Languages of Oaxaca (UCLA, May 19-20, 2000)

A conference on the languages of Oaxaca — La voz indígena de Oaxaca — The indigenous voice of Oaxaca — will be held at the University of California, Los Angeles, May 19-20, 2000. Invited speakers include: Cheryl Black (SIL); George Aaron Broadwell (SUNY Albany); Maarten Jansen (Leiden); J. Kathryn Jessorand (Florida State); Barbara Hollenbach (SIL); Felicia Lee (CSU Fresno); James Lockhart (UCI); Pamela Munro (UCLA); Thomas Smith-Stark (Colégio de México); Kevin Terraciano (UCLA); Aurora Perez (Leiden); and Velma Pickett (SIL). Many of the papers will compare contemporary and colonial language materials and show how the analysis of one can be relevant to the other. For further information contact: George Aaron Broadwell, Dept. of Anthropology, SUNY Albany, NY 12222 (g.broadwell@albany.edu).

Workshop on Bolivian/Rondonian Languages (Leiden, September 28-30, 2000)

For the third consecutive year a Workshop on Amerindian languages will be held at Leiden University between 28-30 September, 2000. This year the Workshop theme will be Bolivian and Rondonian indigenous languages. For further information contact local organizer: Mily Crevels, Dept. of Comparative Linguistics (VTW), P.O. Box 9515, NL-2300 RA Leiden, The Netherlands (mily.crevels@hum.uva.nl).

LASSO (Puebla, Mexico, October 13-15, 2000)

The 29th annual meeting of the Linguistic Association of the Southwest (LASSO) will be held October 13-15, 2000, in Puebla, Mexico, hosted by Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla. The theme of the meeting will be “Minority Languages in the Americas.” Yolanda Lasra (UNAM) will present the Plenary Address. Abstracts are now welcome, particularly on the conference theme. All proposals for papers, special sessions, panels, or other program features should be submitted to Harmon Boertien, Dept. of English, University of Houston, Houston, TX 77040-3012 (hboertien@uh.edu). Papers may be given either in English or in Spanish. The deadline for abstracts is June 1. For information about travel, lodging, and other local arrangements, contact James L. Fidelholz at jfidel@siu.edu. Information about the meeting can also be found at the LASSO website: http://www.tamu-commerce.edu/swlj/lasso.html

VI Encuentro de Lingüística (Hermosillo, Sonora, November 29-December 1, 2000)

La Licenciatura en Lingüística de la Universidad de Sonora invita a especialistas nacionales y extranjeros interesados en los diversos aspectos del lenguaje al VI Encuentro Internacional de Lingüística en el Noroeste. Este evento tendrá lugar los días 29, 30 de noviembre y 1 de diciembre de 2000 en el Departamento de Letras y Lingüística de la Universidad de Sonora, en la ciudad de Hermosillo, Sonora, México. En el Encuentro se incluirán mesas sobre temas de lingüística descriptiva y teórica, así como sobre las diversas áreas de las interdisciplinarias lingüísticas y de la lingüística aplicada. Se podrán organizar sesiones sobre temas especiales, previo acuerdo con los organizadores del Encuentro dentro del periodo de recepción de resúmenes. Los interesados deberán enviar el resumen de su participación antes del 9 de junio de 2000 a la siguiente dirección: VI Encuentro Internacional de Lingüística en el Noroeste, Depto de Letras y Lingüística, Universidad de Sonora, Salaviaterra 33, Fracc. Los Ares, C.P. 83250, Hermosillo, Sonora, México. Para cualquier información favor de comunicarse a los teléfonos (62) 59-21-87 y (62) 12-55-29, fax:(62) 12-55-29 o a alguno de los correos electrónicos del Comité Organizador (nacosta@rit.uson.mx, jbarro@capomo.uson.mx, zarina@fisica.uson.mx, gerloves@rit.uson.mx, morualey@rit.uson.mx).

NOTES & COMMENT

The Identity of Red Thunder Cloud

Ives Goddard*

Red Thunder Cloud, whose death on January 8, 1996, was widely noted as also being the death of the Catawba language, was one of the most colorful and enigmatic figures in American Indian linguistics in the twentieth century. His claim that he was a Catawba and a native speaker of the language, doubted by some and defended by others, can now be definitively evaluated. But while enough information is now available to give a good picture of who he was and where he came from, his life and his work still raise challenging and fascinating questions.

Red Thunder Cloud introduced himself to Frank G. Speck, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania, in a letter of May 14, 1938. He states that he is “a 16 year old Catawba Indian and a Junior at Southampion High School” on Long Island.1 He guesses that he was a “little fellow” when Speck visited the Catawbas (whose reservation was in Rock Hill, South Carolina), but says that “as a very young boy I was brought up among the Narragansett Indians of Rhode Island. I have only been living with the Shinnecocks since July 27, 1937.” He says that he has studied American Indians since he was in the fourth grade and has visited many eastern groups, including several in Virginia, “though I was a tot when I visited some of them.” He reports plans to leave in August “for my home down on the Catawba Reservation” in South Carolina, and then to travel to Haskell Indian Institute in Lawrence, Kansas. He mentions the interest of Shinnecock Indians on Long Island in learning about their language and his desire to help them in this, referring to a letter from Speck to a Shinnecock named Running Eagle replying to inquiries on this subject. He says that he intends to obtain a copy of Gatschet’s Catawba sketch and inquires about the price of a “vocabulary” that he understands Speck has published.2 “Fortunately for us the Catawbas our language is not entirely lost. Besides the lady you mentioned in your letter [sc. to Running Eagle] I think that there are two others of our tribe who still speak the language down to Catawba.” He makes no claim that he knows any Catawba and does not refer to any member of his family. He signs himself “Chief Red Thunder Cloud.”

When Frank T. Siebert, Jr., was doing fieldwork on Catawba in April, 1941, a local schoolteacher told him of receiving correspondence from Red Thunder Cloud, who claimed to know the language. A month later Siebert met him at the Gramercy Boys’ Club in New York. Siebert often recalled his surprise on being approached by what appeared to be a young black man wrapped in Indian-style in a blanket. In two or three hours of elicitation he obtained a couple of dozen Catawba words and somewhat fewer numbers, covering slightly more than three pages of a small exam book. His recollection years later was that Red Thunder Cloud knew considerably more than this, “between 100 and 250 words,... numeral count up to ten, and occasional short expressions.” Red Thunder Cloud also told him two traditions, one of tying buffaloes

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hoofs to the feet to lure enemies into an ambush, and one of using rattlesnake venom on pine needles as booby traps. He said he had learned Catawba from his grandmother, Ada McMechen (Blue Moccasin), who had died about 1924. Siebert thought that he might have remembered some Catawba from his grandmother but had supplemented his recollections from published materials. He considered a Catawba-speaking black grandmother possible, since Sally Brown Gordon had reported once meeting in a market in Charlotte, North Carolina, a black woman who spoke good Catawba. But Siebert recognized the two war practices Red Thunder Cloud described as the same ones attributed to the Catawbas of the 1750's in James Smith's captivity narrative.3

Beginning in 1938, Red Thunder Cloud worked for Speck on small projects collecting ethnographic data and folklore among Long Island Indians, and he received from him some training in "field methods of recording notes etc." He also collected among the Montauk, Shinnecock, and Mashpee for George G. Heye (Museum of the American Indian) and for the American Museum of Natural History.4 During this period he also published several papers on Long Island ethnography and folklore, and he amassed a large collection of photographs of Long Island Indians.5 In December, 1943, he spent two weeks at Penn "furnishing information about the ... language of the Catawba tribe," recording songs, and aiding in ethnobotanical research. A statement that he "assisted Speck in informant courses" at Penn implies additional informant work, which a vita he prepared in 1973 refers to as "dictat[ing] ... Catawba Texts to Anthropology Classes," but Speck seems never to have published any linguistic data from him.6 Also in 1943, he told Speck the tradition regarding the use of rattlesnake venom, crediting it to his grandmother Ada McMechen, who had "learned it from her grandmother, Mildred Harris, a woman who died sometime before 1900 at the age of 99. Both women were of Catawba descent.7

With a letter of introduction from Speck, Red Thunder Cloud made his first visit to the Catawbas, for about two weeks, in February, 1944. Later, most likely in 1945, he spent about six months studying the language intensively with Sam Blue and Sally Gordon, as recalled by Sam Blue's grandson, Chief Gilbert Blue. In defending Red Thunder Cloud's reliability as a fieldworker in 1946, Speck stated that "he speaks Catawba, as we know for a certainty."8 When interviewed in 1957 by William C. Sturtevant (then of the Bureau of American Ethnology and now of the Dept. of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution), Sam Blue and his daughter-in-law Lillian said that they doubted Red Thunder Cloud was an Indian. Sam Blue thought that he had learned the few words of Catawba that he knew from Speck's books. In a letter to Speck written after his return, Red Thunder Cloud defended himself against this suspicion.9

Red Thunder Cloud introduced himself to Sturtevant in a 1958 letter offering aid in contacting eastern Indian groups and survivors, including three speakers of Wampanoag: "My mother is a Catawba Indian and my father a native of Tegucigalpa, Honduras of Honduran and Puerto Rican parentage. I speak Catawba, Spanish and Poutegese and am able to find myself in Cayuga, Seneca, Mohawk, Narragansett, Micmac, Passamaquoddy, Penobscot, Creek and have some smattering of Choctaw, Sioux, Winne-

bago in addition to being able to recognize some of the other Indian languages when I hear them spoken.10

In 1964 and 1965 Red Thunder Cloud worked with G. Hubert Matthews, then at MIT, to document the Catawba language. Their 1967 publication of five texts (two dated to February, 1944) included information on Red Thunder Cloud's family history and a genealogy that indicates which relatives (all on his mother's side) were Catawbas and which of those spoke Catawba. His full name is given as Carlos Ashbie Hawk Westez. His father is Carlos Panchito Westez, and his mother is Roberta Hawk. His father's parents are Teodor Sanchez (from Honduras) and Feliciana Mendoza (from Puerto Rico), and his mother's parents are William Ashbie Hawk (a Catawba speaker, son of Robert Hawk and Susan Scott Cobbs) and Ada McMechen (not a speaker, daughter of George McMechen and Mildred Harris). Earlier generations on his mother's side are also given. In defending the authenticity of Red Thunder Cloud's Catawba to C.F. Voegelin, the editor of the International Journal of American Linguistics, Matthews referred to the genealogy as one that Sam Blue and Red Thunder Cloud "were able to work out" and which "linked him with Catawba that Chief Blue knew." Red Thunder Cloud specifically claimed that he had learned Catawba from his mother's father, also called Strong Eagle, a lawyer who graduated from Yale Law School and died in 1941. He gave his mother's Indian name as Singing Dove.11

Red Thunder Cloud was frequently mentioned in local media. He once sued the town of Southampton for $100,000 for "damages to the cultural development of Catawba Indian language" after the town dog warden destroyed nine of his dogs, which he had taught Catawba commands. Some of his activities, with further references, are described in the obituary and the note on media reports by Victor Golla in SSILA Newsletter 15.1:2, 4-5 (1996). He was a familiar figure at local fairs in New England, selling a line of herbal medicines under the name "Red Thunder Cloud's Accabonac Princess American Indian Teas" ("fresh from the American forest to you"). He also reported that he had "rescued some Montauk vocabulary from oblivion," and sometimes claimed to speak Montauk.12 He was married for a time to Jean Marilyn Miller (Pretty Pony), said to be a Blackfeet, who appeared with him at powwows and other presentations.

On his death certificate, based on information provided by his friend Leonor Peña of Central Falls, R.I., his name is given as Carlos Westez (with aliases Red Thunder Cloud and Namo S. Hatriire) and his occupation as "Shaman." He is described as having been born in Newport, R.I., May 30, 1919, the son of Cromwell West and Roberta (Hawk) West. In the subsequent probate documents, his sister, a retired member of the faculty of the University of Maryland at Baltimore, appears as administrator, and his name is given as Ashbie Hawkins West, the name under which he had been enrolled in high school (with a recorded birth date of May 30, 1922) in the year he wrote to Speck and by which he was first known to the Shinnecocks.13 In fact, his full name at birth was Cromwell Ashbie Hawkins West. He was enumerated as Cromwell A. West in the 1920 census and used the name Cromwell West when he was employed at the Newport City Wharf, 1935-1937, as a watchman and later a chauffeur. His father was Cromwell Payne
West, a drugstore proprietor in Newport 1917-1937, who is listed in the 1900 and 1920 censuses as a black man born in Pennsylvania in 1891. By 1894 his father’s father, Theodore D. West (born in Virginia), and his father’s mother, Elizabeth R. West (born in Pennsylvania), had moved with his father to Newport, where his grandfather worked as a barber (or “hairdresser”). From about 1929 to 1933 Roberta West was not listed as being in Newport, and Leonor Peña believes that during this time she lived with her children in North Carolina, near the Catawba Reservation.

The name Carlos Ashbie Hawk Westez is a transparent modification of the name Cromwell Ashbie Hawkins West, given that the father’s name in the 1967 genealogy is Carlos Panchito Westez instead of Cromwell Payne West. If everywhere in this genealogy Ashbie is changed to Ashbie, Hawk to Hawkins, and Westez to West, it becomes on the mother’s side the genealogy of Roberta West, who was born Roberta M. Hawkins in Baltimore in 1891. (She also used the names Roberta M.B. West and Roberta C. West.) Roberta Hawkins’ father was William Ashbie Hawkins (1862-1941; LL.B. Howard Law School, 1892), one of the first black lawyers in Baltimore and a prominent civic leader, born the son of the Rev. Robert Hawkins and Susan (Cobb) Hawkins in Lynchburg, Va. Her mother was born Ada McMechen (/makmékən/), the daughter of George H. and Mildred McMechen of Wheeling, W. Va. George H. McMechen’s occupation is given as “plasterer” and “mechanic.” Ada McMechen Hawkins’ younger brother, George William Frederick McMechen (1871-1961; B.A. Morgan College, 1895; LL.B. Yale Law School, 1897), Ashbie Hawkins’ law partner, was another prominent member of Baltimore’s black community; the business and economics building at Morgan State University in Baltimore is named for him.

Red Thunder Cloud also mentioned that he had a cousin Gerald Brown (Running Beaver; d. 1952) who spoke Catawba, the son of his mother’s sister, Hazel Hawk, and William Brown. Roberta West had a sister Aldina Haynes (d. 1940), who briefly lived in Newport under the name Aldina H. Brown in the 1930’s, but W. Ashbie Hawkins’ 1941 obituary mentions only two grandchildren, who were presumably Red Thunder Cloud and his sister.

Cromwell Ashbie Hawkins West’s life as Red Thunder Cloud confronts us with basic questions of race and identity that are emblematic of our age. His successful life-long masquerade puts him in a class with the Englishman who was the Ojibway Grey Owl (1886-1936) and the African American who was the Blackfoot Buffalo Child Long Lance (d. 1932), both the subjects of films. But Red Thunder Cloud’s accomplishment in becoming a speaker of Catawba puts him outside the class of ordinary impostors, and the not insignificant work he did on Catawba leaves us as linguists with challenging problems of interpretation and evaluation.

**SOURCES**


14. Division of Vital Records, Rhode Island Department of Health; *Newport Directory*, 1899-1901, 1917-1937; Twelfth Census of the U.S., 1900; Fourteenth Census of the U.S., 1920. (When contacted, Red Thunder Cloud’s sister declined to be interviewed about herself or brother, and none of the information in this note was obtained from her.)

15. Leonor Peña, p.c.

THE PLACENAME DEPARTMENT

Placenames from Chinook Jargon
William Bright

An example of a “contact language” in the Americas is Chinook Jargon, locally also known simply as “Jargon” – once an important medium of communication among Indians and Whites in the Pacific Northwest. Although the language takes a large proportion of its vocabulary from the native Chinookan language family, there are also borrowings from Nootka, Salishan (especially Lower Chehalis), and other Native languages, as well as from French and English. The Jargon has, in turn, provided many words used as English placenames in Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and British Columbia. In the following sample, I give phonetic transcriptions of the English terms; but I don’t attempt to do so for the Jargon terms, since their pronunciation varies according to the first language of the speaker. (Valuable information is given by L. A. McArthur, Oregon Geographic Names, 6th edn., Portland, 1992; R. Hitchman, Placenames of Washington State, Tacoma, 1985; G. P. V. & H. B. Akrigg, British Columbia Place Names, 2nd edn., Vancouver, 1988; L. Boone, Idaho Place Names, Moscow, 1988; and E. H. Thomas, Chinook: A History and Dictionary of the Northwest Coast Trade Jargon, Portland, 1935. Many thanks to Dale Kinkade for his help on this topic!)

FROM CHINOOK: Cultus (e.g. in Deschutes Co., OR; Island Co., WA; near Chilliwack, BC; Valley Co., ID) [kəltəs] ‘worthless, no good’, from Lower Chinook kəltəs ‘in vain, worthless’; Talalupus (Deschutes Co., OR; King Co., WA; Latah Co., ID) [tələpəs] ‘coyote’, from Chinook ʔələpəs.

FROM NOOTKA: Kloochman (Crook Co., OR; Chelan Co., WA; Stikine River, BC), also shortened to Klootch (Boundary Co., ID) [klùːcmən, klùːmə] ‘woman’ (now considered derogatory), from Nootka ilucma; Tyee (Douglas Co., OR; Chalmans Co., WA; near Williams Lake, BC; Boise Co., ID) [təˈfiː] ‘chief’, from Nootka taʔiʔ ‘oldest son’.

FROM SALISH: Skookum (Clackamas Co., OR; Chelan Co., WA; Kootenai Co., ID) [skəkəm] ‘supernaturally powerful; strong’, from Lower Chehalis skəkwəʔim ‘devil, anything evil’; Chetlo (Lane Co., OR) [təˈlo] ‘oyster’, also from Lower Chehalis.

FROM NEZ PERCE: Camas (Douglas Co., OR; Clark Co., WA; Camas Co., ID) [kəˈməs] ‘an edible root, Camassia quamash’, from Nez Perce ʔəməs. LaCamas (Lewis Co., WA) and Lackamasa (Thurston Co., WA) contain the French definite article, as do many other Jargon words. The word “camas” has also entered English not only as a placename, but as a common noun, which may in turn be the basis for some placenames.

FROM FRENCH: Calipeen (Shoshone Co., ID) [kəˈlipən] ‘gun, pistol’, from Fr. carabine; Melakwa (King Co., WA; Benewah Co., ID) [mələkwa] ‘mosquito’, from Fr. maringoin, said to be from a Tupi-Guarani language of South America; La Push (Clallam Co., WA) [ləˈpuʃ] ‘mouth’, including the mouth of a river, from Fr. la bouche; Siwash (Lewis Co., WA; in Stanley Park, Vancouver, BC) [səˈwaf] ‘Indian’ (now considered derogatory), from French savage.

FROM ENGLISH: Pelton (Jefferson Co., OR; Jefferson Co., WA) [pəˈlənt] ‘crazy’, after a Mr. Pelton, who was said to be a fool. Compounding of Native and English elements is illustrated by Tumwater (Lane Co., OR; Thurston Co., WA) [təˈmuːwə] ‘waterfall’, from Lower Chinook təm ‘noise’ + Eng. water.

Some placenames are derived from Jargon words of disputed etymology. For example, Wapato (Yamhill Co., OR; Yakima Co., WA) and its variant Wapito (Clearwater Co., ID) [wəˈpəto] ‘an edible root, “wild potato”’ may be from Kalapuyan -pato ‘wild potato’, through Chinook. But a placename Wapato, said to mean ‘wild potato’, also occurs in Wisconsin and Michigan; and sources have been sought in Menomini wapatow ‘mushroom’ and Ojibway wəbədə ‘rhubarb’. Can any readers shed light on this word?

[Comments? Questions? Contact: william.bright@colorado.edu]

MEDIA WATCH

[Notices of newspaper and magazine articles, popular books, films, television programs, and other “media exposure” for American Indian languages and linguistics. Readers of the Newsletter are urged to alert the Editor to items that they think worthy of attention here, sending clippings where possible. Special thanks to Bill Bright, Ivie Goddard, Bob Ito, Martha Macri, Miles Paul Shore, Bill Wilson, and Sandy Stan at Bug Press.]

Greenberg in the NY Times

An article profiling Joseph Greenberg and his classificatory work — “What We All Spoke When the World Was Young,” by Nicholas Wade — was the lead story in the “Science Times” section (page D1) of the New York Times for Tuesday, Feb. 1, 2000. Although Wade noted that Greenberg’s classification of the world’s languages into “a small number of clusters based on their similarities” is “controversial,” the tone of the article was generally favorable. Wade was particularly impressed by the fact that Greenberg’s groupings “roughly coincide with clusters of genetically similar people and point to a close relationship between genetic and linguistic evolution.”