

Two Maliseet Derivatives in Current Maine and New Brunswick Forestland Speech: *Logan and Bogan*

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When Henry Thoreau visited the area beyond the headwaters of the Kennebec and Penobscot, the Indians he came in contact with were probably Maliseet.¹ Further, the various non-Indian contacts he made – loggers, surveyors, hunters – probably had had more exposure to Maliseet culture than to any other Algonquian culture. To be sure, he was accompanied on his second trip and on his third by Indian guides – by Joe Aitteon on the second, by Joe Polis on the third. Both were Penobscot, hence Eastern Abenaki; but once north of Millinocket on the east and Moosehead Lake on the west or, better, once in what is now Piscataquis County – particularly in the Allagash area – his contacts with Penobscots were likely to have been minimal since Indians there were Maliseet, people belonging to the land covering the lower half of New Brunswick and almost all the uppermost fourth of Maine.²

Thoreau made three trips into the Maine logging wilderness. He made the first in September 1846 and visited the Katahdin region. He made the second in September 1853 and visited Chesuncook Lake. He made the third mid-summer of 1857 and this took him further north than the two preceding trips. He reached Chamberlain Lake, a feeder lake of the Allagash and not very distant from the Saint John, which, although it rises in Maine, is traditionally the great artery of the New Brunswick logging industry.³

Presumably Thoreau made journal entries on each trip and from these produced the three essays which eventually were lumped together in 1864, two years after his death, and published under the title *The Maine Woods* by Ticknow and Field of Boston. The editor was Thoreau's friend William Ellery Channing, who appears to have been given assistance by Thoreau's sister Sophia. When the first two essays are cited by lexicographers, however, the Ticknow and Field year is not used. The first essay,

“Ktaadn,” was first published in 1848 in John Sartain’s *Union Magazine of Literature and Art*, and lexicographic citations usually bear this date. The second essay, “Chesuncook,” was first published in *The Atlantic Monthly* in 1858 and citations are dated accordingly. But the third essay, “The Allagash and East Branch,” did not appear in Thoreau’s lifetime although it and an “Appendix” listing Maine flora and fauna make up current editions of *The Maine Woods*.⁴ It poses some lexicographic problems. Thoreau appears to have been editing it prior to his death but seems not to have completed the task. This was done by Channing and Thoreau’s sister. Hence dating citations from it for lexicographic purposes has to settle on the year 1864 and not on 1862, the year of his death, and not on 1858, the year of the trip.⁵

I mention the dating problem because in each essay of *The Maine Woods* the word *pokelogan* appears in one form or another and because Thoreau’s use of it makes up the first contextual use in printed American English. (Forms of it appear as place-name elements earlier than Thoreau’s use of it, but this I take up later.) In “Ktaadn” Thoreau writes, “Now and then we passed what McCauslin [a non-Indian guide] called a pokelogan, an Indian term for what the drivers might have reason to call poke-logs-in, an inlet that leads nowhere: if you get in you have to get out the same way.”⁶ He then remarks that pokelogans are not like the “run-rounds” in a river which enter at one point and emerge again lower down. In “Chesuncook” he italicizes the word, no doubt as a signal to indicate that it is something apart. He writes, “They [moose tracks] were particularly numerous where there was a small bay or *pokelogan*, as it is called, bordered by a strip of meadow . . .”⁷ In “Allagash” he offers a different spelling of the word. He capitalizes it, italicizes it, and puts it in quotations marks. He writes, “He [Joe Polis] used the word ‘*Spokelogan*’ (for an inlet in the shore which led nowhere), and when I asked him its meaning said that there was ‘no Indian in ‘em.’”⁸ Just what “no Indian in ‘em’” means is not clear and Thoreau offers no explanation. The altered spelling of the “Allagash” word is noteworthy. Thoreau apparently thought it the proper one for, to quote the editor of the Princeton edition of the *Maine Woods*, on the “organization sheet . . . among the Houghton Library fragments . . . Thoreau directs that the Indian noun ‘*spokelogan*’ should always be spelled thus . . .”⁹ The editors of the Riverside edition and the Princeton edition of the *Maine Woods* do not emend – “normalize” – *spokelogan* to *pokelogan* in the “Ktaadn” and “Chesuncook” essays because alteration would spoil the folk etymology “poke-logs-in” present in its first use.¹⁰

As already noted, Thoreau's "Ktaadn" offers the first contextual use of *pokelogan* in printed American English. However, the same year that the essay "Ktaadn" was printed, the first edition of John Bartlett's *Dictionary of Americanisms* appeared and here the word (spelled *pokeloken*) is given the definition: "An Indian word, used by hunters and lumbermen in Maine, to denote a marshy place or stagnant pool, extending into the land from a stream or river,"¹¹ Since Bartlett mentions "marshy or stagnant pool" and Thoreau does not, one can assume that Bartlett drew on evidence other than Thoreau's essay and, as pointed out later, the marshy nature of a *pokelogan* is one of its distinctive features. But subsequent American English lexicons do not cite the first edition of Bartlett's *Dictionary*. Thoreau quotations are placed first after the entry *pokelogan* in *The Dictionary of American English* and in *The Dictionary of Americanisms*. The same can be said of the *OED*, where the word appears after a double vertical to indicate that it is "not naturalized" and where it is vaguely localized by the abbreviation "U.S." All supporting evidence in dictionaries subsequent to the Thoreau quotation of 1848 show *pokelogan* used and then defined in context or as a headword taken from a specialized glossary where it is given a brief definition.

Malcolm Townsend's *omnium gatherum* of Americana *An Index to the U.S.A. Historical, Geographical and Political* of 1890¹² prints a "Glossary of Geographical Terms" in which *pokelogan* appears and which says it is a word for the cove or backwater of a river and that it is commonly used in Maine. Whether in 1890 it was commonly used in Maine is debatable, but Townsend's entry caught Dr. Meredith Burrill's eye during a time when he was collecting generics derivable from standard maps of the country. In an article "Toponymic Generics" published in *Names* in 1956, he admits that he had never heard Townsend's word and could find no material to illuminate it. He says he dispatched an inquiry to his father, "a lifelong resident" of Maine "who fished in countless waters and hunted in every section." Burrill's father answered that he never heard of the word but would call the thing it referred to a *bogan*.¹³ Burrill, who incidentally does not mention Thoreau, concludes by saying that on a visit, made after the query sent to his father, he did encounter place-names in the Bay of Fundy area wherein *pokelogan* appears as an element. This arouses a feeling that the word was as much at home in the east of Canada as it was in the northeast of the United States. The entry *pokelogan* in Walter Avis's *Dictionary of Canadianisms*¹⁴ seems to bear this out. Here the first attestation is not from Thoreau. It is a quotation from Anthony Lockwood's *A Brief Description of Nova Scotia* published in 1818: "At the head of this bay, is good shelter in a place called Poklogan." The other

attestations are also Canadian – one from Thomas Chandler Haliburton’s *Nature and Human Nature* of 1855 and two from Hodge and White’s *Indians of Canada* of 1913.

Actually Canadian toponymic variants of Thoreau’s *pokelogan* are particularly rich and early. Lockwood’s 1818 can be pushed back. In William F. Ganong’s *A Monograph of the Evolution of the Boundaries of the Province of New Brunswick*, there is a reproduction of a map “A Plan of . . . New Brunswick” compiled by the “Surveyor General George Sproule.”¹⁵ The original is dated 1786 and shows just above Maes’s Bay (now Mace Bay) a Pocologin Stream and at its mouth Pocologin Ducks, apparently offshore ledges. Elsewhere Ganong lists a Popelogan Brook in Charlotte County and derives it from Maliseet Pec-e-láy-gan “a place for stopping,”¹⁶ a derivation pretty much like that give in *Webster’s Third* and in Avis’s *Dictionary*. He also lists another Popelogan Brook, this one on the Restigouche, and notes “A Micmac chief told me it was a bad place to get logs out of – must be named for that” – this certainly echoing what Thoreau says about the *pokelogan* in the “Chesuncook” essay.¹⁷

Thoreau’s use of *pokelogan* in *The Maine Woods* is just about the only valid reason for entering it in a lexicon such as *Webster’s Third*. It never really seems to have settled into a stable orthographic form either in place-names or glossaries.¹⁸ The same cannot be said of what look like aphetic derivatives of it – the words *logan* and *bogan*. They mean now what *pokelogan* meant in Thoreau’s time. Neither the *OED* nor its various *Supplements* lists them, but both are in *Webster’s Second* and in *Webster’s Third*. Neither appears in *The Dictionary of Americanisms*, although both do in *A Dictionary of Americanisms*. In the latter work, attestation is disappointing. *Bogan* is supported solely by a quotation from a letter to the *Journal of American Folklore* of 1903 written by William F. Ganong.¹⁹ *Logan* is supported by a quotation from an essay describing a Canadian forestland trip which appeared in *Harper’s Magazine* of 1881, by a quotation from the letter just mentioned used to support *bogan*, by a glossary quotation from a Bureau of Forestry Bulletin of 1905,²⁰ and by a quotation from Louise Dickinson Rich’s *We Took to the Woods* of 1942. (The last is surprising – The quotation uses *logan* but does not then define it in context.) Avis’s *Dictionary of Canadianisms* does not enter *logan*, but does enter – as it should – its synonym *bogan*, and here attestation is disappointing. There are only two citations, both by William F. Ganong. One is a definition of 1896 – “. . . A marshy cove by a stream, also, bogan-hole”²¹ – and the other is a quotation from the entry *bogan* in the *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* of 1907,²² which simply paraphrases Ganong’s letter of 1903 mentioned above. Thoreau, so far as

I am aware, uses neither *logan* nor *bogan* and the question arises – are the two words, like *pokelogan*, no longer in current use but logged in comprehensive dictionaries only because of their presence in older glossaries and because of their presence as place-name elements in Maine and New Brunswick?²³

Frederick C. Mish, editorial director of Merriam-Webster Inc., was kind enough to send me a photocopy of what his files contain as backing for the Merriam entries *pokelogan*, *logan*, and *bogan*. The only evidence it shows of *pokelogan* used in prose context is taken from the Burrill article in *Names* of 1956. (I have no doubt that the Merriam editors are aware of Thoreau's use of the word.) It shows *bogan* in prose context in a *Nature Magazine* article of February 1951 and in a *MacLean's Magazine* article of June 1938.²⁴ It shows *logan* used in prose context in Kenneth Roberts' *Arundel* of 1938, in an article (undated) "Maine Canoeing," in a story by Ben Ames Williams in *The Saturday Evening Post* of 1926, in a clipping (undated) "probably from the Lewiston Journal," in Ernest Thompson Seton's *Lives of the Game Animals* of 1926, and in a squib by John Gould from the *Christian Science Monitor* of 1979. This is attestation enough to keep the three words in comprehensive and out of collegiate dictionaries. I should add, however, that the greater number of attestations for *bogan* and *logan* in the Merriam photocopy show them used and then defined in context. For example, an *Arundel* quotation reads "The river banks were fertile . . . with . . . indentations called logans on the Kennebec." What other evidence the Merriam photocopy shows is taken from special glossaries or from older dictionaries, both of which can themselves derive from other glossaries and dictionaries. There is a conclusion. *Bogan* and *logan*, like *pokelogan*, are not part of the printed lexicon general readers are expected to be familiar with.

That *pokelogan* is a Maliseet origin I do not doubt.²⁵ The localities with which it is first associated as well as evidence of initial attestation point to such an origin.²⁶ Whether *logan* and *bogan* also derive directly from Maliseet is open to question. I doubt that they are. Direct answers to queries concerning their origin posed to Algonquian specialists have not been positive. They have been, what answers I did receive, evasive. However, in a letter (dated March 20, 1984), Hamill Kenny of Annapolis, Maryland, does offer an explanation of the initial voiced labial of *bogan*, something overlooked in its etymology in *Webster's Third* and in *Avis's Dictionary of Cananadianisms*. "Bogen [sic]," he writes, ". . . comes from Primitive Algonquian (PA) *poxkwi "break, penetrate." It is spelled with a *b* in Ojibwa . . . *Poxkwi- appears in all forms of pocologan, whether as pok-, bog-, poughe-, pope- et al." For my own part,

however, I cannot but feel that both *bogan* and *logan* derive from Maine or New Brunswick lumberman modifications of *pokelogan* and not directly from any Maliseet lexemes. For me the feeling persists even though I hesitate to cast aside views which appear to differ from my own.

In December of 1983 I queried by letter fifty game wardens and professional guides in Maine and fifty forest rangers in New Brunswick about current oral use of the three words and about their current semantic features. Returns after three months (twenty-five from Maine, twenty-three from New Brunswick) are revealing. No Maine respondent admitted oral use or knowledge of *pokelogan* although two said it reminded them of a place-name they had heard of in New Brunswick. (One noted that he thought it the name of “a camp owned by Tom Durant” on Big Kennebago in the Rangeley Lake area.) New Brunswick respondents also denied oral use of the word although two felt older people might have used it. All except two said it reminded them of one or more place-names wherein *pocologan* appears as an element.²⁷ This is pretty hard evidence that Thoreau’s word is no longer current in the forestland of Maine or New Brunswick.

Logan and *bogan* drew positive responses. Both are much in oral use, but preference of one over the other and specific meanings have their complexity. All respondents in the Bay of Fundy area wrote that they heard and used *bogan* and the majority also said they knew of *logan* as a synonym. Most respondents resident in Aroostook County in Maine wrote that they were familiar with both terms, the majority, however, saying that in oral use they favored *bogan* over *logan*. Respondents resident in the three counties south of Aroostook – Somerset, Piscataquis and Penobscot – wrote that they were familiar with *logan* because they heard it and used it. Several wrote that they had knowledge of *bogan* but rarely used it. Several said they had never heard the word *bogan*. The pattern is predictable: linguistically Aroostook equates with the Saint John River area and is in this distinct from central and southern Maine.²⁸

Answers to my questionnaire were occasionally rich (and sometimes contradictory) when detailing just what *bogan* and *logan* mean. Warden Roland Pelletier of Houlton, Aroostook County, objected to my calling a *bogan* an “inlet” in the questionnaire. “We do not describe a *bogan* as an inlet,” he wrote. “If the *bogan* had an inlet, it was usually named after the brook, or inlet, but a *bogan* by itself fits . . . a backwater of sorts usually rimmed with dri-kie.”²⁹ Pelletier noted that *bogan* is common in place-names. “I drove logs,” he wrote, “when I was in high school . . . and was aware of several bogans – Dan’s Bogan at the mouth of [the] Allagash, Saucy Bogan at the mouth of [the] Saint Francis. There were several

bogans . . . that had names of brooks or inlets – Farley Bogan below Michaud Farm [a town on the Allagash] . . . Bogan Brook on the Saint John’s River.”

When answers to my questionnaire were detailed – and a gratifying number were – there was a consistent association of *bogan* and *logan* with logging activity. Forest Ranger W. W. Chase of Chipman, New Brunswick, wrote:

The word [bogan] would be used in stream drives in the spring when the high water would put the logs into low depressions off the main stream or river. The logs would sometimes have to be yarded with horses out to the main river if the water dropped too much. These places were called “back bogan[s]” or “bogan hole[s]”. The word . . . was also used in “boganning” out wood, this . . . comes from when they had to haul pulp out of these bogan holes with horse and drag sled during the pulp stream drives.³⁰

Occasional glosses for *logan* and *bogan* suggest that the two mean nothing more than “swamp.” In 1913 George Allan England defined *logan* as “a damp thicket” and in 1914 George D. Chase defined it as “a wet marshy piece of land.”³¹ More recently a field worker for the *Dictionary of American Regional English* posed the seventh question of his “toponymy” category to Maine residents – “What do you call the land that usually has some standing water with trees or bushes growing in it?” To this, I presume, the general answer would be “swamp,” but the Maine field worker’s answers varied. One informant responded “beaver flowage,” two “marsh,” one “swamp,” two “swampy” and one – surprisingly – “bogan.”³² Only one of my forty-eight respondents equated *logan* or *bogan* with “swamp.” Richard Morgrage, a professional guide of Topsham, Sagadahoc County, wrote that *logan* and *logan hole* refer to a “boggy place, maybe adjacent to a stream but not always . . .” which is “mossy with small stunted trees,” adding that *logan* and *logan hole* can be applied even to “a grassy meadow with moisture underneath.” There are in Maine innumerable “wet marshy pieces of land” (to use Chase’s words) and if they remain as such they can be called swamps, bogs, marshes and often also swales,³³ but I doubt whether many residents consistently call them logans or bogans. However, the discrepancy between the “swamp” definitions and the “deadwater” definitions is resolved with the realization that during high water periods a *bogan* or a *logan* is a deadwater and during low water periods undoubtedly a swamp. Several respondents took note of this. Professional Guide Edward Musson of Aurora, Hancock County, wrote that a *logan* is both a “dead water” and a “wet swamp,” saying that in the latter condition it is usually called a “logan-hole.” Professional guide Harvey Bishop of Presque Isle,

Aroostook County, wrote that a *bogan* is a “dead body of water off a . . . river . . . used by fish as a resting place until such time as the water temperature gets above 50°. Should this dry up in warmer months . . . it will remain swampy.”

I end by noting that I am surprised that none of my forty-eight respondents, rambling and detailed as some were, took note of verbalized forms of *logan* and *bogan*. I can easily imagine a Maine logger or camper saying logs are “loganed” if trapped or stored in a baylet off a river or a canoeist saying he was “loganed” if he entered a baylet and found he had to return. Ganong mentions briefly such extensions in his “Pocologan” article,³⁴ but my questionnaire failed to evoke any such usages. I suspect that some of my respondents could have given verbal forms but felt them so obvious as to need no mention at all.

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Notes

¹The currently favored spelling. Cf. Vincent O. Erikson, “Maliseet-Passamaquoddy,” pp. 123–136, in *Northeast*, ed. Bruce G. Trigger, vol. 15 of *Handbook of North American Indians*, ed. William C. Sturtevant (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978).

²See Erikson, p. 124, fig. 1, where Maliseet territory is shaded dark on a skeletal map of the northeastern United States.

³For map tracings of the three trips, see J. Parker Huber, *The Wildest Country: A Guide to Thoreau's Maine* (Boston: Appalachian Mountain Club, 1981), p. 2.

⁴For a discussion of the textual history of *The Maine Woods*, see Henry David Thoreau, *The Maine Woods*, ed. Joseph J. Moldenhauer (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1972), pp. 355–404. Hereafter Princeton Ed.

⁵The Ticknor and Fields plates were used, with some changes, up to 1894 when Houghton Mifflin recomposed them for the Riverside Edition in which *The Maine Woods* appears as vol. III. Plate changes and corrections, however, continued after 1894 rendering any one printing of the Riverside Edition a somewhat questionable source for lexicographic evidence. See particularly pp. 367–377 of the Princeton Ed.

⁶Princeton Ed., p. 51.

⁷Princeton Ed., p. 98.

⁸Princeton Ed., p. 242. No dictionary I have found lists the *spokelogan* variant. It may bear some relationship to a word which appears in Horace P. Beck's *The Folklore of Maine* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1957), p. xiv: “It [Indian culture] crept into the English Language with words like ‘slogian,’ a swampy place.” Dr. Frank T. Siebert of Old Town, Maine, a specialist in Indian survivals of the Penobscot region, writes me (Apr. 22, 1983) that he feels Beck's word may derive from the Thoreau variant or that Beck somehow “made up the term.”

⁹See Princeton Ed., p. 398, fn. 18.

¹⁰The urge to folketymologize the word persists. In answer to a query (received Feb. 2, 1984) as to the meaning of *pokelogan* a professional guide of St. Francis, Maine, writes: “The word *pokelogan* from what I have heard, was when two men . . . loading a truck . . . would stand the wood on end . . . and both lift at the same time and throw it up.”

¹¹(New York: Bartlett and Walford, 1848).

¹²(Boston: D. Lothrop, 1890). The “Glossary” is on pp. 131–158.

¹³Burrill, “Toponymic Generics II,” *Names* 4 (1956), 237.

¹⁴(Toronto: W. J. Gage, 1967).

¹⁵Contributions to the History of New Brunswick, No. 5, in Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Second Series, Vol. VII (Toronto 1901), affixed after p. 412.

¹⁶A *Monograph of the Place-Nomenclature of the Province of New Brunswick*, Contributions to the History of New Brunswick, No. 2, in Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Second Series, Vol. II (Toronto 1896), 263. Actually the Sproule date can probably be pushed back a year. Alan Rayburn in his *Geographic Names of New Brunswick* (Ottawa: Dept. of Energy, Mines and Resources, 1975) lists under *Pocologan Harbor* a land petition “Pokee-Login” dated 1785.

¹⁷Ganong, *ibid.*, also notes that the place-name Pocologan is “said by the Micmacs not to be Indian” – a confusing observation that invites conjecture. Did Ganong’s Micmacs mean it is European? The remark recalls Joe Polis’s “no Indians in ‘em” in the “Allagash” essay. Neither Thoreau nor Ganong offers explanation.

¹⁸Thoreau’s *pokologan* is presumably the canonical form – it is the headword in *Webster’s Third*. Printed variants of it (including topynymic variants) are, inter alia, *Poclagain*, *Pocologan*, *pokelog*, *poke-logan*, *pokeloke*, *pokeloken* (the headword in Webster’s Second), *Pok-logan*, *pokologan*, and *popelogen*.

¹⁹16 (1903), 182. The letter comments on notice given *pokologan* in Alexander F. Chamberlaine’s “Algonkian Words in American English,” *Journal of American Folklore*, 15 (1902), 254, and links *pokologan* with what Ganong assumes is the New Brunswick derivative *bogan* and what he assumes is the Maine derivative *logan*. This is the first source I have found which indicates that *bogan* and *logan* are aphetic forms of the earlier *pokologan*.

²⁰*Terms Used In Forestry and Logging*, Bureau of Forestry, Bulletin 61 (Washington: GPO, 1905) notes, p. 42, that *pokologan* is used in the “N.W.,” the “North Woods,” which here, I presume, means Maine, and also in the “L.S.,” the “Lake State Forest” [sic], which no doubt means those States around the Great Lakes.

²¹Ganong, *A Monograph of the Place-Nomenclature*, p. 209.

²²Frederick Webb Hodge, ed., Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 30 (Washington: GPO, 1907), I, 158.

²³Stanley Bearse Attwood’s gazetteer *The Length and Breadth of Maine*, University of Maine Studies No. 96 (Orono: Univ. of Maine Press, 1973 rpt. of 1946 ed. with supps. of 1949 and 1953) shows *logan* as a specific (it lists three *Logan Brook’s* and a *Logan Pond*) and as a generic (it lists a *Lost Logon*). Similarly, Attwood shows *bogan* as a specific (it lists two *Bogan Brook’s*) and as a generic (it lists a *Finley Bogan*). Additional instances where the two words appear as place-name elements in northern Maine are easy to come by.

²⁴There is also a quotation (undated) from a source “Gulf Coast Grassland” by B. W. Allard, which reads, in part, “. . . grass is produced on levees and bogan banks . . . in Louisiana . . .” I have not located the reference and Frederick Mish in his cover-letter to the photocopy says the reference mystifies him.

²⁵Certainly *bogan* cannot be cognate to *bayou* or *bog* nor *logan* to *lagoon* or *loch* as several letters I have received say they might be. *Bogan* I have not encountered among New England or New Brunswick family names, although *Logan* is common. Philip R. Rutherford’s *The Dictionary of Maine Place Names* (Freeport, Maine: Bond Wheelwright, 1970), p. 20, attributes Logan Brook, a tributary of Molunkus Stream in Aroostook County, to a “Logan family who settled in the 1860’s–70’s.” Rayburn’s *Geographical Names of New Brunswick* (see fn. 16), p. 160, indicates Logan Lake north of Tuadook Lake is named after James Logan, “a guide lost in a snowstorm there.”

²⁶The one exhaustive toponymic and topographic discussion of *pokologan* is William F. Ganong’s article “Pocologan” in his *An Organization of the Scientific Investigation of Indian Place-Nomenclature of the Maritime Provinces of Canada*, Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Section II, Series II, Vol. VIII (Toronto 1914), 286–292. I am indebted to Mr. D. W. McCormack of the Fredericton, New Brunswick, Department of Natural Resources for calling my attention to it.

The article cannot here be summarized, although some of its conclusions deserve short notice. Ganong sees the New Brunswick place-names *Pokologan* derived not from an Indian toponymic term, but from an Indian topographic word meaning "closed basin." He rejects the etymological link between *pokologan* and *poquosin* which William Wallace Tooker makes in his article "The Adopted Algonquian Term 'Poquosin,' " in the *American Anthropologist*, New Series, I (1899), 165. He reasons tangentially but convincingly that the New Brunswick place-names *Pokologan* are borrowed and modified from the Maine lumberman's term *pokologan* and that *bogan* and *logan* can only be explained as derivatives of it.

²⁷*The Gazetteer of New Brunswick*, 2nd ed. (Ottawa: Canadian Permanent Committee on Geographical Names, 1972) lists Pocologan (a dispersed township), Pocologan Harbor, Pocologan Island, Pocologan Lakes, Pocologan Point, Pocologan River, and Pocologan Station, all in Charlotte County.

²⁸See Hans Kurath, *Handbook of the Linguistic Geography of New England*, 2nd ed. . . . by Audrey R. Duckert, and . . . Raven I. McDavid, Jr. (New York: AMS Press, 1973), p. 17.

²⁹The word, to my knowledge peculiar to Maine and the Maritimes, is usually spelled *dri-ki* (presumably from *dry kill*) and refers to timber, standing, fallen or floating, killed by fire or flooding. In camp talk, it is synonymous to "kindling."

³⁰The sled called a *bogan* is pronounced [bagən] and is an aphetic form of *toboggan*. See Avis's *Dictionary of Canadianisms* under *bogan*² and *boganning*.

³¹England, "Rural Locations of Maine and Northern New Hampshire," *Dialect Notes*, 4, No. 2 (1914), 76; Chase, "Lists from Maine," *Dialect Notes*, 4, No. 1 (1913), 2. England's "damp thicket" and his verbal illustration "We can't get through the logan" are reproduced in Harold Wentworth's *American Dialect Dictionary* (New York: Thomas Crowell, 1944) under *logan*. There is another reference I find which equates the Thoreauvian *pokologan* with "swamp." M. Schele De Vere in his *Americanisms: The English of the New World* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1872), p. 20, says "pokeloken" is "an Indian word signifying 'swamp' " and adds that Maine lumbermen use it to refer to "marshy ground extending inland from a lake or a stream."

³²For this information I am indebted to Professor Frederic G. Cassidy, who, in April 1983, allowed me to use the American Regional English files in the Helen C. White Hall, the University of Wisconsin, Madison.

³³Attwood (see fn. 21), p. 12, defines the Maine swale as "a tract of low, marshy ground usually rank with vegetation."

³⁴See fn. 26.