Taq̓á·kʷolaʔachá ?
Taq̓á·kʷolaʔachid ?

WHAT'S YOUR NAME? WHAT'S YOUR STORY?

QUILEUTE NICKNAMES

—a project proposed by Roger Jackson and developed by Jeff Harrison and the people of LaPush

SPRING 2014

Taq̓á·kʷolaʔ achá
Taq̓á·kʷolaʔ achid

WHAT'S YOUR NAME? WHAT'S YOUR STORY?

In one of the first indicators of old Quileute names—a list of "Chiefs and headmen and others of the Quillayute Indians" who are requesting funds for a school and a teacher in LaPush, dated January 25, 1882—we find the names Howeattle, Kla-kish-ka, Ho-chuk-a-took, As-chik-a-bix, Tal-cas, Wa-ha-bik, Ho-buk-it, Ho-ba-la-duk, and 32 more old names. There's not a single "Boston name" in the list.

Eight years later, the Indian Agent in Neah Bay wrote a letter to A.W. Smith, the new teacher in LaPush (and the active local representative of the advancing white bureaucracy), responding to a recommendation Smith had made for a new Indian policeman. The agent tells Smith he will consider the recommendation, but complains "Has Ho-ba-la-dook" no Boston names?"

It's fascinating to trace the shift to "English names" (or "Boston names") through the 1880s and '90s (and still to some extent beyond), and I will examine that shift later—but it's also interesting to juxtapose that process to the various activities of naming that have continued in LaPush. From receiving old Quileute names in formal traditional ceremonies to getting tagged with a nickname by an elder or a friend (or an enemy!), naming is an activity rich with personal, social, and historical significance.

Giving or taking names is a powerful act. It's a big part of establishing what something is, or who someone is—both in itself and in relation to the world.

"All the Quileutes have nicknames," they say. At the LaPush Post Office, they used to have a sign on the back wall translating nicknames to real names, so the workers, who knew everyone by their nicknames, could put the mail in the right box if it came in with a "real" name on it. Only on Christmas cards did the address use a person's nickname!

If an outsider came to the village and asked for Kenneth Payne or Bert Black or Joanne Penn (for example), locals would look puzzled and offer little help. But if the questioner mentioned Porky or Mops or Bubbles, no problem!

People get their nicknames in all kinds of ways. A father might call a daughter his Little Queen—and eventually she became "Queenie." A chubby baby might get called a little tub o' guts, and ends up being "Guts" forever. Or old Arvie Ward might assign a kid in the village a nickname, as he apparently often did.

Logging buddies, fishing buddies, drinking buddies often had special nicknames for each other (which sometimes never get mentioned beyond those groups!).

Sometimes people have several nicknames—given or used by different people, in different times or places, in different circumstances. Some Quileutes also have their Indian names, given in a public ceremony when the parents or community elders decide it's appropriate.

Different reasons for such wide use of nicknames have been proposed. The traditional name taboo is probably an important cultural factor. I learned of it when I first moved here in 1979: when a friend died, I was told not to say his name for a year. Leo Frachtenberg, one of Hal George's teachers at Chemawa, spent some time in LaPush in 1916 interviewing folks like Arthur Howeattle (whose name on the 1892 census when he was 16 was Che-loc-tid), and wrote down what he learned. Here's what he says about the name taboo: "The name of a dead person could not be mentioned for about ten years. If a living person happened to have the same name as the dead, that person was paid to change his name. They bought his name. The calling of a dead man's name was an offense."

In one of his monthly columns in the **bá·yak** newsletter, Jay Powell (Kwashkwash) discusses this tradition:

> Such nicknames are a continuing aspect of traditional culture. The oldest man at La Push, Porky, is still known by his childhood name, which has lasted almost 90 years. The use of nicknames possibly results from the oldtime Quileute practice of not speaking a dead person's name. We call that traditional Quileute cultural trait "Name Taboo."
>
> > An example that people used to talk about was Dixon Payne, who owned the homestead called Ṫsix^{w}óq^{w} on the Calawah just above the Calawah highway bridge. Dixon was born about 1855 and was given the birth name Oʔolóksh, (which also belonged to his mother's brother). But while Dixon was still an infant in his cradle basket, his namesake uncle died and people were asked not to utter the name of the deceased. So the baby started to be called by the nickname Díkaso ["smoke colored"] because according to Sarah Hines, he had a gray hue to his skin as a newborn. I guess that Quileute nickname sounded like the Whiteman's name Dixon. And he came to be called Dixon, a name that stuck with him his whole life.
>
> That example is relevant to our earlier discussion of the Dixon Payne place on the Calawah and is also an early example of how the traditional Quileute "name taboo" custom resulted in the use of nicknames, which continues to the present day.
>
> Another example of name taboo was "Rosie" Black, who at birth was named after her auntie, Ethel Payne. A few years later, when her aunt Ethel died, the family asked that the little girl be called something different. So everyone started calling her Rosie.
>
> I remember that during my first summer at La Push, Jiggy whispered to me very silently, saying, "I can't say this out loud, but Walter Payne died."
>
> Name taboo is no longer rigorously practiced by all Quileutes, but some still respect it. That's what caused the relatives to give Fred "Sonny" Woodruff a burial name, so people could refer to him during the funeral without saying his name.
>
> An old tribal custom still in use.
> (Kwashkwash, July 2012)

Nicknames allowed people to still refer to the deceased without breaking the name taboo.

I heard another explanation for nicknames that was very interesting, but wouldn't apply to any nicknames before the 1980s: around the time of the Boldt Decision, some people trying to defend Indian fishing rights were hiding out around here and needed nicknames to remain anonymous!

That '70s phenomenon known as CB (Citizens Band radio) created some nicknames, since everyone who had a CB needed a "handle." For example, "Coy Roy" was Roy Black's handle.

Of course, it seems like every society does use nicknames—but here in LaPush they seem more common, and sometimes more interesting. I think Roger Jackson knows there's something special about nicknames here, and that's why he asked me to do this.

In 2013 and 2014 I had the pleasure of interviewing many people here and gathering a list of local nicknames; I often got fascinating stories about where the nicknames came from. People would sometimes confess that they were just guessing, while others were confident that they had the real story! Sometimes I heard very different stories about the same nickname—each version told with great assurance. Maybe "truth" doesn't matter a lot if it's a good story.

One thing seems clear: the stories are important, whether they're "true" or not. They have a cultural role in recording social connections and creating personal identities—and they're fun to tell! There was lots of laughter in these interviews.

What follows is a list of nicknames I've gathered so far. If I heard a story about the name, that is included. In some cases I filmed a friend talking about that nickname; these cases are noted, and you can see the interview on-line at lanecc.edu/quileute (under "Your Stories").

The list is incomplete, of course. I haven't talked with everyone yet—plus, people often remember some nicknames after I've already visited with them. You'll find space after the list to add some that you know (and to correct my mistakes!). We can keep this list alive and growing, along with the old stories. The web-site is a great place to add names and stories when you think of them, if you have internet access.

I must thank Roger Jackson for first suggesting this project years ago, and Lane Community College for the sabbatical which allowed me time to work on it, and Kwashkwash (Jay Powell) for his vast research and knowledge and constant encouragement.

And most of all, thanks to all the people of LaPush for being my friends and family and sharing happy times and great stories!

To watch the interviews, go to the Quileute Nicknames blog at
https://blogs.lanecc.edu/quileute/your-stories/

NICKNAME	"REAL" NAME	VIDEO INTERVIEW?
Sippy	Roland Black, Jr.	Leroy
	I got two different stories about how Sippy got his name. One came from Red: Lovey Jackson would see the older guys (Sluggo, Casey Jones, etc.) sitting around playing guitar, hanging out, and he'd say "Who are you, Sipriano Nuxqua Liberace Black?!" DA and the other kids would all laugh—and somehow the first part stuck to Roland and he became "Sippy." Here's what Leroy recalls: When they were kids, sometimes they'd get into trouble, but Sippy somehow always slipped out of it—so they called him "Slippery," which became "Slippy" and eventually "Sippy."	
Rook	Donald Black	
Smooch	Donald Black, Jr.	
	Word is, as a child Don just loved kissing everybody, so his dad called him "Smooch."	
Mink	Roland Black, Sr.	Leroy
Hunyah	Casey Jones, Jr.	
	Because he was Casey Jr., they called him "Junior." When one of his grandmas pronounced that, it sounded like "Hunyah," so that became his nickname.	
Bibs	Bernice Jones, Jr.	
Jonesy	Terry Jones	
Tooter	Billy Jones	Bonita
Butch	Theodore Eastman	
Eagle	Fred Eastman	Bonita
Swede	Harvey Eastman	Bonita
Sweety Pie	Donna Jaime	Bertha 2, Lela Mae
Sweety Pie	Jesse Jaime	Bonita, Bertha 2
Woka	Barb Penn	Bonita
Monkey	Cheryl Cleveland	Bonita
Bina Rose	Bonita (Cleveland) Warner	Bonita

Abok Sherman Black

That's the word for the periwinkle, the little river critter that builds his small shell out of tiny pebbles and crawls along the rocks. How it became Sherman's nickname, no one I talked with knows.

Sut, Shag Ron Black Russell Woodruff, Doug Pullen

There was a coach in Forks named Sutpen, and Ron's uncle started calling him "Sut," after that coach.

Arvie Ward gave him the name "Shag." Doug explains that it came from the word often used for the cormorant, and Sut had slick black hair like a cormorant.

Mops, 40, Mopseye Bert Black

This one's from the August 2011 Báyaḵ newsletter.

Bert Stevens Black received the nickname "Mops" at a young age when he fell into the water at the Butts and Patterson docks, a restaurant and boat rental in La Push. He described his hair as being long and wild, and when Arvie Ward pulled him out of the water, Arvie said Bert looked like a mop. Ever since, Bert has gone by this nickname.

Somebody else will have to tell us where "40" and "Mopseye" came from!

Rusty Clyde Black

Snipe, Coy Roy Roy Black Roy

Roger called him "Snipe." He was fast like a little snipe bird—plus, he learned how to do the snipe dance when he was young.

"Coy Roy" was his handle back in the CB days.

Charlie Black Kenneth Black

I guess I knew that "Charlie" wasn't his real name, but I'd forgotten. He's Kenneth Earnest Black! So where'd "Charlie" come from? When he was little his grandma Rosy would rock him to sleep singing a little song that sounded like "Goo goo Cha-ly"–One of the other kids (Vicky?) thought Rosy was calling him "Charlie" and so thought that was her brother's name–and so it became!

Charlie can't remember anything more about the song–nor can Red. Does anybody know what the song, or the Quileute words, might have been?

Red Linda (Jackson) Hopper

When she was about 4 years old, old Harvey Eastman told Red about her name, ṕí·c̓ha. Once he and some friends were fishing down at the mouth of the river, and they heard a strange noise coming from the other side of James Island. So they paddled around there and went into the cove, where they found a little baby on the shore wailing and crying! Her hair was bright red, and she was surrounded by rocks that were covered in rust. There was so much of that rust that it made the water red, and they figured the baby came up out of

the water, and that's how her hair got red. They took her back to the village and named her ṗí·ċha (and she kept that name until Pat Penn took it, and then she became "Red"). After Harvey told her that story, he showed her one of those rust-rocks–he cracked it open and sure enough, it was all red inside. So Red believed that's where her name came from.

Sluggo Oliver Jackson

Oliver was apparently quite a boxer in his youth!

Sluggo, Wally Skut Walter Jackson

Wally inherited the "Sluggo" name; nobody wants to say where "Skut" comes from.

DA, Dulup David Allen Jackson

Lovey used to call DA "dulup." When little DA would come into a room of older folks, Lovey would announce "Captain Dulup of the U.S. Salvation Army reporting for duty in this world of sin!"
Then when David was born, for a while they called him "Little Dulup."
(Hey, where does the word "dulup" [or "dudup" or "dudu"] for penis come from, anyway? I looked up "penis" in the Quileute dictionary [hoping to learn how to spell it] and found a bunch of other words, but not that one.)

Larry Lo, Grandpa Big Buns Larry Thomas Jackson

JR Larry Thomas Jackson, Jr.

Stubby, Stubbelina Charlotte Jackson

I assumed this was because Stubby was pretty short; someone else thought it was because she was stubborn! But Bonnie says it came from the stubby little beer bottles she used to prefer back in those days.

Miss Poke, Char, Legend Charlotte Jackson the younger Charlotte

According to Louise and Narse, Char was just really slow when everybody was trying to get ready to go somewhere. "Legend" refers to her athletic reputation among her younger cousins.

Buns Walter Ward

Jers Thompson Black

Pepsi Duke William James

Everybody just assumes he used to drink Pepsi all the time. "Duke" is actually his middle name. (The 1892 Quillayute census lists a man named Duke.)

BayBons Nora James

Weezy Louise James

Mock old man Mark Williams (La-wha-thlu in the 1892 census; Jamesy's grandfather)
Red recalls kids in the streets singing "Old Man Doctor Mock, chased us home at 8 o'clock!"

Corned Beef Victor Payne
(Some of you remember how, as kids, you used to say "Victor Payne, gives you pain!" He used to squeeze kids on the shoulder just for fun.)

Porky Kenneth Payne

Beans Calvin Payne
How Kenneth and Calvin became Porky and Beans is the stuff, mainly, of conjecture. Of course, once Kenneth got the nickname "Porky," then when his little brother was born it made sense to call him "Beans"--that's one version. Russell thinks maybe Hal George first called them Porky and Beans. Who really knows? We need a good story here.
Here's one:
MissAnn recalls her Gram (Lillian) telling her that whenever there was a feast down at the beach, these two (being back from the service, and being men who didn't cook much) would always bring cans of pork & beans, so Lillian said "That's why they call you two Porky and Beans, 'cause that's all you know how to cook!"

Small Iola Penn

Judge Steve Penn, Jr.

Rough Glenn Penn

Chocky Charles Sailto
(There's a Charlie Sailto, age 7, on the 1892 census; his real name was Sheep-a.)

Bull Elk Bill Hudson
(There's a Billy Hudson, age 11, on the 1892 census—real name De-de-ba-thlook.)

Say Hey Floyd Hudson
He was named after his favorite baseball player, Willie Mays—the "Say Hey Kid."

Jiggs Christian Penn Russell, MissAnn
I've heard a couple of different good stories about "Jiggs." According to Russell, his dad Esau had that nickname, and he got it from an old comic book he liked called *Bringing Up Father* that presented the misadventures of Jiggs and Maggie. How young Christian inherited it is not known.

MissAnn agrees that the nickname was inherited. She tells of the old logging days when her grandpa was one of the fastest in climbing up the rigging: "he was a rigger, and he was fast." When the others needed him to go up, they'd holler "Hey Jiggs" instead of "Hey Riggs." When he started taking Christian out there, the son was fast,

too, so they called him “Little Jiggs”; being somewhat small and light, he was able to go up higher than the older guys, so he was a good rigger, too. His dad then became “Old Man Jiggs.”

Ribs Thomas Penn Russell, MissAnn

MissAnn: “Uncle Ribs could eat and eat and eat and not gain an ounce. When he used to go to school if he'd take his shirt off people thought he was bein' starved because his ribs would show, so they started calling him 'Ribs.'”

Speedy Esau Penn Doug

Scrooge Doug Pullen Doug

He used to work all the time and make good money, and then save it. (Does that mean the kids—and Sharon—had a hard time getting at it?)

Mup, Mupper Leonard Bryant Doug

Dink, Dinky James Jaime

Kʷoʔód, Oly Doug Woodruff, Sr.

Kʷoʔód is the Quileute word for salal-berry. Perhaps Oly loved eating and gathering them when he was little.

Oly is the name everyone knew him by, but no one can tell me how he came by that.

Rags Russell Woodruff, Sr. Russell

When they used to play baseball in LaConner, Russell had a drinking buddy who inherited money but quickly went from riches to rags—so they called him “Rags.” How this name transferred to Russell, he couldn't quite recall.

Little Rags, Knutsen Russell Woodruff, Jr. Russell

He inherited “Little Rags,” and Knute came about this way: Russell had a good friend with a fishing boat down here—a Swede named Knutsen. He always liked that name, “Knutsen,” and for a while just called everything “Knutsen”--even his first-born son! Knutsen got shortened to “Knute”--”like Knute Rockne,” Russell says. Always pronounce the “k.”

Sonny Fred Woodruff, Jr.

Dikó-wa Sonny Woodruff

I sure didn't know that Dikó-wa's real name is Sonny, until he told me that in April.

Diɬʔóʔwa was old man Síxtas’ childhood name, by which he was regularly known (Kwash-kwash, Oct, 2012) (Se-ic-tiss is on the 1892 census list; he was 32 years old at that time, and Agent McGlinn listed his name as “Mr. Ward.”)

Tim Tyler Hobucket, Jr.

Spud James Hobucket

California Helen (Hobucket) Harrison Bertha 1

Helen's dad Tyler went out in a canoe, headed to Neah Bay to get some rations. They got caught in rough seas and drifted way out for a couple of days; finally a ship picked them up and dropped them off in California! Tyler stayed there a while, and that's where Helen was born.

(On the 1892 census we find old man Hobucket re-named California, with wife Haw-wa-le-tsa not re-named, daughter A-sub re-named Daisy California, and son Sheech-kate re-named Harry California.)

Bitsy Katherine Harrison

When Bitsy was little, her older brother Gene called her "itsy-bitsy"--so they all then called her "Bitsy"!

Fudd Harold Charles

Fudd's mom was sure, when she was pregnant, that it would be a girl; she even had the name picked out: Judy. But he came out a boy—so she said OK, he can be Harold, but I'll call him Jud. Somewhere along the line, Jud turned into Fudd—and that's where Fudd got his name!

Guts Richard Penn

He was a chubby baby, so somebody called him "Tub o' guts"--and the "Guts" part stuck.

Mugs Toby Morganroth

Connie says his dad, Henry, called him that, but she was never sure why.

Moose Marty Penn

Lips RaeLynn Foster RaeLynn

She was a little pouter, sticking her lower lip out, being "lips"--so they called her "Lips."

Fast Eddie, Edsel Eddie Foster Tony

He was mighty quick on the court when they used to play basketball.

John John Tony Foster Tony

"We were in Westport—Eddie and I may have been drinking a little wine—we were both quite young—I think Terry and Lonnie were supposed to be watching us. After a while Eddie said, 'What do you think, John, should we go down to the tavern?' Of course, we were very young—this became a funny story and they laughed and called me John, or John John."

Little Bell Page Foster Tony

Marvella's nickname was Bell; Robert Coberly called her granddaughter Page "Little Bell."

Bell Marvella

Spanky, Tweetie Bird Frankie Ward

Igor John Ward

Thea Dorothea Ward

Queenie Rosalee Ward
She was her dad's little queen, so they started calling her Queenie—and that's her name!

Girlie Linda Ward Reid
Her parents didn't have a name picked out yet when she was born, so they called her "Girlie," and it stuck even after they decided on "Linda."

Corn Doug Woodruff

Pokie Blanche Woodruff Pokie 1
"That goes back to Queets. My mom's brother was named Dusty Obi and when I was born he told my mom, "Gee look at that girl, she's really ugly, a real Indian baby!' And my mom said, 'Hey, don't talk about my baby girl' and then Uncle Dusty said, 'We'll name her Pokie 'cause she looks like Pocahontas, old Indian.' That's the story my mom told me, anyway."

Fat Gary Douglas Jackson Pokie 5

Skin, Skinny Gary Dean Jackson Pokie 5
Pokie and Gary had already decided if they had a boy they'd name him Gary; well, they had twins, and named 'em both Gary! Dr. Leibel figured they'd need some other names to avoid confusion, so he suggested, "Let's call 'em Pete and Repeat!" Pokie said no way, so Dr. Leibel looked at the boys and said "Well, one's fat and one's skinny, so let's use those as names!" Obviously, Pokie said ok to that.

Pal Gary Jackson, Jr.

Dusty Chilbane Obi Pokie 1

Charlie Tuna Charlie Sampson

Butch Wilbur Sampson

Ollie, Honey Oliver Sampson

Meathead Dimitri Sampson
When Dimitri was born, Aunty Becky called him "Meathead" 'cause he had a large head. It also sounds like "Mitri," which is the common shortened version of Dimitri.

Chi, Canoe Dwayne Jones, Jr.
He got “Canoe” from his dad, but I'm not sure about “Chi.”

Canoe Dwayne Jones, Sr.
Nobody has told me a “real” story about Canoe’s name, but David Jackson made up a “good” one, which you can see on the blog.

Chona, NayNay Naomi Jacobson Naomi
“When my uncle Juan called me 'Chona,' I think he meant I was a cry-baby. NayNay is just short for Naomi.”

Ace Arnold Black III

Sis George Jean Smith

Smish, Alf Alfred Smith

Bay Pokie Smith Pokie 4
They called her “Baby” when she was a baby (!), and one of her siblings could just say “Bay”--so that's what stuck. It's interesting that her real name, Pokie, comes from her auntie. Also, she didn't really want to be called her real name (“Pokie”), so she liked being called “Bay.”

Henry Indian Henry Morganroth

JD, Zipperneck Jerry Davis

NuNu Jocelyn Garrick

Chubby Phil Ward

Sky Herm, Bill Phil Ward, Jr. Phil/Bill
“I used to play basketball with my dad an' 'em. I guess I could sky it on a hook shot. 'Bill' came from my mom, but I don't know why. I had another name nobody calls me anymore that came from my dark skin.”

Smuckers, Soddie Selena Ward

Wart Casey Ward

TJ, Hilare (etc.) Tommy Jackson Tommy
Oly used to call him “Hilare” because he had long hair like a guy in Lummi named Joe Hilare.

Uncle Yum Little Bill Penn

Art, Ott Allen Black Allen

"My grandpa in Queets, Oli Obi, called me Ott—he used to sing to me, bounce me on his knee and sing 'Otto Otto Otto' and so that's what they called me. My second nickname, Art, came from when a bunch of us fishermen were down by The Surf and somebody said 'Hey come on Art, we gotta go up to Art's Tavern!' He just got mixed up, but then they all started calling me Art."

Twiggy, Twigs Terry Penn

Trina Latrina Black

Mimi Susie Black

p̓í·c̓ha Pat Penn

The Quileute word for red is p̓í·c̓ha, and Pat had red hair. Remember her license plate?

Punkin Cecelia Pullen Doug

Doug recalls that when Punkin was young she played basketball with the other girls. Once when they were playing at Queets (or Neah Bay, he wasn't sure), someone noticed their orange shirts and said Cecelia looked like a pumpkin—thus "Punkin"!

Reg, Jim Jim Jim King Nola

Jim Jim wanted to have long hair like Reggie Ward, so he called himself Reggie! Now everybody calls him Reg, but to some of the older folks he'll always be "Jim Jim"!

Little Bear, Stevo Steve Ratliffe Bonita

MyGene Eugene Jackson MyGene

"When I was born and Mom and Dad took me home from the hospital, my sister Carrie Ann asked them what my name was. They said 'Eugene,' but she thought they said 'Your Gene'--so she thought I was her Gene, and she called me 'MyGene' and that became my nickname!"

Moose Carrie Anne Jackson MyGene

"Uncle Canoe called her 'Moose' because when she was little she was pretty chunky."

Goldie Priscilla (Payne) Williams

Snoop, Snoopy David Jackson (DJ & Ruth's son)

Lucy Priscilla Williams

Cheddy Cheddy Baker Cheddy

Her brother used to call her Cheddy because she was a girl. In Quileute, the ending "-chid" indicates you're talking to a female—like "ʔà·ɬilá·**chid**?" or "ʔá·yasó**chid**?" So "chid" became "chiddy" became "Cheddy."

Sandy, Tommy Guns Tom Baker Tom Baker
Tom tells the story of being "born in the sand."

Squirt Guns Tommy Baker, Jr.

Bones Steve Baker
Did he used to eat chicken bones, like David says?!

Buck, Skippy,Spider, Roger Dodger Roger Jackson Roger 1
As a young hunter, Roger would haul his deer out of the forest down near where the Coast Guard station is now; elder Perry Pullen saw him doing that and started calling him "Buck."
Several of Roger's friends remember that he used to be called Skippy. His parents dressed him in a full sailor suit, cap and all; elder Joe Pullen liked that little outfit and called him "Skippy." (In the 1939 film of life in LaPush, you can see little Roger wearing his sailor suit.)
"I had a 1950 black Ford with cool hubcaps on the back wheels. I painted them both with spider webs on them. Al Hudson saw those webs with a spider on them, so he called me "Spider."
Roger Dodger was his handle back in the CB days.

Turtle Arlene Jackson Roger 2
This was Arlene's handle back in the CB days. (Not a reference, as some of us thought, to the speed of her run to 1st base.)

"**Chief Kick-a-Hole-in-the-Sky**" James Jackson Roger 1
Roger tells this one. When the boys were little, and they still lived in Tacoma, they took karate lessons. When they moved here, Sluggo saw James doing karate kicks and gave him this name.

Cheeks Roger Jackson, Jr. Roger 1
Out of all the babies born with "Quileute cheeks," baby Roger must've had the best ones, 'cause they led to his name "Cheeks." (This is also part of an old Quileute name: on the 1892 census is listed an 18-year-old boy named Cheek-to-a—Boston name Willie Wilder.

J Dub John W. Jackson, Cheeks' son

Baby Cheeks, Little Rodge Roger Jackson III

Bugwats, Slim James Jackson, Jr.

Shadow, Johnny J old man John Jackson

DJ David Jackson (Roger's brother)

Salmon Clubber Earl Penn John
This was Earl's CB handle back in the CB days.

Old Man, Cool John John Penn John
Marvella called him “Cool John” because he was the first kid she saw wearing cool transition sunglasses!
She also gave him his more common nickname, “Old Man,” because he had so many nieces and nephews who were older than him.

Snow Susan Penn

Boo Kenneth

Bub Keith

Bubbles Joanne Penn

Nerd Nathan Penn John
John says Sister Vickie called him this, and then everybody else did, too.

Debo Donovan Ward

Dough Tristan Cisani

Mojo JoJo Ward, Jr.

Propane Jeremy Payne

Broth(er) Jacob Smith

Putyam Pearl (Woodruff, Penn, Conlow) when young

Jimmy Slab James Williams III

Gigi, Gidge Roseanne Williams

Skip What was Skip George's real name? I just thought of him, and haven't had a chance to ask anyone yet.

Hok^{w}ats GIVEN QUILEUTE NAMES

Kwash-kwash	Jay Powell	"kwash-kwash" is the Quileute word for jay, as in blue jay.
Pixtadax	Jeff Harrison	Gram Lillian called Jeff this (bald eagle) because of his blond hair.
Kalil	Hippy Gary	Remember him? Lillian called him this (seagull) because of his skill in picking the last crumbs off of everyone's plates!

NAMES AS REGULAR WORDS IN THE LANGUAGE

Perhaps this happens elsewhere, but LaPush is the only place I've experienced people's names becoming regular words in the language. Here are the ones I know:

JD (Jerry Davis); this is a verb, as in to JD something: "His muffler was falling off, but he JD'd it with a coat-hanger." It means to rig up, fix up, in unorthodox ways.

Mup (Leonard Bryant, aka Mupper); this is also a verb, as in to mup something: "Those boys were always mupping stuff around the village!" It means to swipe, to steal.

Lela (Lela Mae Morganroth); this is a noun, as in being a Lela: "Oh, she's just Lela," or "Oh, quit being Lela," or just plain "Oh Lela." It refers to telling stories you can't believe.

Chris-Chris; this is a noun, and works just like "Lela": "Yeah, right, Chris-Chris" or just "Chris-Chris!"

> (A couple of years ago Chris was back in LaPush briefly, and stopped at Bonnie and Charlie's house. Dimitri went to the door, and when Chris asked for Charlie, Mitri asked him who he was; when he said he was Chris-Chris, Mitri said, "Uh-uh, no way!" He never imagined Chris-Chris as a real person, just as a piece of language!)

Jonesy (Terry Jones); an adjective? adverb? "Don't go Jonesy on us."

I hope you've enjoyed reading all these names and stories! I know that I've made some mistakes and left out a whole lot: that's where you can help. Please make corrections wherever you can, and add as many names and stories as you can. You can add notes here, or you can post on the blog at https://blogs.lanecc.edu/quileute/your-stories/

This is just the first draft, and I'm eager to make it better with your help. It's a community project.

I've written a lesson plan for Students at the Quileute Tribal School, and I hope they'll get a chance to work with nicknames in the fall; I look forward to adding their contributions.

PLACE NAMES

Few place-names in the area retain their original names—the names the Quileutes called them before the whites re-named them. Toleak has always been Toleak—probably because whites didn't have a real relationship with it. Here are the stories behind some of the "Boston names," taken from some of Kwash-kwash's wonderfully informative articles.

> After the period of non-native settlement started in the 1870s, the area at the mouth of the Dickey was first settled by Frank T. Balch, who homesteaded at the west edge of the Quillayute Prairie and established a store and post office which he called Boston, the word for Whiteman or American in Chinook Jargon.
>
> (Ironically, that was an unfortunate choice of name, since Quileute doesn't have any R-sounds or N-sounds and changes N to D and leaves out R when pronouncing non-Quileute words. So the Quileutes pronounced Boston as "bastad," which made it sound like they were saying "bastard.")
>
> K.O. (Kong Olaf) Ericson bought the place in 1894 and **renamed it Mora**, after the place he had grown up in Sweden. Remember that Ericson was the one who, with Dan Pullen, burned the village down in 1888.
>
> James Swan, an early Indian Agent at Neah Bay, wrote in his diary that **James Island was named after F.W. James of Port Townsend**, who was sent to La Push to take charge of the mail aboard the wreck of the Southerner, and that he was the first white man to climb the island. Big deal! But that's where the name James Island comes from.
> (Kwashkwash, August 2010)

Of course the name "**LaPush**" itself is not the original name of this place: the people just called it "Quileute," the place of the Quileutes. Early French trappers who came around here called it "La Bouche," which means "the mouth," because it's the mouth of the river. In pronunciation, this became "LaPush."

For a complete list of place names, see the list Kwash-kwash made, linked on the Nick-names blog. His articles in the bá·yak newsletter (mostly in issues from late 2012 and early 2013) talk a lot about all these places and their names. There's also a long section in the 2008 Quileute Dictionary that lists place names in the area, told to Kwashkwash by Big Bill Penn.

THE OLD NAMES

Besides nicknames and the stories belonging to them, “real” names in LaPush tell a story, too.

In a document dated January 25th, 1882, several “chiefs and headmen (and others) of the Quillayute Indians” “respectfully ask the Great Father at Washington to give [them] a school.” (The document, a short heading formally making the request, followed by a list of names, was written by A.W. Smith, the teacher in the first “white school” in LaPush. Smith also wrote all the Quileute names. Each Quileute name is followed by an X “his mark.”)

Here are some of the Quileute names, as written by Smith: Howeattle, Kla-kish-ka, We-ba-hod, Kla-ba-duk, A-tla-bik, He-chuk-a-took, Ho-buk-it, As-chik-a-bix, Wa-ka-u-a-thlu, Kluth-se-ik (there are 30 more). These are in a thin column of names, on the left. To the right of several of them Smith added, apparently later (they seem to be in pencil rather than the good ink of the original document), other names. Next to Howeattle we find “Albert.” Wat-wi-a-kose is labeled “Taylor”; Da-ba-ith is “John”; Kla-ba-duk is “Jim”; So-ta-duk is “Jack”; He-chuk-a-took is “Harry”; Wa-ka-u-a-thlu is “George”; Che-ook is “Buckety Mason”; Chul-tul-kwin-tun is “Sailto.”

It's easy to imagine that this was a re-naming process imposed by Smith and his fellow “Witness” to the document, the infamous Daniel Pullen. These two white men had a huge and permanent impact on the Quileutes. Smith, sanctioned by the office of the Indian Agent in Neah Bay, by the general notion of Manifest Destiny, and by his personal mission to bring civilization to the Indians through education, was determined to establish a school in LaPush, and he would need name lists that he could pronounce and relate to. Pullen, who managed a fur-trapping and -trading operation in LaPush, was so self-important that in September of 1884 he demanded rent from the Quileutes for the “privilege of remaining” in LaPush, and he “ordered some of them to pull down their houses.” He was rebuked for this by Oliver Ward, the Indian Agent at Neah Bay (though in his letter to Smith, Ward insists, “I have the most friendly feeling for Dan and I hope he will appreciate it”). Foiled in his nefarious plans for the moment, Pullen waited five years and when the Quileutes were away picking hops in September, 1889, he burned the village to the ground, stretched a wire around the land, and claimed ownership of the property.

Another indicator of the power they wielded over the Quileutes is this document written by Smith on June 6th, 1884: "This is to certify that Jack, John, Tommy, Talcas, and Henry, Indians of the Quillehute tribe, have leave of absence for four weeks." They needed permission to leave their home, and Smith had the power to grant it. (In this case, the five men were "looking for a relative who was carried into captivity some years ago" and heard he might be at Puyallup or Nisqually.)

In March of 1884 some Indians sent to Ward "a complaint against the treatment of 'Parker' at the hands of Mr. Pullen, resulting in Parker's being put into jail and also having received damages with a stick somewhere about the head." Ward leaves the handling of this situation up to Smith, and in a short addendum to Ward's letter Smith writes, "Dan, use your judgment whether you take the shackles off or not." Here and in many other documents from the 1880s and '90s we see the positions that Pullen and Smith had in LaPush and the power they had over the Indians. (In an 1886 letter to Smith from W.L. Powell, the current agent at Neah Bay, Powell expresses his desire for the establishment of a Reservation at LaPush so that "you [Smith] will have absolute control and reign supreme." Throughout 1889 Pullen was trying to establish claim to the land at LaPush through various means, and Powell notes in a letter to Smith in January that in many ways "Pullen has an advantage, he having the Indians all afraid of him.")

In many of the letters between Smith and the Indian Agents at Neah Bay we find references to local Indians, sometimes with their original names (e.g., "Cla-kish'ka Chief of the Quillayutes," Ho-ba-la-dook and "Mrs. Ho-ba-la-dook," Su-a-lup [accused of destroying someone's canoe with an axe], Kle-ches-ku and Obi ["may practice as medicine men, with the restriction that beating drum sticks or other discordant noises shall not be allowed"], and Yak-shuk [found guilty of "willfully indecently exposing his person by bathing in front of a house where white ladies and gentlemen were"]). More often "Boston names" are used (in one letter the Agent writes to Smith, regarding a policeman candidate, "I will try on your recommendation of Ho-ba-la-dook—has he no Boston names?"). Here we see how these new "white" names became quickly established as the expected identification of these people. So the letters refer to Jack, Jimmie/Jimmy (same person), Sampson, Jim Black, Carl Black, Harry Hudson, Jeff Davis, Esau Penn, Miss Jenny Jones, etc. Sometimes the tribe name is attached for specificity: Hoh William, Jimmy Quillayute, David Quillayute; and sometimes it's "Indian ____," as in Indian Tommy.

Sometimes the name didn't deserve a lot of care, apparently: “A Hoh Indian named Concise or something like that has come here with a complaint.”

Besides all these names that appear in letters from Smith and the various agents in Neah Bay, we have some very interesting lists of old names. There's one from 1877 where Smith lists the names of the students at the Neah Bay school (where he then taught). The January 1882 letter requesting a school is “signed” by 40 Quileute men. In 1890, 37 people (men and women) pledged to help Smith build the school house in LaPush. And then there's the longest list, the 1892 census with 243 names.

Juxtaposing the 1882 list of names attached to the request for a school and teacher (in which the request and all the names are written by Smith), with the list from November 1890 is revealing. This later list indicates how many days each person commits to helping build Smith's school. Again, Smith writes the statement at the top, but this time some of the names seem to be written by the Quileute person. What we see is that the name from the right column in the earlier list has become the person's name in many cases: In 1882 Chul-tul-kwin-tun was assigned the name “Sailto,” and in 1890 he signs his name “Sailto.” We also find the names Jim, John, Jack, William, and others that were added in the right column in 1882.

This later list also includes several complete “Boston names” (i.e., first and last), such as Stanley Gray, Esau Penn, Carl Black, and Daniel White. It also reveals the new phenomenon of turning a single name—a person's full name, as indicated in the 1882 list—into a family name, or last name. For example, in the first list we find Ho-buk-it as a man's name; in the later list we find Luke Hobucket and Swan Hobucket. Ho-ba-la-dok appears in the first list; Ho-ba-la-dook appears in the later one, but now he is joined by “Mrs. Hobaladook” and Tom Hobalodook. (Even the form of the traditional name is now Anglicized by removing the hyphens, which were an attempt to transcribe the sound of the original name.) The person who became Sailto is likely an ancestor of my friend John Sailto and his family. (By the way, this happened in all the colonized societies. My wife's great-grandfather was Wachazee; on the first Ponca rolls his name was translated to Yellow Berry, and his children were given that as their last names—so that my wife's grandmother was Ellen Yellow Berry.)

The 1877 list of children in the Neah Bay school (with their ages “as judged by Miss Johnson, A.J. Smith, & A.W. Smith, teacher”) offers similar conclusions. The 16 boys have names such as

Washington, Lincoln, Grant, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and John Smith; the girls include Annie, Martha, Agnes, Mary, Belle, Addie, Nellie, Minnie, Fannie, Hattie, Lucy, Julia, Clara, Alma, Ellen, Ella, Sarah, and Alice. Before moving to LaPush, Smith was clearly already adept at giving young Indians new identities.

(It's interesting to note that at this very same time Col. Pratt was establishing the first BIA boarding school at Carlisle, Pennsylvania; Pratt's agenda was total assimilation, and his motto was "Kill the Indian to save the man." Part of this process was requiring students to take new English names, either by choice or assignment. Luther Standing Bear was one the first students to arrive when Carlisle opened in 1879. In his memoir he recalls that he was asked to choose a name from a list on the wall. He randomly pointed at the obscure symbols on a wall and named himself Luther, and his father's name [translated as "Standing Bear"] became his last name.)

In June, 1892, a census of "Quillayute Indians" was taken (by John McGlinn, the Neah Bay agent); it lists 243 names on eight hand-written pages. This time, there are actually two formal columns—printed on the form itself—for "Indian Name" and "English Name" (as well as thin columns for sex, relation, and age). Many of the names from the 1882 list (requesting a school) and the 1890 list (offering help in building the school) re-appear on the census—some with new names, and some without. We-ba-hod (1882) has gotten the new name Webb Jones; Ho-buk-it (1882) has gotten "California." Ho-ba-la-dook (1890—the one about whom McGlinn complained "Has he no Boston names?") now has the new name Leven P. Coe—probably assigned by McGlinn himself, who wrote all the names on the census. Many of the names on the census do not appear on the earlier lists, but because of the two columns we still see the change: Thlo-wa-dosk becomes Morton Penn; Das-che-to becomes Esau Penn; Hos-ke-a is Annie Bright; La-wha-thlu is Mark Williams; Wa-tsos-tub is Mattie Jackson; Ewa-tsub is Henry Hudson; A-sub is Daisy California (daughter of California/Hobucket); How-with-lup becomes Stanley Gray; Kud-tso-ku-a becomes David Hudson; and O-ti-sha becomes Fritz O'Flinigan (! I wonder where that came from?!).

We also see in this census list an attempt to link members of a family, each of whom has a single "Indian name," with a common last name. For example, Se-ic-tiss becomes Mr. Ward; his wife, Hi-a-le-tsa, is now Mrs. Ward; his daughter Da-i-a-pus, is re-named Cecil Ward; daughter Chu-tla is

now Mildred Ward; and son Chee-shoo becomes Jack Ward. Similar groupings appear around the family names Pullen, Obi, Hudson, Wilder, Jones, Black, Bennett, Sailto, Willliams, Penn,

Erasing the Quileute names and replacing them with "Boston names" was an effective form of asserting power over the Indians and assimilating them. It seems that McGlinn and Smith simply assigned names that were comfortable to them—names like the names they knew in their world. By re-naming the Quileute people they made them more like themselves.

Interestingly, at the very same time this re-naming process was taking place in LaPush, the Office of Indian Affairs in Washington D.C. (a branch of the Department of the Interior) was speaking on the subject. In an official statement dated March 19, 1890, and sent "To Indian Agents [McGlinn] and Superintendents of Schools [Smith]," T.J. Morgan, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, wrote the following: "As allotment work progresses it appears that some care must be exercised in regard to preserving among Indians family names." Morgan was worried that inheritance of property would be confusing if various members of a family all had different names (as we see in the first column of the census), and not a unifying family name. He requests all agents and school superintendents to "systematically endeavor, as far as practicable, to have children and wives known by the names of the fathers and husbands," which we see happening in the second column of the census.

J.W. Powell, who was Director of the Bureau of Ethnology in the Department of the Interior, added a support statement to Morgan's letter. He suggests that Indians will understand the need for family names and will co-operate with agents in the selection of "proper names for themselves and their families." He also claims that besides clarifying family connections for the sake of inheritance, the new system will allow better census information—and will have the added value of "the breaking of the Indian tribal system, which is perpetuated and ever kept in mind by the Indian's own system of names."

Morgan also, however, makes some thoughtful culturally sensitive points in his letter. He criticizes the prevailing practice of "substituting English for Indian names"--a practice we see in action explicitly in the census document. Though "In many cases," he observes, "the Indian name is difficult to pronounce and remember, in many other cases the Indian word is as short and as euphonious as the English word that is substituted [and], while other things being equal, the fact that it is an Indian name

makes it a better one”--as long, of course, as it's not “difficult [for white people] to pronounce and remember.”

Morgan further asks that whenever agents or superintendents submit names to his office for appointments to any positions, no nick-names should be used, but only the “actual names.” And he asserts that “the names decided upon must be made well known to the respective Indians”--in other words, the agents and superintendents must teach the Indians their names—the names they have “decided upon.” Clearly, McGlinn and Smith, the agent and the superintendent for the Quileute people, were doing the government's work.

(You can see all these documents, including the 1892 census, linked on the nick-names blog.)

So this is the story of the first general re-naming of the Quileutes—the theft of the old names and the assignment of “Boston names” by Smith and McGlinn, the school teacher and the Indian agent.

What's the story of the other re-namings—re-claiming the power to name themselves in various ways? Clearly, with this historical background of naming by the colonizers, any acts of naming since then have important ramifications. That could be why there is so much naming now—beyond the naming of children at birth. The ceremonial name-giving that often revives old names—some of which are on these old lists—is an act of de-colonizing as well as a continuation of an old tradition. The universal giving of nick-names might be a way of saying, “OK, we have these names you gave us 135 years ago, but we don't have to use them; we can name ourselves!”

SOME GENERAL NICK-NAMES THEORY

It's all about the stories—and the relations.

Nicknames are relational: they represent the relationships of a person to events, communities, and places; they suggest a communal self or, as Arnold Krupat puts it, a "dialogic self." To some degree, such relationship is reflected in all naming: "Because others usually name us, the act of naming has the potential to implicate infants in relations through which they become inserted into and, ultimately will act upon, a social matrix. Individual lives thus become entangled—through the name—in the life history of others" (Vom Bruck & Bodenhorn 3). But nick-names do more, because they carry stories.

Nicknames represent stories others—our communities, our friends, our families, our tribes—tell about us. They carry a kind of personal oral history of a community. Communities with long-standing traditions of oral history and story seem to be more implicated with nick-names than other types of communities—those who have perhaps long ago shifted from orality to writing and other technological forms of recording stories.

The traditional strength of communalism in American Indian tribes, stressing such relational identity, is another reason nick-names are more common here. Morgan, O'Neill, and Harré refer to nick-names as "the self as presented to others; the public version of oneself" (14). They note that given nicknames are "not so much within the personal power of the nicknamed as within the social practices of his peers" (13). Nick-names thus stress the relationship between the named and the namer, and they play a role in the larger social organization of communities and tribes.

Morgan, O'Neill, and Harré analyze nicknames in several ways in their book *Nicknames: Their Origins and Social Consequences*. Under "kinds of names" they offer personal, social, "pet names," "Indian names," and nicknames. Then they divide nicknames into these categories: names formed from personal characteristics, names formed as a result of particular events, names formed from the person's given name (by rhyming, alliteration, etc.), and "traditional" names. Personal qualities are often connected to sources in popular culture, and famous or admired people. Pet names (such as a father calling his daughter his little Queenie) sometimes become generally used nick-names.

They further suggest that nick-names are formed through both internal and external processes—internal growing directly from a given name, and external from outside the name. Under internal they include phonetic derivatives (sounds like . . .); semantic derivatives (meanings); traditional suffix (suffixes often added to make pet names, such as Mike-->Mikey); semantic affix (word/syllable added in front of name). External factors include physical appearance (Chubby, Stick, Carrot-Top, Big Jim, etc.); personal habits, taste, and character; biographical events; culturally specific associations (semantic associations, products, popular characters); family traditions.

Can nick-names be prescriptive as well as descriptive? Clearly, they are often given as descriptors based on what a person already is—or on how one's society thinks one is. But the notion of "growing into" one's name, or fulfilling one's name, is interesting. A nick-name—or an "Indian name"—might be given in hopes of what the named might become; this clearly would then represent the standards and values of the society itself. As Morgan, O'Neill, and Harré put it, "The name is descriptive in so far as it singles out for comment something peculiar to the individual, but it must be remembered that this idiosyncrasy is labeled by the group, and is therefore only relative to that group's

norms. Thus each name is a definition with respect to group norms. So there is an element of prescription in naming, purely through the logic of the case. Whether there are any empirical grounds for people acting out the implications of their names is another matter" (81). Since those "implications" are often embodied in stories, then living out one's name would be like acting out the story that has already been told.

N. Scott Momaday, the Kiowa writer, claims that "naming confers being" (Rainwater 161). Namelessness would be the erasure of the person. To the extent to which in a community (such as LaPush) the nick-name is the name (the name by which a person is generally known), not having a nick-name would be a problem. The nick-name can be an exclamation of identity—both in the sense of "I am" and "I am this."

To the extent that a community sees its identity connected to the land—as do many tribal people who have been on their land for ages—the stories told about names often relate to stories about the land. Keith Basso, in a wonderful book called *Wisdom Sits in Places*, examines the ways Western Apache people have established personal and cultural identity in relation to place. This book has opened up to me a whole new realm of consideration: the role of place-names and the stories behind them, in constructing community, identity, and culture. Basso spent much time with the Western Apaches, especially older folks who knew the places, the place-names, the stories. He learned the language, and was thus able to access modes of wisdom and culture that would be unavailable otherwise.

Basso came to understand that conceptions of the land, conceptions of the self, and patterns of social action are intertwined. For indigenous people as groups—those who have been able to remain in and on their own land—"their names for themselves are really the names of their places" (21). Their sense of history is tied to their sense of place, and place is anchored to place-names and the stories connected to those places. "Narrated events are spatially anchored" is how Harry Hoijer put it, in his study of the Navajo (Basso 45). According to Basso, "stories work to shape Apaches' conceptions of the landscape, [...and...] stories work to shape Apaches' conceptions of themselves" (40-41).

So now I'm thinking that nickname stories and place-name stories might be equally worthy of research. But what Quileutes know any place-name stories? Jay Powell, with Old Man Woody, made a big list of place-names covering the western Olympic Peninsula—places the Quileutes once would have considered elements of their world. The list offers the Quileute word for the place, sometimes a translation, and a "western" name for the place. But did even Woody know any stories that imbued those places with the kind of deep social/cultural/historical/moral significance that Basso finds in the Apache place-names?

Powell and Woody's list doesn't zoom in on places around LaPush itself, and I'd like to work on that. What were the various names for 1st, 2nd, 3rd Beaches? Rialto Beach? Hole-in-the-rock? Mora? Thunder Road? Who first named Sasquatch Gulch? Akalat and Toleak and the Quileute River are the only places still known by their Quileute names, as far as I can tell—although Bogachiel and Soleduc (the other rivers right there) are forms of Quileute words. But I know of no Quileute place-names—and there are none in the list—that take the form of complete sentences, as most Apache place-names do; they are thus not able to carry the kind of descriptive specificity that allows Apache users of place-names to do the complex social and narrative work that their place-names allow. An Apache who refers to Gizhyaa'itiné (Trail Goes Down Between Two Hills) is creating something like a theater in which the auditor can stand before the scene and observe the story he knows about that place.

Even in Cibecue (the Apache community where Basso did most of his work), I imagine the shared experience and knowledge that allowed such place-names to "work" has eroded greatly in the last thirty years. Perhaps once—before similar erosion—the Quileutes shared stories about places and more fully descriptive names that more easily triggered the memory of those stories.

I'd like to ask those who might know—Chris Morganroth, Russell, Roger, ?--what they know about place-names and related stories, as well as nicknames and their stories.

(Post-script: no luck here. No one I talked with in LaPush had answers or names or stories: these seem to be gone.)

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