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An Organization of the Scientific Investigation of the Indian
Place-nomenclature of the Maritime Provinces
of Canada

by

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(Fourth Paper)

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An Organization of the Scientific Investigation of the Indian Place-nomenclature of the Maritime Provinces of Canada.

(Fourth Paper).

By W. F. GANONG, M.A., Ph.D.

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This paper is identical in aim and method with its three predecessors, which were published in the immediately foregoing volumes of these Transactions. In a word, I am trying to apply the principles of scientific analysis to a very interesting subject especially prone to doubt and error. The comparative method which I use, explained in the introduction to the first paper, is proving wonderfully successful in solving the problems, as this paper will further illustrate.

For convenience of reference I may add that the former papers made analysis of the names Oromocto, Magaguadavic, Upsalquitch, Manan, Nepisiguit, Kouchibouguac, Anagance, Wagan, Pokiok, Penniac, Bocabec, Pentagoet-Penobscot, Pohenegamook, and Cobscook, and used the roots thus made available in the analysis of a good many other words, both existent and extinct, of lesser importance. Of these extinct Indian names,—indigenous to the country, appropriate to the places, and often reducible to a highly pleasing form,—the greater number may be revived to obvious advantage when additional place-names become needed in future; and I have tried to suggest simplified and softened forms for such purpose.

As to pronunciation, I have myself used, as a rule, only the ordinary English sounds of the letters, in order that the reader may be able to understand the words without constant resort to special keys. All of Rand's words, from his *Reader* and two *Dictionaries*, use pronunciation signs which are identical with those of our English *Dictionaries*, excepting that in his *Micmac-English Dictionary* his editor uses the letters *tc* to express the soft sound of *ch* in church.



Gatschet and M. Chamberlain both use the standard alphabet of philologists, in which the vowels are sounded for the most part in the continental manner. All of the words from Father Rasle's *Dictionary* are to be read as French.

Canso.

LOCATION AND APPLICATION.—The name of a Harbour, an important fishing center, at the extreme eastern end of the peninsular part of Nova Scotia; also a Cape on an Island south of the entrance to the Harbour; also a Town on the southwest shore of the Harbour; also the Strait, or Gut, which separates the Island of Cape Breton from the mainland of Nova Scotia; also formerly applied by the French to the Bay now called Chedabucto Bay. Its spelling, CANSO, expresses precisely its local pronunciation, the A being short, the O long, and the accent on the first syllable.

HISTORY OF THE NAME.—It makes its first known appearance in 1609 in the *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* of Lescarbot, where it occurs many times and always in the form CAMPSEAU, applied especially to the Harbour, but also to the Bay which we now call Chedabucto Bay, and to the Strait. As to the Strait, Lescarbot uses in the explanation to his map this expression,—“Passage or Strait of the Bay of Campseau,” showing that the name did not belong originally to the Strait but was applied thereto descriptively because it communicated with the Bay of Campseau. The name next appears in Champlain's *Voyages*, of 1613, first in the form CANCEAU, which spelling is used also on his map; but later, and oftener, as CAMPSEAU. He applies the name, however, only to the Harbour, while he leaves the Bay unnamed, and gives two different names to the Strait,—“Passage, as the French called it. In a later edition of his works, in 1632, and upon his map of that year, he uses the form CANCEAU for Harbour and Passage, and CAMPSEAU for the Bay. Both Champlain and Lescarbot show that the Harbour was a place of resort for fishermen, implying that the name had already been previously in use. Father Biard, in his *Relation*, uses CAMPSEAU and CAMPSEAUX. De Laet, who follows Champlain closely in most matters, adopts CAMSEAU for the Harbour, on his map of 1630; Creuxius, on his map of 1664 in his *Historia Canadensis* uses the Latinized form CAMPSEIUM for both Port and Strait; Denys, who knew this region well, and describes it fully in his well known *Description . . . de l'Amerique septentrionale*, of 1672, applies the name CAMPSEAUX to Port, Bay, and Passage, though on his map the Bay is confused with the Port by the engraver. With Denys, however, the use of the name for the Bay disappears. The published map of Canada by Du Val of 1677 uses CAMSEAU for the Passage and CANZEAU for the Port; Jumeau, in his fine map of 1685 (published in the Champlain Society's edition of Father le Clercq's *New Relation of Gaspesia*, 10) has CANCEAU, but applied only to the Cape, while the great De Meulles-Franquelin map of Acadia, of 1686, still unpublished, has CAMCEAUX for the Cape, though the Passage here bears its temporary name of Fronsac, which appears also upon some later French maps. Naturally the later maps by Franquelin, of which several exist in Ms., have the form CAMSEAU, which appears also on the fine map of Canada by De l'Isle of 1703. With this map and those that it influenced, however, the M disappeared, to be replaced by N, for Bellin, in his very influential and widely-copied map of Acadia of 1744, in Charlevoix's *Historie de la Nouvelle France*, adopted CANCEAU, and his authority soon made this the prevailing form upon all of the later French maps. In thus abandoning the

earlier CAMCEAU for CANCEAU Bellin may have been influenced by the occurrence of this form on Champlain's maps; but it is much more likely that he reflected therein the established pronunciation, which by this time had settled upon the N sound after a long period of vacillation between M and N. This receives confirmation from the early adoption of the N upon English maps, the earliest that I find being Moll's of 1715, which applies the form CANSEAUX to the Strait. This soon became simplified to CANSO, which I find first upon the Morris map of 1749 published with *The Journal of Captain William Pote*, (New York, 1896). Morris applies the name to the Cape, to Islands in the vicinity, and to the Strait. This form soon became prevalent upon the English maps, and finally attained to universal use, though with an occasional partial return to a French form, of which a conspicuous instance is found in Haliburton's *History of Nova Scotia*, of 1829, which uses CANSEAU. An early English corruption of the word was CANCER, used by Colonel Church in 1696 (Drake's *History of Philip's War*, 1827, 227).

Summarizing now the history of the word it seems plain, (1) it was in use before its earliest recorded appearance; (2) its early recorded forms were prevalently CAMPSEAU and CAMSEAU, with CANCEAU as exceptional, though finally this form prevailed; (3) it was applied especially to the Harbour, from which it was apparently extended to the Bay, as it certainly was from the Bay to the Strait, its original use being thus apparently for the Harbour only. In a new country where place-names are scant, there is always a tendency to extend them to cover a number of features in their vicinity.

ANALYSIS OF THE WORD.—Lescarbot affirmed, in 1609, in the key to his map, that the word is Indian, and all evidence sustains his statement. Our best authority upon the Micmac language, Rev. S. T. Rand, gives the name in his works as Micmac, deriving it from CAMSÖK, to which he assigns the meaning, "Opposite a high bluff" (*First Reading Book in the Micmac Language*, 85), while elsewhere (*Micmac-English Dictionary*, 183) he gives with the spelling KAMSÖK, the meaning "Opposite the lofty cliffs." Again, Rev. Father Pacifique, another of our best authorities in Micmac, gives its aboriginal form as GAMSÖG (*Micmac Almanac* published in 1902), though he does not mention any meaning. With Rand's information to aid, it is easy to resolve the word into its roots, of which there are two. The first is obviously the inseparable prefix KAM, part of KAMÄÄK, meaning ACROSS, or BEYOND (Rand, *English-Micmac Dictionary*, 5, 36). This prefix occurs in a number of combinations meaning ACROSS, or ON THE OPPOSITE SIDE OF e.g., KAMESEBOO (K) meaning ACROSS, or ON THE OPPOSITE SIDE OF, THE RIVER, the root SEBOO meaning River, K being the locative, and the E after the M being simply separative for ease of pronunciation (*op. cit.* 5, 186). In these cases, as in all others given by Rand, the meaning is always across, beyond, or on the other side of, the object mentioned *from the speaker*, and not across from or opposite the object itself. It is to be noted, by the way, that the correctness of KAM as the first root is confirmed by the prevalence of M instead of N in the early forms of the name, as above recorded.

Turning now to the second part of the word KAMSÖK, that also is plain. It is an inseparable root SÖK, meaning BLUFF or CLIFF. Thus, Rand gives for CLIFF KÄKOOSÖK (*English-Micmac Dictionary*, 60), and gives 'MTÄSÖK' as PRECIPICE (*op. cit.*, 202); a CAVE is LAMSÖK (literally "inside a CLIFF," *op. cit.*, 53; *Micmac-English Dictionary*, 86), while the same root occurs in the place names, KTADOOSÖK, SEVOGLE, and others considered below. Placing now this root SÖK in place of SEBOO in the combination given above, we have KAM-SÖK, meaning ACROSS THE CLIFF or ON THE OPPOSITE SIDE OF THE CLIFF, or

BEYOND THE CLIFF (from the person speaking). There is no doubt, I believe, as to this meaning.

With the word KAM-SÖK, meaning BEYOND THE CLIFF, thus clear, we turn to examine the applicability of the word to the topography of CANSEU. And this is not hard to find. The entire north coast of this part of Nova Scotia, from near Canso westward almost to Guysboro Harbour, is a well-nigh unbroken line of abrupt and striking bluffs and cliffs, making, indeed, almost a single cliff line for that distance. This line of cliffs, I have no question, is the SÖK of KAMSÖK. Now to one approaching, or speaking, from the direction of Guysboro and the Strait of Canso, the Harbour of Canso is the first place of any consequence beyond or on the opposite side of these cliffs, and as all of the evidence we possess would tend to show that Guysboro and the Strait, with the various places accessible therefrom, were the usual places of Indian resort, while the much less favored Canso was a place of occasional visit rather than permanent residence, the expression PLACE BEYOND THE CLIFFS would be a most natural and appropriate designation therefor. And this I believe to be the actual origin of this word. As in other cases the name was probably not applied to a particular spot but rather to the vicinity of the Indian camping grounds, which were probably on or near the present town of Canso.

This analysis of the roots of the name KAMSÖK brings out the fact that the word lacks the locative termination usually borne by aboriginal Micmac names to express the fact that the word applies to a place. We would expect, therefore, to find that the aboriginal form of the word would terminate with K, or CH, and a preceding vowel, in accordance with the usual mode of forming the locative. Now it happens, I believe, that this full locative form does actually survive, in the CAMSO-GOOCH, next considered; and it seems most probable that the locative termination OUCH was dropped in the course of the long use of the word by fishermen and others prior to its appearance in records, although, as will be shown, it is still retained by the Indians.

OTHER EXPLANATIONS OF THE NAME.—Of these I have found four. L'Abbé Laverdière in his great *Oeuvres de Champlain*, 278, calls attention to a statement of Father F. Martin, in his translation of Father Bressani's *Relation*, to the effect that Canseau was named for a navigator named Canse. This explanation is given in Brown's *Yarmouth, Nova Scotia*, 1888, 34, with an addition,—“from the French Navigator Canse, and eau (water)”! But l'Abbé Laverdière shows conclusively that this derivation rests upon a mistaken reading of a passage in Thevet, who is really referring to the West Indies, while moreover the navigator's name is given by Thevet as Cause, not Canse. Again, Haliburton, in his *History of Nova Scotia*, II, 223, speaking of the Strait, has this note,—“It is said that the derivation of the word Canseau, is from the Spanish ‘Ganso’, a goose, a name given to it on account of the immense flocks of wild geese then seen there.” No evidence of any sort is adduced in support of this view, nor do the records supply any; and it is obviously no more than one of those pure guesses based upon a similarity of word forms, such as are sufficiently common in this subject, and of which the most conspicuous example is Acadia (compare the references in the Champlain Society's edition of Denys' *Description*, 126, and a later number of this series). The third of the other explanations is that of Rouillard, in his *Noms Géographiques empruntés aux Langues Sauvages*, Quebec, 1906, 27. After discussion he rejects an Indian in favour of a French origin, deriving it from *Canseau*, and he quotes Réveillaud's *Histoire du Canada* as recalling that this word *Canseau*, or *Chanseau* in old French meant “Boundaries or Limits” (“bornes, limites”). No evidence, however, or reason, for such a meaning is offered, and this explanation evidently has no other foundation whatever than a chance

resemblance of words from different tongues. The fourth of the other explanations, rests, curiously enough, upon an error made by Rand himself. Thus, as noted above, he defines CAMSÖK as meaning "opposite a high bluff" and "opposite the lofty cliffs," while elsewhere he gives "high banks opposite," (*Micmac-English Dictionary*, 60); and in yet another place (*English-Micmac Dictionary*, 186), under the word "opposite," he writes, "A steep bluff is on the opposite side, KÄMSÖK. (Hence the pr.n. *Canso*)" Rand thus makes this word CAMSÖK mean a place across from a cliff, or opposite to a cliff, (i.e., facing a cliff) which is quite a different thing from a place across or beyond or on the opposite or other side of a cliff. But Rand's own works are the very best witnesses that here he has erred somewhat. As comparison of the data above given under the analysis of the word will show, all others, excepting CAMSÖK, of his several combinations involving the root CAM or KAM carry for this prefix the significance of across, beyond, or on the opposite side of the object mentioned, i.e., the object mentioned is between the place meant and the speaker. Furthermore, I cannot find in Rand's works any case whatever of the use of KAM in a combination involving the meaning of opposite to, or across from, or facing the object mentioned. It seems perfectly clear, therefore, that Rand in the case of CAMSÖK, has been misled by the different meanings that can go with the word "opposite." I infer that he, not having in mind the geographical relations of CANSO to the cliffs between that place and Guysboro, has read into his phrase "opposite side of," the meaning "opposite side from,"—a rather natural, but in this case, quite incorrect rendering; and this meaning once in his mind, it influenced all of his later treatment of the word. It is precisely this same meaning, doubtless obtained originally from Rand himself, which underlies Gesner's rather fanciful but widely copied phrase, "facing the frowning cliff" (Murdoch, *History of Nova Scotia*, I, 534).

SUMMARY. The name CANSO is of Micmac Indian origin, corrupted, through the French, from KAM-SÖK, or, probably in full form KAM-SÖK-OOCH, meaning literally BEYOND-CLIFF-PLACE, or, more freely, THE PLACE BEYOND THE CLIFFS, in description of its position in relation to the line of cliffs along the south side of Chedabucto Bay as considered from the direction of the more frequented country centering in Guysboro.

CAMSOGOCH. A word given by Rand as the Micmac Indian name for "Little Canso" (*First Reading Book*, cited, 85, and *Micmac-English Dictionary*, 183, in the form KAMSÖKOOTC). The name "Little Canso" does not appear upon any map or chart that I can find. Its application, however, is made plain by information sent me by an interested and obliging resident of Canso, Mr. C. H. Whitman, who says that Canso, Cape Canso, and Little Canso, are all names for precisely the same place, in distinction from the Strait of Canso (which separates Cape Breton Island from the peninsula of Nova Scotia), but that the name Little Canso, used especially by American fishermen, is now rarely heard. This use of Little Canso is fully sustained by a statement in Haliburton's *History of Nova Scotia* (II, 93), who shows that Little Canso was formerly used especially for the main entrance into Canso Harbour. Now Rand, it seems evident, not knowing this place personally, naturally assumed that CAMSOGOCH and LITTLE CANSO are precise equivalents of one another and separate entirely from CAMSÖK and CANSO, whereas I take it that just as CANSO and LITTLE CANSO are identical, so are also CAMSÖK and CAMOSGOOCH. Also, a genuine "little Canso," consistent in every feature, does exist, as will be shown under the word CAMSO-GOOCH-ECH, next considered. But more important is the fact, that the termination CH, which was evidently taken by Rand as a form of the diminutive CHICH or CHEECH, is by no means necessarily

a diminutive, but simply a form of the locative, equivalent to OOK. This is shown by the use of OUCH, or OUCHK as a locative termination in words in which there can be no suspicion of a diminutive meaning, e.g., LUSTGOOCH (Restigouche), TAKUMEGOOCHK (Tatamagouche), and others which will be considered later in this series. This termination, by the way, appears to be especially common in words in which the syllable before it ends in a K or hard G sound; and it therefore appears to be a device to prevent the immediate succession of two K sounds. Taking everything together, accordingly, it seems to me clear that we have in CAMSOGOOCH simply the full aboriginal form, including the locative termination, of CAMSÖK (the G and K sounds being almost indistinguishable in Micmac) which, as noted above, lacks the locative termination. The explanation of the linking of CAMSOGOOCH to LITTLE CANSO by Rand seems to be perfectly understandable. Rand's interest in Micmac place-names was purely incidental to his general linguistic Micmac studies, and ample evidence in his writings shows that he gave no critical attention to place-names. It seems most probable that the Indians, influenced by their familiarity with the English form CANSO, gave him the exact equivalent, without the locative, in Micmac roots, viz., CAMSÖK or KAMSÖK, but at the same time gave him also the full Indian form with the locative, KAMSÖK-OOCH. In the thought that these were two separate words, and finding a LITTLE CANSO all ready at hand, he naturally interpreted KAMSÖGOOCH as an abbreviated diminutive (involving CHEECH), of KAMSÖK. But in this natural supposition he erred, as I think there is no doubt. Rand's CAMSOGOOCH, accordingly, which would be better written KAMSOKOOCH, does not mean LITTLE CANSO, but is the full aboriginal form, including the locative termination, of CANSO.

CAMSOGOOCH. A word given by Rand as the Micmac name for White Head (*First Reading Book*, cited, 102; *Micmac-English Dictionary*, in the form KAMSÖKOOTCËTC, 183). The roots of the word are perfectly clear; they include CAMSOGOOCH, just considered, the full aboriginal form of Canso, together with the very common suffix CHECH or CHEECH, which always means LITTLE. The word, therefore, means exactly and literally LITTLE CANSO. As to the location of White Head, the place to which the name applies, the editor of Rand's *Micmac-English Dictionary* is certainly in error in placing it in "C.B.," (Cape Breton), since no such name occurs in that island so far as I can find after the most detailed search. On the other hand, the name White Head occurs thrice not far from Canso,—for a Cape on White Island about six miles south of Canso, for an Island just off Whitehaven some twelve miles southwest of Canso, and as the local equivalent for Whitehaven itself. The former, being only an exposed point on a barren island, would not be a place for Indian resort, while, moreover, the name White Head is used only upon some maps, the charts having White Point. White Head, the Island, is a barren, inhospitable place, unlikely, I am told, to have been an Indian resort. Whitehaven, however, offers Indian camp sites, and it lies in the near vicinity of that Port de Savelette which is mentioned by both Lescarbot and Champlain as an important French fishing station to which the Indians resorted. Of these three, Whitehaven would seem the more probable location of KAMSOKOOCH or LITTLE CANSO, although one would expect a location nearer Canso itself. No doubt the name applied especially to the place in that region chief in importance as an Indian resort. But that there was a KAMSOKOOCH or LITTLE CANSO separate from KAMSOKOOCH or CANSO proper, there seems no question.

The existence of this name is a strong confirmation of the correctness of the view that CAMSOGOOCH is simply the full aboriginal form of CAMSÖK, for were it a diminutive, as Rand seems to have thought, we would then have in CAMSOGOO-CHECH the remarkable and anomalous feature of a double diminutive. It is this apparent though groundless need for explaining a double diminutive that has led the editor of Rand's *Micmac-English Dictionary* (183) to define KAMSÖKOOTËTC as "little place opposite small cliffs." But I think the evidence above given fully shows that only a single diminutive is present.

CANSEAU. The name of a Point on the south side of the Harbour of Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, as marked upon the modern maps. The earliest use of the word on the plans in the Land Office at Charlottetown, as I am informed by Mr. Thomas W. May of that office, occurs on one of 1781, where it is spelled CANSO, while on another of 1819, the name is applied in this form not only to the Point, but also to the Cove next to the southward thereof. The word, accordingly, would seem identical with the name CANSO, in Nova Scotia, already considered. Turning, now, to the geographical features of the place, they are such as to seem to confirm the identity not only in form but in meaning, for to one entering the Harbour of Charlottetown (and the nomenclature of Harbours and Rivers was given by our Indians with reference to entering or ascending the same), the Point and Cove lie just beyond the lines of low cliffs which occur upon both sides of the narrow entrance.

On the other hand there is some good presumptive evidence that the name did not belong aboriginally to this place, but was transferred here by an indirect method from CANSO in Nova Scotia. The first survey of the Island was the very accurate one by Captain Holland, made for the British Government in 1764-5, and it is known that the vessel assigned to aid him in the survey was named the CANCEAUX (Campbell, *History of Prince Edward Island*, 4). In an excellent address upon Holland's Survey by Hon. F. de St. C. Brecken, published in *The Daily Patriot*, at Charlottetown, June 26, 1899, it is stated that Holland spent most of the winter of 1764-5 near Fort Amherst, on the west side of the entrance to Charlottetown Harbour, and a letter of Holland's is quoted in which he refers to men who are "to remain on board of the Canceaux for the winter, which is now unrigged and laid up in a cove a mile distant from the fort, where she is entirely out of danger from the ice doing her the least harm by driving upon her when it breaks up in the spring;" and the author of the article adds the comment that this cove was Canseau Cove no doubt, which is in fact situated a mile from the old fort. Hence it seems clear that the Cove took its name from its association with this ship, and later became extended to the neighbouring Point, a wholly consistent and natural method of origination of place-names. As to the origin of the name of the ship, we have no positive knowledge, but as the word Canceaux does not occur anywhere excepting as the name of the place in Nova Scotia, it would seem tolerably certain that it was drawn from that place.

Other Aboriginal Place-names containing the root KAM, meaning BEYOND, of CANSO.

Of these I have found thus far but one, and that not a certainty, viz., KAM-OURASKA.

KAMOURASKA. An important locality,—County, former Seigniori, Village, small River, and group of Islands, on the south shore of the River Saint Lawrence a hundred miles below Quebec. The name has had its present form since early times, for the Title of concession of the Seigniori in 1674 spells it as now (Bouchette, *Topographical Dictionary of Lower Canada*,) while the great Franquelin-de Meulles

map of 1686, as I find in my photograph from the original, has it CAMOURASKA, applied to the Islands. The word has every appearance of an Indian origin, on which assumption its form suggests naturally two roots, KAM and OURASKA, the latter, however, in view of the constant replacement of the Indian R by L in words adopted by the French, being necessarily OULASKA. On this theory, the prefix KAM would represent our root KAM, meaning BEYOND or ON THE OTHER SIDE OF, as discussed under CANSO, making the word mean a place BEYOND OULASKA. As to the identity of OULASKA, I have no facts, and can only suggest that it is connected with the present Ouelle (River), which looks like a probable abbreviation of an aboriginal OUELESKA. In accordance with this theory, we would expect to find the Ouelle River below KAMOURASKA, since the Indians applied their nomenclature with reference to the ascent, not the descent, of rivers; and it is a very curious fact that the usually accurate Franquelin-de Meulles map really has the "Ouel" below Kamouraska, though in this it is of course quite wrong. However, if the word did not originate with the Indians of the lower river, but of the upper parts, then the expression BEYOND OULASKA, or BEYOND OUELLE, would be explicable,—this of course assuming that the root KAM, or equivalent, occurs in the dialects of Indians, Abnakis or others, residing on the upper parts of the Saint Lawrence, and accustomed to think *down* rather than *up* the river. The root does occur, indeed, in the dialect of the Abnakis, who live near Quebec, in the form AGÓMI, meaning ACROSS, BEYOND, according to Prince (*American Anthropologist*, XI, 1909, 638).

Now this theory that KAM is our root meaning BEYOND receives a considerable support from Rouillard's brief discussion of the name in his *Noms Géographiques* (cited on page 262), for he quotes Père Lacombe as interpreting the word from the Cree (one of the Algonquin tongues), making it AKAM, meaning "on the other side of the water" (de l'autre bord de l'eau), clearly an equivalent of our KAM, while the remainder of the word he derives from ASKAW or RASKAW meaning "grass, rushes" (du foin, des joncs), which perhaps also is substantially correct. But this is all I can offer as to this word, which I must leave for study by those within whose personal knowledge the locality falls. It is to be noted, however, that still another interpretation has been given,—by Laurent, in his *Familiar Abenakis and English Dialogues*, Quebec, 1884, 212, who suggests an origin from Abenaki roots SKA MÓRASKUA or SKA MÓLASKUA, meaning THERE IS SOME WHITE BIRCH BARK, or THERE ARE SOME WHITE BIRCH TREES. But no evidence is given, and the explanation has obviously no more basis than an attempt to match up the parts of the word with modern roots that happen to resemble them.

There is another word ACAMAC, name of a railroad station near Saint John and known to be Indian in origin, which has the appearance of involving the root KAM; but I shall show later that the root ACAM has a very different origin and meaning.

*Other Aboriginal Acadian Place-names containing the Root SŌK
meaning CLIFF, of CANSO.*

Sevole. Considered separately below.

KTADOOSOK. The Micmac name, according to Rand, of the Saguenay River (*First Reading Book* cited, 99, as 'KTÁDOOSŌK; *English-Micmac Dictionary*, 224; and *Micmac-English Dictionary* as KETADOOSOKE, 183). He gives the meaning as FLOWING BETWEEN TWO HIGH STEEP CLIFFS (*op. cit.* 99), thus showing

very clearly the use of the same root SÖK meaning CLIFF, as is contained in CANSO. Compare also Rand's *Legends of the Micmacs*, 250. Father Pacifique gives, independently, the same word, in the form GTATOSAG,¹ with a meaning partially different, viz., ENTRANCE THROUGH ROCKS ("l'entrée rocheuse," in *Une Tribu Priviligée*, 1910, 2). The resemblance of this word to Tadoussac suggests at once that the two are identical and that the Micmac name of the Saguenay, 'KTÄDOOSÖK, is the original form of our TADOUSSAC, the word SAGUENAY being the Montagnais name of the same river. The word appears first with certainty in Champlain's *Des Sauvages* of 1603 as TADOUSAC, while Lescarbot in 1609 has TADOUSSAC, both applying the name to the Port at the mouth of the Saguenay. Other interpretations of the word have, however, been given, as noted by L'Abbé Laverdière in his *Oeuvres de Champlain*, 68; and the word must have further study.

Other names which may perhaps involve this root SÖK, meaning CLIFF, are WESOKPAGEL, the aboriginal name for Newcastle Creek which empties into the head of Grand Lake in south-central New Brunswick, and which has extensive cliffs upon it; and WÖSOKSEGEK', the Micmac name for Debert River, and for Martins Point, in Nova Scotia, according to Rand (*First Reading Book*, 87, 94). Furthermore, there is a relation between this root SÖK, and another, which appears as SOK, SAK, SAAK, and SÄÄK, with the meaning ROCK, in a number of place names (e.g., ABOOTOOSOK, NELIKSAK, ANESAK, BOOKSÄÄK, and others given in Rand's works); and these I hope later to discuss in full. It is to be noted, however, that some of these words, especially those ending in SAAK, may involve a quite different root meaning OUTLET, later to be considered.

Sevogle.

LOCATION AND APPLICATION.—The name of a river of northeast central New Brunswick, flowing eastward into the Northwest Miramichi; also extended to a post-office near its mouth; also applied to a smaller river next to the southward, in the form Little Sevogle. The name is pronounced locally SĒ-VÖ'-GUL, the E as in SET, the O as in GO and accented, and the U as in GULL. The river, which is wholly unsettled from source to mouth, is fully described and mapped, with a preliminary note on the origin of its name, in the *Bulletin of the Natural History Society of New Brunswick*, No. XXV, 1906, 537; also 533.

HISTORY OF THE NAME.—The somewhat remote position of the river is correlated naturally with a rather late appearance of the name; and the very earliest use thereof that I have been able to find is in one of the *Land Memorials* of 1805, preserved in the Government Offices at Fredericton, where it occurs in the form SOUGLE, while in another of the same series, only four years later, in 1809, it appears with its present spelling of SEVOGLE. The earliest map, of any kind, upon which I have been able to find it, is Bonnor's fine map of the Province of 1820, where it is printed SEVOGLE. Five years later, on Lockwood's map of New Brunswick, it is given as SEVOGLE, the present spelling, though there is a return to SEWOGLE on Baillie's map of New Brunswick, of 1832. All later maps, however, doubtless following Lockwood, have SEVOGLE, which has thus become fixed in our time as the undisputed standard. It is, by the way, a bit unfortunate, in the light of its local pronunciation, that the word had not been first written SEVOGUL, which would have expressed somewhat better both the local pronunciation and the etymological origin, as will be made clear below. This indeed is the spelling used by Rand, who

wrote it, obviously, according to the sound. But of course the complete prevalence of a standard spelling makes any attempt at change wholly undesirable.

ANALYSIS OF THE WORD.—The Micmac Indians, still living in considerable numbers upon the Miramichi, all recognize the word as belonging to their language, and give its pronunciation as SWŌ'-GUL, or SĒ-WŌ'-GUL, the E being so short as hardly to be distinguishable, and the W not prominent. As one of the best-informed of the Micmacs at Eelground, at the mouth of the Northwest Miramichi, once told me (in the language of my notes) the Indians "pronounce the word shorter than in English." Obviously it is this shorter pronunciation which is expressed in the earliest known use of the word, as recorded above, viz., SOUGLE. We may therefore accept the form SĒ-WŌ'-GUL, or better, for a reason given below, SĒ-WŌ'-KUL, with a very short E, as expressing best the aboriginal form of the name.

As to its meaning, however, the Indians that I have interviewed declared that they did not know it. In the absence of any direct testimony we have only one resource, and that is an examination of the physical features of the place to find whether it presents any character so striking and unusual as to form a natural distinctive name. Such a feature does, in fact, present itself for this river. As I reflect upon its characteristics since I traversed the length of both of its two branches several years ago, the one feature which stands out most prominently in my mind is the great series it displays of interglacial and postglacial gorges with vertical cliff walls. These gorges exceed in number and length those displayed by any other New Brunswick Stream, and at the junction of the North and South Branches of the River they form a natural T-shaped gorge, known to lumbermen as *The Square Forks*, and to local geologists as a unique feature in river-characters for this part of America. The details of these gorges, with a full description of the Square Forks, are given in the articles above cited in the *Bulletin of the Natural History Society of New Brunswick*. In these striking cliff-walled gorges, especially those at the Square Forks, accordingly, we have a natural, or in the light of the genius of Indian name-giving, one may say inevitable, basis for a distinctive place-name for the river. Now, with the idea of the cliffs in mind, it is not difficult to find the roots in the word SĒ-WŌ'-GUL or SWŌ'-GUL, for the resemblance of SĒ-WŌG or SWŌG to the SŌK of KAMSŌK, the original of CANSO, above considered, will at once strike the attention. The sounds of G and K are practically indistinguishable in Micmac, the actual sound, indeed, lying between the two, but as a choice between the two letters must be made, I follow Rand's usage and adopt the K. As to the difference between SE-WŌK or SWŌK, and SŌK, that, I think, is not material, especially in view of the fact, of which I have a good many examples, that Rand, whether through lack of a keenly-sensitive ear, or with a desire for the greatest simplicity of expression, did not distinguish the double vowel sound that occurs in many roots, but always ran them together. Accordingly, I am strongly inclined to think that SĒ-WŌK, or at least SWŌK, rather than the more condensed root SŌK is the real original form of the root meaning CLIFF. Of course the difference in the sounds may be dialectical, or may involve some special shade of meaning, which I have not caught, or may contain a modification applying to the Square Forks; but as to the essential identity of the two roots, in view of the similar features explained thereby, I think there is no reasonable doubt. As to the termination UL of SĒ-WŌK'-UL, that is, I think, unmistakable; it is simply the usual suffix, expressing the plural for inanimate objects, thus making the root mean not simply CLIFF but CLIFFS. Thus Rand gives for 'MTĀSOK, meaning BLUFF, the plural 'MTĀSOK-OOL (*First Reading Book*, 60). Hence it seems to be reasonably certain that the Micmac word SĒ-WŌK'-UL, applied to this river signifies CLIFFS, in allusion to the vertical rock walls of its many gorges.

And this view is in perfect agreement with that of Reverend Father Pacifique, of the Micmac mission at Restigouche, by far our most learned living authority upon the Micmac language, who wrote me some years ago that the word Sevogle means CLIFFS, as I have recorded in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, XII, 1906, ii, 48. In that place, it is true, I expressed doubt as to the correctness of Father Pacifique's view, but further study since that time has convinced me of its correctness. Furthermore, in the same place, I expressed doubt as to the sufficiency of the cliffs as a basis for the name, outside of the Square Forks, but further study has modified that conclusion to the one here expressed.

It will be noticed that the word as given above lacks a locative termination such as Indian names almost invariably have. Yet the Indians use it with such a termination, as shown by the form SĀ-WŌ'-GĪLK (the G hard of course), given me for the word by the late Michael Flinne, the Indian teacher at Elgroud. No doubt the final locative K was always present in the aboriginal form of the word, making it SĒ-WŌ'-GUL-ŌOK', though the Indians now frequently drop the termination under the influence of association with the whites, who use the shorter form of the word.

The name Little Sevogle, as applied to the smaller stream of that name, is evidently a white man's usage, since the Indians have a quite different name for that stream, as Rand has stated (*First Reading Book*, 91), and as I have myself confirmed from the Indians themselves. Further, my suggestion, in the *Transactions* above cited, that the name Sevogle might have belonged originally to the Little Sevogle, is evidently groundless in light of the considerations above given. The Micmacs, however, do have a "Little Sevogle," in their tongue SWOGLESIS or SWOGLE-CHEECH; but I have been told by them that it applies to the North Branch of the Sevogle, not to the Little Sevogle.

OTHER EXPLANATIONS OF THE NAME.—Of these I know but one, and that was given me by Mr. Flinne above mentioned, who said that the word meant SOUR; this was explained by a story of an early incident wherein the fish were driven away by a poisonous substance which spoiled or soured the water. Evidently Mr. Flinne's informant connected the word with the Micmac SĀŌOKW, meaning SOUR (Rand, *English-Micmac Dictionary*, 245) which SĒ-WŌK'-UL somewhat resembles. But aside from this resemblance there is absolutely no ground for connecting the two words, and the interpretation cannot be considered to have any status in comparison with that founded on the positive evidence above given.

SUMMARY. The name SEVOGLE seems without doubt a corruption of the Micmac Indian SEWŌKUL, or in full SEWŌKUL-ŌOK, meaning literally CLIFFS-PLACE, or more generally, THE RIVER OF MANY CLIFFS, in description of the numerous prominent gorge cliffs, culminating in the Square Forks, distinctive of this river.

Petitcodiac.

LOCATION AND APPLICATION.—The name of the most important River of southeastern New Brunswick, extended also to a Village, and a Railroad Station on its bank. It is pronounced, in educated circles, like PETTY-CODY-ACK, with all of the vowels short, and the last syllable strongly accented; but this pronunciation varies among country people and sailors to PETTY-COAT-JACK'. Thus the second T of the usual spelling PETITCODIAC is wholly silent.

HISTORY OF THE NAME.—It makes its earliest known appearance in 1686 as PETCOUCOYEK, from the invaluable great Franquelin-de Meulles Map (*these Transactions*, III, 1897, ii, 364), a form which, in view of the easy interchangeability of K or C with T in these Indian words, might almost be read as PETCOUTOYEK.

I find it next in a document of 1702 as PÉCOUDIACK, which, in view of its later forms, I take to be a misprint for PETCOUDIACK (Rameau de Saint-Pere, *Une Colonie Fédérale*, II, 335). Later, and especially in connection with the troubles which culminated in the Expulsion of the Acadians, the name finds very frequent mention in documents and upon maps, in a great variety of forms, e.g., PETKOUNDIAK, PITCOUDIACK, PATCOOTYEAQ, PETKOUTIEK, PATCOUTIEUK, PITCORDIAC, PITSCORDIAC, and others, with many misprinted forms, such as PELCOUDIACK, and DELKEKOU DIACK. A complete collection of the spellings would number perhaps two-score. In the French documents, however, there is a marked tendency to use the form PETCOUDIAC, or some form very close thereto, and this type survived the French period in official documents and maps, and came into use in those of the English, e.g., as PETCODIACK on a land grant of 1765, PETCUDIAC on Des Barres' *Charts* of about 1780, and in the Morse *Report* on Nova Scotia of 1784 (*Report on Canadian Archives*, 1884, xxxiii); and it is either PETCUDIAC or PETCOUDIAC upon all of the Provincial maps,—by Bonnor, Lockwood, Baillie, and others, down to Saunders' of 1842, which has PETACODIAC. Meantime, however, two other forms of spelling had originated in the early English documents. One of the two begins with the PETTCOCHACK in the very literal *Journal of Captain William Pote*, of 1745, 53, although misapplied to the Washademoak, while later English maps and documents have PETQUECHOK or some closely similar form; and this represents obviously that local pronunciation of the English sailors and rivermen, uninfluenced by any efforts to be documentarily correct, which has come down to our day in the form noted above as PETTY-COAT-JACK. The other contemporaneously-originating type of the word is more important, since it powerfully influenced our present usage. It appears exclusively in English official documents. I find it first in a document of 1738 as PETITCOU-TIAK (*Nova Scotia Archives*, III, 221), though I suspect somewhat the precise accuracy of the printing. It does, however, occur as PETITCOODIAC and PETITCOODIACK in grants of land of 1765, preserved among the records at Fredericton,—while as PETICOODIAC and PETICOODIACK it reappears frequently thereafter in many records, being PETITCOUDIACK on Sproule's fine map of 1786, (*these Transactions*, VII, 1901, ii, 412). Meantime there appears (I have noticed it first in a grant of 1765 mentioned above), a tendency to change the OO into O, making the word PETICODIAC or PETITCODIAC, instead of PETITCOODIAC, and this form gradually came to prevail. Now this final form of the word presents three interesting features as compared with the French PETCOUDIAC or equivalent from which it is descended; first, it has acquired a syllable, after the first, very obviously under stress of easier pronunciation by English tongues; second, it has changed the OO sound into O, also through greater ease of pronunciation, the sound CODE being more familiar to the English than COOD; and third, it has acquired the anomaly of a consonant, the second T, which is absolutely silent in pronunciation. The origin of this T seems to me, however, perfectly obvious. Appearing only in English documents in the name of a place long under rule of the French and therefore associated with them, and happening to be pronounced, as to its first syllables, like the French word PETIT, that spelling was adopted either through simple associative suggestion, or else in the belief that the word really did involve the French PETIT. However this may have been at first, later the belief that the word contains PETIT became prevalent, for the form PETIT CODIACK (as two words), appears as early as 1781, in the *Journal of Henry Alline*, recurs on Wright's map of 1790, and finds definite expression in 1849 by Gesner, who, in his *New Brunswick*, 137, says that the word is derived from the French PETIT COUDE,—a

matter to be noted further below. It was this prevalent belief in a French origin involving PETIT, perhaps confirmed by Gesner's direct positive statement above cited, which led Wilkinson, greatest of New Brunswick cartographers and the first to give attention to correctness in our place-nomenclature, to adopt PETITCODIAC on his great map of 1859; and any doubts he may have had must have seemed to him settled by the presence of the PETIT in the earliest grants, as cited above, with which he was of course familiar. Wilkinson's map was the first to use this form, but his great influence fixed it as a standard which has been followed by all maps, and in all official uses since then, so that now this spelling is the universal standard. Thus it seems clear that a belief in the French origin of the word, a belief wholly groundless as we shall see in a moment, has been sufficiently influential to introduce into the word and retain there a wholly silent letter.

ANALYSIS OF THE WORD.—The early French forms of the word suggest an Indian origin, and in fact the Micmacs of this region claim it as their own. Thus Rand, best of authorities, gives it as derived from the Micmac PETKOOTKWEAK' (*First Reading Book*, 96). A correspondent of mine who knew the Indians well, obtained it for me as PET-CUT-QUIACK, and Dr. W. O. Raymond tells me in a letter that John Paul, a Maliseet, gave it to him as PET-KET-QUE-AWK. I have myself obtained it from Mark Paul, Chief at Folly Point, as PET-KÖT-QUE-OK (in the exact form of my notes). Rev. Father Pacifique, in his most valuable *Micmac Almanac*, of 1902, 21, gives it as PETGOTGOIAG. These four forms are obviously identical, the differences representing no more than diversities in the ways by which different persons represent the same Indian sounds.

As to its meaning Rand gives it as THE RIVER BENDS ROUND IN A BOW, or BENDING AROUND (*Micmac-English Dictionary*, 188), while my correspondent was told by the Micmacs that it means VERY CROOKED, and Dr. Raymond obtained it from John Paul as A LONG TURN. With this aid it is easy to determine the roots in the word. Taking the original French as well as the Indian forms, the first root appears to be PET. Now this is very clearly identical with the BIT or BUT in Micmac words, EBÍTKWÉA' and EBÜTKWÉA' meaning TO BEND or TO BOW (intransitive), as given by Rand in his *English-Micmac Dictionary*, 34, 41, and obviously identical also with the root PET, PAT, or BAD in a number of Maliseet names, considered below, where it is always connected with an abrupt reverse BEND or BACK TURN in a river. In all of these words, however, the root is not simply PET, but has always associated with it a following K, so that the root in full is PETK, or EPETK. In all cases of its use in these Provinces, so far as I can find, this root applies to places in which the distinct feature is a bend or turn sweeping around to the reverse of the original direction; and indeed the first part of the root is clearly ÄP, given by Rand as an inseparable prefix meaning BACK (*op. cit.* 27). We may accordingly express the root as EPETK, commonly shortened to PETK, sounded naturally in English as PET-EK, meaning BACK TURN. The second root is equally clear; it is that given by Rand as KUHTOG, or as we may express it for our purposes, KUTOG, meaning AROUND, in a number of combinations meaning to go, or turn, or flow, around (*op. cit.* 20), a significance quite clearly involved in the present name, as Rand's meaning, above given, will show. Both of the roots, PETK and KUTOG are combined in the word PETKOODASE, meaning I BEND, BOW AROUND (Rand, *Micmac-English Dictionary*, 138). The final root,—OYEK, IAC or IAK of the Early French forms, and WEÄK, UIACK, UE-OK, or OIAG, of the modern Micmacs, at first suggests the root meaning RUNS OUT, as found in Pokiok and other words considered in the preceding paper (page 83); but in fact it has, I am sure, a different identity, being identical with ÜYÄ or ÄYÄ, in words

meaning to BEND, or appear around a point⁸ (Rand, *English-Micmac Dictionary*, 34 199), this significance fitting far better with the other elements in the word than the root meaning "runs out." The final K is of course simply the universal locative termination giving the word the significance of PLACE. Hence the entire word would be EPETK-KUTOG-OYE-K, meaning literally BACK TURN-AROUND-BENDS-PLACE, which meaning is in substantial agreement with that given by Rand, as noted above. This full form of the Indian word, involving some duplication of sounds, was condensed by them to a form which we may write as PET-KOOT-KOY-EK'.

If, now, we inquire as to the fitness of such a name to this River, it is not far to seek. The most striking characteristic of the Petitcodiac River, and one that differentiates it from all others in this region, is the remarkable direction of its flow. Thus, to one entering it from Chignecto Bay, an extension of the Bay of Fundy (and all of the place-nomenclature of our Acadian Indians is applied with reference to entering or ascending rivers and other watercourses), the course of the river is found to swing from southwest around to the north, northwest, west and finally southwest, thus bringing it parallel again, and in reverse to its entrance; and I have no question that it is this great reverse turn in its course that the name describes. Curiously enough, however, this great reverse bend in the main course of the Petitcodiac is not the only feature of this kind it exhibits, for, in the upper part of its course, while its main direction is continued by a smaller stream, the Anagance, the main river itself, at the present village of Petitcodiac, swings around to the northwest, north, and northeast in another but smaller bow, until it takes a northeasterly direction, in reverse of its direction below, and this new direction it keeps to its source. Indeed this bend also is sufficiently remarkable to give the name to the river. In view of this doubly striking feature, probably unique among Acadian rivers, that the river has thus two bows or bends in reverse of one another, giving the whole a flat S form, I have tried to find in the Indian roots of the name some recognition of this *double* bend, but without success, though I suspect it may be there, and demonstrable by some better philologist than I am. Possibly it is such an element which underlies the meaning VERY CROOKED, given by some Indians, as noted above.

OTHER EXPLANATIONS OF THE NAME.—Of these I have found but one,—that already mentioned as given by Gesner, who, in his *New Brunswick*, 137, says that the right angled turn in the River, called *The Bend* (at the present City of Moncton), was "named by the French, Petit Coude (Little Elbow), whence is derived Petitcodiac, frequently called by the inhabitants Pettycoatjack." This statement, which may express Gesner's own theory as to the second part of the word (though the explanation of the first part is much older, as noted above), has been widely copied into both local and general works, and is commonly accepted as expressing the correct origin of the word. But it is absolutely erroneous as shown by four lines of evidence;—*First*, the history of the word in conjunction with its present use by the Micmacs all goes to prove an Indian, not a French, origin: *Second*, this Bend is by no means a little elbow, but a great one, the river here approaching a mile in width, making the designation wholly unsuitable: *Third*, a derivation of the second part of the word from COUDE ignores and leaves quite unexplained the presence of the termination IAC, for COUDE not CODIAC is the French for ELBOW: *Fourth*, never once in all of the many documents remaining to us from the French period, does any trace of either the PETIT or the COUDE appear, as they must necessarily have done had the word been French in origin. This name in fact is only one of several in these Provinces which are popularly explained as French, though in every case we know positively that they are Indian, and in every case, also, not a sign of a French

origin appears in the documents of the French period. The principal cases, in addition to Petitcodiac, are *Tetagouche*, said to be French *Tête-à-gauche*, *Tatamagouche*, said to be *Tête-à-ma-gauche*, *Minudie*, said to be *Main-à-Dieu*, *Shepody*, said to be *Chapeau-Dieu*, and the extinct *Aucpac*, said to be *Aux Paques*; and in all of these cases a plausible basis for the French origin is not wanting. Such explanations find their support in the primitive wonder instinct which rises superior, in all except the logically trained, to the critical truth-craving spirit.

Had the Micmacs not found in the distinctive reverse bend, or bends, in this River, a natural foundation for a name, they would no doubt have used a word descriptive of its other very remarkable feature, its great tidal bore. The word for the latter, however, viz., OOSOOËGOW (Rand, *English-Micmac Dictionary*, 40), is too different to allow any theory that it is involved in the name Petitcodiac. But this root is perhaps involved in a name applied on Bellin's maps of Acadia of 1744 to a river in this vicinity, apparently the Petitcodiac (his Shepody and Memramcook Rivers being transposed), viz., PADESCOU, the latter part of which, ESCOU, might well represent a condensation of OOSOOËGOW. It would seem not improbable that PADESCOU may represent a special name for the tidal estuary of the river, while PET-KOOT-KOY-EK was the name for the entire river, or possibly, for the upper part in description of the upper bend, though this is unlikely. But the name PADESCOU does not reappear, and this is as far as I have been able to follow that matter.

SUMMARY. The name PETITCODIAC is of Micmac Indian origin, a corruption of PET-KOOT-KOY-EK', which is a condensation of the roots EPET-KUTOG-OYE-K, meaning literally BACK TURN-AROUND-BENDS-PLACE, or, more generally, THE RIVER THAT BENDS AROUND BACK, in description of the remarkable way in which it swings around to a reverse direction in relation to the Bay of Fundy.

A name which bears a suggestive resemblance to Petitcodiac is PICHKOT-KOUEI, applied to a River flowing into the eastern side of Grand Lake in south-central New Brunswick, as given on a copy of the great Franquelin-de Meulles map of 1686 (*these Transactions*, III, 1897, ii, 364). Since this stream leads over towards Petitcodiac, in the general direction of the ancient route of travel, I have expressed the opinion that the word might be a form of Petitcodiac, given to the stream because part of a route of travel to that river, precisely as the English gave the name Cumberland Bay to a waterway which I thought to be the same, because it led towards Fort Cumberland (*these Transactions*, II 1896, ii 229; V, 1899, ii, 248). But I now know this idea to be groundless, for further study of the region has proved that the name does not belong to Cumberland Bay at all (which indeed has a very different Indian name and has no river), but belongs to Coal Creek, a small River emptying into the head of the Lake. This is shown by a more exact study of the stream on the map of 1686, which heads, as Coal Creek does, near a stream and small Lake evidently intended for Lake Stream. More important, however, is this fact, that inspection of my photographic copy of the map of 1686 shows that the word really reads PICHKOLKOUEL (possibly PICHKOSKOUEL). Now the modern Malisset name for Coal Creek is MESGOSGUELK (*these Transactions*, II, 1896, ii, 227), which, with omission of the locative K could equally well be written MESKOSKOUEL. Moreover M and P are interchangeable sounds in Indian words, while the French usually represented by ICH the sound which we catch as ES. There seems no doubt, accordingly, that the two words are identical.

It is possible that the name PED-COKE-GOWAC, on the coast of Maine near the Kennebec (*Collections of the Maine Historical Society*, VII, 1876, 301) involves roots identical with those in Petitcodiac, but I have not yet been able to determine this matter.

Again it is possible that MOLLYGOJACK, a name which appears to be Micmac, for a lake of curved or bent-around shape on the Terra Nova River in Newfoundland, involves the same roots in its latter part as Petitcodiac, though the resemblance to the local pronunciation of the latter (page 269) may be only accidental. This I hope later to settle.

BADKICK. The Passamaquoddy Indian name for a remarkable great bend on the Magaguadavic River, in southwestern New Brunswick, just above the present Bonny River, as shown on the detailed map made by Dugald Campbell for the Boundary Commissioners in 1797 (*Collections of New Brunswick Historical Society*, III, 1909, 177-8). On that map the name is placed on the point or tongue of the bend, in this form,—“Badkick or Pt. back again,” showing that the surveyors applied the name to the Point. However, it is perfectly clear that the Indian name belonged to the bend in the river, since this brings the word into perfect harmony with others to follow, and since also the alternative form which the surveyors give, viz. “back again”, can obviously apply only to the river and not to the point. In harmony with the two words to follow, and with the first root of Petitcodiac, the word evidently contains the root PETK, meaning BACK TURN, or BACK BEND, with the locative syllable IK indicating PLACE, making the word PETK-*IK*, meaning BACK BEND-PLACE, or PLACE WHERE THE RIVER BENDS BACK. The name does not reappear in any records, nor is it known locally; but it should be restored and should keep its historic form BADKICK.

PETKEK. The Maliseet Indian name, as I have somewhere been told though I have lost my evidence, of a place on the Tobique River, New Brunswick, presumably the bend now called the Oxbow a little below the Gulquac Branch (*these Transactions*, II 1896, ii, 276). The word of course would be identical in every respect with BADKICK just discussed, and with PATICAKE that follows. My supposition, however, in the *Transactions* above cited, that there is a connection between this word and PET-A-WE-KEK-SIS, the Maliseet name for Burnt Land Brook near by, proves incorrect, since this Indian name means BURNT LAND BROOK, as I shall show later in connection with other words involving the same roots.

PATICAKE. The name of a small Creek flowing into the Kennebecasis River a little above Hampton in southern New Brunswick. It appears first in 1785 as PATTICAKE and PADEKACE (the C being intended evidently, as hard), in the *Land Memorials* preserved at Fredericton; it is PATTICAKE on the fine Sproule map of 1786 (*these Transactions*, VII, 1901, ii, 412, but a corrected copy), PATU-CAKE on a plan of 1811, and PATIKAKE, later PATICAKE (with some misprints) on the various maps of the Province down to the present. That the word is Maliseet Indian, the evidence conclusively shows. I have not myself obtained the word from them, but the late Edward Jack, one of the best of authorities, gives it as Maliseet, in these words,—“Pattacake, on Kennebecasis, should be Pat-kick-bend an oxbow in stream,” (*Journal of American Folk-Lore*, VIII, 1895, 205), while Dr. W. O. Raymond has written me that John Paul, one of the best informed Indians, gave him an origin in PATY-KIK (or PAT-I-KECH) applying to the bend in the river just there. It is a fact, as the best maps show, that this brook enters the

Kennebecasis just where that river makes a remarkable great reverse bend,—a typical example of the kind called in the Province an *Oxbow*. These facts taken together make the origin of the name quite plain. The word is evidently identical with BADKICK and PETKEK, and the PETK of Petitcodiac, all considered above, i.e. it is the Indian PETK-IK, meaning BACK BEND-PLACE, in description of the oxbow in the Kennebecasis; this was familiarized into the more easily pronounced form by the whites, and extended by them to the brook.

This application of the name PETK-IK, in conjunction with the use of BADKICK and PETKEK, suggests that the word may have been a general topographical designation for Oxbows, which are common on our rivers.

The word PATICAKE, however, has undergone a further curious change in its adoption as the name of a railway station at the crossing of the brook, where it appears as PASSEKEAG. But the origin of this form has been explained (*these Transactions*, II 1896, ii, 260, 209) where PASSEKEAG is shown to be a later manufactured name made from PATICAKE on the analogy of OSSEKEAG, the old name of the next station, now called HAMPTON. Presumably it was thought that the original form PATICAKE would not form a dignified name for a railroad station.

PATAGUMKIS. The name of a small branch of the Penobscot River in Maine, a little above Matawamkeag on the west side; it is pronounced PADAGUM-PUS or PADDYGUMPUS by the river men. Greenleaf, in whose list of Indian names of 1823 the word seems first to appear, says that it applies to "a point stream and falls" (*Moses Greenleaf, Maine's First Mapmaker*, 123). Greenleaf spells the word PATA-GUM-KIS, though on his map, of 1842, he has it, evidently by accidental omission, PĀTAGUMKI, which explains that form on Wilkinson's map of 1859. Thoreau gives it as PAYTGUMKISS, (no doubt a misprint for PATYGUMKISS) "PETTICOAT," which latter I do not understand, though it suggests Petitcodiac (*The Maine Woods*, 326). Greenleaf gives the meaning of the word, as HALF CIRCLE. Hubbard, however, (*Woods and Lakes of Maine*, 207) makes it mean SANDY ROUND COVE, though his analysis of the roots is faulty. Recently Mrs. Eckstorm, whose skilled aid I have previously had occasion to acknowledge, has sent me a note from Jas. Francis, one of the best of Maine guides and a man well versed in these matters, to the effect that Patagumkis means A SHARP TURN OF THE RIVER WHERE THE BOTTOM IS GRAVELLY, while another of her informants states that there is at low water a curved sandy beach near its mouth. Taking the data collectively, the construction of the word becomes clear. The first part obviously involves the root 'PET(E)K, (which is evidently the same in Micmac Maliseet and Penobscot), of the four names preceding, meaning a BACK TURN, with which all three explanations, HALF CIRCLE, ROUND COVE, and SHARP TURN above given are in full agreement. Greenleaf's map does in fact show an abrupt bend, presumably in reality a genuine oxbow, in the Penobscot where the Patagumkis enters. The second root is equally clear; it is plainly AMK, a very wide spread root meaning GRAVEL, or SAND, here again in full agreement with the meanings above given. The remainder of the word, i.e.—IS, appears to be nothing other than the softened locative termination—IS, used instead of IK after a preceding K sound, as mentioned for the Micmac earlier in this paper (page 264) and of which I have found a good many other examples in Penobscot, later to be presented. It cannot well represent an abbreviated diminutive, SIS, because that termination is always comparative and involves a larger PATAGUMKIK near by, of which there is no trace. The name in full, therefore, would be PETEK-AMK-IS, meaning literally BACK TURN-GRAVEL-PLACE, or, more generally,



THE GRAVELLY BEND, in description of characteristics of the locality, the word having been familiarized by the whites into the more easily pronounced form PATA-GUMKIS, or, by the river men, PADAGUMPUS.

PETCONGAMOC. The Penobscot Indian name for a pond at the head of the Allagash River in Maine, according to Hubbard (*Woods and Lakes of Maine*, 209), who, however, does not show it on his map. He explains the name as meaning "crooked pond, or one that returns in the same direction in which it first ran." This explanation, given in quotation marks, and hence taken by Hubbard from an Indian, in conjunction with the form of the word, make the construction of the name quite clear. It evidently involves the root PETK meaning BACK TURN, as already considered above (page 271), united with ONGAMOC, or ONGAMOK, a common suffix meaning LAKE. Thus the word in full would be PETK-ONGAMOK meaning THE BACK TURN-LAKE, in description of its shape.

The root PETEK perhaps occurs in another Maine place-name not far from Petcongamac, for Bouchette's large Map of Canada of 1831,—a map which incorporates the work of the earlier surveyors of the disputed boundaries,—applies PATA-ACTUQUAC to a stream which is apparently no other than the present Ragmuff, above Chesuncook on Penobscot, though making it empty too far down the river. This word looks very much like a form of PETEK-TUGUAC, which would be a good combination meaning BACK TURN-RIVER or OXBOW RIVER, though no reason for such a name is evident on the map. Hubbard, however, gives the Indian name for Ragmuff as PĀTĀ'WEEKTOOK, meaning BURNT LAND STREAM, which is clearly composed of two roots PĀTĀWEEK-TOOK meaning literally BURNT LAND-RIVER (*Woods and Lakes of Maine*, 208, and Map). Curiously enough Thoreau gives for this same stream, PAYTAYTEQUICK, with the same meaning as Hubbard, his form being intermediate between Bouchette's and Hubbard's (*The Maine Woods*, 325). Whether, now, Bouchette's form is really meant to be sounded with the A's long, and is simply a bad corruption of roots meaning BURNT LAND STREAM, or whether his name is what it seems, and the later Indian informants of Thoreau and Hubbard have interpreted the word wrongly, must await decision from further historical evidence in conjunction with an intimate knowledge of the place.

PATAGUSSIS. The Penobscot Indian name for the Brook now called Smith Brook, a branch of the Matawamkeag River in Maine, according to Hubbard (*Woods and Lakes of Maine*, 207). Smith Brook is a large stream entering the Matawamkeag just where the railroad makes its uppermost crossing of that River, but no map that I can find has a scale sufficiently large to show its characteristics. The name seems, however, to involve the root PETK, or PET(E)K, of the several words preceding, with the diminutive termination SIS, making it, with a final locative K,—PETK-ESISK or PETEK-ESISK, meaning LITTLE BACK TURN, or LITTLE OXBOW. Hence I venture the prediction that the characteristics of the place would show that this brook comes in at an oxbow, which is a small one in contrast with a larger not far distant on the River.

Bedeque

The name of a prominent Bay on the southwest side of Prince Edward Island; also of the Harbour formed by the easterly prolongation of the Bay; also of Settlements around the southeasterly extension of the Harbour, which merges into an estuary called Dunk River.

The name first appears, so far as I can find, as BEDEC, in 1744, apparently applied to the Bay, upon Bellin's fine *Carte de la Partie Orientale de la Nouvelle France*, although upon his larger scale *Carte de l'Acadie* of the same year, he applies the name to Dunk River. The very careful census of 1752 by the Sieur de la Roche, gives BEDEC to the Harbour (not mentioning the Bay), while he gives Rivière de BEDECQ to Dunk River (*Report on Canadian Archives*, 1905, II, Part 1, 159, 160). Pichon, in his well-known *Memoirs relating to Cape Breton*, 1760, 86, also uses BEDEC. The form BEDEQUE I find first upon Captain Holland's map resulting from his great survey of 1764-5 (copy in Munro's *Acts of the Privy Council*, V, 602-3), and the form was doubtless introduced by him. The name is applied on this map to the Bay, but I am told by Mr. Thomas W. May, of the Land Office at Charlottetown, that a plan of 1782 or earlier, in that office, applies the name BEDEQUE RIVER as an alternative for Dunk River. Purdy's fine *Map of Cabotia*, of 1814, applies BÉDEQUE to the Village as well as the Bay. Since then, so far as I have found, all good maps use BEDEQUE for the Bay and the Village. The name is also in good local use for the Harbour, as shown by the *Sailing Directions*, though it is omitted from maps, doubtless to avoid overcrowding of names in the narrow space.

As to the origin of the name, we have no direct, though some very good circumstantial evidence. All considerations point to an Indian origin, for while BEDEQUE has a French aspect, the records above-cited show that it was earlier BEDEC, which looks Indian. I presume that the French spelling BEDEQUE was given by Holland under the impression that the word, used by the French and associated with their earlier settlement there, was in reality of French origin; and the immense influence of his remarkably fine map, made from accurate surveys, was sufficient to establish that form as the standard from his day to ours,—a phenomenon strictly paralleled in Petitcodiac and some other names already considered (page 272).

As to its original location, records also show clearly that the name applied to the Harbour and its westerly extension Dunk River, at least as early as to the Bay; and as Indian nomenclature was always specific rather than generic and given to definite spots rather than general features, there can be little doubt that the name belonged aboriginally to the Harbour and was extended to the Bay by Holland. Now this form BEDEC bears so close a resemblance to BADDECK in Cape Breton as to suggest a close relationship if not identity between the two,—a probability greatly strengthened by the occurrence of some identical spellings, as shown under Baddeck next considered. Furthermore, both words bear a striking resemblance to the root PETK, in its common form PETEK, occurring in Petitcodiac, Paticake, and other words just considered (page 271),—the root which means A TURN or BEND BACKWARDS. Acting upon this hint we ask of the maps whether any geographical feature of BEDEQUE and BADDECK involves a backward turn, as in case of the other names containing this root. The maps in fact do show such a feature. Thus, so far as Bedeque is concerned, the Bay swings around to the Harbour, and then to Dunk River, in such manner that the latter comes to lie parallel with the coast; accordingly, with respect to travel along shore from the eastward,—the direction of travel from the important Indian resorts centring in Charlottetown and from the New Brunswick coast via the crossing place at Cape Traverse,—this place did lie at the end of a great TURN BACKWARDS, which had to be made to reach it; that is, it was the place which is reached by a backward turn. And the maps show a precisely similar feature for Baddeck, as will be noted below. So marked is this feature, so consistent with the usage of the same root in other cases, and so reasonable from the point of view of Indian nomenclature, that I have little doubt that herein we have the explanation of the name. I do not take it that the root PETEK

in this name has the sense of a topographical term, as in PATICAKE and BADKICK for example, but has its broad descriptive sense, as in PETITCODIAC; that is, it does not describe any actual visible turn in the land or the water, but the fact that a reverse turn must be made in order to enter the place. An English sailor might well describe it as "Turn-back Harbour." It is quite possible that originally the word had additional syllables, or at least a terminal K or EK, the usual locative making the word a place name. Hence it was probably PETEK-OOK, or, in view of the tendency of the Micmacs to soften the K after another K sound (page 264 of the present paper), PETEKOOCH. No doubt the word belonged originally to the Harbour and its extension Dunk River, and was extended later by the whites to the Bay. An *Indian Island* in the Harbour suggests a place of Indian resort, and the centre of the application of the name.

No other explanation of the origin of Bedeque has been published, so far as I can find.

We may summarize accordingly, by saying that BEDEQUE is a corruption under influence of French suggestion, from a Micmac Indian word which was in all probability PETEK-OOK or PETEK-OOCH, meaning BACK TURN-PLACE, or more generally THE PLACE THAT LIES ON THE BACKWARD TURN, in description of the position of the Harbour in relation to Indian travel along the shore from the eastward.

An incidental point of interest in connection with the nomenclature of Bedeque Bay should here receive mention. On Holland's map of the Island of 1765, and most others since then, the Bay is called HALIFAX or Bedeque Bay, while its eastern extension is called DUNK River, and its western extension is called either SANBURY (on Holland and some that follow him) or SUNBURY Cove. These names all go back clearly to this great map of Holland's and were evidently given by him. Now I have been told by Mr. C. R. Dickie, the obliging Postmaster of Muddy Creek, near Sunbury Cove, that this name SANBURY or SUNBURY is locally considered a corruption of SOUANBERRY, from the Micmac SOUAN, meaning CRANBERRY and the English word BERRY, in description of the many cranberries on the marshes there. But I am sure this explanation is erroneous. It seems wholly improbable that so hybrid a compound of Micmac-English could have come into use as a place name, such an origin being wholly without analogy in all the place-nomenclature of these Provinces, while even if it had, a much more probable familiarization of SOUAN would be SWAN, making the word SWANBERRY, just as SOUANKIK (or SEEWANKIK) meaning CRANBERRY PLACE, on the River Saint John, has been adopted into English as SWAN CREEK (*these Transactions*, II, 1896, ii 274). Aside, however, from this point, there is good reason for the derivation of Sunbury from a very different source. It was in Captain Holland's day the custom for the government surveyors to name places for officials then prominent in England. The great *Atlantic Neptune*, the remarkable collection of charts supervised by DesBarres, abounds in such names, very few of which, however, have survived. Now a nobleman prominent in English public life (Secretary of State), at the time Holland was giving his names, was the Earl of HALIFAX, the same for whom the capital of Nova Scotia was named. Further, the family name of this Earl was George DUNK Montague, thus explaining the association of HALIFAX and DUNK at Bedeque. But further yet, he was also Viscount SUNBURY (*Educational Review*, St. John, XV, 1902, 160; and Murdoch's *Nova Scotia*, II, 150), in view of which fact we can hardly doubt that the association of Sunbury with Dunk and Halifax at Bedeque has this origin. As to the spelling SANBURY, that I take to be simply a slight error either

of Holland's understanding of the Earl's secondary title, or of some copyist's confusion of A and U, which are certainly very similar as commonly written. That this was the view of the later map-makers is shown by their use of the correct form SUNBURY.

Baddeck.

The name of a River in Cape Breton, emptying into a branch of Little Bras d'Or Lake; also a small Bay to the eastward; also a Village, known as a summer resort, between the two. My material for the local geography of Cape Breton is rather scant, and I have not found the name prior to a French map which gives La R. de LABADEC. Haliburton's *Map of Nova Scotia*, of 1829, has BEDEQUE, applied to the River, with LITTLE BEDEQUE as the name of the Bay, though in his *History of Nova Scotia*, II, 236, he uses BADDËCK, and applies the name also as an alternative for Saint Patricks Channel in the form BADDECK BAY. On Arrow-smith's *Map of Lower Canada*, of 1838, it is printed BEDECK, which must have been taken from some earlier map, though I have not been able to trace it farther. In general, BEDEQUE appears to prevail on maps of date prior to the middle of the last century, after which BADDECK becomes more frequent, until now it is the universally accepted and standard form.

As to its origin, Rand has derived it from the Micmac EBÂDËK, meaning A SULTRY PLACE (*First Reading Book*, 83), though elsewhere he makes it EBAT-ËK, meaning THE HOT PLACE (*Micmac-English Dictionary*, 181); in still a third place, he makes it EPDEK or EPTEK, meaning THE WARM PLACE (*op. cit.* 51), evidently connecting it with EPEDEK, meaning IT IS WARMED ("said of a liquid"), while in still a fourth place (*op. cit.* 179) he gives it as ABADAKWITK (ABADEK) meaning A PORTION LAID ASIDE FOR ANOTHER. No reason for the application of such names to this place is suggested by Rand, nor can I find anything whatever, to justify his principal meaning, which fits ill with the reputation of Baddeck as a charming residence for the summer. Rand's implication that the word is "said of a liquid" would suggest the existence of a warm spring, or something of that sort, but nothing of the kind is known. It looks reasonably clear, accordingly, that Rand was simply seeking the Micmac root which seemed to come nearest to the present form of the word, without any attempt to connect its meaning with any feature of the place; and thus he leaves the matter in a wholly unsatisfactory state. On the other hand, an explanation of a very different standing is implied in the striking resemblance, one may almost say in the identity, of the spellings of the name BEDECK, BEDEQUE, and BADDECK, with the BEDEC and BEDEQUE of Prince Edward Island, already considered. Naturally, now, we ask whether our Baddeck presents any geographical feature like that which gave origin to the name BEDEQUE in Prince Edward Island; and we find that it does. As all good maps show, the BADDECK River, which seems very clearly to be the aboriginal bearer of the name, can only be reached by ascending the outlet of Saint Patricks Channel, and swinging around in a reverse bend through Indian Bay, at the extremity of which the river enters in a direction parallel with the channel outside. Thus the arrangement of the other Bedeque is duplicated, though upon a somewhat smaller scale, even to the detail of the association of the name *Indian* with the place and its implied importance from the Indian point of view. Herein, accordingly, I believe we have the explanation of the name BADDECK, which would thus be equivalent exactly to BEDEQUE as discussed above. It is interesting to note that, as Rand caught the word from the Micmacs, it retained the preliminary E generally missing from the

root PETK or PETEK (page 271 preceding); and furthermore Baddeck, like Bedeque, passed through the stage of French suggestion implied in its earlier spelling, but unlike Bedeque has thrown off the mask and reverted to near the aboriginal form.

The name Baddeck for the modern Village must necessarily have been given by the whites as an extension from the River, and this is probably true also of the small Bay east of the village, now called Baddeck Bay, and formerly Little Baddeck. It is, however, possible that the latter name is merely a translation from the Indian, since this Bay, like the Baddeck River, swings around in reverse of the course of travel upwards or inwards,—in this case the entrance to Bras d'Or Lake; and the application of Little Baddeck to the Bay would have been in accord with Indian usage. But a thorough examination of the old records will settle all of these questions.

In summary we may say that BADDECK is without reasonable doubt identical with BEDEQUE of Prince Edward Island, and is a corruption of the Micmac Indian, probably PETEK-OOK or PETEK-OOCH, meaning literally BACK TURN-PLACE, or more generally, THE PLACE THAT LIES ON THE BACKWARD TURN, in description of the position of the River in relation to Indian travel from Bras d'Or Lake.

It is probable that the name EBITQUEGEECHK or EBÊTKWÊGEECHK, given me some years ago by the late Michael Flinne, as the Micmac name for the Millstream, which enters the Miramichi opposite Hospital Island, involves also this root EPET(K), meaning BACKWARD TURN; and it may even be identical fundamentally with BEDEQUE and BADDECK, retaining still their old locative ending. But I have not been able to connect the root PET(E)K with any feature of the place, for although this stream does in fact bend around in reverse of the direction of the River, the bend is upward and not downward; and Indian names are given with reference to the ascent, not the descent of Rivers. Accordingly the matter must have further study.

It is probable also that the root PET(E)K appears in PAATQUNOK, the Micmac name for the Little South Branch of Nepisiguit River in northern New Brunswick (*these Transactions*, II, 1896, ii, 256), a stream which enters near a great bend in the River. But this word also must have further study.

Pokwagamoos.

The name of several small Lakes in New Brunswick and Maine, as follows:

A. In west central New Brunswick, emptying northward by a small Brook of the same name into the middle part of Eel River, which is a branch of the Saint John below Woodstock. It is a very shallow, marshy Lake with a bottom of the softest mud, often partially above the surface in very dry weather.

It appears first, so far as I can find, upon a plan of 1827, by West, in the Crown Land Office, at Fredericton, in the form POQUAGAMUS, applied to the Brook. It is on Saunders' map of New Brunswick, of 1842 in the form POCOWAGAMIS; this was copied by other maps down to that of the Geological Survey of 1885 which adopted POCOWOGAMIS. The Geographic Board of Canada has introduced a new form, POKOWAGAMIS for this Lake.

B. The aboriginal Indian name for the little Lake now called Mud Lake, at the source of the Magaguadavic River in west-central New Brunswick. I have seen it

from the neighbouring Magundy Ridge, where it shows as a very shoal marshy lake of the typical mud type. The name appears as POGUAGOMUS and POQUAGOMUS on the maps and in the records of the original careful survey of the Maguadavic in 1797 (*Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society*, III, 1909, 191, 194), and is still known to the older Indians living on the Saint John.

C. The reputed aboriginal Indian name, as POCOWOGAMIS, now obsolete, for a small lake on Dennis Stream, a small branch of the Saint Croix from the north below Saint Stephen, in southwestern New Brunswick (*these Transactions*, II, 1896, 11, 230).

D. The aboriginal Indian name, now spelled POCKWOCKAMUS, of "a lake or deadwater" on the Penobscot River, above Pemadumcook Lake, in Maine; extended also to a prominent fall on the same river (Hubbard, *Woods and Lakes of Maine*, 209, and his map). The name is also applied by the guides, as I am told by one of them, Mr. Guy C. Haines, of Norcross, to the chain of small ponds which include River Pond and Compass Pond of Hubbard's map; and as these are typical shallow mud-bottomed ponds of the POKWAGAMOOS type, I have no doubt that the name belonged originally to them, and has been extended by the whites to the neighbouring deadwater and fall on the Penobscot. I find it first as POCK-WOCK-AMUS (the evident original of the present form), applied to the Falls, in Jackson's *Second Annual Report on the Geology of the Public Lands*, 1838, 14, though undoubtedly it occurs much earlier. On page 53 of the same work it is PAUQUAKAMUS.

E. The aboriginal Indian name, given on Wilkinson's map as POGOWOGOMIS, but according to Hubbard (*op. cit.* 209, and his map), now replaced by *Mud Pond*, for a pond south of Chamberlain Lake, Maine, in the line of the important portage route between Penobscot and Allegash waters. The several descriptions which have been given by sportsmen and surveyors in various publications show that it possesses the same distinctive features as the other lakes of the same name. The form PONGUM GAMOOK for this lake attributed to the surveyor Odell in 1820 (the earliest use of the word I have been able to find) in the Appendix to the *Definitive Statement . . . of the case referred . . . to His Majesty the King of the Netherlands*, Washington 1829, 416-417, is obviously a misprint for POUGUM GAMOOK, since the fine *Report of Messrs. Deane and Kavanagh on the Madawaska territory*, which I have examined in the original Ms in the State House at Augusta, and which has recently been published in the *Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society*, III, 1914, 390, has very clearly POUGUANGAMOOK (not PONGUANGAMOOK, as printed.) The N in this word is of course the usually almost silent nasal, here expressed, though generally missed. This Report calls it also MUDDY POND, showing the transition to the present name.

The substantial identity in form of these five names despite minor variations in spelling, taken in conjunction with the similarity in the characteristics of the respective places, makes it certain that they are aboriginally the same word. Although they include all that I have been able to find of the actual recorded uses of the name, I have no doubt that it was applied to innumerable small lakes of this character, precisely the kind now commonly called "Mud Lakes" by the guides and lumbermen, throughout Maliseet and Penobscot territory.

For aid in the interpretation of the word we turn naturally to the living Indians, of whom the Maliseets on the Saint John give its aboriginal form and meaning with-

out hesitation. Thus Newell Paul, one of the best of my informants, gave me (in the words of my notes), PÖK-WOG'-A-MOUS, meaning SHOAL, "as when muddy," or A SHOAL PLACE ON THE MUDDY BOTTOM. Chief Gabe Acquin, another very careful and reliable Indian, gave me POK-WOG-A-MOOSK, meaning SHALLOW LAKE; and others have confirmed these two. Seeking, accordingly, for a root for "shoal," it is perfectly easy to find. Thus in the almost identical Abenaki, Father Rasle gives PANG8 (the Ñ being a nasal hardly at all sounded, and the 8 the sound we have to render by OO) in the combination PANĜ8ÈSS8, signifying "the river is low" (*Abnaki Dictionary*, 523). Trumbull, in his *Natick Dictionary*, 131, gives PONGUA as the modern Abenaki word for SHALLOW, while J. Dyneley Prince, another leading authority, gives POGUASO as the Abenaki word meaning IT IS SHALLOW (*American Anthropologist*, VII, 1910, 201). The root seems, by the way, to involve the idea of SHALLOW in the sense not so much of having little water, as of the bottom showing or breaking through, which helps to explain why it is used especially of Mud Lakes, for these are distinctly of this character. We may spell the root, for our present purpose, as POCWA, POQUA, POGUA, or POKWA, the latter, however, being preferable as harmonizing better with scientific usage.

As to the remainder of the word, that is equally clear. It involves evidently the inseparable suffix GAMOOK, meaning Lake, very common in the place-names of New Brunswick and (especially) Maine, as a list later in this series will attest. It is here expressed in the regular diminutive form, viz., GAMOO-SIS-K, condensed by the Indians to GAMOOSK (compare Gabe Acquin's form above given), meaning LITTLE LAKE, or POND, and adopted by the English without the final locative K.

This latter form, GAMOOS, by the way, offers the preferable spelling for the aboriginal form, as best expressing both its etymological origin and its Indian pronunciation, though the final syllable is naturally shortened to an US sound by the whites. Thus the best spelling for the entire word would be POKWAGAMOOS, with all the vowels short, and the accent on the second syllable. While we have thus a standard spelling for the aboriginal name, it by no means follows that we should change the existent spellings to conform thereto. On the contrary, I think it much better that in each case the spelling that offers the best mean between historical origin and local usage should be retained; and it is no disadvantage, but rather a merit that the spellings of the word would thus be different in the different cases. Although my analysis of this word is thus made through the Maliset, sustained by Abenaki roots, it is obvious that the Penobscot name is identically the same word.

SUMMARY. The name POKWAGAMOOS is certainly of Maliset-Penobscot origin, a condensation from the roots POKWA-GAMOO-SIS-K, meaning literally SHALLOW-LAKE-LITTLE-PLACE, or more generally, SHALLOW POND, understood as having a muddy bottom, in description of the most striking characteristic of the place.

*Other aboriginal Acadian Place-names involving the root POKWA,
meaning SHALLOW.*

Pugwash. Considered separately below.

POKEAWIS. The apparent Passamaquoddy name, now extinct, for a large deadwater or small very narrow lake at the extreme head of the Lepreau River in southern New Brunswick. Its position is shown on a printed map in the *Bulletin of*

the *Natural History Society of New Brunswick*, IV, 1898, 59. On plans in the Crown Land Office at Fredericton it is also named POQUE-A-WIS and POCEAWIS, the latter form showing (its C evidently intended to be sounded hard) that the word is pronounced in four syllables. The form POQUE-A-WIS appears to ally the word to those containing POKW, meaning SHALLOW, and this seems fully confirmed by a description of the place sent me by Mr. Thomas A. Sullivan, of Bonny River, who knows it well. He says that it is not a lake proper, but "a deadwater brook one eighth of a mile wide by one mile long with narrows in the middle," and later adds that the narrows are low boggy-banked, with a rocky rip in the middle one hundred feet long. One might suppose that the existence of the narrows would involve the root POK meaning NARROW, and this may be the case, though the POKWA, meaning SHALLOW would seem to apply better, since the narrows are evidently far from the typical sort. The remainder of the word I do not understand, though possibly it is a great condensation of AGAMOOS, making the entire word equivalent to POKWAGAMOOS. Compare also the following. I am sure a study of the locality would solve it.

PUCKY. A lake on Machias waters in southeastern Maine, three miles from Pokomoonshine Lake, according to Gatschet (a letter of 1898). He adds that it is called by the Indians KEWE'SIK KU'SPEM. As KUSPEM is simply the Indian translation of our word LAKE, and its usage in this way is not aboriginal, I suspect that KEWESIK involves the root LAKE, and that PUCKY may represent its original prefix. In this case the original word may have been PUCKEWESIK, making it substantially the same as the POKEAWIS (with addition of a locative IK), previously considered, and therefore perhaps another "Mud Lake." This view receives confirmation from the fact that the *Sportsman's and Lumberman's Map of Maine* names a small lake on the Machias about three miles below Pokomoonshine Lake, and which is probably this PUCKY, *Mud Lake*.

No case of the occurrence of POKWAGAMOOS, or anything closely like it, is known to me anywhere in the territory of the Micmacs. However, as suggested by the forms POKEAWIS and PUCKY just considered, it is possible that a Micmac root equivalent to POKWA is involved in the names of certain Nova Scotian Lakes as they appear on our maps, viz., POGWA Lake emptying into the head of Saint Margarets Bay, POGUE Brook, emptying into the Stewiacke, and PUG Lakes emptying into Clyde River. But these names must have further study, from the documents and the Micmacs.

POKWASEGWEK. The Indian name of the stream now called the North East Branch of the River Magaguadavic in south-central New Brunswick; extended also on some later maps to the Lakes at the head of the Branch, now called Cranberry Lakes. The word occurs first in 1784-5 in the form POCASHAGUACK, applied to the lakes, on a Ms. map in the Crown Land Office at Fredericton, showing the winter route of Lieutenant Lambton from Fredericton to Saint Andrews. It next appears in the Journals and on the Map made by Dugald Campbell, one of the expert surveyors of the Magaguadavic River, in 1797, in the form PEGUESEGEHAWK, or PEQUESEGEHAWK as printed in the *Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society*, III, 1909, 186, 188. The word is nowhere explained, but I think there is no question at all as to its origin and meaning. The first part of the word suggests, through the two forms POCA and PEQUE, the root POWKA, meaning SHALLOW, already considered (page 282). Turning to Father Rasle's *Dictionary of the allied Abenaki* (523) we find the word, PAÑGÈSSÈ, meaning "the river is

low." Remembering now that the Ñ of this word is a nasal hardly sounded (and not sounded by the Passamaquoddies), while the No. 8 we can only express by OO or OU, this root would read PAGOEOSSOO, or, to use the spelling established under the preceding word, POKWESO. The effect of the S in this word is to give a superlative significance to the root; thus Trumbull, in his *Natick Dictionary*, 151, gives PONGUA as the modern Abenaki word for SHALLOW, but PONGUASO, as VERY SHALLOW. The termination GEHAWK, for its part, is perfectly clear, for it is obviously the root, variously spelled GEHAWK, GUEK, GUEC, etc., and which we may most simply express by GWEK, meaning STREAM, found in a good many Acadian place-names as noted already (*these Transactions*, V, 1912, ii, 189), and as will appear more fully in a later list. The surveyors spelled out all of their names on the Magaguadavic very minutely. This would make the complete word POKWESO-GWEK, meaning literally VERY SHALLOW-STREAM, the locative K being involved in the last root. This is obviously identical with our POCASHAGUACK-PEQUESEGEHAWK, which word, with respect to its origin and history combined, we may best write POKWASEGWEK, pronounced POK-WÄ-SEG-WĒK'.

Turning now to test this explanation by reference to the features of the place, I can speak with confidence from a personal knowledge of this stream, refreshed from a recent visit thereto for this express purpose. Looking up the Stream, our POKWASEGWEK, from its junction with the Magaguadavic, the contrast between the two is very great, for while the latter, though swift, is readily navigable for a canoe even at low water, the Stream, for its part, is very shoal, with much slope over a stony bed, its shoalness, indeed, being its most prominent feature for a long distance up from its mouth. The designation SHALLOW, or VERY SHALLOW, therefore, is both appropriate and distinctive, and I have no question as to the correctness of this explanation, and that the name is really POKWASE-GWEK meaning VERY SHALLOW-STREAM.

The name was extended to the Lakes at the source of the stream in the form PEQUESEGEHAWGUM on the general map of 1797 compiled from the surveyors' plans (*these Transactions*, VII, 1901, ii, 254) and on a few maps following; but it has long since disappeared. This name was obviously formed by a replacement of the final AWK by the root AWGUM, meaning LAKE, frequently found in Place-names of this region, but generally followed by the locative suffix OOK, as will later be considered.

Curiously enough the name "Shallow River" is given as an alternative name to another stream a little farther down the Magaguadavic on the opposite side, called on the Surveyors' map LIBBEGAHAWK, and now known as Davis Brook. I cannot find the least connection between any roots in this name and the meaning SHALLOW, nor is it especially appropriate to the Stream, which is a clear little brook. Accordingly I have no question that the appearance of this word "shallow" on that stream is an error of the surveyor, who heard it from the Indians as a translation of PEQUESEGEHAWK, but placed it inadvertently on the next stream below.

It is quite probable that the name POKOMOONSHINE applied to a Lake and Mountain in Eastern Maine, and thence by transference (probably) to places in New Brunswick and the Adirondacks, involves also this root POKWA, meaning SHALLOW; but later this name will be considered in full.

Pugwash.

The present name of a Harbour, River, and Village, on the north coast of Nova Scotia, not far from Baie Verte.

This name is derived by Rand, of course our very best authority upon such matters, from the Micmac PAGWĒSK meaning A SHOAL (*First Reading Book*, 97), or SHALLOW WATER (*Micmac-English Dictionary*, 187, 127). In the last-cited place he gives a further valuable hint by making PAGWĒSK and PAGWEK equivalent terms, while in his *English-Micmac Dictionary*, 233, we find that PAAGWĒK is a topographical term meaning A SHOAL, "of rocks in the water." Thus it seems quite clear that the first part of the word, PAGW or PAAGW, is the exact Micmac equivalent, in root and meaning, of the Maliseet-Abenaki POKWA, meaning SHALLOW, already considered (page 282). Turning now to the characteristics of the place Pugwash, in order to ascertain whether the root is thereby explained, we have no difficulty in deciding. Thus Lockwood, in his *Brief Description of Nova Scotia*, London, 1818, 50, says that Pugwash is "a blind little harbour, with a reef or ledge at its eastern point, and at its mouth a bar of 18 feet." Speaking of this reef or ledge, the *Sailing Directions*, 89, say,—"Pugwash Reef extends $\frac{3}{4}$ mile northward from Pugwash Point, and dries out about half that distance. There are rocky patches, with 11 and 12 feet water, $\frac{3}{4}$ mile off the point to the northward, and others farther to the eastward, a full mile out from the shore." This shoal or reef is represented clearly upon the charts, and is thought sufficiently remarkable to be represented on the large-scale Geological map, which does not otherwise represent any feature of this kind along this coast. Furthermore, aside from this shoal, all the testimony of charts, *Sailing Directions* and descriptions agree that the Harbour is a good one, with sufficient water for vessels, and by no means to be characterized as "shallow." The word PUGWASH seems to me therefore undoubtedly founded upon the Micmac PAAGWĒK, meaning, as mentioned above, A SHOAL, referring to rocky reefs, and describing the prominent and distinctive rocky shoals at the eastern entrance to the Harbour. In the absence of any other such place along this coast, the Indians would find it entirely natural to describe this harbour as "the place where the (rocky) shoal is."

But although the general meaning of the word is thus clear, it remains to be explained why the Micmac form of the word is PAGWĒSK, containing an S, when the term from which it comes is simply PAAGWEK or PAGWEK. This, also, seems to me quite clear. PAGWEK is simply a topographical term, describing any rocky shoal; in order to make such a word apply to a particular place as a place-name, the Indians invariably add a locative suffix,—EK, -OOK, -K, etc. This would make the present word PAGWEKEK. In such cases, however, where the addition of the locative brings two K sounds in close succession, the Indians seem to have softened the final K by the interposition of a CH sound, making the locative CH or CHK, as already explained under CAMSOGOCH (page 264). Thus our word in full would be PAGWEK-ECHK which the Indians themselves undoubtedly condensed to PAGWECHK, which Rand naturally caught as PAGWĒSK. I think there is no doubt as to the correctness of this interpretation.

Naturally I have sought the early forms of the word as an aid to its interpretation, but have not been able as yet to discover an earlier use than that on Purdy's *Map of Cabotia*, of 1814, where it appears as POGWASH. This form is not only consistent with the interpretation above given, but even supports the identity of the root PAGW with POKW of the Maliseet-Abenaki word meaning SHALLOW.

Although I have not found any other interpretation of the word, one could be imagined in the fact that at the village of Pugwash the Harbour narrows greatly to the River, suggesting a possible origin from the root POOK meaning NARROW or NARROWS, while another place called THE NARROWS lies a little higher up the River. Against this view, however, are two facts;—*first*, the lack of any special confirmation in the roots, as compared with the positive evidence in favor of the view above expressed, and *second*, the feature of the narrowing is by no means distinctive of this river, but found also, as the best maps show, in others along this coast.

The spelling PUGWASH represents a typical example of familiarization,—the tendency of all people in adopting strange words to modify less familiar sounds into others more familiar to their speech, PAG, or POG, and WESK are not very familiar sounds to the English, but PUG and WASH really are. In this case, however, the combination has been unfortunate, giving a word not only without dignity in itself but even involving, through meaning-suggestion, an element of the absurd. If it ever becomes desirable to alter somewhat the form of the word, while retaining as much as practicable of its history, it would be much better to go back to the aboriginal form PAKWESK, or even to soften this further to PAKWECHÉ, or PAGWECHÉ.

SUMMARY. The name PUGWASH is of Micmac Indian origin, a familiarization of PAGWESK, which is a condensation of the roots PAGWEK-ECHK, meaning literally SHOAL-PLACE, or more generally, the PLACE AT THE ROCKY SHOAL, in description of the distinctive reef extending out from the northeastern side of the Harbour.

Pocologan.

LOCATION AND APPLICATION. The name of a small River in southwestern New Brunswick, emptying south into the Bay of Fundy, west of Point Lepreau; also a small Bay, or Harbour, at its mouth; also a small Island lying off the Harbour; also a contiguous school district and a neighbouring railway station. It is pronounced PÖK-Ä-LÖ'-GÜN, the first Ö long, as in POKE, the Ä very short, so that it might equally well be written as Ê or Ô, the second Ö long as in LOW, and strongly accented, and the Ü short, as in GUN. On the modern maps it is spelled POPELOGAN, a form used by city dwellers and other users of maps, but almost unknown locally. The latter form is pronounced in three syllables, POPE-LÖ'-GÜN.

HISTORY OF THE NAME. It makes its earliest appearance in 1785 as POKEE LOGIN, applied to the Bay, in one of the *Land Memorials* preserved at Fredericton, and appears the next year, 1786, in another of those documents, as POGHELAGEN. On Sproule's fine map of the southwestern part of the Province, of 1786, (*these Transactions*, VII, 1901, ii, 412) it appears as POCOLOGIN, applied to the Harbour, while POCOLOGIN STREAM also appears, presumably extended from the Harbour or Bay. It later appears as POKOLOGAN in a land Memorial of 1790; while a fine Report on Roads in this region, of 1802, by Dugald Campbell, published as a Government Report, has OQUIOLOGAN, doubtless by an accidental omission of the preliminary P. It is POCOLOGAN and POCLAGAIN on plans of 1816, POK-LOGAN on the Lockwood map of the Province of 1825, and the Baillie map of 1832, POCOLOGAN on the Baillie and Kendall map of 1832, POCOLOGAN on Saunders' map of 1842, on Wilkinson of 1859, and on others of later date, this latter form being exactly expressive of local usage. The Geological Survey Map of Charlotte County, however, published in 1880, introduces a wholly new spelling, POPELOGAN (though the *Report* it is designed to illustrate has the old POCOLOGAN), for both Harbour and River; and this form is followed by Loggie's fine

map of the Province of 1885 and by many others since then. Seeking, now, a reason for the adoption of this form on the Geological Map, we find a suggestion in the statement on the map itself, that it was compiled "from plans by the Admiralty, Crown Lands and Geological Surveys." Since the form could not have been taken from the plans of the Crown Land Office, as the records above given well show (one possible case from a *Land Memorial*, not a plan, of 1815 is perhaps an error of my notes), we turn to the Admiralty charts. There the explanation is found, since the most detailed chart of this coast, that of Quoddy Hd. to C. Lepreau, made by Admiral Owen in 1845, while giving no name to Harbour or Stream, has POPE LOGAN for the Island, with LOGAN POINT at the south entrance to the Harbour; and this is obviously the source of the POPELOGAN of the Geological Map. Now, as to the origin of the name on Owen's chart, I do not think it represented at all any local usage, but involved some theory of Owen's as to what the word ought to be, precisely as in the case of Dochet Island, already discussed in *these Transactions*, VIII, 1902, ii, 142-3. Admiral Owen was a cousin of David Owen, longtime resident of Campobello Island, and was no doubt influenced by the latter's ideas upon local matters. Now, David Owen has left a list of place-names, dominated by the idea that many of the Indian names at Passamaquoddy were in reality French, adopted by the Indians, as already explained in this series (*these Transactions*, V, 1912, ii, 193); and I have little doubt that as David Owen believed Passamaquoddy to be an Indian corruption of a French *Passe-en Acadie*, and Grand Manan an Indian corruption of a French form of Great Mary, so his cousin, following the same line of thought, took POCOLOGAN for a similar Indian corruption of POPE somebody, presumably LOGAN. At all events, whether or not this explanation of the origin of this form be precisely correct, there seems to be no doubt at all that Owen's form is the origin of the spelling now on our latest maps, and that it originated with him. This form POPELOGAN, accordingly, has a wholly illegitimate origin, and as it has not yet established itself locally, it should be dropped in favor of the form POCOLOGAN, which has in its favor historical priority, a century of good usage, a perfectly definite local and official (in school district and station) standing, and, as will be shown below, consistency with etymological origin. For purposes of purely scientific etymology, it would more naturally be written POKOLOGAN, but it seems best, in the case of long-used names, to give recognition to their history, and not displace historic forms by new ones, whose only merit is a better theoretical form.

ANALYSIS OF THE WORD.—All indications point, of course, to an Indian origin of the name. I have not myself obtained its original form from them, but Edward Jack, an interested and competent student of these matters, obtained it as PECK-E-LĀ-GAN, meaning "a place for stopping at, where one touches" (in a letter, and given, somewhat misprinted, in his article in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, VIII, 1895, 205). This, by the way, is the origin of the form *Pec-e-lay'-gan*, which I altered thus to avoid accents, in *these Transactions*, II 1896, ii, 263, and which has been copied since then in various publications, including the *Century Dictionary* (see page 289 later). Again, M. Chamberlain, who also knew these Indians well, gives PĒK-I-TA'-KŪN, an obvious misprint for PĒK-I-LA'-KŪN (*Maliseet Vocabulary*, 60). These two forms, taken from the Indians quite independently of one another, are in very close agreement, while they come near as well to the early forms above recorded, excepting for some rounding off of the vowels in the English speech. Hence we may accept the aboriginal form as something very close to PEK-E-LA'-GUN, with all the vowels short. Further than this, however, I have not been able to follow the word with any certainty. I cannot find therein any roots that surely match the meaning given by Jack. Furthermore, I cannot find the name, even

after the most thorough search, elsewhere in the eastern Canadian Provinces, excepting in Popelogan Brook, on Upsalquitch; but this word the Micmacs repudiate, having a quite distinct name of their own for the Brook, and it is probably a lumberman's importation (page 291 later, also *these Transactions*, II, 1896, ii. 263). Finally I cannot match up any feature of the place, which I know well and have recently revisited for this express purpose, with the roots, excepting in this feature,—viz., Pocologan Harbour is a closed basin extending not directly into the land, but along shore. To one coasting along from the eastward, the Harbour has the aspect simply of a passage behind an island; and one must enter it to find that it is completely closed. In this respect it resembles perfectly those blind coves, commonly also the lower ends of old closed passages behind islands, which are called in Maine by the topographical term *pokelogan*; and like the typical *pokelogan* also, this Harbour is shallow and mud-bottomed. Now in view of the similarity of the name, amounting almost to identity, of our POCOLOGAN and the typical Maine "pokelogan," in conjunction with the striking similarity of geographical characteristics, there is little doubt, I believe, that the words are fundamentally the same. The chief difference consists in the much larger size of our harbour as compared with the typical *pokelogs* along rivers, but a difference in size can hardly be supposed to have great weight in comparison with the striking similarity of other characteristics. On this view, the name would have belonged originally to the Harbour or Bay, as in fact the earliest records use it, becoming later extended to the river, which, by the way, possesses no characteristics that throw any light upon the name. Fully consistent with this origin is the absence from all of the forms, including those taken by Mr. Jack and Mr. Chamberlain direct from the Indians, of any sign of a terminal locative K, which is almost invariable with Indian place names. If, however, Pokologan is simply the topographical term *pokelogan*, then the absence of a terminal locative K in this case is perfectly natural. I take it POKOLOGAN was not the aboriginal Indian name for this place, but their topographical name for such a closed basin as the Harbour forms, given by them to the white settlers, and adopted by the latter as a place name.

Having traced this word to a wholly probable origin in a topographical term, with no competing explanation, it is perhaps not essential to our purpose to go any farther, since such terms may be very old, and beyond present analysis. However, POKOLOGAN or POKELOKEN has an air of etymological simplicity that is very alluring, and it would certainly be a satisfaction to connect its roots with others having part in the composition of our place-names. We turn accordingly to attempt an analysis of the term POKOLOGAN, as used in Maine.

The word has attracted a great deal of attention. In Bartlett's *Dictionary of Americanisms* (2nd. edition, 1859, and later editions), the word appears as POKELOKEN, and is defined as "A marshy tract or stagnant pool extending into the land from a stream or lake"; and in illustration are quoted two passages from Haliburton's writings involving the word in the form POKELOKENS. One of these is credited in such manner to Sam Slick as to lead one to think that it is found in the original *Clockmaker* published before 1840, whereas in fact both quotations are taken from *Nature and Human Nature*, which was not published until 1855. Bartlett, by the way, does not correctly reproduce the spelling of that work, which is POKE-LOKEINS in one case (Chapter VIII) and POKE-LOKEN in the other (Chapter XXV). Haliburton's definition of the word at the latter place is strongly suggestive of derivation from Bartlett's *Dictionary*, in the first edition of which, published in 1848, the word occurs as POKE-LOKEN, but without quotations, as I am told. Seemingly, therefore, Haliburton got the word from the first

edition of Bartlett's Dictionary, used it twice in his book, and then was quoted as an authority by Bartlett in his second edition! The earliest original use of the word that I have been able to find, however, is by Thoreau, who, in 1848, in his paper "Ktaadn," reprinted in *The Maine Woods*, 51, uses this sentence,—“Now and then we passed what McCauslin called a pokelogan, an Indian term for what the drivers might have reason to call a poke-logs-in, an inlet that leads nowhere.” Later (*op. cit.* 100), he writes,—speaking of moose tracks he saw,—“They were particularly numerous where there was a small bay, or *pokelogan*, as it is called, bordered by a strip of meadow, or separated from the river by a low peninsula covered with coarse grass, wool-grass, etc.” Thoreau heard the form later as SPOKELOGAN, from an Indian, who, in response to a question as to the meaning of the word, answered “no Indian in ‘em” (*op. cit.* 248). Thoreau's expressions show that he was referring to those shallow, usually mud-bottomed, coves found especially at the lower ends of former islands as relics of old passages now closed at the upper ends. Nowadays such a place is called by the lumbermen and guides, a LOGAN, an obvious abbreviation of POKELOGAN. The difficulty with the logs is not simply a pleasantry of Thoreau's, but a real one to the river-drivers, who sometimes find parts of their drives eddied into the pokelogs and caught there, though at other times these places are said to be used deliberately for storing the logs over a season. This prominence of the logans in Maine river life has led to the elevation of the word into a verb, and one is said to be “loganned,” when he enters such a place and has to return, as is made very clear by Mrs. Eckstorm (Miss Hardy) in one of her articles in *Forest and Stream*, XXXVI, 1891-2, and also by her father, Manly Hardy, in the same journal LXXIV, 1910, 731. Mrs. Eckstorm tells me also that lumbermen speak of “loganning” logs, when they store them in logans. The word, by the way, both as Pokelogan and Logan is found also in the forests of the Northwest, to which presumably they have been carried by Maine lumbermen (*Terms used in Forestry and Logging*, Washington, 1905).

In later editions of his *Dictionary*, Bartlett adds other illustrations of the use of the word and this statement: “the word is the equivalent of Chippewa pokenogun, and related to pokegoma and—gomig, a recess or one-sided lake connected with the principal lake or with a river by a short outlet” citing in support Owen, *Geological Survey of Wisconsin*, 280. This latter work, by the way, merely explains the use of Pokegoma, and says nothing of Pokenogun, which I cannot find in Baraga's *Dictionary* or elsewhere. In DeVere's *Americanisms*, of 1872, the word is said to be defined as “a marsh,” but this would be wrong. Murray's *Dictionary* follows Bartlett. In 1896 the identity of the New Brunswick Place-name POCOLOGAN-POPELOGAN, in the form PEC-E-LAY'-GAN, with the Maine word, was implied in a note of mine in *these Transactions*, II, 1896, ii, 263, a suggestion which was adopted by Chamberlain in 1902 (*Journal of American Folk-lore*, XV, 1902, 254), and is the origin, I think, of the statement in Clapin's *Dictionary of Americanisms* that the Maine pokelogan is also spelled popelogan. In 1903 (*Journal*, cited, XVI, 1903, 128), I pointed out the identity in use of the Maine word LOGAN and the New Brunswick word BOGAN, with the word POKELOGAN, and emphasized the probability that the two latter are corruptions, through abbreviation, from the former; and these suggestions have been incorporated into the definitions of LOGAN and POKELOKEN in the supplementary pages of the *Century Dictionary*, and in the *Handbook of American Indians*. If, by the way, illustrations of the use of the New Brunswick term are desired, they may be found in an article by G. Stead in the *Bulletin of the Natural History Society of New Brunswick*, III, 1893, 29, and in another by M. Foster, in the *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXXVI, 1900, 239, while typical illustrations of the

use of the term LOGAN, are given by Mrs. Eckstorm (Miss Hardy) in *Forest and Stream*, XXXVI, 1901, 62, by Manly Hardy in the same journal, LXXXIV, 1910, 731, and by Samuels in *With Fly-rod and Camera*, 418. It is also worth mention in this connection that in New Brunswick the word BOGAN is perhaps contracted still further, for the expression PUGHOLE, used by guides and other woodsmen to designate a boggy or marshy spot, usually one that gives rise to a small stream, may be a contraction of BOGAN, though perhaps it is simply "Bog-hole." The word PUG-HOLE is used by a guide in a letter I receive as I write this paper, and it is explained in the *Educational Review* (St. John), XIII, 1899, 148.

The only attempt at an etymological analysis of the word that I have found, is the partial one by W. W. Tooker, in the *American Anthropologist*, I, 1899, 165, who makes the first root identical with that of the southern word POQUOSIN, in which it means "to open out," "to widen," "primarily to break," the entire word describing an open marshy place by a river. Mr. Tooker is presumably right in his interpretation of this root in Poquosin, but I think he is wholly wrong in identifying it with the POKO of Pokelogan, for there is little, if anything, in the typical pokelogan to suggest opening or widening, which idea indeed, is expressed in Abenaki and Micmac by the root BAN or PAN, as shown already in the preceding paper in this series (page 12). Moreover, the word Poquosin exists among our Indians with a meaning very different from that of Pokelogan, and very like one of the popular uses mentioned by Mr. Tooker, south of New York; for M. Chamberlain, in his *Maliseet Vocabulary*, 49, gives the Maliseet word PĒK-KWES'-SŪN as meaning A WILD MEADOW. The root that is involved in Poquosin seems to me not the Abenaki PONGUA meaning SHALLOW, but the Narragansett PAHKE or POHKE, meaning CLEAR, OPEN (compare pp. 131, 234, of Trumbull's *Natick Dictionary*). Far more probable seems to me an identity of this POKO of POKOLOGAN with POWKA of POKOWOGAMOOS, meaning SHALLOW (page 282 preceding), for the pokelogans are not only typically shallow, but have mud bottoms like those of the Pokwagamoos type of "Mud Lakes." As to the remainder of the word, OLOGAN or ELOKAN, that I take to be identical with a root or roots which appear in words signifying an enclosure or receptacle. Thus there is KELAĦIGAN meaning A TRAP (Rasle, *Abnaki Dictionary*, 389), the kind of trap that an animal enters, as shown by the kind called Kilheg (a persistence), in English; and there is OULAGAN, meaning A DISH, given by Father Rasle, as 8LAŦGAN, the Ŧ being an almost silent nasal (*op. cit.* 508), while ALAGAT, it appears, is part of a word meaning HOLE (*op. cit.* 538). The same root is evidently contained in MEGKWAĦ'LAGAS, a locality on the lower Penobscot, meaning "red hole (on an island)", given by Hubbard (*Woods and Lakes of Maine*, 201), and I suspect underlies the word *Allagash*, later to be considered. In the allied Micmac we have the same components obviously in ĒL-MŪNĀKŪN, meaning "a beaver's or muskrat's Hole" (Rand, *English-Micmac Dictionary*, 133). Indeed, this idea of an animal's hole or retreat, the passage into a cul-de-sac, the kind of a place our lumbermen would describe as "a hole," topographically, fits very well with both the impression made by a pokelogan and with its actual construction,—elongated, muddy, alder-bordered, difficult to traverse, uncanny; and expresses, I think, the idea underlying the use of the word pokelogan. The entire word therefore, would seem to be POKW-ELAKUN meaning literally SHALLOW-HOLE.

Reviewing the evidence as a whole, I venture the prediction that the word POKOLOGAN will be found embodied in the MEGKWAĦLAGAS of Hubbard, above mentioned, which I think is not correctly interpreted in its first part, and which, in view of the easy interchangeability of M and P in Indian words, could

probably be read as PEGKWAHLAGAS. In this form it differs only in its terminal letter from some of the forms above given as early recorded forms of Pocologan. Through this word I think we shall find the confirmation of our interpretation, or else, if that proves wrong, the clue to the one that is correct.

Of course the root ELAKUN is itself compound, and is resolvable perhaps, into a root EL, carrying the idea of enclosure, and AKUN, which signifies an opening or passage. Now this latter root occurs in a great many place-names as a suffix, as will later be shown, and exhibits a considerable range of pronunciation from OKUN, AKUN, AGUN, to EGUN, etc., which will explain not only some variation in the pronunciation of pokelogan, but the spelling of the latter part of some forms of the New Brunswick place-name earlier given (page 286).

While this explanation seems to me probable, it rests simply upon parallel resemblances and hence lacks proof-connection with the word in question. In this manner one can build up other explanations of the word, all reasonable, of which I have made two or three, though less probable than the one given, and hardly worth full description.

Finally, a little coincidence pointed out to me by Mrs. Eckstorm is worth notice, especially as sooner or later it is sure to be adduced in this connection. If the word were not so certainly Indian, we could readily find for it an Anglo-Saxon origin, for, according to Murray's *Dictionary*, an old word POKE means POCKET, while LOKEN means CLOSED, so that POKELOKEN could be imagined to mean a pocket-like enclosure, which a pokelogan commonly is. Of course there is nothing in this resemblance other than one of those coincidences which are so common in all philological studies.

As the foregoing discussion exhibits, the preferred spelling of the Dictionaries is POKELOKEN, which is clearly based upon the spelling used by Bartlett and adopted by Haliburton; and they have naturally been followed by others. Yet POKELOGAN is a much preferable form, both because historically prior, and also because reflecting far better the local pronunciation, as the common abbreviations LOGAN and BOGAN well show.

POPELOGAN. The name of a Brook, a branch of the Upsalquitch River, in northern New Brunswick. Although apparently Indian, the Micmacs repudiate it, and have for the brook quite a different name of their own (*these Transactions*, II, 1896, ii, 263). A Micmac chief told me, it is "a bad place to get logs out of—must be named for that", which remark not only recalls Thoreau's above noted, to a somewhat similar effect, but also suggests a possible reason for the application of the name, viz., that it was given by a lumberman from Maine because of some resemblance to a pokelogan stream there. Its form POPELOGAN long antedates that spelling on the modern maps for our Harbour and Stream in the south of the Province, for I find it on Saunders' published *Map of New Brunswick* of 1842. Saunders, in turn, undoubtedly drew the name from a Ms plan in the Crown Land Office at Fredericton, a survey of the Upsalquitch by Hunter, of 1836, for it appears thereon with the present spelling. But here is an interesting fact about the name upon Hunter's map, that while it occurs thereon as POPELOGAN, it is given also as POKE LOGAN, and the latter word is in Hunter's writing, and the former apparently in another hand. Thus we have marked support of the supposition above mentioned, that the word is a lumberman's importation from Maine, soon corrupted by the rivermen, to whom it was unfamiliar, to POPELOGAN; and still further support is given the idea of importation by the fact that the word does not appear at all on the earlier fine plan of 1820-1 by McDonald,—the original survey plan of this River.

As to its corruption, it is not without significance that I have heard it called locally PORTLOGAN, which Father Pacifique, in a letter, writes POTLOGAN.

POCUMCUS. The name of a small lake on the Scoodic, or West Branch of Saint Croix, chain in Maine. It appeared first in this form on a boundary map, from survey, in 1797 (*these Transactions*, VII, 1901, ii, 254); it is marked upon Wilkinson's map of 1859 as POKOMPKUS, though later Maine Maps have the older form. One's first thought must be that this POC, or POK, if not POKW meaning SHALLOW must be POK or POOK meaning NARROW; and this was the idea of the late A. S. Gatschet, who in a letter to me in 1898 made the word PUKAMKÉS'K, from PUK meaning A NARROWS or THOROUGHFARE, and AMKÉS meaning A LITTLE SANDY (or GRAVELLY) SPOT. A partially similar explanation was given by L. L. Hubbard for the obviously identical part POKUMKES of POKUMKESWAGAMOKSIS, next mentioned (*Woods and Lakes of Maine*, 209), though he makes the POKUM (which should read POGUMK) mean DRY SAND, evidently influenced by that usage in Micmac, as shown by his citation from Rand. Both Gatschet's and Hubbard's explanations, however, are purely speculative and made without any reference to any known characteristics of the places, though it happens to be a fact that Pocumcus Lake has a sand bar where it joins Grand Lake, as mentioned in the *Seventh Report . . . Maine Board of Agriculture* 1862, 303. On the other hand, they ignore a very remarkable and unusual geographical peculiarity which both lakes possess in common, namely, their principal inlets and their outlets lie close together, with nearly the entire lake extending off from the line between them, much as a bag hangs from its gathering strings. Furthermore, there is a little Pond, called COMPASS Pond, marked on Hubbard's map, on a small stream emptying into the west Branch of Penobscot a little above Pemadumcook Lake; and this Pond displays the same characteristic as Pokumcus and Pokumkeswagamoksis, though in somewhat less marked degree. The resemblance in name and unusual geographical relations points to identity of name in all three cases, COMPASS being a wholly probable simplification and familiarization of POCUMCUS. Thus is suggested a derivation from the name of some object having a form or structure comparable with the geographical peculiarity here presented. Such lakes are sometimes called "Pocket Lakes" in New Brunswick (there is a good one just above Big Lake on the Little Southwest Miramichi), and I sought a word in "pocket," "bag," etc., without success, until finally in Rand's *Micmac-English Dictionary*, 142, I found the word POOGOOGUMA00, as meaning the STOMACH or PAUNCH. I have not been able to find, as yet, the exact Maliseet or Penobscot equivalent of this word; but the relationship of Micmac to these tongues is sufficiently close to make me feel certain that a similar word exists in them. As everyone will recognize, the resemblance in form between the outlines of these lakes, and the profile of the paunch of an herbivorous animal like a Moose or a Deer, with the inlet gullet and outlet intestine not far apart and the main stomach bulging off to one side, is very close,—so close indeed as to leave in my mind little question as to the correctness of this explanation of the word. I have no doubt, accordingly, that POCUMCUS, POKUMKES, and COMPASS, all represent corruptions of the Penobscot equivalent of the Micmac POOGOOGUMA00, meaning PAUNCH, together with the remains of some old suffix meaning POND (perhaps an extreme condensation of GAMOOKSIS, meaning LITTLE LAKE) giving to the entire word the significance of LITTLE LAKE, or POND. Thus the name would mean PAUNCH-SHAPED POND.

It is likely that the root POOG in POOGOOGUMA00 is really POOK, meaning NARROW, in allusion to the narrowing where gullet and intestine join the paunch,

and this view is strengthened by Rand's use of POOGOGWADEK as meaning A NARROW PATH (*op. cit.* 142). In this case these three words now under consideration, belong, though indirectly, with the series considered along with POKIOK in the preceding paper.

POKUMKESWAGAMOKSIS. The aboriginal name for Harrington Lake, just east of Chesuncook, in Maine, given by Hubbard (*op. cit.* 209) as PÖKŪM'-KESWANGAMÖ'KSIS. As just explained, the first part of the word is evidently identical with POCUMCUS, in description of the same feature, while the latter part is the common termination GAMOKSIS meaning POND (page 282 preceding.) The WA between the two parts represents probably a form of the common possessive A-WE, meaning ITS.

COMPASS. A little Pond emptying into the West Branch Penobscot above Lake Pemadumcook in Maine. It is no doubt a familiarization of POCUMCUS considered above, with a similar meaning of PAUNCH-SHAPED POND, in allusion to its contiguous inlet and outlet.

It is also possible that the name POKEMOUCHE, of an important locality in northeastern New Brunswick, may have a connection with POOGOOGUMAOO, through its pocket-like South River; but this matter will be later considered.

