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The Origin and Meaning of Chippewa Place Names Along the Lake Superior Shoreline Between Grand Island and Point Abbaye

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Introduction

The place names we utilize today are products of the past. They often reflect the perception, use, or personal associations which were attached to landscape features by cultural groups which previously occupied the landscape. In the case of Michigan, some of the place names currently in use originated with the Indians, or French voyageurs. Unfortunately, most of the Indian landscape nomenclature has been lost. Because there were few Indians around when the Americans occupied the interior of the state, most of the names found there were given by the settlers themselves. Fortunately, when the voyageurs named the landscape, they often simply translated the Indian name into French. Thus we have, in many of the French place names, or their subsequent English translations, the essence of the original Indian name.[1]

It rarely happens that we are able to discover the original Indian names for landscape features. Once in a while, however, such an opportunity presents itself. Two primary documents have come into my possession which enable me to attempt such a toponymic reconstruction for a portion of Michigan's Lake Superior shoreline.

The Documents

The first document dates from 1840. In the summer of that year the state geologist, Douglass Houghton, led an expedition along Michigan's Lake Superior shoreline to study its minerals. One of the members of the expedition was the assistant state geologist, Bela Hubbard. In addition to keeping a journal of the trip, he mapped the shoreline. On his maps he included many Chippewa place names which he obtained phonetically from his mixed-blood voyageurs (see Figures 1-4).[2]

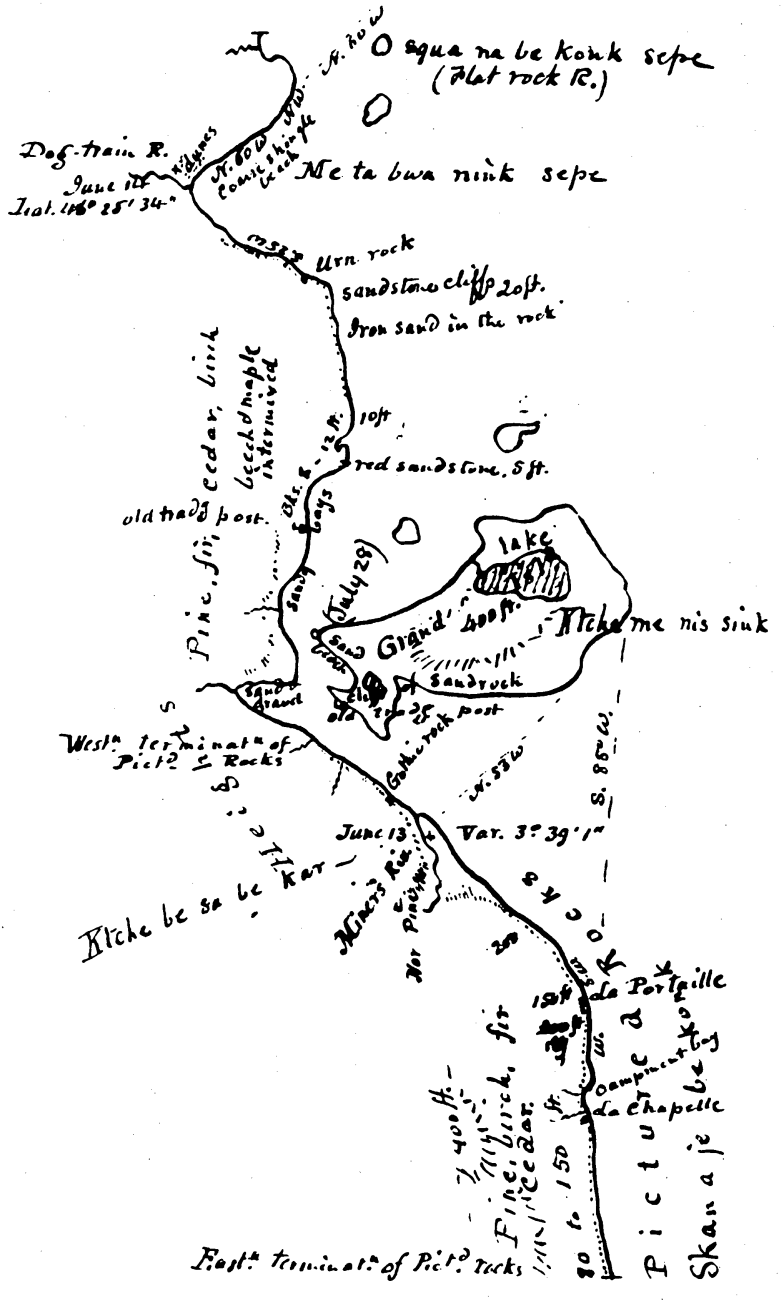

Fig. 1. Bela Hubbard's 1840 map of the Lake Superior shoreline between Pictured Rocks and Rock ("Flat Rock") River. North (and Lake Superior) is at the top on all maps.

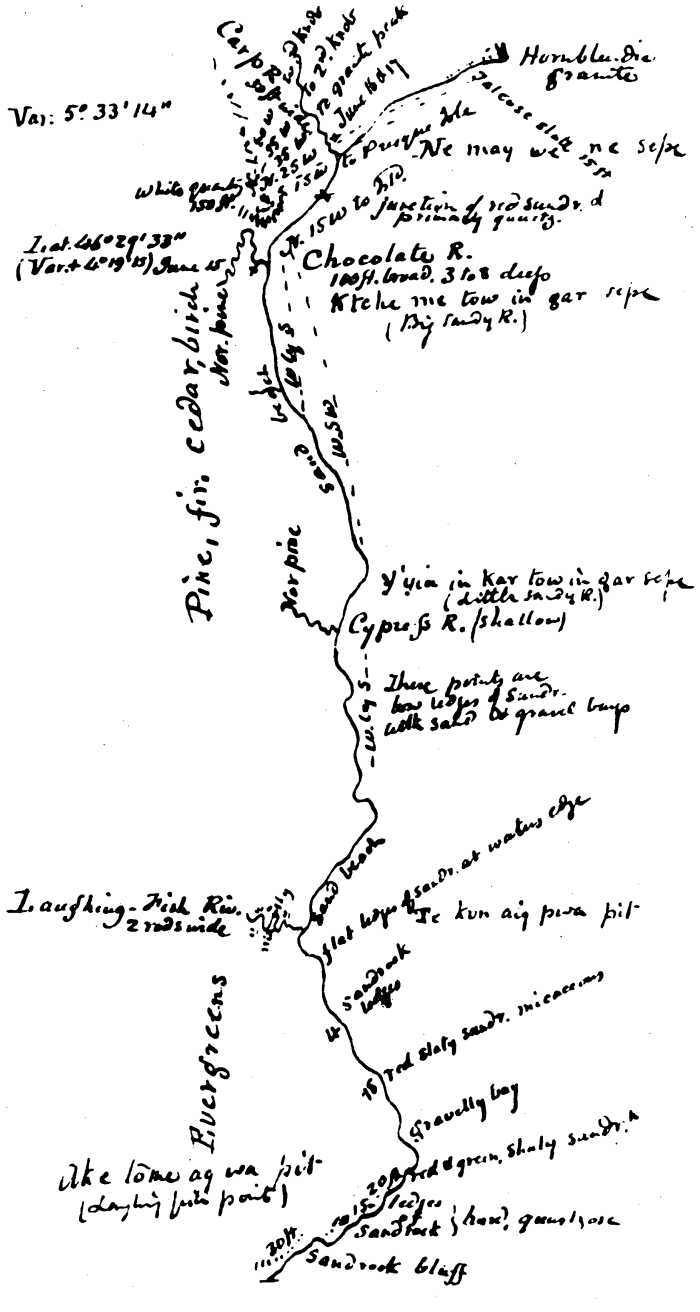

Fig. 2. Bela Hubbard's 1840 map of the Lake Superior shoreline between Laughing Fish Point and Carp River (at Marquette).

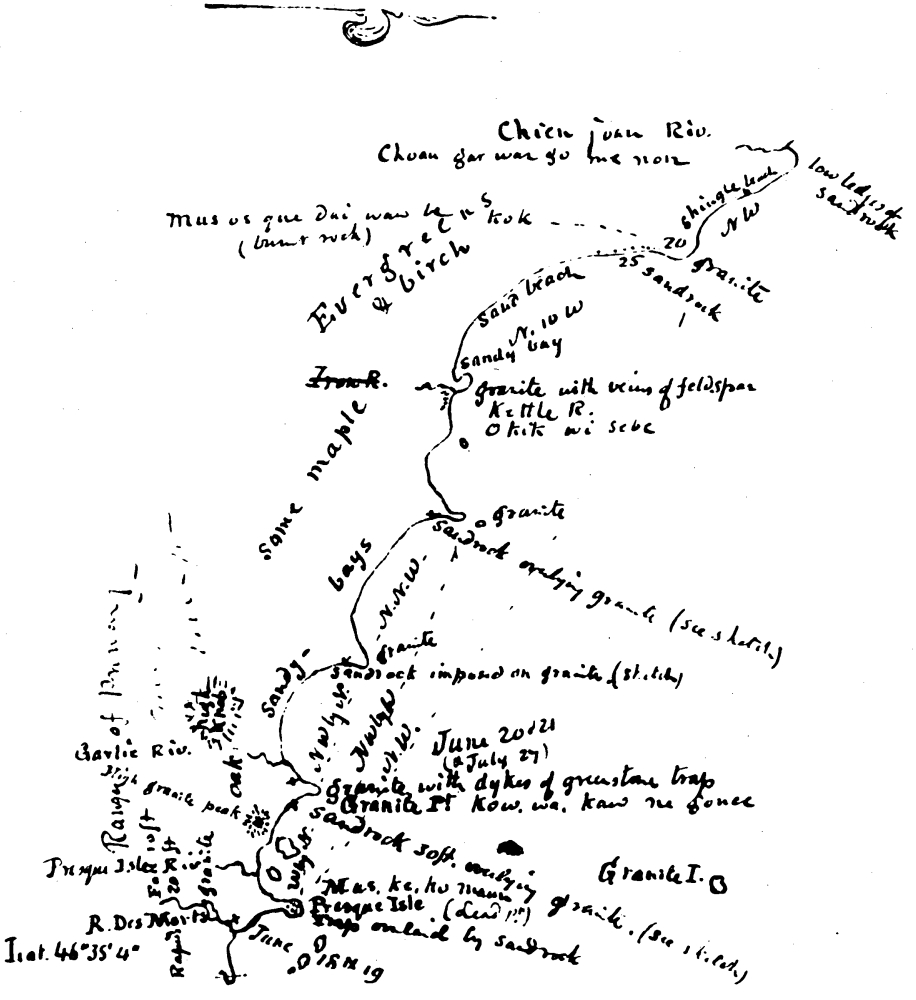

Fig. 3. Bela Hubbard's 1840 map of the Lake Superior shoreline between Dead River ("R. Des Morts") and Yellow Dog ("Chien joan") River.

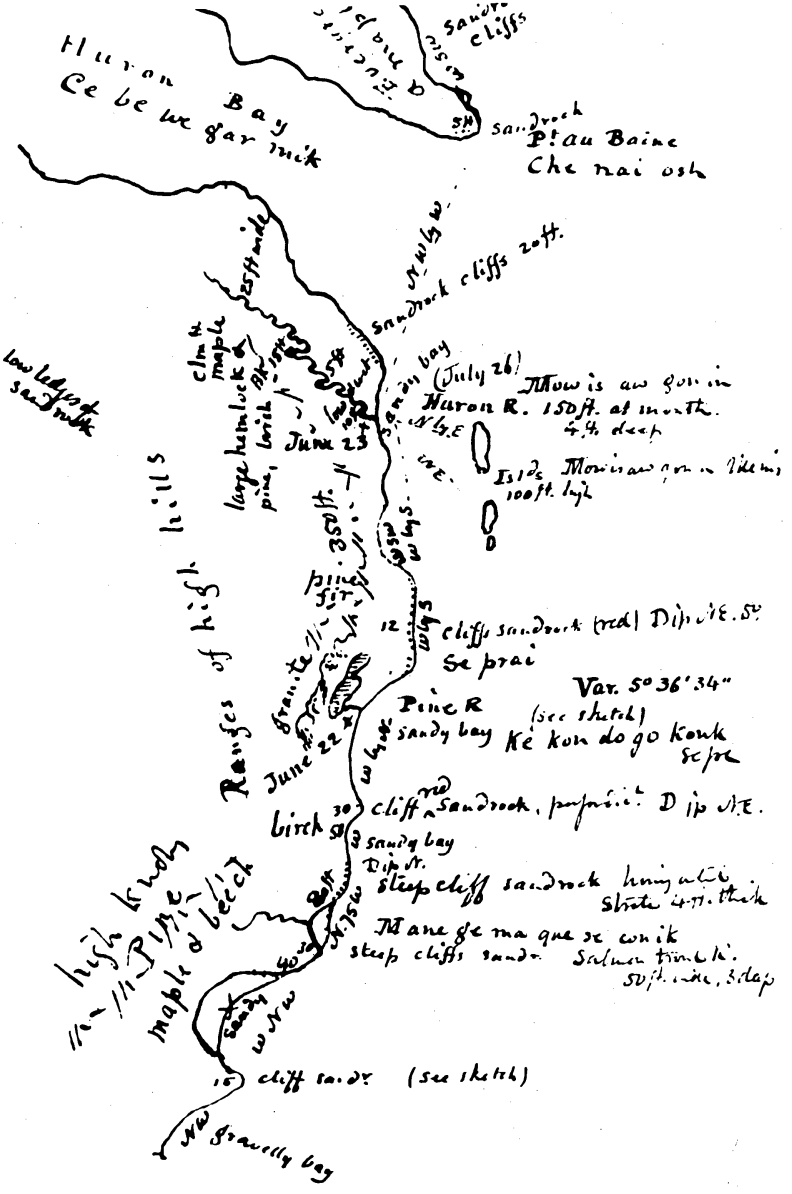

Fig. 4. Bela Hubbard's 1840 map of the Lake Superior shoreline between Salmon Trout River and Point Abbaye ("Pt. Au Baine").

Table 1
Chippewa Shoreline Place Names Between Grand Island and Point Abbaye

Present Name	From Hubbard Maps	From the Kobawgams (Kidder MS.)
Grand Island	Ktche me nis sink (Grand Island)[a]	Kitchi minising
Au Train River	Me ta bwa nink sepe (Dog-train R.)	Mah daw bon ingk (going down or getting down – where a trail comes down to the beach)[b]
Rock River	Osqua na be konk Sepe (Flat Rock R.)	Z hosh quah naw be kaw Sibi (Slippery Rock R.)
Laughing [White] Fish Point	Ake tome ag wa pit (Laughing fish point)	[not named in Kidder listing]
Laughing Whitefish River	Te kun aig pwa pit (Laughing Fish R.)	Adikameg (Odekomeg?) Sibi
Sand River	Y' yia in kar to in gar Sepe (Little Sandy R.) (Cypress R.)	Ah nee kay dah wah gong Sibi
Shot Point	[not named on Hubbard map]	Ah nee kay dah wah gong (the next sand beach)
Chocolay River	Ktche me tow in gar Sepe (Big Sandy R.)	Kitchi Saw ging (Big Entry)
[has no present-day name]	[on Hubbard map shown as a hill symbol with the note "White Quartz 150 ft."]	O zah gee oh kaw wah be win (Sauk's Lookout)
Carp River	Ne may we ne Sepe (Carp R.)	Namay bine Sibi
Light House Point	[not named on Hubbard map]	Pah gee dah ah bay wee nay sing (set a line)
Dead River	[gives no Indian name; labels it "R. Des Morts"]	Kah way komi gong nay aw shay Sibi
Presque Isle	Mas ke ko maun (Lead Pt.)	Kah way komi gong nay aw shay (Point of Jealousy)
Sugar Loaf Mountain	[gives no Indian name; labels it "High granite peak"]	Do-do-so-ok-i-nong (woman's breast)
Granite Point (Little Presque Isle)	Kow wa kaw ne gonce (Granite Pt.)	Misquah be kaw sink
Garlic River	Okik wi Sebe (Kettle R.)[c]	See gaw ge wush sekong Sibi
Sauks Head Island	[not named on Hubbard map]	Ozah gee wush te gwong a go dayg minis
Yellow Dog River	Choau gar was go me non (Chien joan R.)	Shaw gha wah gume nong Sibie
Salmon Trout River	Mane ge ma que se wnik (Salmon Trout R.)	Maw shah may go seekong Sibi
Pine River	Ke kon do go konk Sepe (Pine R.)	Kah oh ke kan dah go kog Sibi (Spruce Pine R.)

Huron Islands	Mow is aw gon in Menis	O me ñah ah ko naw ningk
Huron River	Mow is aw gon in [Sepe]	Kitchi maw ees swa gun Sibi
Huron Bay	Ce be we gar mink	Sibi we gaum wi gung
Point Abbaye	Che nai osh (Pt. au Baine)	Kit-chi-Ne au shing

[a]The English names given by Hubbard are enclosed in parentheses.

[b]Additional notations by Kidder are enclosed in parentheses.

[c]Hubbard has Garlic River incorrectly located at Granite Point (Little Presque Isle). The stream located there is now called Harlow Creek. Hubbard gives no Chippewa name for his "Garlic R." At apparent location of Garlic River he has "Okik wi Sebe - Kettle R."

The second document dates from the early 1890s. During the years 1893-1895 a resident of Marquette by the name of Homer Huntington Kidder conducted interviews with the old Chippewa chief, Charlie Kobawgam, his wife, Charlotte, and Charlotte's part-Indian brother-in-law, Jacques Le Pique. One of the categories of information Kidder obtained from his respondents was the Chippewa names for the shoreline features between Grand Island and Point Abbaye. These he recorded in his notes on the interviews.[3]

Utilizing the Chippewa place names recorded in these two documents, along with other historical evidence, I will attempt to reconstruct and explain the Chippewa landscape nomenclature for the Lake Superior shoreline between Grand Island and Point Abbaye. Table 1 presents the Chippewa place names recorded by Hubbard and Kidder, along with the present-day nomenclature.

A note on sources is useful here. In researching the meaning of the Chippewa place names the most valuable reference was Bishop Baraga's *Dictionary of the Otchipwe Language*.[4] Baraga compiled his lexicon during his many years of missionary work among Lake Superior Chippewa in the mid-1800s. Another dictionary utilized was published by the International Colportage Mission in 1912.[5] I also found quite valuable the Chippewa vocabulary which Dr. Edwin James obtained from John Tanner in 1829. Tanner, captured as a boy in the 1770s, lived among the Chippewa for many years. His story, with the word lists, was originally published in 1830.[6] Utilizing these sources, and other documents, I have been able to translate most of the Chippewa place names. Several, however, continue to elude me.

Discussion of the Place Names

Grand Island. The present designation is an exact translation of the Chippewa name, *Kitchi minissing*. According to Baraga *Kitchi* =

"great," and *miniss* = "island."[7] The endings *ink* and *ing* are variations of the locative term for "the place of" or "at the place of."[8] Thus, *Kitchi minissing* means "the place of the great island."

Au Train River. Although *Me ta bwa nink* and *Mah daw bon ingk* appear to be different words, they are not. They are simply variations in pronunciation, or in rendering the word phonetically. In translating this place name several linguistic characteristics must be taken into consideration. The first of these is that there existed in Chippewa, as in all languages, dialects.[9] Thus, Hubbard's voyageurs, hired at Mackinac Island and Sault Ste. Marie, probably pronounced the place names differently than did the Chippewa band who lived in the Marquette area, from which the Kidder names originate. Another factor that helps explain the spelling differences is that Hubbard's names were recorded in 1840, and Kidder's in the 1890s. Spoken languages, especially those which are not in written form, as was the case with Chippewa, change with time.[10] A third consideration is that the "ear" of the two recorders for the phonetics of the Chippewa language undoubtedly differed. No two people hear sounds exactly alike. Finally, the difference in the second syllable, *ta* and *daw*, is explained by the fact that in the way the Chippewa spoke Algonquin, the sounds *t* and *d* were interchangeable.

Discovering the origin and meaning of this name entailed considerable difficulty. Hubbard suggests, by calling the stream "Dog-train R.," that it was named for the Indian dog sled, which the French called a "traineau," or "train de glis" (ice sled).[11] This, in my opinion, is incorrect. I suggest that Kidder's comment, "going down or getting down – where a trail comes down to the beach," comes closer to the original meaning. It appears that the name comes from the fact that one of the routes from Lake Superior to Little Bay de Noc on Lake Michigan followed this stream. The name appears to come from *madabon*, which, according to Baraga, means "to go on a river in a canoe to the lake, to the mouth of the river."[12] The first French rendering of this Chippewa name, found on the famous 1671 Jesuit map of Lake Superior, is *R. Mataban.*[13] The *ink* and *ingk* is the locative, meaning "the place of." When the voyageurs translated the Chippewa name into French they utilized "train," one of the meanings of which is "course, way."[14] Thus, the name "Au Train River," in essence means "the river of the trail."

That the name does not come, as has been suggested, from the voyageurs having to drag (*trainerant*) their canoes over the sand deposit at the river's mouth,[15] is obvious to anyone who knows the area or the canoeing methods of the voyageurs. The mouth of the Au Train River is at the bottom of a rather deep bay. Unless they were going to camp at the river,

the voyageurs would simply traverse the eight miles across the bay. This traverse was aided by the fact that there is an island, Au Train Island, about halfway across. If they happened to enter the bay and pass the river's mouth, the small sand delta at its mouth would not force them to get out of their canoe and drag it across the sand, as has been suggested. All they had to do to avoid this sand bar was to stand off a few yards further in the lake.

Rock River. Although Hubbard and Kidder recorded different letters for the phonetics they heard for this name, and the words appear to be quite dissimilar, close examination reveals that they were hearing the same Chippewa term. The first part of the name, *Osqua* or *Z hosh quah*, comes from *joshkwamagad* or *ozhahshahmugud*, which means "slippery."[16] The second part, *-a be k-* and *-aw be k-* is from *ajibik*, "rock."[17] The *onk* in the Hubbard name is another variation of the locative for "the place of." And, finally, *Sepe* or *Sibi* is the Chippewa generic term for "river." Thus, the Chippewa name for this stream means, as Kidder indicated, "Slippery Rock River."

Laughing [White] Fish Point. This name originates from the Chippewa words for "whitefish" and "laughing." Baraga gives *Atikameg* for whitefish,[18] while James recorded it from Tanner's pronunciation as *Ad-dik-kum-aig*.[19] The *wa pit* appears to come from *bapwin* "laughing."[20]

This name, according to one scholar, was given because the rocks at the tip of the point, when viewed from across the water, resembled the head of a laughing whitefish.[21] Although I cannot verify this theory by a contemporary citation, it may well be true. The fact that the descriptive name "Laughing Whitefish" was not followed by the generic, *neiashi* "point" suggests that the shape of the rock formation there was perceptually more important for naming purposes than its being a point projecting into the lake. Another factor which lends support to this thesis was the habit of the Indians of the Upper Great Lakes, who travelled mostly by canoe, of naming coastal landscape features after their imagined resemblance to an animal when viewed from across the water. Other examples of this type of naming are Porcupine Mountains, Sleeping Bear sand dunes, Beaver Island, and Mackinac Island (resembles a turtle). Somehow the "White" part of the Chippewa name has been lost from the present label for the point, but retained in the nearby river's name.

Laughing Whitefish River. Kidder's rendering of this name means "Whitefish River." Although this spelling of the Chippewa name for whitefish by Hubbard appears to be quite dissimilar from the one used for the nearby point, close inspection reveals that they are the same word. He just heard it a little differently the second time. Some of the variation

between Hubbard and Kidder in spelling the name may be explained by the fact that in Chippewa the *t* and *d* are interchangeable. Some early travel accounts give the name for this stream as "Laughing Fish River."[22]

Sand River. With some imagination it is possible to understand where Hubbard got *Y' yia in kar to in gar Sepe* for "Little Sandy R." *Y' yia in* is, I suggest, his phonetic rendering of *aiins*, which Baraga says means "little thing."[23] The *to in gar* is probably from *mitawanga*, "there is sand," or "there is a sandy beach."[24] And *Sepe*, of course, means "river." Hubbard gave the stream another name, "Cypress R.," probably from the fact that the sandy soil near the river's mouth was chiefly timbered by black pine which, in the scientific nomenclature of the time, was called *Pinus bansiana cypress*.[25]

Kidder's *Ah nee kay dah wah gong Sibi* means "approaching sandy beach place river," or, as he indicates in the Chippewa name for Shot Point, "the next sandy beach river." According to Baraga, the prefix *ani* (Ah nee) means "approaching towards."[26] The *dah wa g-* is probably from *mitawanga*, "there is a sandy beach," and *ong* is the locative for "place."

Shot Point. This point is not labeled by Hubbard. Kidder gives the Chippewa name as *Ah nee kay dah wah gong*, "the next sandy beach" (see discussion on Sand River). Charlotte Kobawgam's brother-in-law, Jacque Le Pique, told Kidder that the name "Shot Point" comes from the loss of a bag of shot by some men who camped there. Later, when one of them returned to the point, he found the bag broken and the shot spread on the ground.[27]

Chocolay River. Hubbard's Chippewa name for the Chocolay River means, as he indicates, Big (*Ktche*) Sandy (*me to in gar*; see discussion on Sand River) River (*Sepe*). Kidder gives the Chippewa name as *Kitchi Sawging*. This translates into "Big River Mouth Place" (*Sagi* = "the mouth of a river").[28] The present name was given by the French, and refers to the color of the river's water which, like many of the streams in the Great Lakes, is stained brown by tannic acid from the decaying vegetation in the many swamps and marshes along its course.[29]

Sauk's Lookout. Although this hill has no special name at the present time, it was an important landscape feature when the Chippewa occupied the Lake Superior shoreline. During the 1700s the Chippewa were engaged in a war with the Sauk who lived near Green Bay. One of the main war routes used by the Sauk raiding parties reached Lake Superior near the mouth of the Chocolay River. Just to the west of the river is a hill which gave the invading Sauk an excellent view of the shoreline for many miles eastward. This vantage point was utilized by the Sauk to discover

Chippewa who might be canoeing along the coast. As a result, this hill was called by the local Chippewa *O zah gee oh kaw wah be win*, which Chief Kobawgam said meant "Sauk's watch or lookout."[30] The first part of the name, *O zah gee,* means "Sauk." The *oh kaw wah* is from *okawia*, "I see his track," and the *be win* is apparently from *inabiwin*, "look, looking somewhere."[31] On Hubbard's map this knob is shown by a hill symbol and the notation "white quartz 150 ft." It is probably the rock knob atop what is locally called the "Harvey Quarry."

Carp River. It is obvious from both Hubbard's and Kidder's label for this stream that the Chippewa named it after a species of fish caught there. The fish the Chippewa were referring to is the one we presently call "sucker." Baraga gives the Chippewa name for "sucker" as *namebin*, and indicates that the fish was also called "carp."[32] From Tanner's pronunciation, James recorded it as *Nah-ma-bin*.[33] The Indians could not have named the stream after the fish we know as "carp," since the species was not found in North America until it was introduced from Europe in the 1800s.[34] Because of the sucker's resemblance to the carp they knew in Europe, the French applied that fish's name to those streams in the Great Lakes region which the Indians had named after the sucker.[35]

Light House Point. The rocky point within the city of Marquette, which has been called Light House Point since the construction of that navigational aid in 1866, was named by the local Chippewa after an activity carried out there. Chief Kobawgam told Kidder that his band called the point *Pah gee dah ah bay wee nay sing*, and, apparently, indicated this meant "set a line." This term is a typical Chippewa place name, being a three-part compound. The first section of the name appears to be from *pagidabi*, "I set a line with hooks, to catch fish."[36] The remaining parts are probably from *winawa*, "they," and the locative for place, *ing*.[37] Hubbard did not apply a name to this point on his map, but indicates that the kind of rock found there is "hornblendic granite."

Dead River. This river discharges into Lake Superior within the city of Marquette, near Presque Isle. Hubbard does not give the Indian name, rather, the French *R. Des Morts* "River of the Dead." The Chippewa name Chief Kobawgam gave Kidder, *Kah way komi gong nay aw shay Sibi*, is, with the exception of *Sibi* "river," transferred from the nearby point (Presque Isle) of the same name, and means "Point of Jealousy River" (see following discussion on Presque Isle).

Some 19th century travellers claim that the Dead River was called *Ne kom e non* by the Chippewa.[38] That *Ne kom e non* means "Dead River" is not completely verified by my research. However, with the use of some imagination, such a translation may be effected. According to Baraga, the

Chippewa word for "to die" is *nib*; "death" would be *nibowin*.[39] It is possible the *Ne* is *nib* with a silent *b* when used in a compound word. The *kom e* could be *gomee*, which, according to Schoolcraft, is one of the Chippewa words for "water."[40] The *non* could be a shortened *nong*, one of the many variations of the Chippewa locative for "the place of." Thus, if these educated guesses are correct, *Ne kom e non* could mean "the place of the dead water." Evidence favoring this interpretation is found on a French map published in 1744.[41] On it, between Grand Island and the Huron Islands, is shown a river which is labeled *R. au Paresseux*. *Paresseux* means "lazy, sluggish, slow."[42] Knowing the voyageur habit of attempting to translate the Indian place names into comparable French terms, this Chippewa name for the river may refer to the mile or so of slow (dead) water between its mouth and the first rapids. This became the *R. au Paresseux* or *R. Des Morts* of the voyageurs. The 1809 comment by John Johnston, an English fur trader from the (Michigan) Sault, that at the neck of Presque Isle issues a "torpid stream, called Dead R.," lends additional credence to this thesis.[43]

Presque Isle[44]. Hubbard gives the Chippewa name for this promontory as *Mas ke ko maun*, and suggests that the term means "Lead Pt." It appears that he is correct. Baraga gave the Chippewa name for lead as *ashkikoman*.[45] This is very close to the Hubbard rendition. "Point" would be *neiashi*.[46] Thus, the full Chippewa name for this point would have been *Ashkikoman Neiashi*. The Indians utilized the minerals found on the point to make a black dye.[47]

It appears that the local Chippewa band had another name for Presque Isle, or had renamed it during the fifty years since Hubbard traversed the shoreline. Chief Kobawgam said the local band's label for the point was *Kah way komi gong nay aw shay*, which meant "Point of Jealousy." This compound appears to be from *gawewin*, "jealousy"; *Kamig*, "ground"; *ong*, "place of"; and *neiashi*, "point."[48]

Sugar Loaf Mountain. Hubbard recorded no name for this conspicuous rock knob located near the lake shore a few miles west of Presque Isle. On his map he simply labeled it "High granite peak." The Chippewa, however, did have a specific name for it. Perhaps Hubbard was reluctant to record the Indian label because of its reference to the female anatomy. Many shoreline landform features, as previously indicated, were named by the Indians from their resemblance to familiar objects when viewed from across the water. The symmetrical peak, when viewed from the lake, reminded the Chippewa of a woman's breast; as pronounced by Kobawgam, *Do-do-so-ok-i-nong*. Schoolcraft recorded this peak's name as *Tatosh*.[49] This inconsistency in spelling can be explained by the fact that,

according to Baraga, "It is often impossible to ascertain, by the pronunciation of an Indian, whether the word begins with a D or T."[50] With the *ong* termination, the Kobawgam name means "the place of the woman's breast." American settlers often renamed such symmetrical peaks "sugarloaf." This designation comes from the resemblance of these peaks to the conical-shaped loaves in which sugar was sold in the early 1800s.[51]

Granite Point (Little Presque Isle.) Both of these names are utilized for this point on the United States Geological Survey topographic maps. When first mentioned in American accounts the point was a smaller version of Presque Isle to the east. The French voyageurs probably called it *Petit Presque Isle*. It was a granite mass connected to the mainland by a narrow neck of red sandstone. In 1820 Henry Rowe Schoolcraft christened it "Granite Point" because it was the first granite outcrop he encountered in canoeing westward along Lake Superior's southern shore.[52] Thus, the point came to have the dual nomenclature. The neck of sandstone has since that time been breached by wave action and the point is now an island.

On first inspection, the Chippewa names given by Hubbard and Kidder for this point appear to be quite different. I feel, however, that they are the same word. The difference in spelling may be explained by the time lapse between their recording, and the variation in pronunciation between Hubbard's voyageur informant and Kidder's – Chief Kobawgam. The old chief gave the name as *Misquah be kaw sink*. I suggest that this means "place of the red rock." The *Misqu-* is obviously *miskwa, "red"; -ah be kaw* from *ajibik*, "rock"; and *sink* another variation of the locative termination for "place of."[53] Hubbard gave the Chippewa name as *Kow wa kaw ne gonce*. The *gonce* ending is yet another rendition of the word for "place of." The remainder of the word has enough similarity to the Kidder spelling to suggest that they are the same.

Garlic River. This small stream enters Lake Superior a few miles west of Granite Point. Hubbard incorrectly locates it at Granite Point and gives no Indian name for it. At the apparent correct location of Garlic River he wrote on his map "Okik wi Sebe - Kettle R." Kobawgam told Kidder the Chippewa called Garlic River *See gaw ge wush sekong Sibi*. This I translate as "Skunk Weed Place River." The *see gaw ge wush sek-* is from *Shig-gau-ga-win-zheeg*, "skunkweed or onion";[54] the *ong* and *Sibi* are, respectively, "place of" and "river."

Sauks Head Island. Hubbard does not label this island. The Kobawgams, however, related to Kidder not only the Chippewa name, but also a legend which explained the origin of the name. According to Charlotte and her brother-in-law, Jacques Le Pique, the island received its name

from the fact that the "heads" (scalps?) of two Sauk Indians killed by a Chippewa were once hung upon some tree branches there.[55] The Kobawgams gave the name for the island as *Ozah gee wush te gwong a go dayg minis*. This, I suggest, means "The Island Where the Sauk Heads Hang." The *Ozah gee* is from *Osagi*, "Sauk Indian"; *wush te gwong* from *oshtigwan*, "his head"; *a go dayg* from *agodeg*, "they hung up"; and *miniss*, "island."[56] For the point just to the west of the island the Chippewa substituted *neiash* "point" *for miniss*. And, for the nearby lake, they added *sawga eegun* (from *sagaiigan*, "small or inland lake") to the basic stem.

Yellow Dog River. Although the Kobawgams told Kidder this stream's name commemorates a Chippewa who was killed there by Sauk Indians,[57] the Chippewa name does not appear to fully verify this. Hubbard spells the name *Choau gar was go me non*; Kidder recorded it as *Shaw gha wah gume nong Sibie*. *Choau gar was* and *Shaw gha wah* appear to be from *osawa*, "yellow";[58] *gome* or *gume* is one of the Chippewa words for water;[59] *non* or *nong* is the locative for "place of"; and *Sibi* is, of course, "river." Thus, the name as recorded by both Hubbard and Kidder would appear to translate into "Place of the Yellow Water River."[60] No where in the name can I distinguish any letter combination that could originate from the Chippewa term for dog, *animosh*. Due to the tannic acid picked up from decaying vegetation in swamps and marshes, many of the streams flowing into Lake Superior have a yellow or brown tint. Perhaps this stream's name refers to that characteristic. Hubbard also includes the French term for the river, *Chien joan R*. This name, which does translate into "Yellow Dog River" (*Chien*, "dog"; *juane*, "yellow"), is undoubtedly the source for the present name. Some early American travellers along this coast, misunderstanding their voyageur's pronunciation, recorded the river's name as "St. John's," or "St. Jean River."[61]

Salmon Trout River. According to Baraga, the Chippewa name for salmon-trout was *majamegoss*.[62] But what species of fish was the "salmon-trout"? Edwin James, in the list of fish names he obtained from John Tanner in 1829, gives the Chippewa name for "brook trout" as *Na-zhumma-goosh*.[63] I suggest that these two names refer to the same fish. Thus, it appears that the "salmon-trout" is the fish which today is called the "brook" or "speckled" trout. The Chippewa name for this stream which Kobawgam gave Kidder, *Maw shah may go seekong Sibi*, is similar to the Baraga and Tanner spellings. The Kobawgun name would translate into "Salmon [Brook] Trout Place River": *Maw shah may go see-* from *majamegoss*, "salmon [brook]-trout"; *-kong*, "place"; and *sibi*, "river." Although Hubbard does apply the label "Salmon Trout" to the

stream, his rendering of the Chippewa name as *Mane ge ma que se wnik* is unrecognizable.

Pine River. Were it not for the prefix *Kah oh* in the Kidder rendition of this stream's name, its translation would be uncomplicated. In both the Kidder and Hubbard spellings, the basic stem appears to be from the Chippewa word for spruce tree as given by Tanner, *Kik-kaun-dug*.[64] The suffixes *konk*, *Kog*, and *sepe*, *sibi*, translate, respectively, as "place of," and "river." Thus, the stream's Chippewa name would appear to mean "Spruce Place River." I cannot make out the meaning of *Kah oh* in the Kobawgam version. It does not seem to come from the word for pine tree, which Baraga gives as *jingwak*,[65] and the Colportage dictionary as *shingwauk*.[66] James has *shin-gwawk* for "yellow pine."[67]

Huron Islands and River. With the use of some imagination it is possible to translate the Kobawgam name for the Huron Islands, *O me nah ah ko naw ningk*, as "Place of the Gathering of Edible Moss [lichens]." The *O me* may come from "he gathers it together," which the Colportage dictionary gives as *omahwunjeaun*.[68] The *nah ah ko naw n-* may be the Chippewa word for edible moss or lichens which Tanner pronounced *Wah-ko-nug*.[69] The *-ingk* is probably yet another variation of the word for "place of." The moss referred to may be that which the Indians ate when near starvation, called *Tripe de roche* by the French.

The stem of the other three names for the Huron Islands and river in Table 1, although apparently quite different from the one discussed above, appear to have the same origin. The main difference in the names is that a variation in the name for edible moss is utilized. The *Mow is* of Hubbard and the *maw ees* of Kidder may also be from the Chippewa word for "gathering." The *aw gon* and *wa gun* appear to be from the word which Baraga and the Colportage dictionary give for edible moss, *wakon* and *wahkoon*.[70] *Kitchi* and *Sepe* or *Sibi*, as stated previously, mean "large," and "river."

The name "Huron" applied to the river, islands, and nearby bay during historic times may be related to the Iroquois conquest of the Huron's Ontario homeland in 1649. In their attempt to escape the Iroquois many of the surviving Hurons moved to western Lake Superior. It may be that a band of Hurons camped at the mouth of the Huron River during this period.

Huron Bay. The Chippewa apparently named this bay for its resemblance to a river. Both the Hubbard and Kidder renditions may be translated as "River Bay Place." The *Ce be* and *Sibi* is the Chippewa word for "river." I suggest that the *we gar m-* and *we gaum wi g-* are variations of the word for bay, which Baraga gives as *wikwed* (*wikwedong*, "in a

bay'').[71] The terminal locative for place, *-ink* and *-ung* completes the descriptive place name.

The rendering of the Chippewa name for Huron Bay by three members of the 1840 Houghton expedition well illustrates the difficulty of dealing with Indian names. Hubbard heard it as *Ce be we gar mink*. Charles W. Penny recorded it as *Seepeeweeshee*.[72] And Dr. Douglass Houghton, the leader of the expedition, wrote it *Sepeweeghemec*.[73] No two Indians, or voyageurs, pronounced a place name exactly alike. And no two individuals hearing the name would spell it the same way when they wrote it down.

Point Abbaye. Both the Hubbard and Kidder spelling of this place name are easily translated into ''Big Point,'' or, in the case of the Kidder spelling, ''Big Point Place.'' [*Kit*] *Che* or *Kit-chi* is Chippewa for ''big'' or ''great.'' The *nai osh* and *Ne aw sh-* are obviously from *neiashi*, the Chippewa generic for ''point.''[74] And the *-ing* in the Kidder version means ''place.''

The voyageurs apparently labeled the point *Pointe au Baye* (Point of the Bay, spelled *Pt. au Baine* by Hubbard) from the fact that it projected into Keweenaw Bay. Penny recorded it as *Obain*.[75] In 1831 Henry Rowe Schoolcraft recorded the point's name as *Point Aux Beignes*; this he translated (incorrectly, I suggest) as ''Pancake Point.''[76]

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Notes:

[1]For example, the Chippewa name for the Porcupine Mountains was *Kag Wadjiw* (*kag* = porcupine; *wadjiw* = mountain). The voyageurs translated the Indian name into ''Montagne du Porc-epic.''

[2]The Hubbard maps are in a notebook entitled ''Draft of Southern Coast of Lake Superior and Meteorological Journal Accompanying Notes from May 26 to July 31, 1840,'' located in the Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. They are published through the courtesy of the Bentley Historical Library.

[3]The manuscript notes of these interviews, entitled ''Ojibwa Myths and Halfbreed Tales Related By Charles and Charlotte Kobawagam and Jacques Le Pique 1893–1895,'' are located in the collection of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

[4]R. R. Bishop Baraga, *A Dictionary of the Otchipwe Language, Explained in English* (Minneapolis: Ross & Haines, Inc., 1973). Originally published in 1878.

[5]International Colportage Mission, *A Cheap and Concise Dictionary of the Ojibwa and English Languages* (Toronto: 1912).

[6]*A Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner During Thirty Years Residence Among the Indians in the Interior of North America*, prepared for the press by Edwin James (Minneapolis: Ross & Haines, Inc., 1956).

[7]Baraga, Part I, pp. 120, 147. For a discussion of the place names along the Pictured Rocks (east of Grand Island on fig. 1) see Bernard C. Peters, ''The Origin and Meaning of Place Names along

Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore," *Michigan Academician*, XIV (Summer 1981), pp. 41–55.

[8]Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs of a Residence of Thirty Years With the Indian Tribes on the American Frontiers* (New York: Arno Press, 1975), pp. 443–444, 447. See also Chief MAC-E-TE-BE-NESSY (Andrew J. Blackbird), *History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan* (Ypsilanti: Ypsilantian Job Printing House, 1887), p. 108.

[9]Letter from Reverend W. T. Boutwell to Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, October 15, 1832. In Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs*, p. 427.

[10]Schoolcraft commented on this change in the Chippewa language through time. *Personal Memoirs*, p. 125.

[11]The Chippewa name for their dog sled was *nobugidaban (nobug* = flat; *doban* = drag). Frances Densmore, *Chippewa Customs* (Minneapolis: Ross & Haines, Inc., 1970), p. 136.

[12]Baraga, Part II, p. 201.

[13]See Plate V in Louis C. Karpinski, *Bibliography of the Printed Maps of Michigan, 1804–1880* (Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission, 1931).

[14]Abel and Marguerite Chevalley, *The Concise Oxford French Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934), p. 828.

[15]William F. Gagnieur, "Indian Place Names in the Upper Peninsula, and their Interpretation," *Michigan History*, 2 (1918), p. 539; and William Donohue Ellis, "Names on the Land," *Inland Seas*, 30 (1974), p. 248.

[16]Baraga, Part II, p. 176; Colportage, Part I, p. 87.

[17]Baraga, Part II, p. 22.

[18]*Ibid*, p. 55. According to Schoolcraft, the word means literally "deer of the water." It comes from *addik* "raindeer" and *gumaig* "water." Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Summary Narrative of an Exploratory Expedition to the Source of the Mississippi River in 1820: Resumed and Completed by the Discovery of its Origin in Itasca Lake, in 1832* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, and Co., 1855), p. 415.

[19]James, p. 311.

[20]Baraga, Part II, p. 69.

[21]Rankin Place Names Card File, Marquette County Historical Society Library.

[22]Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Narrative Journal of Travels From Detroit Northwest Through the Great Chain of American Lakes to the Sources of the Mississippi River in the Year 1820* (Albany: E. and E. Hosford, 1821), p. 157; Thomas L. McKenney, *Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes* (Minneapolis: Ross and Haines, Inc., 1959), p. 232.

[23]Baraga, Part II, p. 19.

[24]*Ibid.*, p. 253.

[25]Dr. Douglass Houghton used this nomenclature in 1840. See his "Transcript of Field Notes for 1840," Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, entry for September 11.

[26]Baraga, Part II, p. 34.

[27]Kidder MS., p. 252.

[28]Baraga, Part II, p. 360; Schoolcraft gives it as *Gitchi Sebeeng*, from *gitche*, "great," *sebee*, "river," and the local terminal *ng*, signifying place. *Summary Narrative*, p. 88.

[29]For a discussion on the naming of Lake Superior's dark water streams see Bernard C. Peters, "The Origin of Some Stream Names Along Michigan's Lake Superior Shoreline," *Inland Seas*, 37 (1981), pp. 6–12.

[30]Kidder MS., p. 252.

[31]Baraga, Part II, pp. 152 and 321.

[32]Baraga, Part II, p. 269.

[33]James, p. 311.

[34]Robin A. Drews and Eugene T. Peterson, "The Carp in Michigan," *Michigan History*, 41 (1957), p. 93.

[35]For a more detailed discussion of this thesis, see Peters, "The Origin of Some Stream Names Along Michigan's Lake Superior Shoreline."

[36]Baraga, Part II, p. 340.

[37]*Ibid.*, p. 418.

[38]John R. St. John, *A True Description of the Lake Superior Country* (New York: William H. Graham, 1846), p. 23; J. W. Foster and J. D. Whitney, *Geology of the Lake Superior Land District, Part II, The Iron Region, Together with the General Geology* (Washington, D.C.: Printed by A. Boyd Hamilton, 1851), p. 399.

[39]Baraga, Part II, pp. 283, 285.

[40]Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs*, p. 178.

[41]N. Bellin, "Carte Des Lacs Du Canada," 1744. Reproduced in Louis C. Karpinski, *Historical Atlas of the Great Lakes and Michigan* (Lansing: The Michigan Historical Commission, 1931), p. 43.

[42]Chevalley, p. 607.

[43]John Johnston, "An Account of Lake Superior: 1792–1807," in L. R. Masson, *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest* (New York: Antiquarian Press Ltd., 1960), p. 158.

[44]A very common name in the Great Lakes. The French applied it to many points which were "almost an island."

[45]Baraga, Part II, p. 49.

[46]*Ibid.*, p. 281.

[47]Johnston, p. 158.

[48]Baraga, Part II, pp. 127, 180, 281.

[49]Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs*, p. 354. Baraga spells it "totosh."

[50]Baraga, Part II, p. VII.

[51]Erwin G. Gudde, "Sugarloaf," *Names*, 4 (1956), pp. 241–243.

[52]Schoolcraft, *Narrative Journal*, p. 158. Schoolcraft includes a stratographic cross-section of the rocks of the point in his book.

[53]Baraga, Part II, pp. 22, 250.

[54]James, p. 298. It would appear that this is also the root word for Chicago.

[55]Kidder MS., pp. 309–315.

[56]Baraga, Part II, pp. 10, 242, 333, 336.

[57]Kidder MS., pp. 309–315.

[58]Baraga, Part II, p. 334.

[59]See footnote #40.

[60]A fur trader who was fluent in Chippewa gives the stream's name as simply "Yellow River." William Johnston, "Letters on the Fur Trade 1833," *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 37 (1909), p. 151.

[61]Schoolcraft, *Summary Narrative*, p. 376; James L. Carter and Ernest H. Rankin (eds.), *North to Lake Superior: the Journal of Charles W. Penny, 1840* (Marquette: The John M. Longyear Research Library, 1970), p. 35; Ralph H. Brown (ed.), "With Cass in the Northwest in 1820: The Journal of Charles C. Trowbridge," *Minnesota History*, 23 (1942), p. 237.

[62]Baraga, Part II, p. 207.

[63]James, p. 311.

[64]James, p. 293.

[65]Baraga, Part II, p. 173.

[66]Colportage Mission, Part I, p. 68.

[67]James, p. 293.

[68]Colportage Mission, Part I, p. 34.

[69]James, p. 299.

[70]Baraga, Part II, p. 398; Colportage Mission, Part I, p. 58.

[71]Baraga, Part II, p. 417.

[72]Carter and Rankin, p. 37.

[73]Map of the Upper Peninsula in Douglass Houghton, "Transcript of Field Notes for 1840," Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

[74]Baraga, Part II, p. 281.

[75]Carter and Rankin, p. 37.

[76]Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs*, p. 355.