

## Tribal Names Related With Algonkin

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**T**HE ATTACK ON ALGONQUIAN TRIBAL NAMES, their meanings and derivations, has generally been a series of individual skirmishes, one name at a time. Since a name often exists in many forms, different interpretations must result, depending upon the particular variant that happens to be chosen. So the explanations have multiplied over the years. What if one opens an offensive on every front, considers all the Algonquian tribal names at once? Then hundreds of names, with dozens of spellings for each one, at first glance create an impression of wild disorder, of corruption gone mad, but subsequent study of this vast complexity brings relationship groups into focus wherein Algonkin and its cognates stand out rather sharply.

For the historic period the home of all the Algonquian tribes has been placed on the North Atlantic coast. When crops failed, game grew scarce, neighbors threatened war, or settlers came in increasing numbers, the Algonquians moved away, ever onward into the interior, scattering into bands as they went. The bands dispersed into smaller and smaller bands, sometimes even into individual families.

The aborigines had no writing, so they handed down their ethnic names from one generation to the next by word of mouth. In passing them on to the settlers, the Algonquians did not speak distinctly, and the white men neither listened nor wrote carefully. Hence on early records and maps the tribal name fragments are spelled in dozens of ways. Moreover, a traveler easily fell into the error of regarding separate villages of the same parent group as distinct tribes, which likewise led to name variations.

Conversely, writers sometimes took notice of the ethnic links between neighboring communities, which was easier to do in the early days before time had almost wiped out the associations.

Captain John Smith drew attention to the ties between bands on both sides of Chesapeake Bay in 1612: "But they on the river of Acohanock with 40 men, and they of Accomack 80 men, doth equalize any of the Territories of Powhatan and speake his language; who over all those doth rule as king."<sup>1</sup> A cartographer, Lewis Evans, stated a reason why differences were often exaggerated: "It may be that Authors, for want of Knowledge in Indian Affairs, have taken every little Society for a separate Nation."<sup>2</sup> He inscribed this remark on his map of 1755 because he did not wish to be criticized for having left off some tribal names. Furthermore, allegedly different Algonquian tribes often united with ease to form a single village, so slight were the distinctions.

As for cognate relationships among specific Algonquian tribal names, several examples are brought forward in the *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, Bulletin 30 of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Under the names Abnaki and Algonkin the fact that several variants are common to both receives attention, and the discussion of the name Mahican also sheds some light on Mohegan: "The name, in a variety of forms, has been applied to all the Indians from Hudson r. to Narragansett Bay, but in practical use has been limited to two bodies, one on lower Connecticut r., Conn., known dialectically as Mohegan (q.v.), the other, on Hudson r., known as Mahican."<sup>3</sup> Algonkin and Accomac furnish another example of such an intimate connection.<sup>4</sup>

The tribal names Abnaki and Algonkin have been judged akin, and rightly so, likewise Mahican and Mohegan, Accomac and Algonkin, but abundant linguistic and historic evidence reveals that one ancestral name fixed the pattern of all five, and many others besides.

Numerous Algonquian tribal name variants appear on early maps, in land deeds, treaties, official correspondence, court records, or historical accounts. The *Handbook* offers a convenient means of studying Algonkin and its corrupted cognates, for the variants are entered there under the respective tribal names with sources, dates, and other pertinent facts. Before long the similarities among them come into view, attracting attention in spite of the distortions and abbreviations. Easily seen is the frequent interchange of *k* and *g*. The resemblances exist not only among variants in a

small locality but also among those hundreds of miles away from one another.

Algoimequins, the earliest variant to look most like Algonkin, final *s* being French, was recorded by Champlain in 1603 when he brought out an account of his voyage to New France.<sup>5</sup> The great French explorer told of visiting an encampment near Tadoussac, where he had just landed. The Algoimequins were sharing this encampment on the lower St. Lawrence River with two other related bands. Their headquarters, however, lay up the present-day Ottawa River, as Champlain learned afterwards when he traveled into the interior. On his map of 1612 he marked the home territory with the phrase *C. des algoimmequins* 'country of Algonkins.'

The Bureau of American Ethnology has limited Algonkin to the tribe embodying the descendants of these *algoimmequins*, of whom some still reside near the historic seat along Ottawa River, while others have scattered over different parts of Quebec Province. Early French writers interpreted the name in a more comprehensive sense, extending it to the aborigines of the lower St. Lawrence River and the North Atlantic coast, especially to the Abnaki. As the kinship of the various Algonquian groups came to be recognized, the Bureau gave the form Algonquian its greatest possible range, to cover the whole family, which embraces tribes from Newfoundland to the Rocky Mountains and from North Carolina to Hudson Bay. Each branch of this large family spoke a dialect of the Algonquian language.

While Samuel Champlain was penetrating up the St. Lawrence and its tributaries, Captain John Smith set out from newly-founded Jamestown on journeys that led to the exploration of the Chesapeake Bay country. Smith's map of 1612 shows a river named Wighco: on the eastern shore, next to it a village called Wighcocomoco.<sup>7</sup> The southern boundary of Lord Baltimore's land grant from Charles I of England in part depended on this river. Besides being mentioned in boundary disputes, the Pocomoke, which got its name from the Pocomoke Indians, entered official records several times in other connections, so for example in 1664: "River Wighco formerly called Wighcocomoco afterwards Pocomoke & now Wighcocomoco againe."<sup>8</sup>

In 1651 several Algonquian bands on the western side of Chesapeake Bay presented a petition to the Maryland government for a land grant at the head of Wicomico River, so that they might occupy it jointly without outside interference. Among the petitioners were the Wicomocons, who bore a name strikingly similar to Algonmequins.<sup>9</sup>

The Maryland name fragments offer important clues for reconstructing the parent word. Wicomocons gives the general pattern. Pocomoke reveals that the original name began with *p*, while the place name Wiccomonico, recorded in 1676, discloses that *m* developed through syncope.<sup>10</sup> Hundreds of other vestigial remnants from the whole Algonquian territory also bring valuable aid for re-creating *pakwaminikewininug* as the ancestral form common to Algonkin and its cognates. *Pakwamin* means 'beaten Indian corn,' being made up of the adjective *pakwa* 'beaten' and the noun *min* 'grain.' The second part of the ancestral form signifies 'maker,' consisting of composition particle *-ke* 'make' and *ininug*, the animate plural of *inini* 'man.'<sup>11</sup>

*Pakwaminan*, plural of *pakwamin*, gave rise to our dictionary word "hominy." Dr. William Jones felt confident that the second element of the compound "hominy" is *min* but merely drew attention to the mutilated modifier without telling what it means.<sup>12</sup> Preparation of the food involved pounding the corn kernels in a mortar with a pestle, which lends weight to the observation that the first element, *ho*, is an abbreviation of the adjective *pakwa* 'beaten.' Suffix *y* represents *-an*, the inanimate plural ending.

From the earliest notices we have of them, the North American Indians relied on Indian corn for food, not exclusively but in large measure. On his second voyage to Canada (1535-36) Cartier explored the St. Lawrence as far as Hochelaga (now Montreal), where he came upon fields of Indian corn and saw how the kernels were beaten small in wooden mortars with wooden pestles. Champlain made similar observations along the New England coast while carrying on explorations there in 1606. Provisions might have run out at Jamestown, Va., in 1607 if the Algonquians had not been generous with their Indian corn, which John Smith took in trade on his numerous excursions up the rivers that enter Chesapeake Bay. To supplement their own devices, colonists occasion-

ally adopted the Indian method of crushing corn: "As for grinding corn, etc., they have good Mills upon the Rivers and Creeks; besides Hand-Mills, Wind-Mills, and the *Indian* Invention of pounding Hommony in Mortars burnt in the Stump of a Tree, with a Log for a Pestle hanging at the End of a Pole."<sup>13</sup>

The great Algonquian family roamed about over an extensive territory. Hence separation into its five divisions, eastern, north-eastern, northern, central, and western, simplifies keeping the general locations in mind while individual tribal name fragments derived from *pakwaminikewininug* are being examined. Only a selected number of variants (not necessarily the earliest) will be presented here as examples, together with dates and sources.<sup>14</sup> The occasional one ends with *s* because Europeans did not always realize that the original name already was plural. Additional variants may be obtained from the *Handbook*, early maps, writings of the explorers, records and collections of state historical societies, or county histories.

### I. Eastern Divison

1. The southern tribes of the eastern division learned to know white men as early as 1584 when English sailors made their way northward over the Pamlico Sound of modern maps to gather information for Walter Raleigh, who was an enthusiastic though unsuccessful promotor of overseas settlement.

PAMLICO—Pomeiock 1584 (village, Burrage, 237), Pomeyooc 1585-86 (village, White map, *ibid.*, 248), Panauuaioc (village, White map, Winsor, III, 124), Pemlicoe 1707 (Carroll, II, 89), Pemblicos 1779 (Hewatt, II, 279).

John White's map of 1585-86 placed Pomeyooc about where Engelhard, N. C., now stands. His map of 1587 put it on the same spot but located a second village, Panauuaioc, on what our maps designate as Pungo River, an embayment at the entrance of Pamlico River into Pamlico Sound. The later references make it clear that the village obtained its name from the tribe.

ROANOKE—Raonoak 1584 (island, Burrage, 235), Roanoac 1585-86 (village, White map, *ibid.*, 248), Hocomawananck 1651 (Salley, 14), Rowanoke 1654 (*ibid.*, 28).

Raleigh's colonists made Roanoke Island their headquarters,

where on their first visit (1584) they had found nine native dwellings constructed of cedar. Though Raonoak was the earliest recorded form and provided the pattern for the present-day spelling, the tribal name variant Hocomawanank more truly represents *pakwaminikewininug*.

WEAPEMEOC—Weapemeoc 1585–86 (White map, Burrage, 248), Yeopim 1662 (locality, N. C. Col. Rec., I, 19), Wecocomicke 1662 (locality, *ibid.*), Perquimans 1662 (river, *ibid.*), Piquemons 1699 (river, *ibid.*, 523).

According to White (map of 1585–86), four villages, one bearing the name Ricahokene, all inhabited by Weapemeoc Indians, clustered about a small stream (Perquimans R.) where it flows into the sound, then sometimes called “Sound of Weapemeiok” (Albemarle).<sup>15</sup> The deed signed by the Yeopim chief in 1662 used the name Wecocomicke for the land and Perquimans for the river.

2. The London Company sent out 105 colonists who founded Jamestown, Va., on May 13, 1607. Captain John Smith proved most energetic in procuring food, especially Indian corn, from the natives.

ACCOMAC—Comokee 1587 (village, White map, Winsor, III, 124), Accowmack 1612 (village, Smith map, Tyler, 76), *Wighco*: 1612 (river, *ibid.*), Pocomoque 1635 (river, Md. Arch., IV, 22), Heckemak 1644 (locality, Myers, 97), Wiccomis 1669 (Md. Arch., II, 195), Arromack 1677 (county, N. Y. Doc. Col. Hist., XII, 587), Pocomoke 1686 (Md. Arch., V, 479).

Under a variety of spellings the tribal name, which early took on a place name function besides, flourished along the whole eastern shore of Chesapeake Bay. White (map of 1587) put a palisaded village, Comokee, near the mouth of Chesapeake Bay, where the Raleigh colonists had done some exploring. John Smith spelled the name in different ways. As we have seen, he recognized that the inhabitants of Accomack spoke the same language as those residing on the river of Acohanock. For Onancock River, Va., two quite distinct place name forms occur close together in a Maryland record of the year 1638: “River Wiconowe commonly knowne by the name of Anancock on the Easterne side.”<sup>16</sup> Wiconowe emphasized the beginning, Anancock the middle and end of *pak-*

*waminikewininug*. Of all the spellings in the area, Pocomoke comes closest to the original name. In 1686 a Pocomoke band joined four other groups of their village to lodge a complaint with the Maryland government that cattle, horses, and hogs were getting into their corn fields over a bridge at the head of Pocomoke River.

WICOMICO—Wighcocomoco 1612 (village, Smith map, Tyler, 76), Yoacomacoes 1635 (Hall, 73), Wicomococons 1651 (Md. Arch., I, 329).

John Smith (map of 1612) called two villages Wighcocomoco, one on each side of Chesapeake Bay. In 1634 Lord Baltimore's colonists built their homes at Yoacomaco among the Yoacomacoes, north of the Potomac, a few miles upstream. There they bought Indian corn in such quantity the first year that they could export 1,000 bushels to New England.

PAMUNKEY—Pamaunka 1608 (Smith, in Tyler, 67), Pamareke *ca.* 1612 (Strachey, 62), Pamaunkes 1624 (Smith, in Tyler, 376), Pamaomeck 1670 (Hermann map, in Phillips), Pamanuke 1705 (locality, Harris, I, 831).

A month after the founding of Jamestown the settlers received a peace message from the Pamunkeys, whose territory encompassed the mouth of Pamunkey River. Long Island, N. Y., documents contain a place name, Pamunke 1648, which almost duplicates Pamunkey in Virginia but developed independently.<sup>17</sup> Another pertinent place name, Pomonkey, Md., occurs in an area where Pangayo Indians lived in 1688.<sup>18</sup> That Maryland neighborhood also had a village called Pamacacack, with 60 warriors in 1612.<sup>19</sup>

WEANOC—Weanoaks 1612 (Tyler, 84), Wainoakes 1650 (Salley, 12), Weyanoakes 1707 (N. C. Col. Rec., I, 660).

These Algonquians, who counted 100 fighting men in 1612, resided on the north bank of the James River, 20 miles upstream from Jamestown. Hard pressed by enemies at the end of the 17th century, they moved over to the south bank, with which they were familiar through excursions that had taken them well into North Carolina.

3. Because their traders had been to South River (Delaware) the Dutch of New Amsterdam claimed the surrounding country. Nevertheless some Swedes came over in 1638 and built a fort on

the site of Wilmington, Del. The Swedes were later ousted by the Dutch, who in their turn were driven out by the English.

ARMEOMEKS—Armeomeks 1630 (De Laet, in Jameson, 52, note 3), Armewanninge 1655 (Myers, 20), Aromaninck 1676 (Winsor, III, 467, note 1), Ockenickan 1679 (Penn. Arch., 2nd s., VII, 801), Aquaninoncke 1683 (Nelson, 122), Unamines 1759 (Rupp, 50).

Early writers tended to overemphasize differences; so De Laet listed the Armeomeks and Ermomex as separate tribes rather than a single group. On a trading voyage De Bries met an Armewanninge chief across the river from modern Philadelphia and arranged for a boatload of Indian corn. Down the river, these people participated in conveying land to the Swedes. Twenty-five miles upstream, they, under the name Ockenickan, argued in 1679 that the locality belonged to them, not to the governor.

CONOY—Canowes 1682 (N. Y. Doc. Col. Hist., III, 322), Conoies 1816 (Boudinot, 126), Kanaa 1828 (Worsley, 92), Konowiki 1836 (Rafinesque, I, 139).

An Algonquian village known as Conoy Town in 1743 stood at the mouth of what is now Conoy Cr., a small tributary of the Susquehanna. The residents recalled abandoning their home on Piscataway Cr., Md., finding temporary quarters on an island in the Potomac, and then moving up the Susquehanna into Pennsylvania. As if to verify the southern origin, Conoy bears a marked resemblance to the place names Wiconowe 1638 (Onancock Cr.) and Wiccoconu 1664 (Wicomico R.).<sup>20</sup>

4. The Dutch settlers at New Amsterdam (New York) wrote down their versions of several tribal names belonging to prominent tribes that came within their sphere of influence.

MAHICAN—Mahicans 1616 (Dutch map, Winsor, IV, 433), Mohicans 1628 (N. Y. Doc. Col. Hist., II, 769), Mahinganak 1646 (Jes. Rel., XXVIII, 274), Moraiguns 1759 (N. Y. Doc. Col. Hist., X, 982).

The Dutch established a trading post at Fort Orange (Albany), which resulted in close contacts en route with the Mahicans who inhabited both banks of the Hudson.

MOHEGAN—Morhicans 1616 (Dutch map, Winsor, IV, 433), Monahiganeucks 1637 (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th s., VI, 215), Mowheganneak 1648 (*ibid.*, VII, 413), Nanhegans 1657 (R. I. Col. Rec., I, 362).



According to a Dutch map of 1616, the Mahicans resided on the lower Hudson, the Morhicans on present-day Thames River, Conn., with the Makimanes about halfway between them.

WAPPINGER—Packamins 1633 (De Laet, in Jones, 6), Wappinges 1656 (Van der Donck map, Winsor, III, 438), Wamponas 1755 (Rupp, 88).

Van der Donck (map of 1656) placed the Waranawankongs west, the Waoranecks east, the Wappinges astride Hudson River to the north, all in the immediate neighborhood of Wappinges Kill (Wappinger Cr.). Favoring the Wappingers with an extensive territory, some authors represented them as occupants of villages like Poquonnoc, Quinnipiac, Uncoway, and Woronock, which other writers assigned to separate tribes. The variants point to a close connection with Abnaki.

ROCKAWAY—Rechouwacky 1639 (locality, N. Y. Doc. Col. Hist., XIV, 15, *ch* pronounced as *k*), Reckomacki 1660 (locality, *ibid.*, 474, Reweghnoncks 1663 (*ibid.*, XIII, 303).

As in several other instances, the tribal name was written down later than the place names derived from it. These people controlled the western shore of Long Island, the Rockaway and Coney Island neighborhood of today. Rockaway shows development of *r* from initial *p*, just as Morhicans, Waoranecks, and Raonoak exhibit *r* produced through weakening of various other sounds.

5. During the decades after the founding of Plymouth by the Pilgrim Fathers (1620) settlements increased along the New England coast, religious and economic motives bringing many colonists to America. Encirclement of the aborigines resulted in closer contacts, occasionally in armed conflicts that generally ended with removal of the Algonquians towards the west.

PAKANOKICK—Pakanokick 1622 (village, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 1st s., BIII, 235), Paconekick 1631 (locality, *ibid.*, 3rd s., III, 22). Wampanooucks 1675 (*ibid.*, 3rd s., I, 67).

Several months passed before the Pilgrim Fathers learned anything definite about their Algonquian neighbors, a tribe numbering about sixty warriors, whose chief paid his first visit to Plymouth in March, 1621. Anxious to continue these friendly relations, the governor a little later in the year sent emissaries to the principal village, Pakanokick, in the Narragansett country. The name suf-

ferred syncope of *min* and contraction of *-kewininug* to *-kick*; nevertheless it remains as good a representative of the original form as may be found anywhere. Connecticut records have preserved two spellings that almost repeat Pakanokick, for two separate bands, one being Poquonnoc near Windsor, the other Pequannock near Bridgeport, also written Paqua' at least once.<sup>21</sup>

WAMPANOAG—Wapenocks 1633 (De Laet, in Jameson, 42), Wapanoos 1635 (Jansson map), Wampeage 1653 (Macauley, II, 353), Whampinages 1658 (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 1st s., V, 217).

Pakanokick and Wampanoag referred to the same people, the former being the spelling first used by the English, the latter by the Dutch. By means of maps and carefully written descriptions Johan De Laet, Dutch geographer and historian, sought to popularize knowledge of the New World among his fellow-countrymen. He located the Wampanoags at Narragansett Bay: "The southeast shore of this bay runs northeast by north and north-northeast. In the lower part of this bay dwell the Wapenocks."<sup>22</sup> Jansson (map of 1635) placed the Wapanoos northwest of the same bay.

NAHICANS—Nahicans 1616 (Dutch map, Winsor, IV, 433), Nanhigganeuks 1622 (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 1st s., VIII, 241), Nanhigon 1637-38 (*ibid.*, 4th s., VI, 222), Nannogans 1643 (*ibid.*, VII, 411), Narrowganneucks 1643 (R. I. Col. Rec., IV, 303), Narhicans 1650 (anonymous map, Winsor, III, 382).

Again, both the English of Plymouth and the Dutch of New Amsterdam had dealings with these residents of the Narragansett country. Just as the territories adjoined or merged, so Nahican and Mohegan have name variants that make contact at several points.

QUINEBAUG—Quinepage 1639 (locality, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th s., VII, 278), Quinebaugs 1724 (*ibid.*, 1st s., IV, 174).

This tribe lived along the present-day Quinebaug River, on what many authors treated as Mohegan property.

QUINNIPIAC—Querepees 1633 (De Laet, in Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., III, 9, note 2), Quillipeage 1637 (Trumbull, 61), Panaquanike 1639 (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th s., VI, 355), Quimipeiock 1647 (locality, *ibid.*, 3rd s., IV, 7).

The Quinebaug and Quinnipiac, if distinct at all, had not separated long before being mentioned in the records, so nearly does

one name match the other. Variant Panaquanike suffered least through corruption.

Other vestigial remnants of *pakwaminikewininug* survived in different sections of New England: Paquakig, Pegan, Pequin, Hockanoanco, Quabaug, Wepawaug, Uncoway, Agawam, Naumkeag, Nipmuc.

## II. Northeastern Division

The northeastern division included tribes dwelling in eastern Maine, the Maritime Provinces of Canada, and eastern Quebec.

ABNAKI—Abenaquioicts 1629-32 (Champlain, VI, 12, intrusive *t*), abnaquinois 1651 (Me. Hist. Soc. Coll., 2nd s., IV, 433), Abarginny 1654 (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 2nd s., II, 66), Wippanaps 1654 (*ibid.*), Onakonque 1663 (N. Y. Doc. Col. Hist., XIII, 298).

The Abnaki of Maine became active allies of the French, carrying on an almost constant armed conflict with the English down to the fall of French power, when they withdrew to Canada. Some authors used the name in a more comprehensive sense, to denote all the Algonquian tribes of the Atlantic Seaboard as far south as Delaware River.

KENNEBEC—Kinibeki 1609 (river, Lescarbot map, Winsor, IV, 152), Kenebekike 1629 (river, charter of New Plymouth, Wiley, I, 237), Akenebek 1650-51 (Jes. Rel., XXXVI, 78), Kennebecks 1674 (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 1st s., I, 162).

Before they were dispersed by the English in 1724, the Kennebec bands gravitated about their principal river, to which they gave their name. Following a common custom, a French writer in 1689 regarded Abnaki and Kennebec as identical: "The Abenakis, or Canibas, . . . ordinarily reside on the River Quinibeque."<sup>23</sup> The first two names of the quotation lost a *k* sound, from different parts, however, while the third kept it firmly fixed in both positions, as *qu*.

WEWENOC—ouanouinak 1721 (French letter, in Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 2nd s., VIII, 263, ouarinakiens 1724 (*ibid.*, 247), Womenog 1726 (Me. Hist. Soc. Coll., 1st s., III, 357), Wanonoaks 1760 (Jefferys, 118, map).

Introduced by the French, this later name for the Abnaki and Kennebec Indians gained some currency at the beginning of the 18th century.

### III. Northern Division

Until the conquest of Quebec in 1759 the French remained on good terms with the Algonquians of the northern division, going among them as traders and as missionaries.

ALGONKIN—Picquemyans 1545 (Cartier, 41, spelled Picquenyans in a different manuscript), Algoumequins 1603 (Champlain, I, 103), Algonquini 1612 (Jes. Rel., II, 68), Algomequios 1612–14 (*ibid.*, 206), Algonquins 1640 (*ibid.*, XIX, 88), Akouanake 1640–41 (*ibid.*, XXI, 192), Algonouines 1669 (Du Val map, Karpinski, plate IV).

As early as 1536 an Algonkin chief reported to Cartier, who was passing the winter on the lower St. Lawrence River, that he had been away on a visit to “another country of the Picquemyans.”<sup>24</sup> The incident occurred during the second voyage, of which Cartier published a narrative in 1545. Almost three quarters of a century later Champlain met the Algoumequins on the lower St. Lawrence and up the Ottawa. According to a Latin letter (1612–14) sent from Canada by a Jesuit, the French found it easy to make friends with the Algomequios who lived towards the west. The spelling Algonquins made its appearance in the Jesuit Relations of 1640 and soon became a favorite.

OUINIPEGOUK—Ouinipigou 1640 (Jes. Rel. XVIII, 230), Ovenibigonc 1669–71 (*ibid.*, LIV, 134), Ouinipegouek 1657–58 (*ibid.*, XLIV, 246).

The *Jesuit Relations* pictured the Ovenibigonc wandering about in the North Sea (Hudson Bay) region. The Jesuits also wrote that the Ouinipigou frequented the shores of *lac des puans* (Green Bay), called Oüinipeg by the aborigines, and that the Ouinipegouek mingled there with the Noukek. The Puans shown by Champlain (map of 1632) and by other early cartographers are the same people as the Ouinipegouek.<sup>25</sup> Both these names passed over to a small Siouan tribe wedged in among the Algonquians. Ouinipegouek survives as Winnebago. On a map of *ca.* 1738 La Vérendrye entered the name much farther west.<sup>26</sup> By attaching *Lac Gouinipigue* to Lake Winnipeg, he preserved a form reminiscent of Kinibeki and Kono-wiki, for *g* and *k* are phonetically related sounds, as are *p*, *b*, and *w*. Another name spelled almost like Ouinipegouek was Alimibegouek 1657–58, which designated a people residing on Lake Nipigon.<sup>27</sup>

#### IV. Central Division

At first the Algonquians of the central division, the indigenous tribes as well as those displaced from the Atlantic Seaboard, allied themselves with the French, but as time went on they began to waver in their loyalty.

ILLINOIS—Irinions 1642 (Jes. Rel. XXIII, 224), Alimiouec 1660 (*ibid.*, XLV, 234), Illiniouek *ca.* 1673 (anonymous map, Kellogg, 228), Illinois 1673 (Jes. Rel., LIX, 116), Amonokoa 1680 (Hennepin, 310), Oualeanicou 1741 (Coxe, 48), Welinis 1755 (Lewis Evans map, Paullin, plate 26), Hiliniki 1836 (Rafinesque, I, 139).

On their way down the Mississippi in 1673, Marquette and Joliet stopped west of the river at peouïarea, a village of the Illinois.<sup>28</sup> A contemporary French map separated the residents into two bands, Peouauca and Illiniouek, both of them together having 300 dwellings. Shortly afterwards these people moved to the present-day Peoria neighborhood on the Illinois River, making it their historic gathering place. That is where Jefferys located the Pecuaris on his map of 1760.<sup>29</sup> For Lake Michigan, Creuxius (map of 1660) used the legend *Magnus Lacus algonquiniorum* 'great lake of the Algonquians.'<sup>30</sup> Other writers and cartographers of his time applied the labels *Lac des Ilimoüek*, *Lac des Oüinipegouek*, *Lac des Illinois*, and *Lac des Puans*.<sup>31</sup> Illiniouek has much in common with Ouinipegouek; similarly Alimiouec might easily be identified with Alimibegouek, also with Algoumequins.

MIAMI—Oumamik 1657-58 (Jes. Rel., XLIV, 246), Miamioüek 1669-70 (*ibid.*, LIV, 184), Omianicks 1686 (N. Y. Doc. Col. Hist., III, 489).

Besides roaming in Wisconsin, along the Mississippi, and south of Lake Michigan, the Miamis established seven villages in northeastern Indiana. One of these, Omee, stood near the confluence of the Pikkawa branch (St. Marys R.) with Maumee River. After 1747 they found temporary quarters at Pickawillany, about two miles north of modern Piqua, Miami County, Ohio, where they were known as Pickolines or Piques. Variant Miamioüek is spelled very much like Oumamiouekhi 1641, which referred to some Algonquians who shifted about between the lower St. Lawrence River and Hudson Bay.<sup>32</sup> The Miamis and Mohegans spoke dialects intelligible to both, according to an observation made in 1751.

PIQUA—Pequehan 1707 (village, Penn. Col. Rec., II, 386), Pahaqualin 1718 (village, Snell), Piques 1755 (Lewis Evans map, Paulin, plate 26), Pickawes 1798 (Barton, xxxii).

It was not at all unusual for bands to travel hundreds of miles and attach their names to each new village. Starting at Illinois River, some Piquas reached the head of Chesapeake Bay, whence about 1697 they moved up the Susquehanna. They halted a few years at Pequehan, on what is now Pequea Creek, in Pennsylvania. After abandoning their habitations south of Lake Erie to join the English against the French, a different Piqua group found conditions above the Delaware Water Gap congenial enough to stay for a while. A tract claimed there by a white settler in 1718 was described as being near Pahaqualin, an Indian village. During later migrations the Piquas encamped on different Ohio sites, establishing themselves in Pickaway County as well as at Piqua on Miami River, at Piqua on Mad River, and at Pickaweeke in Ross County.

#### V. Western Division

Tribes of the western division roamed over the Prairie Provinces of Canada and the Great Plains of the United States. The Blackfeet were sometimes called Pagans (1837) or Kawinahan (1862), which were the names of two prominent groups within the confederacy.<sup>33</sup>

PIEGAN—Paegan 1790 (Me. Hist. Soc. Coll., 1st s., VI, 270), Peganoekoon 1824 (Franklin, I, 109), Pegans 1824 (*ibid.*), Pilgans 1845 (Wilkes, IV, 471), Pegano 1852–53 (Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., V, 34).

The variants point to forms found in New England, where the Pegans and Pequins had dealings with the colonists of sufficient importance to be put on record.

KAINAH—Kainoekoon 1824 (Franklin, I, 109), Kainau 1889 (Tims, 113).

Again the variants direct attention back to the east, with Kainoekoon reminding us of Ockenickan and Kainau of Kanaa.

Interlocking variants lead from one tribal name to another over the whole area of Algonquian occupance, so linking Algonkin with its numerous cognates. Pakanokick in southern New England

resembles Peganoekoon on the Great Plains; Picquemyans on the lower St. Lawrence River, Canada, looks like Perquimans in North Carolina; Wicomocons in Maryland echoes Algoumequins in Quebec, Canada; Kinibeki in Maine matches Quinebaug and Quinnipiac in Connecticut as well as Konowiki in Pennsylvania.

Polymorphic corruption, a process whereby tribal name distortions became the originals for additional distortions, resulted from poor pronunciation, faulty listening, careless writing. Comparative study of numerous name fragments and variants unmask *pakwaminikewininug* 'hominy makers' as the original ethnic name that produced Algonkin and its corrupted cognates. Pakanokick, Peganoekoon, Pocomoke, and Wicomocons present the general word pattern; Packamins, Pamanuke, Amonokoa, and Omianicks expose *min*, the Algonquian word for grain; Algonquini, Abarginny, Mowheganneak, and Ouinipegouek suggest *-kewininug* 'makers' for the final element of the ancestral name.

Here and there throughout the whole Algonquian territory the forms that kept initial *p* intact, though otherwise abbreviated or corrupted, turn up in the records, with a marked concentration, however, on the Atlantic Seaboard. At different times and places, the following were applied by writers and cartographers to distinct bands: Pakanokick, Peganoekoon, Picquemyans, Perquimans, Packamins, Pocomoke, Poquonnoc, Pequannock, Pekineni, Pakanavo, Pickolines, Paquakig, Punkapog, Pangayo, Pegan, Pequin, Piqua, Peoria, Puans, Pamunkey, Pamlico, Panaquanike.

Interpretations already in existence range from the serious to the ludicrous. Some have attained such a vogue that no one has ever dared to question their correctness; others fully deserve their almost complete obscurity. No good purpose would be served here by presenting a long list of questionable derivations, let alone writing a criticism of each one.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> J. Smith in L. G. Tyler, *Narratives of Early Virginia*. New York, 1907, 89.

<sup>2</sup> C. O. Paullin, *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States*. Baltimore, 1932, plate 26.

<sup>3</sup> F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*. Bull. 30, B.A.E., Govt. Print. Off., 1912, I, 786.

- <sup>4</sup> J. H. Trumbull, *On Algonkin Names for Man*. Trans. Am. Phil. Ass., Hartford, 1872, II, 153.
- <sup>5</sup> S. de Champlain, *Works*, Toronto, 1922-36, I, 103.
- <sup>6</sup> J. Winsor, *History of America*. Boston, 1884-89, IV, 382.
- <sup>7</sup> L. G. Tyler, *Narratives of Early Virginia*. New York, 1907, 76.
- <sup>8</sup> *Maryland Archives*. Baltimore, 1883-1954, III, 491.
- <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 329.
- <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 152.
- <sup>11</sup> Useful dictionaries are:
- A. Lacombe, *Dictionnaire de la Langue des Cris*. Montreal, 1874.
- G. Lemoine, *Dictionnaire Français-Algonquin*. Chicoutimi, 1909.
- S. T. Rand, *Micmac Dictionary*. Halifax, 1888.
- J. H. Trumbull, *Natick Dictionary*. Bull. 25, B.A.E., Govt. Print. Off., 1903.
- <sup>12</sup> F. W. Hodge, *op. cit.*, 558.
- <sup>13</sup> H. Jones in F. C. Rosenberger, *Virginia Reader*. New York, 1948, 187.
- <sup>14</sup> These sources are:
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- E. Boudinot, *Star in the West*. Trenton, 1816.
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 J. Winsor, *op. cit.*  
 I. Worsley, *View of the American Indians*. London, 1828.
- <sup>15</sup> H. S. Burrage, *op. cit.*, 251.  
<sup>16</sup> *Maryland Archives*, III, 80.  
<sup>17</sup> W. W. Tooker, *Indian Place-Names on Long Island*. New York, 1911, 183.  
<sup>18</sup> *Maryland Archives*, V, 34.  
<sup>19</sup> L. G. Tyler, *op. cit.*, 86.  
<sup>20</sup> *Maryland Archives*, III, 80, and I, 534.  
<sup>21</sup> J. H. Trumbull, *Memorial History of Hartford*. Boston, 1886, II, 501. *Connecticut Colonial Records*. Hartford, 1850, I, 28, and 54.  
<sup>22</sup> Translated in J. F. Jameson, *op. cit.*, 42.  
<sup>23</sup> Translated in *New York Documents Relating to Colonial History*, IX, 433.  
<sup>24</sup> Original French in J. Cartier, *op. cit.*, 41.  
<sup>25</sup> J. Winsor, *op. cit.*, IV, 387.  
<sup>26</sup> P. La Vérendrye, *Journals and Letters*. Toronto, 1927, I, 288.  
<sup>27</sup> *Jesuit Relations*, XLIV, 249.  
<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, LIX, 126.  
<sup>29</sup> T. Jefferys, *op. cit.*, 1, map.  
<sup>30</sup> J. Winsor, *op. cit.*, IV, 389.  
<sup>31</sup> *Jesuit Relations*, LI, 26, XLV, 218, and LIX, 86 (Joliet's map of 1674). Map by P. Du Val, *Amérique Septentrionale*. Paris, 1679.  
<sup>32</sup> *Jesuit Relations*, XXI, 116. Also see L, 29.  
<sup>33</sup> *Indian Affairs Report*. Washington, 1837, 73. F. Hayden, *Ethnography and Philology of the Missouri Valley*. Trans. Am. Philos. Soc., Philadelphia, 1862, new s., XII, 326.