

## REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

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SINCE the Society met in April the death of Mr. Gladstone has taken from our roll the oldest of our associates,—one who had earned the admiration of the world. Later yet we have had to sympathize with the family and near friends of Mr. Bayard in his long sickness and in his death. The death of Bishop William Stevens Perry of Iowa removes from our number a third valuable member. His career did not cover a field so wide when measured by miles, as those of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bayard. But he has left an honored memory for service well done. The Council have made such arrangements that we hope to present in print fitting memorials of these three distinguished associates.

The number of our foreign associates is not limited in the Constitution of the Society. It is desirable that at least it shall not be diminished, and the Council will present to you as a candidate for election as a foreign member the name of a gentleman who has already rendered large service to history.

The deaths of Mr. Bayard and Dr. Perry make two vacancies in the list of our resident members, which, also, we shall ask you to fill.

Our publications of the period since we met are in your hands. They are of unusual interest. Beside the papers, of which a part were read at Boston in April, a careful history has been prepared of the recovery of the Bradford manuscript, of the ceremonies with which it was received, and of the banquet in Boston, in which Senator Hoar, Mr. Bayard and others addressed the Society. An event so

interesting in the study of our history, in which our first Vice-President was so closely concerned, required such special memorial.

The reports of the Treasurer and of the Librarian will be laid before you in full. They show a gratifying condition of prosperity, which it will be our duty to maintain.

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It is twenty-five years today since our late distinguished associate, Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, read to the Society in this hall the exhaustive paper on the work of Eliot and the literature of the Massachusetts language, which gave a permanent interest to the Council Report of that year. It is a year since we had the announcement here of his death. His widow subsequently presented to the Society his dictionaries of the language of the Massachusetts Indians. At the meeting in April the Council was able to announce that our associate Major John W. Powell had undertaken that the United States Bureau of American Ethnology should edit and print these dictionaries. The manuscripts have been placed in our hands by Mrs. Trumbull, and have been forwarded to Washington that they may be printed. They will be handled with the utmost care, and after the dictionaries are printed will be returned to our Library. The dictionaries are an invaluable memorial of the learning and diligence of their author. They will be edited by Dr. Albert Samuel Gatschet of the Bureau of Ethnology, an accomplished student of the Algonkin language, who is admirably qualified for this important duty. Their publication forms an era in the study of the language of the nations of this country not second to the epoch in that study marked by the publication by our Society in 1836 of the comprehensive memoir by Albert Gallatin. The manuscript dictionaries are in four volumes. One contains an English-Natick vocabulary, convenient for any one who wishes to translate

from our language into this Indian dialect.<sup>1</sup> Two other volumes of our Manuscripts contain the first draft of Dr. Trumbull's Dictionary from the Indian into English. It is arranged in the alphabetical order of the Massachusetts words: It was prepared by him with great care, with most admirable distinctness in the penmanship, and with frequent additions to the original text, inserted in their correct alphabetical places.

With his own hand Dr. Trumbull then copied these volumes into what may be called a new edition, with such corrections and additions as his later studies had suggested. This copy was not quite finished at his death, and the letters O P U W Y must be printed, with revision, from the first edition.

Dr. Trumbull has himself left a memorandum which shows the only essential difference between these two editions. In the latest manuscript itself, and in a note to Mr. Pilling, he says:

"In this first essay or rough draft of a dictionary of the Massachusetts language *as it was written by Eliot*, I followed Cotton in entering the verbs under the form that Eliot regarded as their infinitive mood. I discovered my error when it was too late to amend it in this draft. Ten years later I began a revision of my work, entering the verbs under the third person singular of their indicative present (aorist) in their primary or simple forms. That revised copy I have been obliged to leave, at present, incomplete. The materials for supplying its deficiency may be gathered from this volume."

Our plan is to reprint this last revision of the Indian English Dictionary, and also the volume of the English Indian Dictionary, with the changes indicated by Dr. Trumbull where he had not himself made them.

Eliot must have had such a dictionary as that by which

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<sup>1</sup> Father Rasle a year after Eliot's death (1691) began such a dictionary from French into the Abnaki dialect. The Manuscript of this dictionary is in Harvard College Library, and the American Academy printed it in 1835, under the care of Mr. John Pickering.

one works from English to Indian. But we have, unfortunately, none of his own working hand-books. Dr. Daniel G. Brinton's assiduity has given us within a few years (1889) a Lenape-English Dictionary of the cognate language of the tribes on the Susquehanna and Delaware Rivers. As they had no Indian Bible, however, this is what may be called simply a glossary for conversation. Dr. Brinton has added immensely to its value by what he calls an Index, which is in fact the other dictionary reversed, with the words rearranged in the alphabetical order of the Indian words in the original.

It is curious—almost pathetic—to note the variety of arrangements in the various vocabularies which, till very recently, have been in the hands of students of these dialects. The earliest we have is a list of seventy-five words published by Rosier in 1605, on his return from the coast of Maine. These are Abnaki words. They are not arranged at all in any order, but that the fisheries are dominant. The first ten are :

Sun or moon,	Kesus.	Lobster,	Shoggah.
Codfish,	Biskkore.	Rockfish,	Shagatocke.
A fish with bones,	Manedo.	Cockle-fish,	Husucke.
Mussel,	Shoorocke.	Crab,	Wussorasha.
Cunner,	Tattaucke.	Porpoise,	Muscopeiweck.

The student of the Massachusetts dialect finds that his earliest vocabulary in the exhaustive list furnished us by Mr. Pilling is that in the end of Wood's "New England's Prospect." Here are three hundred words and phrases, alphabetically arranged, of which the first are :

Aberginian,	an Indian.	Assawog,	will you play?
Abamocho,	the devil.	A saw upp,	tomorrow.
Aunum,	a dog.	Ascoscoi,	green.
Ausupp,	a raccoon.	Ausomma petuc qua nocke,	
Ausohaunouchoc,	a lobster.		give me some bread.

Roger Williams's Key to the Narragansett language,

published in 1645, is our next Algonkin vocabulary. In this Key he certainly adopted one of the most unfortunate arrangements which has ever crossed the mind of a philologist. For his purpose he divided the subjects of human speech under thirty-two chapters, and he gives the Indian words with their meanings in those chapters respectively. The first of these subjects is "Salutation," not unnaturally, perhaps: a traveller among the Indians, like Williams, wants to say "how do you do?" The second is "Sleep and Lodging"; this also is natural. The third chapter is "Numbers," as in Spain you say, "May I have a quarter of the floor of this house?"—that is, a *cuarto* (whence our word quarters.) The fourth is "Consanguinity," the fifth is "Family and the Home," the sixth is "Parts of the Body, and Persons." And so on, ending naturally with Chapter 31, "Sickness," and Chapter 32, "Death and Burial." It is not difficult to see the order which lay in Williams's mind. But gentlemen who have not tried the experiment, will find it difficult to understand how great an inconvenience such a division is in the use of a vocabulary. Suppose, for instance, you have the word "Narragansett," and you wish to know what it meant. You have to conjecture whether "narra," the first two syllables, belongs to some part of the body of man, or whether it relates to sickness, or whether it is connected with the heavenly bodies,—for it may have reference to some shadow cast by the sun. Practically what happens is that you read through Williams's Key, from the first chapter, and hope that you may have the fortune to find your word in the earlier part of the reading.<sup>1</sup>

These details show—what is really remarkable—that no practicable working Dictionary of the Massachusetts language has come down to us from the scholarly men around

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<sup>1</sup>I am not sure that my illustration is a fortunate one. For Narragansett is the Anglicised form of Nayagansett,—a word which the people of that tribe spoke without the r.

Eliot, who knew the language well, or from himself. Mr. Pilling, in his invaluable Bibliography of the Algonkin tongue, names eighteen vocabularies of the Massachusetts dialect, and one dictionary. This looks encouraging to the young student. But he finds, alas, that the catalogue, which is doubtless complete, is made up mostly from the second-hand work of people who have been engaged in comparative studies of different dialects. Most of the so-called vocabularies do not contain fifty words. There are but four which even pretend to be from original authorities. Schoolcraft's is one, of 350 words taken from Eliot. The MS. fragment by Danforth in the vaults of our Massachusetts Historical Society is one. The words—names of kings, rivers, months and days—preserved by William Wood, make a third; and John Cotton's, printed by the Historical Society, is the fourth. Both Cotton and Danforth were Eliot's pupils. The Danforth fragment,—all which is preserved,—contains only the pages from O to the end of the alphabet. It was presented to the Historical Society by a descendant of Danforth, and the recovery of the rest seems very doubtful.

Thus the student, up till our time, who has essayed to read books in the language of Massachusetts Indians, or to write in it, has been obliged to work simply with the aid which Eliot's grammars and Cotton's vocabulary would give him, with such assistance, as has been referred to, which the Wood gives him, and which the side dialects give, especially Williams's *Key to the Narragansett*, the *Delaware Vocabularies*, and Father Rasle's *Abnaki Vocabulary*. Cotton is the principal authority.

In dealing with Cotton's vocabulary the practical difficulty is even greater than that in the use of Williams's *Key*. The *Key* was divided into only 32 subjects as we saw. Cotton's vocabulary is in 38 chapters, with a division less definite even than Williams's. The slight arrangement it has is in the alphabetical order of the

English words in each separate chapter, if indeed they be arranged at all. Thus the English adverbs are alphabetically arranged.

But, suppose the case suggested before. Suppose you wanted to find the sense of the word "Narragansett." In consulting Cotton you have to guess whether the word refers to the Arts, to Beasts, to Birds, to Rational Creatures, or whether it be an adjective or a pronoun, a verb, a participle, adverb, conjunction or preposition, or whether perhaps it may not be a colloquial phrase. Having guessed at this correctly or incorrectly, you read through, not in order; for there is none, but without order, the chapter which you have selected, and, if that fail you, you guess at another.

This process being continued is discouraging.

Passing by these blind guides, one proper Dictionary of the Massachusetts language is referred to by Mr. James Constantine Pilling. This is the manuscript Dictionary of Mr. Trumbull, which we have now confided to the Bureau of Ethnology. It could not be in better hands than Dr. Gatschet's, and it is pleasant to know that Dr. Trumbull had great confidence in him. We cannot doubt that our friends of the Historical Society, as soon as they are able to make use of their own treasures, will confide to Mr. Gatschet the precious volume of Danforth's work which they have in manuscript. It is only to be regretted that the remaining parts of this work are lost.

As an illustration of the completeness of Dr. Trumbull's work, I will read his article on the word *manito*. "MANIT, MANITTO; (usually translated) God: but Eliot more often transferred the names 'God' and 'Jehovah' to the Indian text. He has, however, Manit Wame Masugkenuk, 'God Almighty,' Ex. VI., 3; and in the 7th v., neen Jehovah kum—Manittoomwo, 'I am the LORD your God' (lit., 'I the Lord am your God'), and neen kum—Manittomwo, 'I will be to you a God' (lit., I am your God); s. v.;

nen Manitto, 'I am God', Is. 43, 12; pl., manittoog, II K, 18, 33. With Keht, Keihtannit, 'the LORD God,' Gen. 24, 7, i. e., the great Manit.

"From anew, or an-u, he exceeds, is beyond, superior to; or *more than* (anire) another person or thing; suppos. anit, when he is superior to, or more than, etc. (cf. an-nun; suppos. aneuk, that which exceeds, hence, that which rots or becomes corrupt.) With the indeterminate and impersonal prefix, m'anit, he who (or that which) exceeds or passes beyond the common or normal; the preter-natural or extra-ordinary. Manitto is the verb subst. form,—he, or it, *is* manit: ('They cry out Manittóo, that is, It is a God' 'at the apprehension of any excellency in men, women, birds,' etc. R. W. 118.) Possessive form, num-manittom, my God, kum-manittomwo, your Gods, etc., the suffix om denoting that 'the person doth challenge an interest in the thing.' El. Gram., 12.<sup>1</sup>"

And to descend from the noblest themes to one more carnal, here is his discussion of the word *succotash*, still familiar to us:

"SOHQUTTAHAM—sohqwet—*v. t.* he breaks (it) in small pieces; pounds (it) or beats (it) small. The formation tah-hum, according to Howse (Cru. Gr. 86) implies, he beats or batters the object, after the manner of the root. Trans. pl. sohquttahhamunash, they (grains of corn, Is. 28, 28) are broken. Otherwise, sohg, sukg—*adj.* and *adv.* sohquttahháe, pounded; pl., sohquttahhash; whence, the adopted name, succotash.<sup>2</sup>

"Msickquatash (Nan.) *n. pl.* 'boiled corn whole' (i. e., no-sohquttahhash, not broken small or pounded?) See *sohquttahham*. When broken, sohquttahhash, but improperly applied to whole corn."

<sup>1</sup> Nau. manit; pl. manittówook.—Plq. mundtu. St.—chip. nión-e-do, mun-e-do; Kitchi Manito, Great-Spirit, Lord God (Bar.), Keshamunedoo, J.—Del. marietto, god, spirit, angel, Camp; manitto; get-an-nitto, Zeish, Meoh., mannitto, 'a spirit or spectre,' Edw.

<sup>2</sup> Cru., séekwa-tahuin, he beats it into smaller pieces.



I may say in passing that *succotash* is now used by the Ojibway Indians for any porridge made by the boiling of soft substances for food. Thus, a porridge made from the fresh buds of the white pine is *succotash* in Wisconsin today.

The printed literature of the Massachusetts Indians, consisting of nearly forty different volumes, is more extensive than that of any other North American tribe; and, as we believe, it is better represented in the building in which we are than in any other single collection. The entries in Mr. Pilling's wonderful Bibliography of it under Dr. Trumbull's name take more room than any other single heading in his book except Eliot's. If this report had attempted, as it does not, any sketch of the present literary history of the Massachusetts language, it would have been necessary to copy many, many papers by him which have been read at the meetings of this Society, and which we have had the honor of printing, and almost as many more which he has presented before the American Philological Association and other similar institutions, besides other separate monographs, such as that on The Proper Names of Connecticut, and his interesting paper on the word Manito. This will be found in the first volume of Old and New. It is seldom that even so great a man as John Eliot has had a critic, student and friend so accomplished as Dr. Trumbull, willing to give so much time to the illustration of his work.

We can hardly doubt that a collection of the more important of these studies will be made and published, for such a collection is really necessary to the preservation of the history of the most remarkable event in American literature the first century after the settlement of this country by Europeans.

Williams's Key was printed in the year 1643. John Eliot had already begun to study the Massachusetts lan-

guage, and Williams's key was undoubtedly a help to him as he went forward. The language of the Narragansetts varies from the language of the tribes farther north by evident euphonic differences such as have been observed in other regions between northern and southern races. The special type of these distinctions is that *r* passes into *l* as you come south, and both these liquids seem to have slipped out among the more Southern tribes. As our southern friends today would say "befo' the wah," the Pequot of the year 1630 would say *ayum* for "dog," while he who lived by the side of the Merrimac would say *arum*, and would roll his *r*.

"Merrimac" was good Indian in the northern part of Massachusetts, but among the Narragansetts it would have become "Meyimac" without the rolling of the *r*, or possibly Mellimac. They pronounce their own name Nayagansett.<sup>1</sup>

As early as 1654 Eliot printed at Cambridge a Catechism for Indian Instruction. In 1655, at the same press, his Indian versions of Genesis and the gospel of Matthew were printed. Before the end of 1658, translations of a few psalms in metre were added. But Mr. Trumbull says in his own essay, which I am simply abridging here, that if a copy of any of these early works of Eliot is still in being, no American collector has been fortunate enough to secure it. Abraham Pierson (or Peirson), the minister of Branford ["Braynford" and "Bramford"], in Connecticut, prepared a catechism in the

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<sup>1</sup> After the reading of this Report, Vice-President Hoar said:—"What Doctor Hale has said of the tendency of the Indians in the Southern part of our country to suppress the letter *r* reminds me of the same tendency of our white brethren who dwell in those quarters. My friend Senator Jones of Nevada, one of the brightest and wittiest of men, came back to the Senate Chamber one day from the House of Representatives in great glee. He had gone over on some errand and was standing by the door, when a stranger, evidently from the South came up. They had a new doorkeeper, also from the South. The stranger asked: 'Is Senator Ho' of Massachusetts on the flo?' 'Sah,' said the doorkeeper, 'I don't know. Go to the other do'."

Quiripi dialect in 1657, and sent it to England; but it was lost at sea, so that no edition of it was printed before 1659. Trumbull says of this, "The English translation is interlined throughout, and it is not undeserving of the study of missionary teachers, at home and abroad, as an example of how not to do it."

It was not till December, 1658, that Eliot had completed his translation of the whole Bible. The first sheet of the New Testament was in type before September 7th, 1659, and the New Testament was completed before September 5th, 1661, and the impression of the Old Testament had then advanced to the end of the Pentateuch. The title-page to some copies of the New Testament is therefore earlier than the title-page of the whole Bible. The Old Testament was completed, and the Indian Bible was finished, before the Commissioners met in September, 1663. The Corporation of the Propagation Society ordered a metrical version of the Psalms printed, which soon followed. With the assistance of John Cotton of Plymouth, Eliot was steadily correcting his translation, and in 1685 the second edition was published at Cambridge.

The complete literature of the language of our Indians is carefully described and commented on in Mr. Trumbull's invaluable paper in the Memorial History of Boston. One or two of the books are in the dialect of the Vineyard but their peculiarities, Mr. Trumbull says, were gradually lost after the Indians learned to read Eliot's version of the Bible. They are interesting as illustrating the softening of articulation in the more southern districts.

We have in this library some curious manuscript memoranda of Indian writing of those days, which Mr. Barton will be glad to show to the gentlemen who hear this report.

The Bible was printed twice. Some of the Primers were reprinted. I think that the only recent reprint has been that of Edinburgh, by Eliot's kinsman, Andrew Elliot.

Cotton Mather pretended to some power in conversation in the Indian language. When questioning a bewitched girl he discovered that the devils who tormented her understood his Latin, Greek and Hebrew, but they did not seem to well understand his Indian. Trumbull says that the devils were not without excuse; for, judging from the specimen matter printed, Mather had not mastered even the rudiments of the grammar, and could not construct an Indian sentence idiomatically.

I infer from Mr. Trumbull's article that the last book printed in the Massachusetts language, while there was any popular use of such books, was a "Monitor for Communicants," by Cotton Mather, printed in 1716. As late as the end of the century, however, Rev. John Sergeant, the younger, who was a missionary among the Stockbridge Indians, published *The Assembly's Catechism* and Dr. Watts's *Catechism for Children in their dialect of the Massachusetts language*. A new edition of this was printed twenty or thirty years afterwards.

Within a few years some letters from Eliot and Mayhew in the curious collection in London of the New England Society have been brought to light, covering a period of more than fifty years. They give some details of the work of Eliot and his friends. They have been selected from the files of a correspondence between that company and their committee in Boston, which was made up from time to time from the more distinguished gentlemen here who were interested. None of them are so early as the letters of Eliot published by the Historical Society in 1834. The first is Eliot's first annual report of what seemed good promise at the beginning. Another of his letters sums up the ruin of his plans brought on by King Philip's war. There is a wretched postscript to the whole by Experience Mayhew, as late as 1714, describing an unsuccessful visit of his to Stonington and New London, in the vain hope of interesting the wrecks

of Pequots and Mohegans there. The volume adds fifty or more to the very scanty list of Indian names of men. There is not one woman alluded to among the converts in Massachusetts, and only one in Rhode Island: I hope that our associate, Mr. James Phinney Baxter, who has recently examined this curious collection in London, may favor us with some account of it.

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THE Council felicitate the Society on our ability to make this great contribution to the literature of a subject for which the great work of Mr. Gallatin, published under our supervision, may be said to have opened the way. It would have been idle to attempt in this report any new review of the work of Eliot or of its results. It is, fortunately, quite unnecessary to do so, since it has been done so well by Dr. Trumbull. As our relations to what we have a right to call the half-civilized tribes of the Northwest become closer and closer, such a study as Dr. Trumbull made of the philological work of Eliot becomes more and more important. It is pity of pities that Mr. Sherman Hall and the other devoted missionaries who attempted the civilization of these Northwest tribes made no use of Eliot's work. It can hardly be believed that the language once spoken over half this continent is to be forgotten. On the other hand, it is probable that it will receive more and more attention. In such attention the master-work of Dr. Trumbull will be an invaluable help. When the Stockbridge tribe removed to the West, in 1822, John Sergeant the younger "endeavored to procure a quantity of Eliot's Indian Bibles for them to distribute."

After its publication, and in proportion as it is more and more widely known, we shall find that the enthusiastic study of this great language, which has been thought to be the language most complete, in a scientific point of view, of

all the languages known to man, will be pursued with new intelligence and ardor.<sup>1</sup>

A few gentlemen and ladies interested in such study attempted last year, with the assistance of the *Sun* newspaper, to collect the Algonkin words now used, locally or widely, by the people of the United States. There are hardly seventy such words. Mocassin, wigwam, tomahawk, describing visible objects which never had any other name, are still used for such objects. Squaw, pappoose, and some other appellations of people, where English words are also used, are still understood; but *sketomp*, for man, seems to be forgotten. *Nuncomb*, for boy, has been used as late as the boyhood of this writer to designate a boy especially stupid. *Netop*, for friend, was used for a college chum in New Haven as late as the beginning of this century. It is desirable that this tentative list may be extended.

For the Council,

EDWARD E. HALE.

In the conversation which followed the reading of this paper, Professor Franklin B. Dexter vouched for the existence of the word *nuncomb* in Connecticut till a recent period. Mr. Baxter called attention to the word *hubbub*, in Wood's "New England's Prospect" (1635), as the word sung by Indians in a wild dance. *Hhubub* appears in Spenser, in 1590,

"And shrieking Hhububs them approaching nere,  
Which all the forest did with horror fill."

And Milton uses the phrase,

"A universal hubbub wild,  
Of stunning sounds and voices all confused."

<sup>1</sup> Here is a proper place to say that the admirable study of Eliot's Indian Bible and of his other work, referred to in the Proceedings of the Society for April last as marking an important part of Dr. Pilling's Bibliography, is the work of that careful student, our associate Mr. Wilberforce Eames of the Lenox Library of New York. Mr. Pilling gives full credit to Mr. Eames for his assistance.

The Indian game was played with bones and a platter or tray, and was accompanied with much noise and the shouting of "hub, hub!" or "Hubbub!"

Dr. Green called attention to the word *taushents* for a pet child: This appears in the Century Dictionary as *torshent*, abbreviated *torsh*, as "Local in the United States," and "of obscure origin." But Dr. Green referred to the Historical Society's Collections, first series, Vol. VIII., where at page 97 the word is referred to. The passage is in the life of Minot:

"The Indians of New England had, to express this relation, an appropriate word, which in the dialect of the Nauset Indians was *taushents*. It has been adopted by the descendants of the English in many parts of the Old Colony of Plymouth, and is applied as a term of endearment to the youngest child." Subsequent inquiry has proved that the word *taushents* is still used on Cape Cod.

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