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THE ALGONQUIAN SERIES

BY WILLIAM WALLACE TOOKER

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IX

THE ALGONQUIAN SERIES

Chickabominy, Pamunkey, and the
Kuskarawaokes

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THE NAMES
CHICKAHOMINY, PAMUNKEY,
AND THE
KUSKARAWAOKES
OF
CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH

With Historical and Ethnological Notes

BY
WILLIAM WALLACE TOOKER



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THE NAME CHICKAHOMINY: ITS
ORIGIN AND ETYMOLOGY.*

THIS well-known name acquired considerable celebrity in the days of the Rebellion for the reason that the geographical position of the river made it one of the natural bulwarks of defense for the capital of the Confederacy. Over two and a half centuries prior to this historic

* From *The American Anthropologist*, July, 1895, with additions and corrections.



epoch it constituted one of the barriers of Wahunsonacock or Powhatan, when he immured himself and his treasures far up in the swampy wilderness at its source in order to escape the close proximity of the Jamestown people.*

* Arber's Smith, p. 80.

This place was called *Orapakes* by Smith, but varied by Spelman (*ibid.*, p. civ, v), *Oropikes* and *Orohpiques* (= Mass. *Touoh-pe-auke*) "the wild or solitary water place." The head of the river and thereabouts is invariably spoken of as the Chickahominy Swamp. In its flora it retains features more common further South. The cypress trees with funeral moss hanging from their limbs, and encumbered with vines, is typical of the region. The muddy stream, meandering among decaying and fallen trees and other débris of the annual freshets, still remains impassable. A similar

It is not, however, the strife and turmoil of war, neither is it the jealous vagaries of Powhatan, that is

name occurs on Long Island, N. Y. *Ore-wake* or *Orowoc* brook, as it is now termed, flows southward into the Great South Bay at Islip, through a wilderness of swamp pepperidge trees and boggy marshes to which the name was originally applied.

It was not entirely the proximity of the Jamestown colonists that caused Powhatan to so immure himself, for Smith later says (p. 146) : “ They found those damned Dutchmen had caused *Powhatan* to abandon his new house and *werowocomoco*, and to carry awaie all his corne and provision ; and the people they found, by their means, so ill affected, that had they not stood well on their guard, they had hardlie escaped with their liues.” It seems that four Dutchmen and one Englishman were sent to build a new house for Powhatan (p. 132). The former proved to be treacherous to the colonists, of which Smith says (p. 134) :

now the theme of our story, but an earlier period, in the very dawn of its annals—a point of time in the calendar of the past from which in

“For the Dutchmen finding his plenty, and knowing our want; and perceiuing his preparation to surprise vs, little thinking wee could escape both him and famine; to obtain his favor reuealed to him as much as they knew of our estates and projects and how to prevent them. One of them being of so good a judgement, spirit and resolution (and a hireling that was certain of wages for his labour; and very well vsed, both he and his countrimen) that the President knewe not whome better to trust; and, not knowing any fitter for that employment, had sent him as a spie, to discover *Powhatans* intent, then little doubting his honestie; nor could he be certain of his villany till neare halfe a yeare after.” For further trouble caused by these Dutchman see pp. 150, 159, and their end see p. 487 of Arber's Smith.

reality we may date the genesis of our country, inasmuch as Professor Edward Arber has justly observed, there can be no doubt whatever, had Captain John Smith and his companions failed to have survived the winter of 1607-08, it would have delayed all settlement from English sources for many years. Therefore the survival of the colony had a very marked bearing on the events which followed, and that led finally to the creation of this great commonwealth—the United States of America.

As the subject of this study, applied to a people, is intimately concerned in having contributed

more than its quota to these events, its story is more than worthy of being retold and analyzed—in fact, the name Chickahominy deserves to be enshrined in letters of gold on the pages of our colonial history; for we cannot find a counterpart in its consequent results, where a tribe of Indians did more for an English settlement than was done by the friendly natives whom Captain John Smith found dwelling on the stream now bearing their name.

The early recital of the Jamestown colonists is a narrative of a struggle for existence—a struggle for their very lives, which we at this

late day cannot realize, nor can we adequately appreciate it. The long and weary voyage of over five months' duration, in the most inclement of seasons, had its share in weakening the energy and ambition of the colonists, as it was also one of the main causes for the exhaustion of their food supply. The unhealthfulness of their chosen plantation soon showed itself, and in the very hot summer ensuing they dropped off one by one, until out of one hundred and five persons only fifty-nine remained when September arrived. This sickness, quarrels, and fear of the Indians had so unnerved the survivors that

they were unable to plant or to properly provide themselves with food sufficient to last through the winter, which now confronted them. Their tents were decaying, and their temporary shelters were but poor substitutes for their English homes. Many of the colonists were gentlemen, totally unused to manual labor and to their new modes of living. Smith, however, was inured to hardships and to privation, and by his own example and unbounded personal resources induced them to build and to thatch their houses for the winter. Time was onward flying, all were on a limited allowance, having but fourteen days' food sup-

ply left. Lots were cast as to who should command a party to trade among the natives for the actual necessaries of life.* The chance fell

* Professor Arber, in his preface to Smith's works (xii), writes some strong words in Captain Smith's favor, with every word of which I agree ; and when I read or hear of anything disparaging to Smith it makes my blood run cold, for I know it is not justice. He says : "One cannot read Smith's works without seeing that John Smith was something more than a brave and experienced soldier. Not only in his modesty and self-restraint, his moderation and magnanimity, his loyalty to the King, affection for the church, and love for his Country, did he represent the best type of the English Gentleman of his day, but he was a man of singular and varied abilities. His many-sidedness is seen, as he is a Captain of Artillery at Stühlwessenberg and at Kaniza, in Hungary, in 1601 ; or while 'managing the

to our heroic English captain, who unselfishly was ready and willing for any emergency.

fighters' of the French pirate ship off the Azores, in 1615 ; as he is Captain of Cavalry on the plains of Girke in Hungary in 1601, and the battle of Rothenthurm in Transylvania in 1612 ; as he is a promoter, and the saviour of the London or South Virginia Company in 1605-9 ; as he is the masterly Surveyor of inland Virginia in 1607-8 ; as he is the Discoverer of Chesapeake Bay in 1608, and of the New England Coast in 1614 ; as he is the enthusiastic Advocate and the eloquent Historian of English Colonization in America 1614-30 ; as he is the first landsman who ever described in print all the parts, and all the works of an English ship ; and who wrote our first *Sea-Grammar* in 1626 ; not to speak of the *History of the Sea*, which he did not live to complete, and which is apparently now lost.

“ Put all this beside the one single Pocahontas incident by which he is popularly

After a trip to several places on the James River with almost barren

remembered, and one sees that the real John Smith is a far greater man than the mythical one.

“ It is not too much to say, that had not Captain Smith of Willoughby, strove, fought and endured as he did the present United States of America might never have come into existence. It was contrary to all probabilities that, when so many had succumbed already, the South Virginia Company’s expedition of 1606–7 should have succeeded. The Spanish under De Soto and the French under Laudonnière had failed. The men sent out twenty years before by Sir Walter Raleigh had never been heard of ; and the corresponding attempt of the North Virginia Company to Sagadahock, in the same year 1606, came to nothing.

“ To what single cause under God can be assigned the preservation of the James River Settlement after the early death of

results, on the 9th of November, 1607, he set forward for the “ coun-

Captain Bartholomew Gosnold on Aug. 22, 1607, but the fortunate presence of this English Captain, so self-denying, so energetic, so full of resources, and so trained (by his conflict and Captivity in Eastern Europe) in dealing with the savage races? Ratliffe Archer and Martin with all the rest of those who opposed him, lived in a fool's Paradise ; and paid for their folly with the loss of their lives after Smith came home ; when in spite of all that he had done, the Colony went to rack and ruin, all through the terrible winter of 1609-10, known as the starving time.

“ If, then, this James river Colony had failed before August 1609, when the third Supply arrived ; the Colony at Bermuda would never have been attempted : and the Pilgrim Fathers would not have gone to New England ; but if anywhere, to Guiana, to perish among its forests and swamps, so that, for a couple of years, all the glorious

try of the *Chikahamania*." * That evening, while "staying the ebb" in the bay of *Paspahogh*, "at the mouth of the river," he was hailed by certain Indians, one of whom, being of "*Chikahamania*," offered to conduct him to their country. He started by moonlight, under guidance of this Indian, and at midnight

possibilities that are wrapped up in the words United States of America, hang, as on a slight thread, upon the hardened strength and powers of endurance, the self-forgetfulness and public spirit of the enthusiastic young English Captain. He has therein given us a noble example, not to flinch from duty or sacrifice; for we never know the great results that may come through doing the one, or making the other."

* Arber's Smith, p. 11.

arrived at the town. The next morning he began his bartering of copper and hatchets for corn, each family endeavoring to give him all he wanted. They caused him to stay so long that one hundred at least finally assembled, expecting trade. What he desired he purchased; but in order that they should not perceive his great want, he went higher up the river. Smith remarks: "This place is called *Manosquosick* [= *Wanasqua-es-ick*, "at or on the top of a hill"], a quarter of a mile from the river, containing thirtie or fortie houses, vppon an exceeding high land: at the foote of the hill towards the river, is a

plaine wood, watered with many springes, which fall twentie yardes right downe into the riuier. . . A mile from thence is a Towne called *Oraniocke*. I further discovered the townes of *Mansa*, *Apanaock*, *Werawahone*, and *Mamanahunt*."

Smith was very kindly received at all of these villages, especially so at the last named, which was about the center of the habitations on the river, where he found assembled two hundred people, with such an abundance of corn that he might have loaded a ship; but he, having in his mind the great need of his associates remaining at their plantation, returned to the fort, where he

arrived at midnight. The next morning he unloaded seven hogsheads of corn into their store. On November 13 he was back again at *Mamanahunt*, where the people, having heard of his visit, had gathered with three or four hundred baskets, little and big, and soon he was enabled to load his barge again.

He says: "So desirous of trade wer[e] they, that they would follow me with their canowes; and for any thing, giue it me, rather then returne it back. So I vnloaded again 7 or 8. hogsheads at our fort."

Having thus provided a store amounting altogether to sixteen hogsheads, he, for the third time,

went up the "riuer of the *Chikahamianias*." He discovered and visited eight or more towns; but he found their plenty of corn had decreased, although he was enabled to load the barge again.

Others beside Smith bear testimony as to his visits up the river. Wingfield says: * "The 10th of December, Master Smyth went up the Ryuer of the *Chechohomynies* to trade for corne." This was Smith's last voyage that season, on which occasion he was taken prisoner by neighboring tribes for being too adventurous, although the attempt was urged upon him by the

* Arber's Smith, p. lxxxv.

colonists.* It will be observed from Wingfield's statement that he was aware that the appellation properly belonged to the people and not to the stream.

Thomas Studley † says: ‡ “But in the interim, he made 3 or 4. iournies, and discovered the people of *Chickahamine*. Yet what he carefully provided, the rest careles[s]ly spent. . . The Spanyard never more greedily desired gold then he victuall: which he found so plentiful in the riuier of *Chickahamine*, where hundreds of Salvages, in

* Arber's Smith, p. 98.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 86, 411.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

diuers places, stood with baskets expecting his coming.”

This extract is taken from the second part of John Smith’s map of Virginia, with a description of the colony, etc., which was the condensed vindication or manifesto of thirty or forty gentlemen and soldiers, who, under Smith, saved the colony.

In this portion of Smith’s works I find the terminal dropped, and the name there given as *Chickahamine* or *Chickahamina*, which affords strong evidence in favor of the etymology that I shall present.

The highest inhabited town on the river was called *Apocant*, at the

edge of the swampy wilderness, only forty miles from its junction with the James; consequently all of these towns that contributed so willingly to the necessities of the colonists, and undoubtedly saved them from the horrors of starvation, were situated within a short distance of each other. The peaceful and unwarlike character of the tribe is accounted for by several facts. First, that they were under a different form of government from their neighbors, and had no war chief; second, that they were industrious agriculturists and a sedentary people at the time of Smith's visits; third, that the isolated position of

the river, totally unnavigable, even by canoes, from the west, surrounded by almost impenetrable and uninhabited thickets, made their homes a place secluded and safe from the more nomadic and warlike tribes of the north and west.

In my essay on the name Susquehanna* I gave an analysis of its earliest form, *Sasqu-esah-anough* (= "people who break into small pieces"; hence, by connotation, "people of booty"), corroborated by historical facts and paralleled in several dialects of the Algonquian language. After further extended research and

* See The Name Susquehanna, this series.

study, I am still more firmly convinced that this derivation is the true one, and that its demonstration can be much further augmented and proven. I quote it again, at this time and place, because I believe its terminal *-anough* and verb *-esah* enter into the composition of our present study.

In searching Smith's works I find that *Chechohomynies*, *Checka Hamania*, *Chikahamania*, *Chickahamania*, *Chickahaminos*, and the form before mentioned are among the most marked of its variations. The name, as well as the greater number of those terms applied to the principal Virginia tribes, be-

longs to the class formed from verbs, as participials or verbal nouns, denoting, according to its terminal, a place where or a people by whom the action of the verb was performed. In the proper interpretation of such cluster words we must find a clew, either historical or traditional, which will assist in unlocking its synthesis. The key was discovered in the case of my studies of the Kuskarawaokes of Captain John Smith,* The Algonquian Terms Patawomeke and Massawomeke,† On the Meaning of the

* American Anthropologist, vol. vi. p. 409, and this series.

† *Ibid.*, vol. vii. p. 174, and this series.

Name Anacostia,* and it has been found in the foregoing relation left us by Captain John Smith and his associates, as will be observed later.

In our modern form of Chickahominy we have the original sounds, as indicated by its early variations, of *Chick-ahän-min'-anough*. The special affix or verb *-ahäm* implies "he beats or batters" the object *min'*, after the manner of the root-word or prefix *chick*, and it is the Powhatan equivalent of the Massachusetts *-etaham*; Delaware *-it-eh'm*; Cree *-tahu'm*; Narragansett *-utahum*, "he beats." This

* American Anthropologist, vol. vii. p. 389.

verbal affix is the inanimate third person singular in all these dialects,* and is in common use in all four, as well as in other dialects of the same linguistic stock. The verb, however, becomes animate in such words as the Massachusetts *m'e'tah*; Cree *m'iteh*, "the heart," *i. e.*, "the beater"; Narragansett, *w'uttah*, "heart," *i. e.*, "he beats." †

* Howse, *Grammar of the Cree*, p. 87.

† Trumbull (*On Some Words Derived*, etc., p. 5) suggested its derivation from *-ote*, "my possession, belonging," etc.; as does also Couq (*Lexique de la Algonquine*, p. 312). I believe both are mistaken, as numerous examples from both the Massachusetts and Delaware could be cited, showing its derivation from the radical "to beat." In fact this derivation is the most likely, carrying as it does its descriptive qualities.

The prefix *chick* or *k'chick*, "it is large, great," *i. e.*, "coarse, in distinction to fine," implies, with its verb *-ahäm*, "he beats coarse," *i. e.*, "coarse-pounded." The object *min* or *mün* denotes any kind of small berry, fruit, or grain,* but when used in compound words without a special prefix refers to corn. The

I will confine myself to a few examples from the Delaware of Zeisberger, showing this, viz.:

Tschittan-iteh-eu, "he is a hero."

Tschittan-iteh-ewāgan, "courage," *i. e.*,
"to have a strong heart, beater."

N'gutt-iteh-ewāgan, "to be of one heart."

P'qu-iteh-ican, "chisel," "a splitting instrument."

Papchak-iteh-asu, "bruised."

* Lenâpé and Their Legends, p. 48, Brinton.

terminal in *-ias*, *-anias*, or *-os* I regard as a softened or abbreviated sound of the generic *-anough*, "nation or people," with the mark of the English possessive added. Thus we have a synthesis of *K'chick-ahäm-min'-anough*, "coarse-pounded corn people," or, as it might be rendered by a free translation, "hominy people." The term was probably applied to them by neighboring tribes for the reason that it was one of their products of trade, or, as was more probable, their principal article of sustenance, as it remains to-day among certain classes in the Sunny South.

Some analogous terms follow:

Schéechgän̄m',* “shelled corn coarse pounded.” [Chaff? Zeisberger.] This word is identical in meaning with our *k'chick-ahäm-min'*; *sche* having an explosive sound and being a variation of *k'che* or *k'chick*; *echgän* being another verbal signifying to beat [with a hand instrument], *im'* a contraction for *min'*, corn. Powhatan (Strachey) *rokohamin* = *rok-ohäm-min*, “parched corn ground small.” Allowing for the alternating sounds of its initial, *rok* is undoubtedly the same verbal noun as the Narragansett *nókehick*, “parched meal,” *nokhik* (Eliot), “meal,” “flour,” “ground corn.” Wood

* Lenâpé Dict., Brinton.

says: * "Nocake (as they call it), which is nothing but Indian corn parched in the hot ashes . . . beaten to powder." *Ushuccohomen* = "to beat corn into a meal"; *usketehamū*, "meal made of gynny wheat." Strachey here gives us two distinct forms of the same verbal in words having the same meaning, for "gynny wheat" was another name for maize.† The verb in the first *-ohom* has the Powhatan characteristics, while the latter *-eteham* resembles the Massachusetts and Delaware forms. The reason for this is probably found in the fact that *uskete-*

* N. E. Prospect, p. 2 ; chap. vi. p. 76.

† Hariot's Narr., p. 21, Quaritch Ed.

hamū, "fine-beaten corn," belongs to a dialect other than the Powhatan. Compare the Narragansett *tack-hummin*, "to grind corn"; *tack-humtinnea*, "beat me parched meal." From these cluster words, including that of our subject, is derived our common name "hominy," of which it is a contraction for ease of utterance among the English. Here I differ somewhat from Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, with good reasons, for the name "hominy" was given to the grain dried and pounded.

He says: * "Hominy is a form

* On Some Words derived from Language of the North American Indians, p. 6.

of *minne* with an emphasizing aspirate *-h'minne*—to denote the grain, par excellence—*i. e.*, maize; but in Virginia and New England this name was restricted by the English to one, and the most common preparation of maize." In Norwood's *Voyage to Virginia, 1646*, *homini* is described as "the corn of that country beat and boiled to mush." Josselyn in *New England Rarities*, p. 53, says that "after the first flour had been sifted from the pounded corn the remainder they call 'homminy,' which they boil upon a gentle fire till it be like a hasty pudden." Consequently, as will be observed, the *h'* is not an

emphasizing aspirate, except as it is so much of the Algonquian verb "to beat," as was erroneously used by the English.

Rev. John Heckewelder, in his "Names which the Lenni Lennape or Delaware Indians gave to Rivers, Streams, and Localities within the States of Pennsylvania, New York, Maryland, and Virginia," presents a translation of the name which has been and is still frequently quoted, viz., "Chickahominy, corrupted from *Tschikenemahoni*, signifying *a turkey-lick, a lick* frequented by turkeys.'" It does not require much argument to show that such a derivation is entirely out of place,

as applied to these people, and that this suggested etymology is entirely contrary to its early forms, therefore unworthy of further examination or reiteration.

Again, someone has suggested that Chickahominy denoted "great corn," which Dr. Trumbull* says "does not stand for 'great corn,' because 'corn' does not designate place or imply a fixed location, therefore cannot be made the ground-word of a place name." Dr. Trumbull is undoubtedly correct in this statement so far as a "place name" is concerned, but he was evidently unaware that Chicka-

* Indian Geographical Names, p. 49.

hominny, as I have demonstrated, was not originally "a place name," although it became one by its bestowal on the river by the English, without consideration for its true meaning. In proof of this fact, the tribe offered to relinquish the appellation of "*Chickahomania* and to be called *Tassantessus* [= strangers], as they call us."* Therefore the analysis which I have presented, although it does not exactly stand for "great corn," is in accordance with Algonquian grammar, and, as I firmly believe, beyond question, its true etymology.

* Arber's Smith, p. 515.



THE MYSTERY OF THE NAME
PAMUNKEY.*

A MYSTERY unrevealed—
that intangible and illu-
sive element which en-
virons the nomenclature, myths,
customs, and traditions of the Ameri-
can Indian—will always remain a
fount of the deepest interest and

* Read before the American Association
for the Advancement of Science, Section
H, by the author, at Springfield, Mass.,
August 30, 1895, and published in the
American Antiquarian, vol. xvii., p. 289-293.

closest study to the cultured mind of the critical student of the science of man. The secret societies and sacred rites or mysteries of the priesthood of the red men have been the theme of many explorers into the wilderness of anthropological investigation for the past two decades or more. It is not my purpose at this time to single out, to compare, or to elaborate upon the symbolic customs or shamanistic ceremonies of the various stocks, tribes, or clans which have been the basis for these essays. They can be found in the works of many noted specialists, where they may be read and studied in their

entirety far better than in any brief abstract which I might quote. Many points of similarity can be traced, especially among the tribes of Algonquian stock, revealing identity of thought, occurring through hereditary transmissions and tribal borrowings in symbolizing animate and inanimate objects, also natural phenomena, in order to enable the priests to retain their supremacy over the superstitious minds of both the initiated and uninitiated members of the tribe. Every tribal family or clan undoubtedly had its society and priesthood, and it is my intention to demonstrate by historic and linguistic facts that in the

name *Pamunkey*, now designating a small tribe of Indians* and a river of Virginia, we have a survival to our times of one of the reminders of an esoteric system which existed among the Powhatan tribes of Virginia at the commencement of the seventeenth century. Not only does it hide a mystery, but the true interpretation or signification of the

* Mr. J. G. Pollard, in *The Pamunkey Indians of Virginia* (Bulletin Q 17, Bureau of Ethnology), says: "The Pamunkey Indians of to-day live at what is known as 'Indiantown,' which is situated on and comprises the whole of a curiously shaped neck of land, extending into Pamunkey river and adjoining King William county, Virginia, on the south. The 'town,' as it is somewhat improperly called, forms a very small part of their original territory. It is

name itself has been and still remains a thing unknown—a mystery which I shall endeavor to dispel, I trust satisfactorily, so that it shall no longer exist as a problematical quantity in the synonymy of the tribes of the American race.

almost entirely surrounded by water, being connected with the mainland by a narrow strip of land. . . . Indiantown is about 21 miles east of Richmond, immediately on the line of the York river division of the Richmond and Danville railroad. It consists of about 800 acres, 250 of which are arable land, the remaining portion being woodland and low marshy ground. This tract was secured to the Pamunkey Indians by act of the colonial assembly, and they are restrained from alienating the same. . . . There are about 110 Pamunkey Indians now living," but "no member of the Pamunkey tribe is of full Indian blood."

It has long been desirable, for the purposes of anthropological and historical research, that the long-forgotten meaning or true application of the term Pamunkey should be recovered from the obliterating depths of the centuries which have concealed it; but hitherto it has seemed too deeply buried to be capable of being brought into the light of the present.

Many philologists have attempted to solve the riddle embodied in the name, without arriving at a conclusion satisfactory to themselves and to others. Consequently their labors, in this particular instance, have been in vain. This is not at

all strange, provided they neglected or were unable to go back to the time of bestowal for their material, and study the early notations, and glean facts from the lines of contemporary history, in order to weld the missing links into a perfect chain; which now the occurrence of Smith's works in Professor Edward Arber's English Scholar's Library will enable them to do most thoroughly.

An interpretation and suggested origin of the term, which has been frequently quoted, is that of Heckewelder, given in his "Names which the Lenni Lennape or Delaware Indians gave to Rivers, Streams and

Localities within the States of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia, with their Significations," viz., Pamunky, corrupted from *Pihmunga*, signifying "where we sweat." This is a derivation that would naturally disgust anyone who might desire to retain the name; and in fact would lead him to abandon it. But, like many or in truth the greater number of Heckewelder's other conjectural etymologies,—for that is all they seem to be,—it is far-fetched in its comparative phonology and decidedly a most grievous error in its application, as revealed in the historic facts we find accompanying its

early forms ; and, being such, it deserves no further consideration.

Captain John Smith, the preserver of the Jamestown colony,—whose works are a perfect mine of aboriginal history,—is the one to whom we must apply for all our data relating to the locality where the name was first applied. On his well-known map of Virginia, and as handed down from the same source, the name designates a river. But he says, in contradiction to this incorrect bestowal,* “Fourteene myles Northward from the river Powhatan [James] is the river *Pamaunkee*, which is navigable 60 or 70 myles,

* Arber's Smith, p. 347.

but with catches and small Barkes 30 or 40 myles farther ; at the ordinary flowing of salt water, it divideth itselfe into two gallant branches. On the south side inhabit *Yough-tanund*, who have about 60 men for warres, on the North branch *Mattapament*, who have 30 men, where this river is divided the country is called *Pamaunkee* and nourisheth neare 300 able men." Therefore, as will be noticed, the term, in its aboriginal sense, did not designate a stream ; and on referring to Smith's map, *Pamaunkee* is found to be the triangular peninsula formed by the two main branches of the river, one being called the *Youghtanund*, now

known as the *Pamunkey*, and the other the *Mattapament*, now retained as the *Matapony*, while Smith's *Pamaunkee* is called the York River. We also note that one of the principal Indian villages within this triangle, with the mark of a king's residence, is called *Uttamussak*.

Smith* gives us some minute information in regard to this village—a description that is also quoted by William Strachey in his *Historie of Travaille into Virginia*,† as follows: “In every territory of a *Werowance* is a Temple and a Priest,

* Arber's Smith, p. 371.

† *Ibid.*, p. 90.

two or three or more. Their principal Temple or place of Superstition is at *Uttanussak in Pamaunkee*, neare unto which is a house, Temple or place of Powhatans. Upon the top of certain red sandy hills in the woods, there are three great houses filled with images of their kings and Devels and Tombes of their Predecessors. Those houses are neare sixtie foot in length, built arbour-wise, after their building. This place they count so holy as that [none] but the Priests and kings dare come into them, nor the Salvages dare not goe up the river in boats by it, but they solemnly cast some peece of copper, white

beads, or *Pocones* into the river, for feare their *Okee* should be offended and revenged of them.

“ Thus, Feare was the first their Gods begot;
Till feare began, their Gods were not.

“ In this place commonly are resident seaven Priests. The chiefe differed from the rest in his ornaments, but inferior Priests could hardly be knowne from the common people, but that they had not so many holes in their eares to hang their jewels at.”

Smith further describes some of the events of his capture at the swampy wilderness among the headwaters of the river Chickahominy

by Opechankanough : * “ Then they led him . . . over all those rivers, and backe againe by divers other several Nations, to the king’s habitation at *Pamaunkee* ; where they entertained him with most strange and fearefull conjurations,

“ As if neare led to hell,
Amongst the Devils to dwell.

“ Not long after, early in a morning, a great fire was made in a long house, and a mat spread on one side, as on the other ; on the one they caused him to sit, and all the guard went out of the house, and presently came skipping in a great grim fellow, all painted over with coale,

* Arber’s Smith, p. 398.

mingled with oyle; and many Snakes and Wesels skins stuffed with mosse, and all their tayles tyed together, so as they met on the crowne of his head in a tassell; and round about the tassell was as a Coronet of feathers, the skins hanging round about his heade, backe and shoulders, and in a manner covered his face; with a hellish voyce, and a rattle in his hand, with most strange gestures and passions he began his invocation, and environed the fire with a circle of meale; which done three more such like devels came rushing in with like antique tricks, painted halfe blacke, halfe red; but all their eyes were

painted white, and some red stroakes like Mutchato's along their cheekes ; round about him those fiends daunced a pretty while, and then came in three more as ugly as the rest, with red eyes and white stroakes over their blacke faces ; at last they all sat downe right against him ; three of them on the one hand of the Chiefe Priest and three on the other. Then all with their rattles began a song ; which ended, the Chiefe Priest layd downe five wheat cornes ; then straying his arms and hands with such violence that he sweat, and his veynes swelled, he began a short Oration ; at the conclusion they all gave a

short groane ; and then layd downe three graines more. After that they began their song againe, and then another Oration, ever laying downe so many cornes as before, till they had twice incirculed the fire ; that done, they tooke a bunch of little stickes prepared for that purpose, continuing still their devotion, and at the end of every song and Oration they layd downe a sticke betwixt the divisions of Corne. Till night, neither he nor they did either eat or drinke, and then they feasted merrily, with the best provisions they could make. Three dayes they used this Ceremony, the meaning whereof they told him was to

know if he intended them well or no. The circle of meale signified their Country, the circles of corne the bounds of the sea, and the stickes his Country. They imagined the world to be flat and round like a trencher, and they in the midst.”

In this extract we have, from English sources, what is probably the earliest account of the secret customs or shamanistic rites of the Indian medicine men of the Algonquian tribes. I have given Smith's story at length because in it I find the clew to the meaning and the reasons for the origin of the term *Pamaunkee*. As Smith remarks, and as I have before quoted :

“ Their principal Temple or place of Superstition is at Uttamussack at Pamaunkee, neare unto which is a house, Temple or place of Powhatans.”

The constant and invariable habit of the English explorers and settlers, when having but a very imperfect knowledge of the language, was to soften or to abbreviate all descriptive terms to their use and speech, without any regard whatever as to the sense or meaning in which it was uttered by the Indians themselves. Therefore I believe *Pamaunkee* to be a contraction of the descriptive appellation as bestowed by the Indians living on the James and as heard

spoken by Smith and his associates, and that the whole original name is contained in the quotation from Smith and Strachey of "*Uttamussack at Paumaunkee.*" Taking this as our guide, in order to arrive at a correct conclusion, and leaving out the English preposition *at*, which I believe was undoubtedly erroneously inserted by Smith's amanuensis and copied *verbatim et literatim* by Strachey, we then have the compound term or cluster word of *Uttamussack-paumaunkee*, or to give the form of the first part as sometimes occurring, *Uttamussah-paumaunkee*, which I analyze and interpret as follows: *Utt* is a loca-

tive preposition of frequent use in Algonquian dialects, especially in those of New England, to which the Powhatan bears a very close relationship, signifying "at" or "in the." The second component, *mussa* or *musses*, is given by Smith as denoting "woods," that is, a "covert, or place of secrecy," when the suffix *ack*, "place," is added. The terminal *paumaunkee* is a form of the verb "to hide," used by Eliot as an adjectival in the form *pamukque*—hence we have *utt-amuss'ack-pamaunkee*, "a place of secrecy in the woods"; or, to be in accord with Smith, "a place of superstition in the woods."

Spelman, who was a prisoner among the Virginia tribes for some years, and became an expert in their language, in his "Relation" * varies the name as *Powmunkey*; Wingfield in his "Discourse," † as *Pamaonche* or *Pamaonke*; Tindall on his chart ‡ *Pameuke*; while even Smith himself is not always constant in his spelling of the same. The word is probably related to the Delaware *Kimochwen*, "to steal away"; Otchipwe *Gimodak*, "mysteries," "it is a secret"; Cree *Kimotch*, "a secret." The strongest

* Arber's Smith, p. civ.

† *Ibid.*, p. lxxvi.

‡ Brown's Genesis of the United States, p. 150.

corroboration of this study, however, is found abundantly displayed in that store-house of Algonquian knowledge, Eliot's Indian Bible, where it is given in various grammatical forms, and in its phonetic elements is almost identical with the whole Powhatan cluster word. For instance, Eliot uses it in Isaiah xxxii. 2, in the adjectival form of *asompamukque ayeuonganit*—a hiding place; the second word, *ayeuonganit*, being of frequent use by Eliot, and denotes "a dwelling-place," from *ayeu*, "to dwell," with the locative *-onganit*. In Job xl. 21, he makes use of *assampamukqutit*, as an equivalent for "in the

covert." In Job xx. 26, it appears with the prefix of the third person singular, and the terminal of the verb of motion in its simple form also in the third person singular, *wutassampamukquodtoomut*, "where or when he is going in his secret places." We find in Psalms xxvii. 5, with the locative prefix or preposition before referred to, *ut-assampamukquodtut*, "in the secret of"; while lastly I find it used as a verbal noun in 1 Cor. xv. 51, in the form of *asampamukquok*, as the equivalent for "a mystery, a secret thing." Thus, with this linguistic evidence before us, the Powhatan term may be freely trans-

lated "at his place of mystery," as such describes Powhatan's "place of superstition in the woods," as ruled over by the priests of the mystic number seven.*

* Powhatan had another secret place, "where he now ordinarily resideth," says Smiih. (Arber's Smith pp. 80 and 375). "A myle from Orapakes in a thicket of wood, he hath a house in which he keepeth his kinds of Treasure, as skinns, copper, pearle and beads, which he storeth up against the time of his death and burial. Here also is his store of red paint for Oyntment, bowes and arrowes, Targets and clubs. This house is fiftie or sixtie yards in length, frequented only by priests. At the foure corners of this house stand foure Images as Sentinels, one of a Dragon, an other a Beare, the third like a Leopard, and the fourth like a giantlike man; all made evill favouredly according to their best workemanship."



THE KUSKARAWAOKES OF
CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH.*

WHO were the *Kuskara-
waokes*, and what was the
signification of their name,
are questions which have often puz-
zled those who have delved into the
archives of aboriginal history or
searched among the tortuous laby-
rinths of Indian traditions.

The total amount of our knowl-

* From the *American Anthropologist* for
October, 1893, vol. vi. p. 409.



edge relating to this tribe of Indians is very meager, and even that brief portion has not been analyzed with the care that it deserves. Their annals, after the departure of Smith from the Virginia colony, was a blank for many years. We can assume that they were frequently visited by Spelman, Argall, Croshaw, and others for the purposes of trade and traffic;* but no one continued the narrative of subsequent events with the historical and descriptive minuteness that characterizes the recital of Captain John Smith, the intrepid Englishman. The more we study his works the more we learn,

* Smith's Works, Arber, pp. 503, 511, 586.

and the higher the man rises in our estimation. Would that all who followed in his footsteps had performed their work half so well.

Many causes contributed their portion toward the obliteration of the *Kuskarawaokes* as a tribal organization, and these led finally to the subjugation and absorption of the remnant by neighboring tribes. In consequence, after the lapse of many years, when the settlement of their immediate country was begun by the English, nothing was left but their name as perpetuated by Smith, the decaying shells that whitened the sites of their villages, and the grassy circles

that indicated the location of their wigwams.

Rev. Wm. M. Beauchamp, in his recent notes to Cusick's Six Nations,* suggests that Captain John Smith may have meant the *Tuscaroras* by the *Kuscarawaokes*, a southern tribe. This is an utter impossibility, if we are to believe the linguistic evidence that can be brought to bear and accept what Smith has written upon this subject. The word *Tuscarora* might seem to have some affinity with the word *Kuscarawaoke*, at the first glance, without due study and research; but the fact that the *Tuscaroras*

* Iroquois Trail, etc., 1892, p. 98.

lived in another section of the country, were of *Iroquoian* stock, spoke their language, and that their name, according to Mr. Beauchamp, should be translated as "the shirt-wearing people," or, as they term themselves *Skau-ro-na*, "wearing a shirt," entirely prohibits this hypothesis of Mr. Beauchamp, not only for the reasons given, but the additional one that the name *Kuskarawaoke* is absolutely pure Algonquian, as its analysis proves.

The *Kuskarawaokes* were one of the tribes which were found located, in 1608, on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake Bay ; consequently were not a southern tribe from Smith's

point of view, although they were from an Iroquoian standpoint. In Smith's relation of their discovery * he says: "Repairing our sailes with our shirts we set saile for the maine, and fell in with a pretty convenient river on the east called Cuscarawoak. Here doth inhabite the people of *Sarapinagh, Nause, Arseck, and Nantaquak, the best Marchants of all other salvages.*" He also tells us of the river of *Kuscarawoak*, upon which he found seated a people with 200 men.† On his map he

* Smith's Works, Arber, pp. 414, 415.

† Bozman says (Hist. Maryland, vol. i. p. 170): "The 'tract of country,' which they occupied when they were first visited by Smith in 1608, could not have been very

locates a king's town called there *Kuskarawaok*, on a river abbreviated to "*Kus flu.*" While the surrounding country is marked as being under the dominion of this king, thus intimating that the term applied to all the tribes on the river, Smith's statement that there were

'large,' when considered as the hunting grounds of so large a tribe, unless we suppose, that the Cuscarawaocks, the Sarapinaghs, the Nauses, and the Nantiquaks, stated by Smith as dwelling on the Cuscarawaock river, when he saw them were all of the Nanticoke tribe or nation; and this circumstance—the extensiveness of their 'tract of country,' above mentioned, corroborates the opinion, herein before mentioned, that the Cuscarawaoks and those other tribes just mentioned, were all one and the same people as those now denomi-

only 200 men here would make on a very liberal estimate a total population of 500 souls. As he mentions only four villages, and *Sarapinagh*, being the first mentioned and possibly the largest, was probably the real name of the one marked on the map as *Kuskara-*

nated Nanticokes, inhabiting in different towns on the Cuscarawaok now the Nanticoke river. They must have occupied all the borders of that river on both sides, in Somerset as well as in Dorchester counties, from the head thereof, which is now within the Delaware state, to its mouth or junction with the Chesapeake. The Nanticokes are the only numerous and warlike nation of Indians recognized by our earliest records of Maryland as inhabiting in that part of the eastern shore, and under that name alone we now see them."

waok, and in *Sarapinagh* we find a duplicate of the Long Island, New York, *Sagapon'ack*, "a cluster ground-nut place," the stream, no doubt, is the one now known as the Nanticoke River. In the opinion of the best authorities—Bozman,* Dr. Brinton,† and Mr. Mooney ‡—it is considered that the tribe afterward known as the *Nanticokes*—who took their name originally from the village that Smith calls *Nantaquak*, "a point of land on a tidal stream" §

* Hist. Maryland, vol. i. pp. 112, 114.

† Lenape and Their Legends, p. 23.

‡ Amer. Anthropologist, vol. ii. p. 261.

§ Many writers following Heckewelder, including Bozman and Brinton, translate *Nanticoke* as from the Delaware *Unéchtgo*,

—included the descendants of all those river Indians who had survived the inroads of the *Massawomeks*, the *Sasquesahanoughs*, and other predatory tribes.

Smith imparts some information in connection with this people which seems to have been entirely overlooked by all who have written upon the subject of the shell-money of the aborigines. It is remarkable that Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull

signifying "tide-water people, or the sea-shore people." It seems to me a much better derivation is from their old seat on the river, of which *Nanticoke* is an evident corruption, mentioned by Capt. Smith as above stated, viz., *Nantaquak* (= *Naitaquack*) "a point of land on a tidal-stream."

did not recognize its bearing and quote it among his many notes on wampum. The only inference to be drawn from his neglect is that it must have remained unseen, although no one has been more thorough and painstaking in this line of etymological research than he. Professor William H. Holmes, in his splendid memoir, "Art in Shell of the Ancient Americans,"* by far the best essay ever written on this theme, has also overlooked this passage.

These omissions have been partially due to the scarcity and inac-

*Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology.

cessibility of the various editions of Smith's works, now made easy of access to all scholars by the editing and publishing of every English edition of Smith's time, in one volume, by Professor Edward Arber of Birmingham, England.

The truths given to us by Smith are highly interesting and instructive, and not only bring up problems of Indian trade and traffic, but throw considerable light on what hitherto have been disputed points, as follows: "The cause of this discovery was to search [for] this mine . . . also to search what furs, the *best whereof is at Cuscarawaoke, where is made so much Rawranoke*

or white beads, that occasion as much dissention among salvages as gold and silver amongst Christians." * The furs were not a product of the immediate locality, but were evidently brought from afar by other Indians in exchange for the white beads that were manufactured there. Thus it will be seen that the *Kuskarawaokes* were busy workers in the hive of industry, and that their handiwork was eagerly sought after by far-distant tribes, making them "the best marchants of all other salvages." † With this evi-

* Smith's Works, Arber, p. 418.

† Sir Ralph Lane, Commander of Raleigh's Roanoke Colony, heard the same story in 1585. He relates (Arber's Smith, pp. 312,

dence from our authority, the name resolves itself into the constituent parts of *Cusca-rawran-oke*. This resolution being made, it will be observed that it derives its name from the same combination of circumstances that gave Roanoke Island its appellation twenty-three

13): "This lame king [of Chawonock] is called Menatonon. When I had him prisoner two dayes, he told me that 3 dayes Journey in a canow up the river Chawonock, then landing and going foure dayes Journey Northeast, there is a king whose Country lyeth on the Sea, but his best place of strength is an Iland in a bay invironed with deepe water, where he taketh that abundance of Pearle, that not onley his skins, and his nobles, but also his beds and houses are garnished therewith. This king was at Chawonock two yeares ago [1584] to trade with blacke pearle, his worst

years previous, or now over three centuries ago.

The prefix *kusk-*, *kuse-*, or *cuse-*, with the verbal formative *â*, as we find it varied by Smith, denotes the action of making or doing, as he translates it. Therefore it is the dialectic parallel of the Lenape objective-intensive root, *gisch* or *kich*, denoting successful action, of sort, whereof I had a rope [string], but they were naught ; but that king he sayth had store of white, and had trafficke with white men for whom he reserved them ; he promised me guides to him but advised me to goe strong for he was unwilling Strangers should come in his country for his Country is populous and valiant men." The " Iland in a bay invironed with deepe water," was probably " Chingoteague island," see Bozman's remarks under note, p. 86.

which Dr. Brinton quotes numerous examples.* For instance, *gisch-ihan*, "to create with the hands, to make something"; *gisch-ikhan*, "to finish a house"; *gisch-enachk*, "the fence is finished." † It is also related to the Massachusetts *kezhik*, "to make"; *keste-oog*, "they make." Dr. Brinton remarks: "Numerous other derivations could be added. Howse considers it identical with the root *kitch*, great, large. ‡ This would greatly increase its derivations. They certainly appear allied. In Cree Lacombe gives *kitchi*, great,

* Lenape and Their Legends, pp. 102, 103.

† Lenâpé-English Dict., Brinton.

‡ Grammar of the Cree, p. 175.

and *kije*, finished, perfect, both being applied to divinity."* Dr. Trumbull, in his notes to *kéesuck*, Delaware *gischuch*, "sun, moon, heavens" (compare *késkowghs*, "sunnes," J. Smith's Vocab.), says: "This word is related to the animate verb *kezheau*, 'he gives life to,' makes alive (and by which Eliot translates the verb 'creates') signifies, primarily, the sun, as the source of light and heat; (2) the visible heavens, *cælum*; (3) the space of a day, 'one sun,' † while Dr. Brinton suggests that 'the idea

* Lenâpé and Their Legends, pp. 103, 104.

† Nan. Club Rep. of R. Williams' Key, p. 104.

appears to be the beginning of a period of time, with the collateral notion of prosperous activity,' " thus agreeing with Dr. Trumbull partly.

The second component, *Rawranoke* (Smith), "white beads," *Rarenaw* (Strachey), "cheyne" [of white beads] = *Roanoac* of Hariot, and *Roenoke* of the later historians.

To my knowledge Dr. Trumbull has never proposed an etymology for the word *Roanoke*, although referring to it as being the southern term for wampum, the shell-money of the north. In this statement he has simply followed the earlier writers, Beverly, Lawson, Byrd, and others. I may be considered over-

confident in suggesting one, providing Dr. Trumbull failed to discover it, which seems to be evident, but yet its true synthesis can be given, as I hope to demonstrate satisfactorily to those who are interested in this branch of anthropology. In many Indian geographical names occurring on Long Island, New York, the early settlers, both English and Dutch, as I have previously shown,* frequently, as recorded in various documents, and some retained to this day, made use of the sound *rau* for *wau*, *ron* for

*Indian Names in Brooklyn, Brooklyn Eagle Almanac, 1893; see also Indian Names in Borough of Brooklyn, in this series.

won, *run* for *wun*, *rin* for *win*, etc.; the retention or use of this sound in many instances being an error of the ear (otosis, as it has been termed), a mishearing, or rather misapprehension of the sounds uttered, according to Dr. Trumbull. In other cases the retention was due to ease of utterance, for getting rid of harsh sounds and making the word more euphonious to the ear. In the Narragansett language Roger Williams used *wau* as a contraction for *womp*, "white,"* as in *wau-ômpeg*, "white strung beads," *-ômpeg* being a generic suf-

* Nan. Club Rep. of R. Williams' Key, p. 176.

fix to denote a string of shell-money. Therefore Smith's *raw*, Strachey's *rar*, Hariot's *ro*, being the varying prefix of the same word translated by Smith as "white," is necessarily identical with Roger Williams' *wau*. In the same language he gives us *anawsuck*, "shells," which also appears in the compound word *suckau-anai-suck*, "the black or dark-colored shells," the terminal *-suck* (= Eliot's *-sog* or *-suog*) being added to denote the animate plural, leaving the verbal radical *-anaw* or *-anai* [= Massachusetts (Cotton) *-anna*, "a shell," corresponding to *-anaw* or *-enaw* of Smith and Strachey], thus making *rare-*

naw the equivalent of the Narragansett *wau-anaw*, "white shell"; hence by metonymy used to denote "beads," because primarily small shells were simply perforated and strung, or, as Beverly wrote: "Some is made of the cockle shell, broken into small bits, with rough edges, drilled through in same manner as beads, and this they call Roenoke and use it as peak." *

*Beverly, Hist. Virginia.

Bozman remarks (p. 121): "These materials for their money, either conch or cockle-shells, were not to be had from any of the waters of the Chesapeake, but were to be found in abundance on the sea-shores of the Atlantic, particularly the cockle-shell. The situation of the *Cuscarawaocks*, if on the head-waters of the Nanticoke,

In the third component, which is the terminal affix *-oke* (Smith), *-oc* (Hariot), is found the locative generic for "place" or "country," resulting in the synthesis of *Kusca-wau-anan-ock*, "a place of making white beads," or, with Smith, "where is made so much white

about Broad-creek, as we have herein supposed, would give to them a more ready and convenient communication with the tribes of Indians situated on the Atlantic Coast, among others with those of *Chingoteague*, the few remains of whom are stated by Beverly in his History (p. 199), as being at that time when he wrote in alliance with the Maryland Indians. Thus connected with the Indians on the Atlantic coast, these *Cuscarawaocks* would be enabled to supply all the Indians on the Chesapeake with *Peake* and *Roenoke*."

beads"; in *Ro-ano-ac*, "a white shell-place." For similar reasons Long Island, New York, was termed *Meitowax* = *Mēht-anaw-ack*, "the land of the periwinkle" or "the country of the ear shell," and also *Seawan-hacky*, "the seawan country," because the first (*Pyrrula canaliculata* and *Pyrrula carica*) were found in great abundance, as they are to-day, and seawan, "loose beads," were manufactured there.

If I should, with Howse and Dr. Brinton, consider the Delaware root *gisch*, Powhatan *kesk*, as being identical or allied with the root *kitch*, Massachusetts *kishki* or *kutchi*, "principal," "great," "large," "pre-

eminent," used as a prefix to many Indian place-names throughout New England and occurring in *Kiskiack*, a king's town on Smith's map, it would not alter the meaning to any appreciable extent, for then the name would be translated as "the principal place of white beads,"* the idea of making being collateral; all of which is respectfully submitted to those interested in the study of

* Bozman quotes (p. 172): "The emigration of the Nanticokes from Maryland, was well known to the Society of the United Brethren. At the time when these people [The United Brethren] were beginning their settlement in the forks of the Delaware, the Rev. Christian Pyrlaus noted down in his memorandum book, that on the 21st day of May 1748, a number of the



Indian nomenclature and the early history of the Indian tribes of the Atlantic seaboard.

Nanticokes from Maryland, passed by Shamokin in ten canoes, on their way to Wyoming. Others, travelling by land, would frequently pass through Bethlehem, and from hence through the Water Gap to Nescopeck or Susquehanah," etc.

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