. *pahk-aútawhun*, 'a clean apron.' The particle *un* is the nominative of the impersonal verb, when the object for which it stands is expressed by the verb, i. e., *-aútawhun* 'it hides.'

*Bagwanchybassen* 'a girdle' Mr Gerard changes to the Cree *pákwa<sup>n</sup> tshtpisun* and gives a wrong etymology, for the Powhatan name is the same as the Natick *puttukquobbesin* 'it bindeth (me) about' (= Abnaki *pedeg<sup>8</sup>abis<sup>8</sup>n* 'ceinture'), from *puttuckqui-au* 'it girdles,' and *mobe* 'hip,' with the intransitive active or simple suffix *-ussu*. *Puttukquobusseog* 'with your loins girded.'<sup>1</sup>

Again he has —

"*Puttawas (pútewús)*, a feather mantle; from a root *pút*, which is possibly a weak form of the Cree root *pust*, 'to put on,' 'invest' (said of apparel), a radical which has no cognate in any other Algonquian group of dialects: > *pút<sup>u</sup>teu*, 'he (or she) puts on,' > an. adj. *pút<sup>u</sup>tewú<sup>u</sup>su*, 'put on'; 'a put-on', 'a vesture.'"

This conclusion does not seem to be based on a knowledge of the different dialects. Compare the Narragansett "*pétacaus*, an English wastcoate" (Williams), a name which Trumbull derived

<sup>1</sup> Eliot, Exodus, XII, II.



from *puttogwhussu* 'he is hid,' 'covered,' from *petau* 'he puts into,' and *-ocquash* 'clothes.'

As to the Powhatan *outacan* 'a dish,' after quoting its transliterated equivalents from eleven dialects, which reveal the persistence of the form, Mr Gerard continues :

"These names for one of the most primitive of aboriginal household utensils are of a very peculiar formation, and may, perhaps, be regarded as radical words. The prefixed vowel is simply expletive, and the suffix *-āgan* denotes a 'utensil.' This leaves as a basis for the formation of the word an active verb consisting of a consonant and one vowel, *e*, or perhaps two vowels, *eu*. This would make the root of the word simply a consonant !"

On the contrary, the Narragansett *wunnaug* 'a tray,' pl. *-anash*, and the Natick *wunonk* 'a dish,' *n8nonganit* 'in my dish,' *wunnonganit* 'in the dish,' Trumbull derives from *wonogq*, 'a hole,' 'dug out,' = *wonogkeu* 'it has a hollow,' *wunnaugan* 'a hollow utensil' — a derivation which is very acceptable, for it would apply equally well to the birch-bark dish and to the wooden platter. But the name seems to have been applied especially to wooden utensils, for in the Otchipwe (Baraga) we find "*onāgan*, dish," "*onagānike* (*nind*), I make a dish, or dishes (especially of wood)." Furthermore, we find in the Lenape the name "*ulakanahunschi*, elm tree," from "*ulakanahen*, to make dishes (wooden dishes, Anthony)+," *-munschi* 'tree.' There are other names from the same element, viz., Narr. *wunnaunanounuck*<sup>1</sup> 'a shallow,' dim. + *-ese* 'a skiff,' from *wunnau* 'a shallow vessel,' and *-anounau* 'to carry,' + *-uk* 'that which.' The word sometimes appears as a place-name to denote a 'hollow' or a 'bowl'-shaped hill, like '*wunnegunset*,' in Connecticut.

Finally there is given "*wintuc*, *wintuccum* (*wintūk*, *wintūkūw*), a ghou, = Cree *wittikōw*, = Ojibwe *windgō*; in the mythology of the Crees and Ojibwes, a gigantic monster in the form of a man, who feeds upon human flesh." In a foot-note Mr Gerard remarks : "This word is printed 'fool' in the [Strachey] *Dictionarie*, through the misreading, by a copyist, of a word written 'gool' for 'ghoul.'"

Neither Strachey nor the copyist made a mistake, for the word

<sup>1</sup> Roger Williams, says : "Obs : Although themselves have neither, yet they give them such names, which in their Language signifieth carrying vessels.

means 'a fool,' and not 'ghoul.' *Wintuc* = Lenape *wil-tak*, 'head-heavy,' 'a fool,' 'a sot,' 'drunkard'; *wintuccum* = Mass. *ween-tuhkekun*, 'he is head-heavy,' 'he is a fool.' Von der Donck<sup>1</sup> writes: "In the Indian language, which is rich and expressive, they have no word for drunkenness. Drunken men they call fools."

This concludes our examination of Mr Gerard's principal interpretations, but it does not include all of his errors, which may be found in nearly every paragraph. I regret the necessity of thus criticising the labors of a fellow-student, but consider it my duty to do so owing to the character of his work and to my own familiarity with Powhatan names, to the study of which I have devoted the last sixteen years.

---

<sup>1</sup> *Collections N. Y. Hist. Soc.*, 2nd ser., vol. I, p. 192.