

Who Were the Agawam Indians Really?

Mary Ellen Lepionka, Gloucester 6/7/14

Websites on the history of Ipswich report incorrectly that Masconomet was a chief or sachem of the Agawam tribe and ruled a sovereign territory called *Wonnesquamsauke*, which the English anglicized as *Agawam*. But this is not so.

First, Masconomet or Masconomo was a Pawtucket. His given Pawtucket name was *Quonopkonat*, (Allan Pearsall has it as *Quinakonant*, source unknown), and he later received the honorific name *Masquenomoit* (pronounced mask wen o moy it) from the Nipmuc, to whom he was related by marriage. This is the name Samuel English, who was literate, wrote in reference to his grandfather. The honorific, meaning something like “He who vanquished a black bear”, is spelled in many ways and was corrupted in English to Masconomet or Masconomo.

Second, Masconomet was not the chief of a tribe. He was a sagamore or sagamon—not the same thing as a sachem (pronounced saw kum) or chief. He was the hereditary leader of a band of co-residing Pawtucket families related through patrilineal descent—not the same thing as a tribe. Prior to English colonization the Pawtucket were never organized as a tribe, although their closest relations, the Pennacook of New Hampshire, may have been. Thus, before the English applied European political concepts to the Native Americans they encountered, “Agawam” was never the name of any tribe.

Third, Masconomet and his people did not occupy a sovereign territory. Their main village was Wamesit (pronounced Wah me sit) in Lowell, and until the last 500 years or so they migrated seasonally between Wamesit and villages on the Essex County coast from Newburyport to Salem. Those villages included Agawam, which was indeed their name for their village and its river and not an anglicization. Its correct translation is *Aga* (“Beyond” or “Other side of”) + *wam* (“The marsh”). Old accounts and maps contain diverse spellings of the name, which was misattributed to the people and a territory rather than just the village along with its river and planting areas (for prior to European contact the Pawtucket were farmers as well as hunters, fishers, and gatherers).

The other principal Pawtucket villages included *Kwaskwaikikwen* on the north (written as *Quascacunquen* or *Wessacucon*, later Newbury) and *Nahumkeak* (written as *Naumkeag*, later Salem-Beverly) on the south. *Quascacunquen* means “Best (or perfect) place for planting (corn)” and does not in any way refer to a waterfall on the Parker River as local histories all claim. *Naumkeag* means “Where there are eels” or “At the eel fishery” or “Place of eel abundance” and does not mean “fishing place” or refer to “quiet waters” (although eels do prefer them).

Other villages were located on the Annisquam River and Chebacco Lake, *chebacco* meaning “the area in between” (the Agawam and Annisquam rivers). All the villages were fortified against Tarrantine (Mi’Kmaq) attack by sea, and Masconomet routinely visited (and was visited by) these villages from his seat at Agawam. His principal residence and fort was on Castle Hill, the first place he offered to John Winthrop Jr.

(necessitating his move to Hog Island), with the goal of enlisting the English in Pawtucket defense.

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Fourth, there never was a place called *Wonnesquamsauke* in any language. The term was a reconstruction invented by anthropologist Henry Schoolcraft in the 1880s, based on erroneous or misperceived data, for which his ethnographic observations are notorious. Schoolcraft defined *wonne* as “pleasant”, *asquam* as “water” and *auke* as “place”. However, there is no *wonne* prefix in the language the Pawtucket spoke, *nes* is the root for “fresh water”, *quam* is the equivalent of *wam*, meaning “marsh”), *sau* means “water outlet”, and *ke* is a locative, meaning “at, in, or on”.

Schoolcraft and others of his time believed that the place names Agawam, Annisquam, and Squam all derived from this fictive *Wonnesquamsauke*. Frederick Hodge, writing at the turn of the 20th century, suggested “Fish-curing place” as an alternative to “Pleasant water place” for the meaning of *Agawam*, based on colonists’ observations of what the Indians did there. Writing in 1909 the linguist R. A. Douglas-Lithgow suggested that *Annisquam* derived from *Wonnesquam*.

They and later historical linguists did not know about an ancient document proving that Annisquam derives from *Wenesquawam*, or, in present-day spelling, *Wanaskwiwam* (pronounced Wah nas kwi wam). That word--and the meaning of Annisquam—translates as *Wanaskwi* “the end of” + *wam* “the marsh”. “End of the Marsh” is not as romantic as “Pleasant Harbor”, as local lore would have it, but it is certainly apt. The Annisquam River marshes are the last of the continuous “Great Marsh” stretching from Portsmouth to Cape Ann. *Wenesquawam* was corrupted in English first to *Wonnesquam* and then to *Annisquam*.

The name *Wenesquawam* appears in an anonymous document written some time between 1602 and 1611, prior to Captain John Smith’s naming voyage. The document, called the Egerton Ms., is in the British Library and names and describes the major rivers between the Penobscot and the Annisquam and the sagamoreship associated with each river. *Wenesquawam* was the name of both the Annisquam River and a major Pawtucket village on its banks. Based on archaeological evidence and colonial references, that village most likely was located at Riverview in Gloucester just north of Poles Hill.

Most languages of New England and the Canadian Maritimes are in the Algonquian, or Algic, language family, in the same sense that English is a Germanic language within Indo-European. However, the early historical linguists tended to treat Indian languages of New England as dialects of one aboriginal language. They also tended to rely exclusively on the pioneering work of the English missionaries who first collected linguistic data, such as Roger Williams’ *A Key into the Language of America* (1643), which was actually the Narraganset language, and John Eliot’s translation of the Bible into Massachuset, published in 1663.

Based on those works, during the 1860s through 1880s James Hammond Trumbull and other linguists translated Indian place names in New England, and those translations have stuck to this day. Following Trumbull, for example, William Bright in *Native American Placenames of the United States* (2004) concludes that Wonesquam meant "at the top or point of the rock" (*wanashque* = "at the top of" or "at the extremity of" + *omsk* = "rock"), rather than *wam[ph]* = "low land overflowed with water" or "marsh".)

In conclusion, the mistranslation of the few remaining native place names we have in eastern Essex County stems from a fundamental misunderstanding of who "the Agawam Indians" really were. They were not Massachuset or Narraganset and did not speak a dialect of either language. They were Pawtucket whose ancestors came from northern New England, and they spoke a dialect of Western Abenaki. There is documentary evidence that they could communicate with the Nipmuc but needed interpreters to talk to other speakers of Massachuset, including the Wampanoags, or else made recourse to the patois they used in trade. Both Pawtucket and Nipmuc, which early French linguists referred to as Loup A and Loup B, are regarded as extinct languages. Present-day language revival programs have given us enough Abenaki to attempt new translations, however, and this is what I've tried to do. Here is what I have so far (using traditional spellings):

Agawam: "Beyond the marsh" (as viewed from Newbury on the north)

Annisquam: "End of the marsh" (as viewed from Agawam on the north)

Wamesit: "Room for all" (the marsh goes)

Pennacook: "Where there are groundnuts" (referring to a tuber used as a staple food)

Quascacunquen: "Best place for planting" (corn)

Chebacco: "Area in between" (the Ipswich and Annisquam rivers)

Naumkeag: "Where there are eels" (referring to the Bass River in Beverly)

Winniahdin: "In the vicinity of the heights" (referring to the west bank of the Annisquam River between the Cut and Little River, below "The Heights" and Thomson Mountain)

Agamenticus: "Beyond the mountain rising from the small tidal river" (referring to West Gloucester beyond Mt. Ann, as viewed from Chebacco on the north)

Wingaersheek (an English—not Dutch—corruption of *Wingawecheek*): "Where there are sea whelk" (the shell used to make wampum). *Wingawecheek* most likely was the name of a village in West Gloucester on Atlantic Ave., behind the beach by that name and opposite the Jones River Saltmarsh; it was not the Indian name for Cape Ann as misunderstood by early settlers and repeated ever since in local histories.

It's hard for people to change their stories—so embedded in deep time and official canon, so wedded to civic pride, expensive sometimes to modify—even when there is good reason to do so, such as a better explanation or a closer truth. Receiving new intelligence, every generation seems to have its episodes of shock or dismay, large or small, and struggles for disclosure or censorship, upon learning that the artist Fitz Hugh Lane's name was really Fitz Henry Lane, for example, or that George Washington endured constant pain from a full set of wooden dentures, or that Thomas Jefferson slept with his slave, or that even after Emancipation some Gloucester sea captains continued slaving in

foreign ports. I hope it will be possible nevertheless to change public knowledge about the Native Americans who lived here and that getting closer to the truth will be worth it.

My Sources (for those who want or need them)

My sources for Algonquian place names include William Bright's *Native American Place Names of the United States* (2004, see especially pp. 32, 41, 554, and 571); R. Douglas-Lithgow's *Native American Place Names of Massachusetts* and his *Native American Place Names of New Hampshire and Maine* (2000); the chapter on Geographical Names in H. L. Mencken's classic *The American Language* (1921, available at Bartleby.com); Edward Gray and Norman Fiering, *The Language Encounter in the Americas 1492-1800: A Collection of Essays* (2000); John Huden's chapter on Indian Place Names of New England in Volume 18 of *Contributions from the New York Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation* (1962, available at Archive.org/); and J. Hammond Trumbull's vintage work, *The Composition of Indian Geographical Names, Illustrated from the Algonkin* (1870, available at Gutenberg.org).

Other sources of information about place names are in Lyle Campbell's 1997 *American Indian Languages: The Historical Linguistics of Native America* (see pp. 156-168); a 1904 article by William Tooker, Algonquian Names of Some Mountains and Hills, in *The Journal of American Folklore* 17 (66): 171-179; Myron Sleeper's 1949 article, Indian place names in New England, in the *Bulletin of the Massachusetts Archaeological Society* 10 (4): 89-93; C. Lawrence Bond's 3rd edition of *Native Names of New England Towns and Villages* (2000); and Alexander Chamberlain's 1902 article, Algonkian Words in American English: A Study in the Contact of the White Man and the Indian, in *The Journal of American Folklore* 15 (59): 240-267.

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft set forth his linguistic theories in his 1839 *Algic Researches*. The U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs published his summary with Seth Eastman of Algonquian languages in Volume 5 (pp. 221-224) of *Historical and statistical Information, respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States* (1847; 1855).

For information about Masconomet see Volume 5 of the *Winthrop Papers* (1628), published by the Massachusetts Historical Society and John Winthrop's *History of New England 1630-1649* (1649). See also the Ipswich histories, especially Joseph Felt's, including his 1862 paper, Indian Inhabitants of Agawam (read at a Meeting of the Essex Institute on August 21 of that year, in *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 4: 225-228).

Masconomet also appears in *Native American Deeds in Essex County* at the web site of the Southern Essex County Registry of Deeds (www.salemdeeds.com) and in Sidney Perley's *The Indian Land Titles of Essex County, Massachusetts* (1912). See also Dennis Connole's *Indians of the Nipmuck Country in Southern New England 1630-1750* (2007); Samuel Gardner Drake's 1834 *Biography and history of the Indians of North America: comprising a general account of them, and details in the lives of all the most distinguished chiefs, and others who have been noted, among the various Indian nations*; Robert Grumet's *Northeastern Indian Lives, 1632-1816* (1996); and Ellen Knight's article on Nanepashemet's Family Tree in the February 2006 *Wiser Newsletter* 11/2 (Nanepashemet.pdf).

Primary source accounts of Agawam include papers in the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* by Robert Rantoul (19: B126), Herbert Adams (19:153), George Phippen (1: 97, 145, 185), and Joseph Felt (4: 225), in addition to Joseph Felt's history of Ipswich, which is based on colonial accounts.

English colonial observers in New England who recorded observations of Algonquian languages or names in southern New England included William Bradford (*History of Plymouth Plantation 1620-1647*); Edward Winslow (*Mourt's Relation*, 1622, and *Good Newes from New England*, 1624); Roger Williams (*A Key into the Language of America*, 1643); John Winthrop (*A journal of the transactions and occurrences in the settlement of Massachusetts... from the year 1630 to 1644*, published in 1853 as *History of New England 1630-1649*); John Winthrop Jr., who established Ipswich (*The Winthrop Papers*, 1628); Francis Higginson, who settled in Beverly-Salem (*New England's Plantation*, 1630); William Wood (*New England's Prospect*, 1634); Thomas Lechford (*Plain Dealing: Or News from New England*, 1637); Thomas Morton (*The New English Canaan*, 1637); Edward Johnson (*Wonder-Working Providence*, 1654), Samuel Maverick (*A Briefe Description of New England and the Severall Townes Therein*, 1660); John Josselyn (*An Account of Two Voyages to New-England*, 1674); John Eliot (*A Brief Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England, in the Year 1670*); and Daniel Gookin, the first Indian Agent for the government of Massachusetts Bay (*Collections of the Indians in New England*, 1792).

Some early English explorers who recorded Algonquian words and names included James Rosier (in Henry Burrage's 1887 *Rosier's Relation of Weymouth's Voyage to the Coast of Maine, 1605*); James Davies (*Relation of a voyage to Sagadahoc, 1607-1608*); John Smith (*The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England & the Summer Isles*, 1624); Christopher Leverett (*A Voyage into New England Begun in 1623 and Ended in 1624*); and Samuel Purchas (*Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes*, Volume 4, 1625). It is from Davies, for example, that we first learn that the language of the coastal Indians in Essex County, New Hampshire, and southern Maine and the language of the Indians of Massachusetts Bay and Cape Cod Bay were mutually intelligible only through the aid of interpreters.

French sources for Algonquian vocabulary include Samuel de Champlain, Father Sebastien Rale, Father Jean de Brebeuf, and other Catholic missionaries posted to northern New England and Canada. For example, Jesuit missionary texts collected by Eugene Vetromille, published in 1857 as the *Indian Good Book*, include a Roman Catholic prayer book written in two Abenaki dialects. Comparisons of word meanings from the different sources help in getting closer to accurate translations. For example, the Pilgrim Roger Williams, the Puritan John Cotton, the Jesuit Father Rale, the modern linguist R. Douglas-Lithgow, and others have provided alternative etymologies for *Massachusetts* (see http://www.statesymbolsusa.org/Massachusetts/name_origin.html).

There are Dutch sources as well, including Arnoldus Montanus' 1671 map, *New and Unknown World (De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld)*, based on a 1616 Dutch map and copied in Ogilby's *America*. This is the map that notoriously has *Wyngaerts hoek* (meaning "grapevine cape") in the ocean off Cape Cod, causing some to claim that this is the origin of *Wingaersheek*. It is far more likely, however, that the latter is a corruption of an Algonquian name (*Wingawecheek*) by an English speaker, perhaps one familiar with the Dutch maps or simply inclined to add an r sound after the long vowel, as older Yankees still tend to do (e.g., when Anner has a good idear).

Pawtucket seasonal migration between Wamesit in the vicinity of Lowell and the Essex County coasts is attested in the accounts of John Winthrop Jr., Daniel Gookin, Joseph Felt, and the earliest histories of Lowell, Chelmsford, Billerica, and Dracut, including Charles Cowley's 1862 *Memories of the Indians*.... The prejudicial view that New England Algonquians were inconsequential because they "wandered" and did not build cities or monuments was first

expressed by early archaeologists of the post-Civil War era, such as F. W. Putnam, and has tended to persist to the present day.

For archaeologists' perspectives on Algonquian farming see Elizabeth Chilton (2010) Mobile farmers and sedentary models: Horticulture and cultural transitions in Late Woodland and contact period New England, in Susan Alt, ed., *Ancient Complexities: New Perspectives in Precolumbian North America*: 96-103. See also Robert Hasenstab (1999), Fishing, Farming, and Finding the Village Sites: Centering Late Woodland New England Algonquians, in *The Archaeological Northeast*: 139-153, and Barbara Luedtke (1988), Where are the late woodland villages in eastern Massachusetts? *Bulletin of the Massachusetts Archaeological Society*. 49 (2) 58-65.

Pawtucket roots among the Pennacook of the Merrimack Valley in New Hampshire is attested in letters of Daniel Gookin and John Eliot and is explained in ethnographic works by Gordon Day (*In search of New England's Native Past*, 1998) and David Stewart-Smith (The Pennacook Lands and Relations: An Ethnography (1994) in *The New Hampshire Archaeologist*: 33/34; *Pennacook Indians and the New England Frontier circa 1604-1733* (1998); and Fall 1999. Indians of the Merrimack Valley: An Introduction (Fall 1999) in the *Bulletin of the Massachusetts Archaeological Society* 60 (2): 57. David Stewart-Smith's and Frank Speck's ethnographies were my principal sources for understanding Pawtucket-Pennacook political organization and kinship.

Early sources for Wamesit, Pawtucket, and Pennacook include Eliot and Gookin, cited above; Charles Cowley's 1862 *Memories of the Indians and Pioneers of the Region of Lowell*, Vol I. and his 1886 *History of Lowell*; Abiel Abbott's *History of Andover From Its Settlement to 1829*; Wilson Waters' *History of Chelmsford* (1917); Frederick Coburn's *History of Lowell and Its People* (1920); Silas Coburn's *History of Dracut, Massachusetts, called by the Indians Augumtoocooke....* (1922); Nathaniel Bouton's 1856. *The History of Concord: From Its First Grant in 1725, to the Organization of the City Government in 1853, with a History of the Ancient Penacooks*.

Other sources are Colin Calloway's *The Western Abenakis of Vermont 1600-1800* (1990) and *Dawnland Encounters: Indians and Europeans in northern New England* (1991); and Thadeuz Pietrowski, *The Indian Heritage of New Hampshire and Northern New England* (2002). See also Peter Leavenworth's article, "The Best Title That Indians Can Claim": National Agency and Consent in the Transferal of Penacook-Pawtucket Land in the 17th Century (June 1999) in the *New England Quarterly* Vol. 72, No. 2: 275-300.

For additional information about the Tarrantines, see Tarrantines and the Introduction of European Trade Goods in the Gulf of Maine (1985) by Bruce Bourke and Ruth Holmes Whitehead, in *Ethnohistory* 32 (4): 327-341, and Remembering the Tarrantines and Nanepashemet: Exploring 1605-1635 Tarrantine War Sites in Eastern Massachusetts (2008) by John Goff, in *The New England Antiquities Research Association Journal* 39 (2).

Local town histories, all of which repeat old misunderstandings about the Indians, if they mention them at all, include John Wingate Thornton's 1854 *The Landing at Cape Ann*; John Babson's 1860 *History of the Town of Gloucester, Cape Ann: Including the Town of Rockport* and the *Notes and Additions to the History of Gloucester* published in 1990; Herbert Adams' 1882 *The Fisher Plantation of Cape Anne, Part I of The Village Communities of Cape Ann and Salem*, and James Pringle's 1892 *History of the Town and City of Gloucester, Cape Ann, Massachusetts*. (See pp. 16-18 for Pringle's affirmation of incorrect traditional interpretations of Algonquian place names.)

Other town histories I consulted include Edward Stone's 1843 *History of Beverly, Civil and Ecclesiastical, from its Settlement in 1630 to 1842*; Joshua Coffin's *A Sketch of the History of Newbury, Newburyport, and West Newbury, from 1635 to 1845*; Robert Crowell's 1853 *History of the Town of Essex, 1634-1700*; *Old Naumkeag: An Historical Sketch of the City of Salem, and the Towns of Marblehead, Peabody, Danvers, Wenham, Manchester, Topsfield, and Middleton* by Carl Webber and Winfield Nevins (1877); D. F. Lamson's 1895 *History of the Town of Manchester, Essex County, Massachusetts 1645-1895*; Joseph Felt's *Annals of Salem from Its first Settlement*, Volume I (1845) and his *History of Ipswich, Essex, and Manchester* (1966); the *History of Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, including Lynnfield, Saugus, Swampscott, and Nahant, 1628-1893*, by Alonzo Lewis and James R. Newhall (1844); Sidney Perley's *The History of Boxford, Essex County, Massachusetts, from the Earliest Settlement Known to the Present Time* (1880); John Currier's 1902 *History of Newbury, Mass. 1635-1902*; Thomas Waters' 1905 *Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay Colony*; and Gordon Abbott's 2003 *Jeffrey's Creek: A Story of People, Places and Events in the Town That Came to Be Known as Manchester-By-The-Sea*.

Good general sources for the history of Essex County include Hurd's *History of Essex County* (1888); Part I, Volume 2 of Walter Hough's *History of Essex County, Massachusetts* (1888); Benjamin Arrington's *Municipal history of Essex County in Massachusetts* (1922); and Claude Feuss' *The Story of Essex County* (1935).

John Smith's 1624 version of his map of New England incorporates Algonquian place names he learned from an Abenaki sagamore in Maine while summering on the Kennebec, which he describes in *A Description of New England* (1616), published by the Massachusetts Historical Society, 3rd Series (1837) 6:103-140. See also William Wood's map. "The South part of New England as it is Planted this yeare, 1634" in Google Images or in Fite and Freeman, *A Book of Old Maps Delineating American History*, pp. 136-139. Robert Raymond has an enlarged detail of Wood's map at freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~raymondfamily/WoodMap.html. John Seller's *A Mapp of New England* is at www.stonybrook.edu/libmap/Seller.htm.

The document "The Names of the Rivers" was found in the British Library in the Egerton Manuscripts, "Papers Relating to the English Colonies in America and the West Indies, 1627-1699", in *British Records Relating to American History in Microform (BRRAM) Series* (1974). It was among the papers of Thomas Povey (1613-1705) who was a secretary of Charles II. See "Thomas Povey Papers and Letters", *Egerton Mss #2395 Folio 412-213*. The full title is "Names of the Rivers and the names of ye cheife Sagamores yt inhabit upon Them from the River of Quibequissue to the River of Wenesquawam." [i.e., from the Penobscot River to the Annisquam River]. See also an article by Mary Beth Norton and Emerson Baker, The Names of the Rivers: A new look at an old document, in *New England Quarterly* 80/3: 459-487 (September 2007).

Beginning soon after the Civil War, generations of archaeologists and collectors have unearthed evidence of many seasonal camps and villages throughout eastern Essex County—in Ipswich and Essex especially—dating from PaleoIndian times 11,500 years ago to the Contact Period. Sites on Cape Ann are equally plentiful, but have received little attention from professional archaeologists. Evidence for villages at Wingersheek and Riverview in Gloucester comes from sites surveyed after World War I by Frank Speck and Frederick Johnson for the R. S. Peabody Museum of Archaeology and the Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation) in New York. Those and other sites were excavated between 1930 and 1940 by amateur archaeologist N. Carleton Phillips, whose collections are stored in the Cape Ann Museum in Gloucester and the Robbins Museum of Archaeology in Middleborough. Discoveries at Wingersheek in 1965 are preserved as the Matz Collection in the Harvard Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology in

Cambridge. More recent Cultural Resource Management projects, such as Savulis *et al.* (1979), *Archaeological Survey of Ipswich, Massachusetts* (MHC#25-246), have been conducted under the aegis of the Massachusetts Historical Commission in Boston. See also my article, Unpublished Papers on Cape Ann Prehistory, in the Spring 2013 issue of the *Bulletin of the Massachusetts Archaeological Society* 74 (2): 45-92 (along with the Society's errata sheet in the following issue).

Documentary evidence for a large village in Riverview is sparse but includes, aside from the Egerton Ms., Ebenezer Pool's handwritten record of his grandfather's testimony, in *Pool Papers*, Vol. I (1823) in the Sandy Bay Historical Society (with a typescript in the Cape Ann Museum in Gloucester), and a letter written by John Dunton in 1686 (Letters Written from New England, *Prince Society Publications Issue 4*, 1966). See also the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society (1846), *John Dunton's Journal*: 121-122).

For help with pronouncing Algonquian names and place names see Dr. Frank Waabu O'Brien's appendix at <http://www.bigorin.org/waabu11.htm>. In addition to the web site, O'Brien has published *Understanding Indian Place Names in Southern New England* (2010) and *Guide to Historical Spellings and Sounds in New England Algonquian Language* (2012), based on the research of colonial missionaries J. Eliot, J. Cotton, and R. Williams. These works are part of The Massachusetts-Narragansett Revival Program of the Aquidneck Indian Council (see the web site for details) but often include Abenaki cognates. For examples of Native American, English, and French exonyms for tribes and nations, see <http://www.native-languages.org/original.htm>.

In reconstructing Pawtucket place names from the Abenaki I had help from Laura Redish, co-editor with Orrin Lewis of *Native Languages of the Americas* (2012) at <http://www.native-languages.org>; the Western Abenaki Dictionary and Radio Online at <http://westernabenaki.com>; and the Cowasuck [Kowasek] Band of the Pennacook-Abenaki People (the People of the White Pines) at <http://www.cowasuck.org/language>. A valuable historical source is Joseph Laurent's 1884 *New familiar Abenakis and English dialogues* at <http://eco.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.08895/5?r=0&s=1>.

My definition of *Pennacook* (referring to groundnuts rather than foothills) comes from Gordon Day in *In Search of New England's Native Past: Selected Essays from Gordon M. Day* (1998), M. K. Foster and W. Cowan, eds.

Gloucester (actually West Gloucester) as *Agamenticus* appears on the website of the Massachusetts Citizen Information Service on the list of "Archaic Community, District, Neighborhood, Section, and Village Names in Massachusetts" (see www.sec.state.ma.us/cis/).

In addition to the ancient "Names of the Rivers" document in the Egerton Manuscripts, an account of *Quascacunquen* comes from Currier's 1902 History of Newbury, which cites the Massachusetts Colony Records (Vol. 1: 146); Winthrop's *History of New England*, p. 30; and Wood's 1634 map of New England. These sources give Wessacucon or Wessacumcon as the original Indian name. In either form, however, the name was a corruption of the native name for the Parker River and their village upon it. As shown, the name did not mean anything relating to the falls in Newbury in the Byfield parish, as claimed in all contemporary sources. The root words for *water*, *falls*, or *river* are not present in the word in any form.

Naumkeag (along with other villages, such as Mathabequa on the Forest River in Salem) is attested in the accounts of Edward Winslow in 1624; members of Roger Conant's party traveling from Fishermen's Field in Gloucester to Salem Village (Beverly) in 1626; Francis Higginson's

account of 1629; and the 1680 testimonies of William Dixy and Humphrey Woodbury, who described native farming settlements on the rivers running into Beverly and Salem harbors. See Edward Stone's *History of Beverly, Civil and Ecclesiastical, from its Settlement in 1630 to 1842*) and George Dow's *Two centuries of travel in Essex County, Massachusetts, a collection of narratives and observations made by travelers, 1605-1799* (1921). Algonquian appreciation of eels as a delicacy was remarked upon by several early observers, including Champlain, Wood, and Josselyn.

My proposed reconstruction of *Wingaersheek* as *Wingawecheek* is based on a word meaning for *winga-* (plural *winka-*), "snail/whelk", proposed by Carol Dana of the Department of Cultural and Historic Preservation of the Penobscot (Penawahpskewi) Indian Nation on Indian Island, Maine, in 2011, based on her participation in a Western Abenaki language revival program. I combined this with the Abenaki *wechee* for "ocean/sea", adding the locative ending, and so far as I know this is an original interpretation.