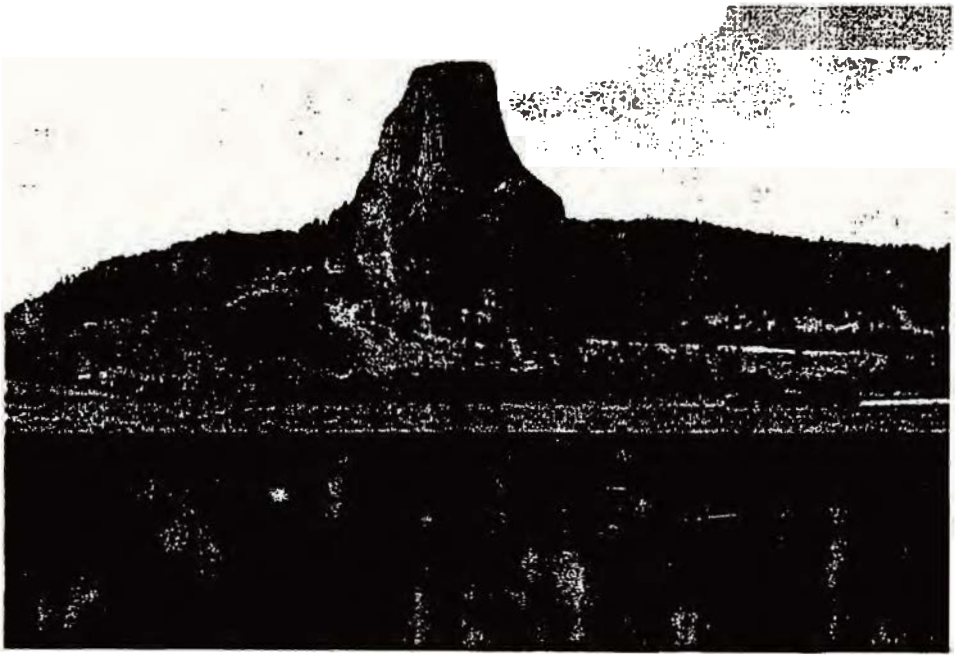
NAMING BEAR LODGE

ETHNOTOPONYMY AND THE DEVILS TOWER NATIONAL MONUMENT, WYOMING



David R. M. White, Ph.D.
Applied Cultural Dynamics
1998

Report Prepared for
the National Park Service

NAMING BEAR LODGE:

Ethnotoponymy and the Devils Tower National Monument, Wyoming

David R. M. White, Ph.D.

November 1998

Report Prepared for
the National Park Service

Denver Colorado

Contract Number
PX-1272-7-0860

By
Applied Cultural Dynamics
95 Moya Road
Santa Fe, New Mexico
87505
(505) 466-3444

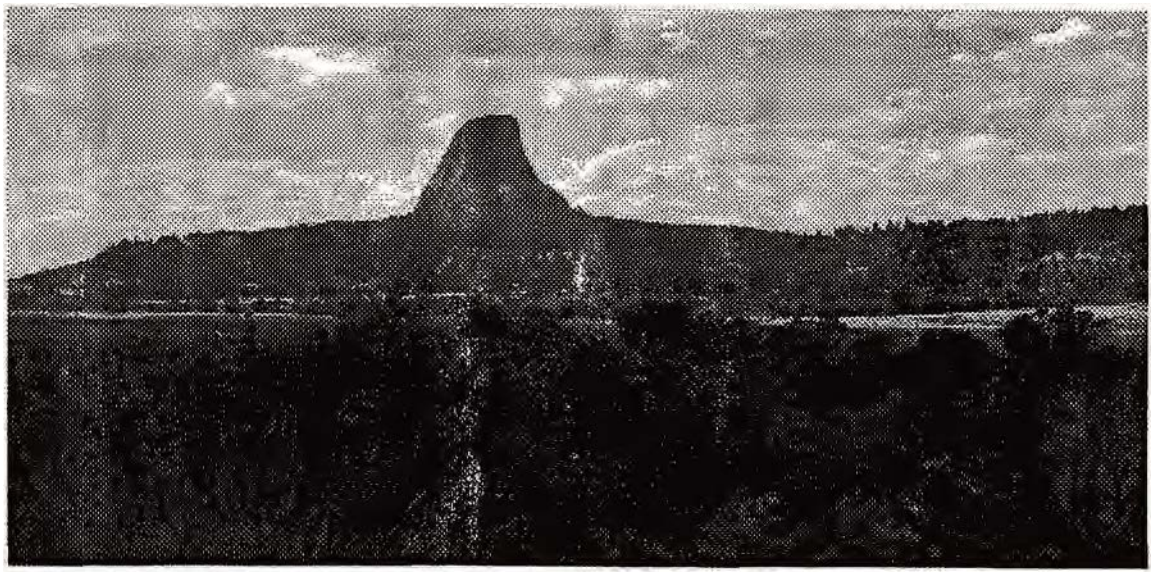
Human nature is so liable to error, and to view facts through the medium of its own idiosyncrasies, that it is only by comparison of the opinions of different men that the world arrives at the truth of any subject.

Col. Richard Irving Dodge (1827-1895), in the preface to *The Plains of the Great West and Their Inhabitants*, 1877.

FRONTISPIECE

Once the force of his leap was so powerful, and his weight so great, that the bear almost upset the tower. It started to fall, swayed, and then settled slightly. Bear's Tower ... is still leaning slightly, just as it was left after being shaken by the bear.

—Cheyenne tradition, as told by Randolph (1937:188)



The rock still stands leaning over as the Bear Woman left it and with the scratches of Turned-to-Bear upon it. —Kiowa tradition, as told by Parsons (1929:11)

His claws were as large as a tipi's lodge poles. Frantically Mato dug his claws into the side of the rock, trying to get up... He scratched up the rock all around, but it was no use.

—Minneconjou tradition, as told by Erdoes and Ortiz (1984:226)

Photos by D.R.M. White, 1998

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Deb Liggett, former Superintendent of Devils Tower National Monument, offered her encouragement when I was first beginning the study. George San Miguel, former Chief of Resources Management, was of invaluable assistance prior to his transfer from Devils Tower National Monument to Mesa Verde National Park. The current Superintendent, Chas Cartwright, has taken a close and supportive interest in the study, and Riley Mitchell, Chief of Interpretation, has provided substantial assistance. Thanks are due also to Kurt Pindel, Jim Schlinkmann and Sue Skrove at Devils Tower National Monument. Timothy P. McCleary, Chief Historian with the Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument, shared his collection of ethnographic literature pertinent to the project. The study would not have been undertaken without the support and continuing encouragement of Dave Ruppert, in the Denver NPS System Support Office, and his thoughtful comments on the draft are appreciated.

Linda Zellmer (Noble Science and Engineering Library, Arizona State University) was extraordinarily generous in sharing her research in progress relative to historic mapping of Bear Lodge/ Devil's Tower, and I am indebted to her in several aspects of this report. Also, my thanks are due to Emerson Lee Pearson, who graciously hosted me during my library research in Denver, and suggested more contacts than I was able to pursue.

Institutional thanks are extended to the libraries where research was conducted for this study. The Zimmerman Library, Centennial Science Library, and Center for Southwest Research, at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque, provided basic ethnographic and historic literature. Ms. Laura Holt, with the library of the Laboratory of Anthropology in Santa Fe, was most helpful and generous in securing difficult-to-find material through interlibrary loan. An attempt to find documentation on Mexican exploration in Wyoming, at the Fray Angélico Chávez Historical Library of the Museum of New Mexico in Santa Fe, was disappointing despite the efforts of staff there. Valuable materials were secured from the Library of Congress (particularly in the Map Room) and the National Archives, in Washington DC. The Western History Collection at the Denver Public Library proved to be an invaluable resource, and library employees there showed extraordinary interest in the project and efficiency in meeting the researcher's requests. Unique information was secured from the archives of the Devils Tower National Monument; from the Hebard Library at the American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie; and from the Wyoming State Archives in Cheyenne. Information was also secured from the Learning Resource Center, School of Education, University of Wyoming, Laramie. The extensive ethnographic holdings of the Coe Library, University of Wyoming, were most useful, and staff members of the Historic Preservation Office in Cheyenne were quite helpful.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge and thank the many American Indian people, from several Tribes, who gave of their time to improve my understanding of issues discussed in this report. Much of this occurred during the 1998 consultation meeting among representatives of the various affiliated and interested Tribes and personnel of the Devils Tower National Monument; this meeting was held in Belle Fourche, South Dakota, on June 6th and 7th. Other conversations took place one on one, before and after the meetings, as well as by telephone.

In all of my contacts with Indian people in connection with this project, I was struck by their enduring concern for the very special place that so many of them associate with a great Bear. Their concern is not merely that the place be physically protected, but also that it be respected in spirit and recognized as a sacred place. Having met so many people of such great wisdom in the process of preparing this study, I feel greatly privileged to have had the opportunity to carry out this project which I hope will further those goals.

BACKGROUND

Theodore Roosevelt created Devils Tower National Monument in 1906, as the first national monument in the United States. The name of the monument came from its central feature, a tower-like column of phonolite porphyry 865' high, which first appeared on published maps in 1857 as "Bears Lodge" (a direct and correct translation of the Lakota name "Mato Tipi") but was renamed by Col. Richard Irving Dodge in 1875 as "Devil's Tower," an epithet which Dodge claimed to be a "proper modification" of the "Indian" name "Bad God's Tower." The new name was at first scorned even by the scientific members of Dodge's expedition, and variants of "Bear Lodge" and "Mato Tipi" (the original Lakota name) continued to appear on published maps. In later years Maj. Gen. H. L. Scott attempted to have the name "Devil's Tower" removed from the feature. However, largely due to the success of Dodge's several books (Sundance Times 1927, Kiger 1996d), and perhaps partly due to sentiments toward Indian people, the name "Devil's Tower" became most widely used.

A diverse set of indigenous names continued to be used by American Indian Tribes having historical and cultural affiliation with the tower. With increasing institutional attention to American Indian cultural issues emerging in the final quarter of the twentieth century, the matter of the name emerged once again into public debate. When the National Park Service commissioned an ethnographic overview of Devils Tower National Monument, the name was identified as a key issue and the researchers recommended that the National Park Service "consider renaming Devils Tower, giving it a name (proposed by the tribes) that is more ethnographically appropriate" (Hanson and Chirinos 1997:34).

Vocal public sentiment in Wyoming opposed any name change (although sympathetic opinions were also to be heard), and the National Park Service's Systems Support Office in Denver decided to commission a focused study dealing with the history of naming and with various names used by contemporary tribal groups having affiliation with the tower. Traditional knowledge of the tower was also to be included, in support of better understanding the names affixed to the feature by various Tribes. This study is a result of that decision.

STUDY LIMITATIONS

This study does not address, in detail, the Tribal territories of groups having affiliation with Devils Tower National Monument, or the sorts of documentation that support affiliation. As Hanson and Chirinos (1997:17) indicate, primary sources identifying Tribal affiliation with the monument are lacking for most of the Tribes having probable affiliation, with the single exception of the Lakota. For present purposes, this is not considered problematic; here, we are concerned primarily with oral traditions pertaining to Bear Lodge. It should be understood, however, that a lack of primary source data is in no sense a proof that a Tribe was not in the area. Indeed, because primary source data is progressively available, chronologically, it follows that the Tribes that were in an area more recently might be considered more reliably documented than those that were present earlier; yet Tribes present earlier were no less present. Conclusions about affiliation should then be reached not on the basis of whether or not primary source data are available, but on the basis of the best available data regardless of whether it is primary or secondary, written or oral.

Devils Tower National Monument is seen here as an area with which the Lakota, Cheyenne, Crow, Arapaho, and Kiowa people had primary affiliation, historically. At various times, Lakota, Cheyenne, Crow and Kiowa people apparently held territory that included Bear Lodge. Arapaho people lived not far distant, and not only traded with people living in the vicinity of Bear Lodge but also worshipped there; Eastern Shoshone people, although apparently not having primary affiliation with monument lands, nonetheless visited the area and considered it sacred. Secondary affiliation, such as that displayed by the Eastern Shoshone, was apparently widespread among Plains Tribes.

It is in regard to Tribes with secondary affiliation that this study is most severely limited. Secondary affiliation is clearly demonstrated herein for Arikara, Dakota, and Mandan people, as well as for Eastern Shoshone; it may also exist for Assiniboine, Blackfeet, Gros Ventres, Hidatsa, Iowa, Kiowa-Apache, Kootenai, Omaha, Pawnee, Piegan, Plains Cree, Ponca, Salish, Sarci, Turtle Mountain Chippewa, and Wichita, but this remains undocumented.

This study also falls short in documenting use of the Black Hills proper by the various affiliated Tribes. This question is of substantial importance, yet it is a matter of such complexity that it cannot be fairly treated in the present study. Potentially pertinent documentation suffers from significant problems, not least of which is the obvious political agenda of most observers of the time. Thus we cannot take at face value those reports (e.g., by George Armstrong Custer and Richard Irving Dodge) that claim Indian use of the Black Hills was limited to the cutting of teepee poles. The urge to justify American incursion into lands already guaranteed to Indian people by treaty in 1868 was far too strong to have permitted objectivity. An editorial in the Bismarck Tribune, published September 2, 1874, candidly revealed the motives behind claiming a minimal Indian presence in the Black Hills:

> It is a fact recognized by all, that there are no finer grazing lands in the world, than are those in the valleys of the Black Hills, and none can see any reason why they should not be occupied by the adventurous white man. I dare say that none consider the rich deposits of gold and silver, the abundance of game, the soil, water, and timber—the fact that the country aboundstin everything that will make a great State prosperous and wealthy, will for a moment agree with those who think that this country should still be left in the hands of the Indians, who like the DOG IN THE MANGER will neither occupy it themselves or allow others to occupy it (Krause and Olson 1974:28).

It is also inappropriate to take at face value nineteenth century concepts of "use" of an area. Even if Lakota people made no "practical" use of the Black Hills aside from the cutting of lodge poles, this would not mean that the area was unimportant to them. Nor do the oft-cited accounts of Indian "fear" of the Black Hills ring true; respect for the holy was, it seems, often mistaken by brash Americans as nothing other than fear. If we were to consider the attitude of Lakota and other affiliated tribal people in light of contemporary attitudes toward the land, we might well conclude that the Black Hills were, to them, valued in a manner akin to our present-day valuation of national parks. Such considerations are, however, beyond the scope of this study.

This study is as comprehensive as possible in regard to the exploration of the Black Hills area by Euroamerican people, and in regard to names applied by them to the Black Hills and to Bear Lodge/Devil's Tower, from the 1743 Vérendrye expedition to 1906. It is also comprehensive in surveying the various names applied to Mato Tipi by those Tribes identified here as having primary affiliation with Devils Tower National Monument—i.e., the Lakota, Cheyenne, Crow, Kiowa, and Arapaho. Close attention has also been given to certain Tribes identified here as having secondary affiliation with the monument; these include Arikara, Dakota, Mandan, and Eastern Shoshone. "Secondary affiliation" simply means that the monument was apparently never in the core territory of these groups; it does not imply that the tower was not held sacred by the people, as it surely was. A number of other Tribes known to have, or suspected of having, secondary affiliation were given only scant attention; potentially pertinent ethnographic literature is extensive, and it was not exhaustively searched.

Hence it is important to note that there may be names for Bear Lodge, and published accounts of traditions pertaining to the feature, which have not been identified herein. This is true even for the five Tribes with primary affiliation, as some relatively obscure published information was not examined. Nonetheless, this study does present a good idea of the range of names and traditions that pertain to Bear Lodge. It clearly shows two things of importance regarding the name(s) of Bear Lodge/Devil's Tower. First, there is no verifiable American Indian name that can reasonably be translated as "Devil's Tower." Second, despite the great variety of names applied to the feature by American Indian people, the majority of those names refer to the bear. Most often, this is a variant form of the name Bear Lodge.

AMERICAN INDIAN NAMING PRACTICES

> Almost every river, creek, spring, permanent waterhole, mountain or prominent landmark, has a name given to it, not only by the tribe in whose country it is, but by those who raid into that country. In most cases, they are named from some peculiarity, incident, or adventure. ... In some cases, the striking and beautiful Indian names are retained, but in the large majority of instances the names on the map, and by which they are known to the whites, are either crude translations of the Indian names or such others as happen to suggest themselves to the army officer who first makes the survey of the country (Dodge 1882:229).

A brief discussion on differences in cultural logic would be appropriate here, as this is a key to understanding toponymy (naming practices). European and Euroamerican thinkers were for centuries convinced of fundamental differences between "civilized" and "primitive" logic, one aspect of which was the supposed prevalence of "abstract" thought among the civilized as compared to the "concrete" thought processes considered typical of so-called primitive people. Even anthropologists who argued against notions that "primitive" people were inferior accepted this idea to a large extent; Franz Boas, for example, stated that "Primitive man ... is not in the habit of discussing abstract ideas" (Boas 1963:196).

Most more recent theorists (see, for example, Diamond 1963) have discarded the belief that thought processes differ according to so-called levels of civilization, but the notion was clearly in play with many early observers of American Indian naming practices. A particularly egregious example is to be found in an article by Frank Terry (1897), Superintendent of the federal boarding school for Crow Indians in Montana, in which it is flatly stated that "...such names as Flying eagle, Pipe-chief, Crazy-horse ... are ridiculous and should not be perpetuated. Such names are uncouth, un-American, and uncivilized."

It is ironic that, in regard to place naming, the ones most clearly committed to "concrete" (hence supposedly primitive) representation in some instances were Euroamericans rather than Native Americans.

We see this, for instance, with Col. R. I. Dodge's comments regarding Bear Butte (South Dakota):

> ...on all previous maps, this is a misnomer, It should be "Bare Peak." This name expresses what it is, a peak of granite rock, rising clear of all surroundings and intirely [SIC] bare of timber or vegetation of any kind (Dodge 1876a, Turchen and McLaird 1975:69).

Dodge was preoccupied with what he immediately saw. He considered neither the alternative concrete possibility that bears had been observed in the vicinity when the feature was previously named, nor abstract possibilities that the feature might have been thought either to resemble a bear or to have some affiliation with the spirit of a bear or bears.

Another example of "concrete" thought, pertaining directly to Bear Lodge, is seen in the comments of Reverend Peter Rosen, who claimed that

> The name of Mato Tepee has been hitherto given to this remarkable uplift. But it is clear that the name could never have been given by the Indians to the tower itself, as no bear could lodge on or in it (Rosen 1895:51).

It is in fact difficult to tell here whether Rosen was himself guilty of overly concrete thinking, or instead was presuming that Indian people thought only in such terms. But a letter sent to Dick Stone by one of Rosen's contemporaries, Chief Luther Standing Bear of the Oglala, shows a broader range of interpretation than Rosen allowed. It states that *Mato Tipila* "means dwelling place of the bears" but that "*Tipila*, does not, strictly speaking, mean a lodge but rather a living place, or place where bears should live" (Gunderson 1988:57). (It might be noted, in passing, that the word "Tipila", as compared with the more common and basic form "Tipi", carries the suffix -la, a complex diminutive that Rice [1994:195-99] describes as carrying meanings ranging from affection to reverence for the life cycle.)

Here it is suggested that the notions of abstract and concrete thought are a dichotomy most pertinent to Western philosophy, and that entirely different considerations are more relevant to naming practices among American Indian people. Naming, whether of persons (see Moore 1984) or places (see Grinnell 1906), is a practice deeply embedded in cultural assumptions of appropriateness; there are, in other words, standards (often implicitly held) about what constitutes a culturally appropriate name.

In evaluating names derived from other cultures, or said to be derived from other cultures, mistranslations must be considered as well as questions of aesthetics. Both can be seen in naming and comments on naming of the Belle Fourche River (the north fork of the Cheyenne River). Translation problems can easily occur even between languages that are somewhat closely related; for example, the St. Paul Pioneer on August 15, 1874, mistranslated the French name "Belle Fourche" as "Beautiful Fish," a blunder apparently not noticed by Krause and Olson (1974:56). Differing aesthetic perceptions are apparent in Richard Irving Dodge's belief that the Belle Fourche, approximately called "Beautiful River" by the Cheyenne, "Dakota," and French, was "sadly misnamed" (Odell 1942:5, Turchen and McLaird 1975:69).

Regardless of the cause, it is important to note that misnaming of places and natural features, when names ostensibly refer to an original American Indian name, is a commonplace occurrence. One of the best known examples from the Great Plains region is that of "Devil's

Lake" and the "Devil's Lake Sioux" in North Dakota; this name was recently changed to the more accurate and culturally acceptable name "Spirit Lake." Lakota people consulted for this study mentioned with displeasure, however, that highway signs still say "Devil's Lake." Lakota people mentioned several other place names that have been incorrectly applied, including Hell's Canyon, the Cheyenne River, White River, and Missouri River. Some names, albeit incorrect, are less offensive than others. One Arapaho man summed up the difficulty as he sees it: "It's pretty hard to translate any Indian language."

A complete consideration of Plains ethnotoponymy, or cultural naming practices, would be well beyond the scope of this study. For one thing, it would require detailed attention to the naming practices of several culturally distinct groups, when pertinent published information is lacking for many of them. Instead, the focus here is narrowly on the naming of Bear Lodge.

A most important consideration in the present instance is the question of whether "Bad God's Tower" would have been a culturally appropriate, or possible, name for Cheyenne or Lakota people living around the Belle Fourche River to have applied to the feature, at the time when Richard Irving Dodge bestowed that name on it. It seems clear that Dodge personally thought so, but here we must examine two aspects of Dodge's opinion. First, we must consider what Dodge believed to be true of American Indian religion, and compare his descriptions to better-informed opinions; and second, we need to scrutinize the source or sources of Dodge's information about Indian religions.

Dodge had described Cheyenne religion as typical of Plains Tribes, and he claimed that they believe "in two gods, equals in wisdom and power." One is the "good god" who provides "warmth, food, joy, success alike in the chase, love, and war." "The other is the 'bad god,' always his enemy, and injuring him at all times and places, when not restrained by the power of the good god. From the bad god comes all pain, suffering, and disaster. He brings the cold, he drives away the game, and through his power the Indian is tortured with wounds or writhes in death" (Dodge 1876b:276; also see Dodge 1882:99-108).

Dodge equated "the bad god" with the Judeo-Christian Devil, and several other observers have echoed his belief that the Cheyenne believed in a powerful devil. It must be noted, however, that all authors claiming to have found evidence of Plains tribal belief in the devil were Christian missionaries or ministers. These include Rev. Peter Rosen (1895), Father Peter Powell and the Presbyterian missionary John Williamson (1970). Moore (1996:201) discusses how Powell's Christian convictions have distorted his perceptions of Cheyenne religion.

In some instances, cultural complexities are involved. For instance, there is the case of George Sword, a primary informant to James R. Walker, Pine Ridge Reservation physician from 1896-1914. Walker was interested in mythology, and Sword provided him with much information—filtered through Sword's individualized cultural lens as a traditionalist who had become a Deacon in the Episcopal Church (Bierhorst 1985:170). Walker was in correspondence with

Franz Boas, and Boas commissioned the Lakota scholar Ella Deloria to check on Sword's material; Deloria reported that Sword's stories "were unlike anything [people] had heard before." One of her major concerns was "the use of Christian idioms in order to describe Lakota religion" and she suggested that Sword's stories were "fiction" rather than "folklore" (Jahner 1983:vii, 16-17, 19, 22).

Cultural complexities are also involved when Indian people sometimes attempt to stretch their own cultural understandings to accommodate the quite different notions of white people. This seems to be the case with an Arikara story related to Parks (1991:3:569-71). It is a story of *Waaxeehaaniwirnii'*, the fire maker; the narrator tells Parks that he is "the Devil", yet Parks comments on the incongruity involved, insofar as the story tells how the fire maker scolds naughty children and "is an admonisher against bad habits, not an instigator of them" (ibid.:569). Wind River Shoshone people have come to identify the Devil, somewhat similarly, with the culture hero and trickster Coyote or "Prairie Wolf" (Hultkrantz 1981:225).

Complexities aside, it is apparent that observers who do not filter their perceptions through a Christian lens give very different portrayals of Plains religion generally and Cheyenne religion specifically. As early as 1896, Dorsey (1962:271) unequivocally stated in regard to the "Sioux," that "It is hardly necessary to state that the idea of a devil is not aboriginal, although now embodied in the Indian mythology and language from contact with the whites." E. Adamson Hoebel provides a broad description of the Cheyenne world as

> ...a dynamic, operative system of interrelated parts. Each one, however, is governed by a spirit being: the Spirit Who Rules the Universe, the Spirit Who Rules the Summer, the Spirit Who Gives Good Health, the Big Holy People Who Know Everything. The major forces are, therefore, animistic... It is assumed that these and most lesser spirit beings are beneficent; they want things to be pleasant and satisfying. They are generous in their blessings upon mankind. ...neither Cheyenne religion nor world view rests on fear of the "Gods" (Hoebel 1960:83).

Hoebel goes on to note that there is a sky god, *Heammawihio*, "The Wise One Above", and an earth god, *Aktunowihio*, "The Wise One Below", both of whom are beneficent (see Grinnell 1923:2:88). Then there are ghosts, *mistai*, and Horned Hairy Water Spirits, *minio*; these are somewhat dangerous, but they are minor spirits (ibid.:86). *Mistai* also means owl; "...the owl is not a natural bird, and ... some owls are the ghosts of people" (Grinnell 1923:2:100). Moore explains *Maheo* [*Heammawihio*] and the Cheyenne concept of evil as follows:

> There are no devils or demons in Cheyenne tradition, seducing people and giving them evil powers, and Cheyenne cosmology has no place for witchcraft, by which evil people undertake to harm other people. Bad things happen, by Cheyenne standards, when the legitimate channels of Maheo's power are not

> respected, and the power and energy created by Maheo gets out of control (Moore 1996:245).

Kathleen Dugan echoes these understandings of Cheyenne theology:

> These [governing spirits] and all lesser spirits were considered beneficent, generous in their gifts to humankind. Their nature was that of benefactor, and fear had no place in the Cheyenne attitude toward the spirits (1985:189).

James Walker discusses a "Destructive God," which one might imagine could equate with Dodge's "Bad God." Indeed, at one point, Walker explicitly wrote that *Iya*, "the first being who came into the world by birth," is "one and the same devil" as *Ihom*, also known as Wind-storm or Tempest because of "his destructive fury" (Jahner 1983: 216). But a closer look reveals none of the clear-cut contrast as described by Dodge; for instance,

> The pendant of a warbonnet might be embellished with the hair from the tail of the horse for it is a symbol of desperate bravery, because the horse is an *akicita* [soldier] of the Destructive God (DeMallie 1982:103).

Clearly, horses are not and never have been considered evil in Plains culture, hence it is necessary to realize that the "Destructive God" was not perceived as necessarily "Bad."

To take one further case in point, with regard to Cheyenne religion---one which brings us directly to the traditions surrounding Bear Lodge—we might consider cultural beliefs in regard to Bears. Although the Cheyenne legends usually are translated in such manner as to merely identify "a bear" or "an immense bear," the bear referred to was *Maheonhovàn*, the "celestial she bear" (Schlesier 1987:50). Children's games, presumed among Euroamericans to be innocent play, carried both theological and practical import among the Cheyenne. One Cheyenne game was called *nakonistoz*, "bear play"; in this game, one child plays the part of the she-bear while the others taunt the bear and attempt to avoid the ancient prohibition on speaking the bear's name. According to McCleary (1997a), Liberty (1958-59) described one version of the game that involved a "bear" with a cactus on a stick; the other children could avoid the "bear" by jumping on a stump, called the "sand rock," which represented Devils Tower. In the stories of the girl who became a bear, it is *Maheonhovàn* who attacks, not because she is evil but rather to punish the humans "who had insulted bears by calling their name" (ibid.). At risk of belaboring the point, it is not that bears are evil; they are merely powerful spirits, which must be treated with caution and respect.

"Sioux" religion shares with Cheyenne religion the "concept of spirits permeating and controlling all aspects of reality" as well as "the related concept that each god in the hierarchy had a special area of responsibility in the order of the universe" (ibid.:196). A key difference is

"the wondrous power which [the "Sioux" Gods] shared with all living things, and especially with humans" (ibid.: 197).

Many early observers were unable to grasp that Plains religion had any sort of conceptual basis; for instance, the French trader Tabeau wrote that

> It would be difficult to give an account of the religion of the Savages of the Upper Missouri, if they had any. These men, incapable of reasoning, too limited to formulate principles and to draw inferences from them so as to develop a belief, have no religion that is fixed or established (Abel 1933:190).

Even such myopic observers (Abel dryly commented that Tabeau seemed more accurately to be describing himself) usually could not help but notice the ritual practices of Plains people, yet those practices were often viewed with great apprehension. Dodge himself managed to miss the ceremonial practices of the Plains Tribes; in chapter 8 of "Our Wild Indians" (Dodge 1882), entitled "Secret Rites and Religious Ceremonies," he primarily discusses medicine bundles and totems despite insisting that the latter have nothing to do with religion. Even so, two practices deserve particular mention here, because they each have ongoing connections with Devils Tower National Monument. These are the vision quest, and the Sun Dance.

Ruth Benedict (1923) wrote the definitive paper on the vision quest. For most of the Plains Tribes, access to spiritual power was through fasting, isolation and deliberate seeking of dreams. The *Hanbleceyapi* is any "spiritual quest for guidance"; one specific way of preparing oneself for spiritual guidance is the *Inipi* or sweat lodge ceremony (Doll and Deloria 1994:20). The sweat lodge ceremony often has substantial theological connections, as with the Cheyenne where it is often linked with a "buffalo altar—a mound of earth surmounted by a bison skull" (Dugan 1985:93). Plains men who isolated themselves while seeking dreams or visions commonly built dream houses, variously made of timber or stone. Grinnell (1892:191-92) described this as follows, for the Blackfeet:

> The Blackfeet men often went off by themselves to fast and dream for power. ... Wherever he went, the man built himself a little lodge of brush, moss, and leaves, to keep off the rain; and, after making his prayers to the sun and singing his sacred songs, he crept into the hut and began his fast.

The vision quest, by virtue of its individualistic nature, was not so obvious to casual observers. The Sun Dance, by contrast, was a spectacle that Euroamerican newcomers could not ignore if they saw it. Seeking great historical depth for the Sun Dance may be a mistake; some scholars believe it was invented by Algonquian people on the Plains (possibly Cheyennes circa 1700) (Spier 1921:498). Hultkrantz (1981:238) considers it to be part of a widespread new year ceremony "originally held in June when a fresh new verdure covered the ground"; he sees it as having relatively little to do with sun gazing, and, with Lowie (1954:178), considers the term

"Sun Dance" to be a misnomer. Cheyenne tradition holds that the Suhtai, another Algonquian Tribe that merged with them, introduced the Sun Dance to them (Dorsey 1905:2).

After 1750, the Sun Dance rapidly spread to other Plains groups, including the Wind River Shoshone (Shimkin 1953:406-07). Jorgensen (1972:17) notes that from "the late eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century the Sun dance ceremony was the grandest of all the aboriginal religious ceremonies performed by Plains tribes." Yet by the end of the nineteenth century the dance had all but disappeared, as a result of government suppression (Shimkin 1953:403). The Sun Dance was widely condemned by military and other government agents, who saw it as consisting of "orgies," "barbarous features" and "heathen rites" (Jorgensen 1972:23).

Particularly disturbing to whites were the elements of self-torture, which they could not understand, in the Sun Dance. For the "Sioux," however, gratitude for spiritual guidance is a key moral value, demonstrated "most adequately by sacrifice." Sacrifice, in turn, was expressed in "ultimate form [by] torture which was, for them, an essential element of the Sun Dance" (Dugan 1985:198). Thus, despite certain aspects of Plains religion that most Christians might find somewhat violent or horrific, such as the self-denial of vision quests and the self-torture of the Sun Dance, the philosophical basis upon which the religions rest are, in essence, lacking the notions of fundamental evil that inform Christian theology.

As for Dodge's information sources, he is not entirely explicit, yet it is fairly easy to deduce how he constructed his understanding of American Indian religion. First, there is his assertion that Cheyenne religion may be taken as a close facsimile of any other Plains Tribe's religion; this shows that he did not talk with members of different Tribes. Second, there is his fairly detailed admission of his dependence on a guide named Romeo:

> Few persons have been in the Indian territory who have not heard of "Romeo," a Mexican Cheyenne half-breed, an excellent guide and interpreter. His mother was a Cheyenne Indian. He was brought up with that tribe, has a Cheyenne wife, and lives among them. He is fluent in several Indian languages, has the sign language at his fingers' ends, and besides speaks very excellent English. ...He was employed as guide and interpreter for my command for one season, and I was glad to while away the time on the monotonous prairie marches by inducing him to talk of himself and his people (Dodge 1876b:298-99).

Only one other description of "Romeo" is known; that being a brief note by the Englishman William Blackmore. Blackmore described him as follows: "Romeo the guide—small—at 35—¼ Mexican ¾ Cheyenne—A squaw--Long black locks—Slant snake eyes--Exactly like an Indian..." (Kime 1989:376).

Without more information on Romeo, it is impossible to say how well he knew the subtleties of Cheyenne culture. The likelihood that he was influenced by Christianity, either directly from

his father or during the travels that resulted in his "excellent English," seems at least as high as, if not considerably higher than, the likelihood that he had a coherent understanding of Cheyenne theology.

We must conclude that neither Cheyenne nor Lakota cultural logic would lead one to consider "Devil's Tower" a culturally appropriate name. Col. Dodge appears to have gained his knowledge of Cheyenne religion from only one man, a man who was either half, or one-quarter, Mexican; who apparently had traveled extensively away from his homeland; and who in all probability had no training in traditional theology. The possible authenticity of the name "Bad God's Tower" or "Devil's Tower" is highly unlikely.

At least one writer has suggested that the name "Devil's Tower" indeed originated with Indian people, but only as a futile strategy. It should be emphasized, however, that this is an undocumented speculation. Norton claims that when Richard I. Dodge entered the Black Hills in 1875, "in violation of Indian treaty rights", Indian people responded to questions with "studied silence" and then

> When the great rock tower first loomed in sight, they told Dodge it was named, "with proper modification by our surveyors," the Devils Tower. In later years few could recall why this name was used. ... If it was meant to scare off these white explorers and those to follow, it did not. The new wave of American settlers did not believe that natural objects held supernatural powers (1981:10-11).

EUROAMERICAN EXPLORATION AND NAMING OF THE WESTERN LANDSCAPE

> *It never ceases to make me wonder why they want to change these native names. Our views, our perceptions of nature should be left as they are* (Lakota elder, at the 1998 consultation meeting, Belle Fourche, South Dakota).

Perhaps even more pertinent than American Indian ethnotoponymy to the potential authenticity of the name "Devil's Tower" is an examination of Euroamerican ethnotoponymy. In other words, we may need to ask whether the name "Devil's Tower" is more likely to have been derived from European culture than from American Indian culture, and if so, what principles of Euroamerican cultural logic it reflects.

A fundamental consideration in this regard is the supernatural fear and dread felt by many European people who found themselves in the North American wilderness. When Europeans "discovered" the western hemisphere at the close of the fifteenth century, it was by means of a daring venture beyond the ends of the world as it was known to them. They had gone from an environment predominantly characterized by urban centers and developed rural perimeters, into an area not only dominated by wilderness but recently mapped with inscriptions such as "here there be dragons." Native peoples of the Americas had, by contrast, been discovering the western continents in successive waves for at least ten thousand years and perhaps three or four times that span of time.

Unlike Columbus and the explorers who followed him, these diverse people entered the hemisphere at a relatively slow pace, perhaps traversing some areas quickly but more often settling at least briefly and learning the nature of the landscape and its resources before moving on. Over the millennia, the Americas became intimately familiar to Indian people. By contrast, European people in North America found themselves in a landscape thoroughly unfamiliar to them. The people they encountered were racially different from any seen before, and the cultural differences were even more jarring. Yet these discoveries went beyond mere difference, to a perception that a place fundamentally distinct had been found. It was not seen as part of the old, familiar world; it was seen, explicitly, as a "New World."

These comments are not intended to suggest that differences in perspective between Europeans and American Indians were simply a matter of differing environmental familiarity. Europeans brought with them a set of cultural precepts, grounded in Christianity, that biased their attitude toward the new environment. We find this attitude expressed by Cotton Mather, the famous Puritan preacher, in his teachings that North America was the refuge of the Devil. Mather referred to the Devil as "that old usurping *landlord* of America, who is, *by the wrath of God*, the prince of this world," and in regard to Indian people Mather declared that

> ...though we know not *when* or *how* these Indians first became inhabitants of this mighty continent, yet we may guess that probably the *Devil* decoyed those miserable savages hither, in hopes that the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ would never come here to destroy or disturb his absolute empire over them (Drake 1841:9).

As explained by Roderick Nash (1982), European people perceived the North American wilderness as an alien landscape, yet one that echoed the pagan heritage of Europe. Once Europe converted to Christianity, the beneficent spiritual forces previously inherent in wilderness came to be seen as negative; wilderness became the devil's territory, and in it the powers of evil held free reign. As Catherine Albanese (1990:35) comments: "New World nature, for Puritans, was a kingdom under Satan, and, preeminently, [Indian people] were his assistants."

There were always countercurrents in this perception. While some saw American Indian culture as evil, others speculated that Indian people were descendants of the Lost Tribes of Israel (ten Hebrew tribes that according to the Old Testament of the Holy Bible were taken into captivity by the Assyrians and thence disappeared from the historic record). Even then, they were seen as needful of salvation. Also, despite some who saw wilderness as evil, others perceived wilderness as a place of spiritual testing. We might note, in fact, that Col. Richard Irving Dodge was one who saw wilderness predominantly in the latter light; yet he modulated between romanticism and machismo. He compared the Plains to an ocean

> ...in its vast extent, in its monotony, and in its danger, [as well as] in its romance, in its opportunities for heroism, and in the fascination it exerts on all those who come fairly within its influence.m. The first experience of the plains ... is apt to be sickening. This once overcome, the nerves stiffen, the senses expand, and man begins to realise the magnificence of being.m. At no time, and under no circumstances, can a man feel so acutely the responsibility of his life, the true grandeur of his manhood, the elation of which his nature is capable, as when his and other lives depend on the quickness of his eye, the firmness of his hand, and the accuracy of his judgement (Dodge 1877:2).

Even more directly, in regard to thunderstorms on the Plains, he commented:

> Nowhere does a man feel more intensely the nearness and power of the Creator (1877:43).

Yet it must be kept in mind that this was a public monologue, ego-centered, on Dodge's part: he was, through his books, making open and public declarations on his manhood and his prowess. Just as firmly as Plains Indian religions teach that humans are a part of nature, so does the Judeo-Christian tradition teach that we are fundamentally apart from nature. Indeed,

C.S. Lewis defined nature as that which is "least specifically human" (Evernden 1992:19). In order to discern the deeper cultural attitudes of Euroamericans who explored New World terrain, we might turn to an examination of the names that, in Dodge's words, "happen to suggest themselves" to the initial explorers of an area (Dodge 1882:229).

Some western place names are, as Dodge (ibid.) suggested, either Indian names directly retained or rendered with "crude translations". Of more interest in terms of ethnotoponomy are those names that "suggest[ed] themselves." Of these, a key Euroamerican place naming category of pertinence to the present study is that relying on infernal imagery, i.e., names making reference to the Devil or to Hell.

Table 1 lists diabolic names worldwide, as gathered from two ready references. This is an available sample only and is by no means exhaustive, but even though the sample is probably not statistically valid it remains strongly suggestive. It will be noted that of 25 place names, none are in Europe; two are in the North Sea/Atlantic Ocean; two are in the Caribbean; one is in New Zealand; one is in Africa; one is in Central America; and eighteen (73.7%) are in North America. Of the North American place names displaying infernal imagery, sixteen (88.9%) are in the western United States.

Table 2 lists diabolic names in the western United States (Bartlett 1962, Urbanek 1988, Western Geographics 1991, DeLorme Mapping 1992). Fernando Cervantes stated that at least sixteen natural features in Wyoming have "Devil" or "Hell" in their names (Anonymous 1996); counting the three places known as "Hell's Kitchen," we have identified seventeen. Cervantes, who has written about the use of diabolic imagery in the New World (1994), suggests that

> Europeans sometimes strategically used the devil to demonize the Native American culture. Things considered sacred to the Indians were named devil or hell by the missionaries and other European settlers in an attempt to portray the native religion as evil (Anonymous 1996).

This is certainly one possible explanation for the frequency of infernal imagery not only in Wyoming, but elsewhere in the western United States, and it is an explanation that many American Indian people find convincing (see Hanson and Moore 1992:24). Yet a conspiracy, whether conscious or unconscious, hardly seems necessary. Features given names involving the Devil, or Hell, often display extreme topographic forms, and in several instances the historical circumstances of discovery clearly show why the name was chosen.

Perhaps the best example is that of the Devil's Scuttle Hole. This spot on the Snake River was judged impassable after several difficult attempts by members of one of John Jacob Astor's parties, seeking passage to the West Coast; in obvious frustration, "they gave it the indignant, though not very decorous, appellation of the Devil's Scuttle Hole" (Irving 1964:283).

Table 1. Diabolic Place Names, World-wide (references: Encyclopedia Britannica; Rand McNally 1991)

Place name	Location
Devil Mountains	Newfoundland, Canada
Devil River Peak	New Zealand
Devils Elbow	Missouri
Devils Garden	Utah, Arches National Park
Devil's Golf Course	California, Death Valley National Park
Devil's Hole	North Sea
Devil's Island (Ile du Diable)	Atlantic Ocean
Devil's Lake	North Dakota
Devils Paw Mountain	Arkansas
Devil's Peak	South Africa
Devils Postpile	California, Devils Postpile National Monument
Devils Slide	Utah
Devils Tower	Wyoming, Devils Tower National Monument
Devils Track Lake	Minnesota
Devil's Woodyard	Trinidad/Tobago
Diablo Canyon	Arizona
Diablo Heights	Panama
Diablo Lake	Washington
Diablo Range	California
Hell Creek	Montana
Hell Gate	New York
Hell's Canyon	Idaho, Oregon
Mount Diablo	California
Pointe du Diable	Martinique
Seven Devils Mountains	Idaho

The Devil's Scuttle Hole incident clearly describes a group of Euroamerican men feeling at odds with nature in ways that likely would have been culturally foreign to American Indians. It is reasonable to assume that similar feelings may have been involved in assignation of many of the infernal names in the western states.

Urbanek (1988) provides support for the latter interpretation, in the following comments on place names with infernal imagery:

- Devil's Basin, "badly eroded place,"
- Devil's Causeway, "canyon walls run sheer to the valley below,"
- Devil's Elbow, "dramatically eroded rock,"
- Devil's Gate Creek, "named 1880 for an imaginary devil's face in a cliff overhanging the creek,"
- Devil's Kitchen (Big Horn), "badland formation of weird shapes,"
- Devil's Kitchen (Natrona), "group of crazy forms,"
- Devil's Kitchen (Yellowstone), "extinct hot springs ... the home of bats,"
- Devil's Slide, "treacherous ground covered with loose rocks,"
- Hell Creek, "named about 1910 for a terrible road along the creek,"
- Hell Gap, "named for a fierce skirmish between Indians and whites," and
- Hell's Half Acre, "badland towers, spires, and caverns; many fantastic shapes."

The hypothesis that names of infernal imagery indicate a cultural stance involving fear of nature and identification of wilderness with evil can be taken too far. Specifically, it appears most useful in explaining nineteenth century naming; it seems to have far less utility much into the twentieth century. Names of climbing routes at Devils Tower are a good indication of this, as partly shown in Table 3.

Most of the diabolic names for climbing routes are relatively recent. "Devils Delight" is the oldest, the route having first been climbed in 1956; the others all appear to date between 1973 (El Cracko Diablo) and 1984 (Satan's Stairway). It should be stressed that on the whole, the names assigned to climbing routes are by no means taken seriously. Some routes are named for the individuals who pioneered them, or for technical characteristics of the climb, but others are light-hearted or facetious. Names expressing innuendo are nearly as common as diabolic names ("The Best Crack in Minnesota," "Kama Sutra," "Surfer Girl," "Maid in the Shaid," "Two Moons Over Hulett," "Four Play," "Carol's Crack," "Risque," and "Spank the Monkey"). Only two route names give recognition to Native Americans ("Mateo Tepee" and "Raindance").

Table 2. Diabolic Place Names in the Western United States

Place name	Location
Canyon Diablo	Arizona
Casa Diablo Hot Springs	California
Coulter's Hell	Wyoming
Devil's Backbone	Wyoming
Devil's Basin	Wyoming
Devil's Castle	California
Devil's Causeway	Wyoming
Devil's Cornfield	California, Death Valley National Park
Devil's Den	Wyoming
Devils Elbow	Missouri
Devils Garden	Utah, Arches National Park
Devil's Gate	Wyoming
Devil's Gate Creek	Wyoming
Devil's Golf Course	California, Death Valley National Park
Devil's Kitchen	Wyoming (3 locations in Big Horn & Natrona Counties, & Yellowstone Nat. Park, w/ this name)
Devils Lake	North Dakota
Devils Paw Mountain	Alaska
Devil's Pass	Wyoming
Devil's Playground	2; in California, Wyoming
Devil's Punchbowl	Wyoming
Devils Postpile	California, Devils Postpile National Monument
Devil's River	Texas
Devil's Scuttle Hole	Idaho
Devils Slide	Utah
Devil's Speedway	California, Death Valley National Park
Devils Tower	Wyoming, Devils Tower National Monument
Devils Track Lake	Minnesota
Diablo Canyon	California
Diablo Lake	Washington
Diablo Range	California
Dirty Devil River	Utah
Hell Creek	2; in Montana, Wyoming
Hell Gap	Wyoming
Hell's Canyon	Idaho, Oregon
Hell's Half Acre	Wyoming
Mount Diablo	California
Seven Devils Mountains	Idaho

Table 3. Climbers' Diabolic Names for Routes up Devils Tower (from Gardiner and Guilmette 1986, Steinmetz 1997, and displays at Devils Tower National Monument)

Beelzebub	Lucifer's Ledges
Daredevil Index	Satan's Stairway
Devils Delight	Sympathy for the Devil
Devil's Delight—Direct	The Devil Made Me Do It
El Cracko Diablo	The Route of All Evil

NAMING BEAR LODGE: A SEQUENCE

The earliest known map showing what appears to be the feature widely known to American Indians as Bear Lodge, but officially known at present as Devils Tower, is of uncertain date and authorship. It is thought by Linda Zellmer to have been based upon information from the fur trader John Dougherty, circa 1810-1814 (Ehrenberg 1971). The map may be in the hand of William Clark (of Lewis and Clark fame), but certainty on this point awaits handwriting analysis (Zellmer 1997). On various occasions, Zellmer has been cited as having estimated the date of the map as 1810-1812 (Laramie Daily Boomerang 1991), and 1814-1816 (Kiger 1996d). The crudely hand-drawn map, from the National Archives (Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, Record Group 92, Post and Reservation File, Map 281) shows two concentric circles with a dot in the center and the legend "Devils Mountain" alongside it. The feature is shown east of the Little Missouri River headwaters and north of the "Cheyene River."

Aside from this map—which presently remains more confusing than enlightening—there is no written information prior to 1850 which is pertinent to Bear Lodge. Table 4 summarizes information from early explorations in the Black Hills vicinity, from the 1743 La Vérendrye brothers' expedition until 1906, when the Devils Tower National Monument was established.

Brief discussion of reasons for the lack of early information may be useful. The Vérendrye expedition exemplifies two of these. While the party may have passed quite close to the Devils Tower vicinity (Flandrau 1925:20, Smith 1980), they may have been farther east (Odell 1942:43); regardless, there was no mention of the tower. This is not surprising, as the only record of the trip is what Odell (ibid.:49) calls Vérendrye's "vague, indefinite journal." (The Vérendrye expedition did describe a mountain referred to as "Montagne Gens des Chevaux"; some historians have speculated that this was Devils Tower, but Odell emphatically disagreed, insisting that it was Bear Butte instead [ibid.:157]). Not only were the records of many early explorations scanty; the purpose of those ventures did not focus on local resources and topography. Beginning in 1673, when Louis Jolliet and Father Marquette reached the mouth of the Missouri River, "and thought that by means of it they might discover the Vermillion or California Sea" (Nasatir 1930:2), exploration of the Missouri focused on finding an overland route to the Pacific.

In addition, progress was slow. The French did not make significant headway in exploration of the Missouri until more than fifty years after the Vérendrye expedition. It was in 1794-95 that Jean Baptiste Trudeau (Truteau) traveled far enough up the Missouri to reach the mouth of the Yellowstone (Nasatir 1990:109). By this time, a decade before the Lewis and Clark expedition was successful in finding an overland route west, another preoccupation had developed, i.e., finding an efficient route south from the Missouri River into New Mexico (ibid.:738-39). Still,

as late as 1846, maps such as one by Rufous B. Sage focused almost entirely on the Missouri River, because it was the primary route of travel.

Wilson Price Hunt in 1811 may also have traveled through the Black Hills (Irving 1964:205), although Becher (1976:15-16) doubts it. Others employed by John Jacob Astor probably did in subsequent years, but Astor, in his efforts to monopolize fur trading in the Pacific Northwest and Columbia River Basin, attempted to keep information about the travels confidential. Numbers of other trappers and traders also went through the Black Hills. Among them were Jean Vallé, François Antoine Larocque, Manuel Lisa, George Drouillard, John Colter (Coulter), John Dougherty, Jedediah Smith, Bill Sublette, and Edwin Denig. The cartographer A. H. Brue published information from Jedediah Smith and others (Morgan and Wheat 1954). Trappers and traders were often more interested in telling yarns and tall tales than in providing accurate accounts. An example may be found in Jedediah Smith having described the Black Hills as the place where he found a "petrified forest full of petrified birds which sang petrified songs" (Krause and Olson 1974:2).

Others in the general area were Stephen H. Long, an explorer with the Corps of Topographical Engineers (Bartlett 1962:333-34); Joseph N. Nicollet, also with the Topographical Engineers; Col. Henry Dodge and Enoch Steen, on a military mission; and Father Pierre Jean De Smet and Samuel Parker, both missionaries. None provided information pertinent to the tower, and until shortly before the Civil War the Black Hills were consistently misplaced on maps (Allen 1987:51). By the middle of the nineteenth century, references to the Black Hills in French disappeared in favor of the English term.

Table 4. Historical Explorations and Maps of the Black Hills, 1743-1906, With Names Ascribed to Devil's Tower.

Source	Date	Name ascribed; comments; map availability; reference(s)
La Vérendrye brothers	1743	**No name**; the travel route was up the Missouri and thru the Black Hills, perhaps farther east; no original map (Flandrau 1925; Odell 1942; Smith 1980; Ehrenberg 1987)
Jonathan Carver	1766-68	Missouri River shown, but imprecisely, with no indication of the Cheyenne or Belle Fourche Rivers; no interior details; map (Carver 1779)
Jean Baptiste Trudeau	1794-95	**Costa Negra** (Black Hills); no map viewed (Nasatir 1990)

Table 4. (continued)
Historical Explorations and Maps
of the Black Hills, 1743-1906,
With Names Ascribed to Devil's Tower.

Source	Date	Name ascribed; comments; map availability; reference(s)
Jean Vallé	1803-04	**Black Mountains;** maps secondary (reported to Lewis & Clark; Bloom 1928; Nasatir 1990)
Meriwether Lewis, William Clark	1805	**Cout Noir** in reference to the Black Hills; otherwise, no pertinent data, as the expedition stayed along the Missouri River; various maps but all are later—only one expedition journal included a map and it dated to 1795 (Thwaites 1959; Allen 1987; Wood 1987)
F. A. Larocque	1805	No mention of Black Hills; no map viewed (Burpee 1910; Larocque 1960)
George Drouillard	1807-08	Black Hills do not show on map (Hanson 1980)
John Dougherty (?)	1810-16 (?)	**Devil's Mountain**; map of uncertain authorship (Ehrenberg 1971; Zellmer 1997)
Wilson Price Hunt and "the Astorians"	1811	**Black Hills** mentioned, but no other pertinent details; maps kept secret (Irving 1964; Harrington 1939:167, 171)
Steven Long	1823	**Black Hills** shown on map but out of place; no further pertinent detail (Allen 1987)
Jedediah Smith	1823	Smith traveled thru the Black Hills but left no record of them (Sullivan 1936; Morgan 1953; Carter 1982)
A. H. Brue	1833	**Cotes Noires** shown for the Black Hills on Brue's map, but without further pertinent detail; several maps (Morgan and Wheat 1954)
Edwin Denig	1833-55	**Black Hills;** no map viewed (Ewers 1961)
Col. Henry Dodge, Lt. Enoch Steen	1835	manuscript map (Allen 1987)
Samuel Parker	1838	**Black Hills** shown on map, but out of place; no further pertinent detail (Allen 1987)
Joseph Nicollet	1838-39	map (Bray and Bray 1976; Wood 1987)
Pierre Jean de Smet	1840s	Despite a map with good general detail, the Black Hills are omitted (Allen 1987)
Rufous B. Sage	1846	**Black Hills** are incorrectly shown on map; no further pertinent detail (Allen 1987)

Table 4. (continued)
Historical Explorations and Maps
of the Black Hills, 1743-1906,
With Names Ascribed to Devil's Tower.

Source	Date	Name ascribed; comments; map availability; reference(s)
Lt. G. K. Warren	1855-56	**"Bears Lodge"** shown on 1857 map, first to show correct location of **Black Hills** (Hayden 1858; Allen 1987); referred to as **"Mato Tepi"** on sketch with Warren diary (Zellmer 1997).
William H. Emory	1857	**Black Hills** incorrectly shown on map; no further pertinent detail (Allen 1987)
Gen. R. F. Raynolds	1859-60	**Bear Lodge**; map by Raynolds and Maynadier (1867); (Stone n.d.t; Wood 1987)
George A. Custer	1874	**Bear Lodge** (following Warren and Raynolds); Custer barely entered Wyoming, but visited Inyan Kara; map by Ludlow (1874) (Krause & Olson 1974)
Asher & Adams	1874	**Bear Lodge** (map, Asher & Adams 1874)
William Ludlow	1874	**Bear Lodge** (map, Ludlow 1874)
Lt. Col. Richard Irving Dodge	1875	**Bear Lodge Butte** (Dodge 1876a, June 10 journal entry; also see Kime 1996); **Devil's Tower** on map by Schiverdtfeger (1875); name said by Dodge 1876b:95 to be from "Bad God's Tower"
Walter Jenney	1875	**Bear Lodge Butte, Mato Teepee**; no separate map from that of the expedition (Schiverdtfeger 1875); see Jenney and Newton et al. (1875) and Newton and Jenney (1880)
Henry Newton	1875	**Bear Lodge, Mato Teepee**; no separate map from that of the expedition (Schiverdtfeger 1875); see Newton and Jenney (1880)
Robert Benecke (photographer)	1875	**Bear Lodge**; no separate map from that of the expedition (Schiverdtfeger 1875); see Turchen and McLaird (1975)
Graphic Company	1875	**Bear Lodge** (map, Graphic Co. 1875)
G.W. Coulton, C.B. Coulton	1876	**Bears Lodge** (map, Coulton and Coulton 1881)
G. L. Gillespie	1876	**Bear Lodge, Devil's Tower** (map, Gillespie 1876)
D. N. Smith	1876	**Bear Lodge** (map, Smith 1876)

Table 4. (continued)
Historical Explorations and Maps
of the Black Hills, 1743-1906,
With Names Ascribed to Devil's Tower.

Source	Date	Name ascribed; comments; map availability; reference(s)
Wm. H. Jackson, Thomas Moran	1892	**Devil's Tower**; no map viewed (Moran 1893, 1894; Norton 1981)
V. L. Pirsson	1894	**Mato Teepee**; no map viewed (Pirsson 1894)
Rev. Peter Rosen	1895	**Okeeheedee-Paha, "Devil's Tower"**; no map (Rosen 1895)
I. C. Russell	1896	**MatotTeepee**; no map viewed (Russell 1896)
Thomas A. Jagger	1901	**Mato Tepee**; no map viewed (Jagger 1901)
Theodore Roosevelt	1906	**Devils Tower**; no map (Roosevelt 1906)

Mattison (1956:4) suggested that although G. K. Warren, in 1857, reported seeing "Bear's Lodge" through a spy-glass, "It is not known if he was referring to the Bear Lodge Mountains or to the Tower itself." The Crook County Historical Society (1981:2) supported Mattison in identifying Raynolds as the first white explorer to see the tower: "In 1859, W. F. Raynold's Expedition passed through the Black Hills and he wrote in his journal about seeing 'Bear Lodge' far in the distance up the valley of the Cheyenne, noting the singular peak rising like an enormous tower and from its resemblance to an Indian Lodge suggesting the origin of the title." Urbanek (1988:53) also accepts the Raynolds party as the "first white men" to see the tower. Mattison noted that "J. T. Hutton, topographer, and the Sioux interpreter, Sephyr Recontre" were the members of Raynolds' expedition who on July 20 actually reached the Tower (ibid.:5).

Mattison and others to the contrary, it is undeniably true that either Warren or members of his party did in fact see the tower. Four pieces of evidence support this. **First,** Warren's 1857 map shows the tower, labeled "Bears Lodge," in the appropriate position west of the Belle Fourche (Allen 1987:58). **Second,** with Warren's handwritten journal there is a drawing labeled "Drawing made from informations given by Mr. Morin to Lt. G.K. Warren." This drawing shows "Mato Tepi" on the "North Fork of Shyenne River," and it indisputably depicts the Bear Lodge butte, not the Bear Lodge Mountains (Linda Zellmer 1997). **Third,** P. M. Engle, topographer to the Warren expedition, also drew a sketch labeled "view from Inyan Kara Sept. 14, 1857." This shows Devils Tower labeled "Mato Tipi or Bear's Lodge" (Engle 1857). **Fourth,** only portions of Warren's diary (Warren 1857) have been published, but those suggest that the party went to Mato Tipi (Hanson 1996:149). Harrington (1939:171) correctly notes

that the Warren expedition was the first to map and record the "Sioux" name of Bear Lodge or Mato Teepee, even though the party did not actually reach the tower.

Subsequent to G. K. Warren and W. F. Raynolds having reported and briefly described "Bear Lodge," the name appeared on the map used by George Custer (Ludlow 1874); it also was used on a map available to the general public (Asher and Adams 1874). Some published sources, such as Rypkema and Haire (1977), are clearly erroneous in crediting Richard Irving Dodge with having been the first white man to see the tower. Notably, when Dodge first mentioned the tower, he used the name "Bear Lodge Butte":

> To the northwest the huge form of the Bear Lodge Butte dwarfed every mountain in sight. Inyan Kara of which Custer makes a good deal, was 1600 feet below us ... scarcely distinguishable except as a flat topped Mesa (Dodge 1876a, June 10).

As with his futile attempt to change the name Bear Butte to "Bare Peak," Dodge's coining of the name "Devil's Tower" was intentional; he clearly knew of the prior name. The name "Bear Lodge Butte" has been used by several others, including Jenney (1880), Blish and Bad Heart Bull (1967), Parks and Wedel (1985), and Little Eagle (1996); none cite Dodge as the source of that name.

Once Dodge went into print, he ignored the name that had been published on at least six maps, and that he himself had used in manuscript, and he assigned a different name to Bear Lodge. Dodge's description reads as follows:

> On the north side of the Belle Fourche, not far from the mouth of Inyan Kara Creek, in a country very broken, but the general surface of which is comparatively level, rises one of the most remarkable peaks in this or any country.
> An immense obelisk of granite, eight hundred and sixty-seven feet at base, two hundred and ninety-seven feet at top, rises one thousand one hundred and twenty-seven feet above its base, and five thousand one hundred feet above tide-water.
> Its summit is inaccessible to anything without wings. The sides are fluted and scored by the action of the elements, and immense blocks of granite, split off from the column by frost, are piled in huge, irregular mounds about its base.
> The Indians call this shaft 'The Bad God's Tower,' a name adopted, with proper modification, by our surveyors (Dodge 1876b:95).

Zellmer (1997) points out an editorial inconsistency: elsewhere in the same book, when discussing geology, Dodge (1876b:31) lists "Bear Lodge" along with several other igneous features.

It is curious that Dodge's journal makes no mention whatsoever of "Bear Lodge Butte" having any alternative names; "Bad God's Tower" and its "proper modification", "Devil's Tower," appear only in the published account of the expedition. It is perhaps even more curious that Dodge provides no American Indian term, either Cheyenne or Lakota, that could have been translated as "the Bad God's Tower." This suggests that the name may have been given to him in English; given the "excellent English" of Dodge's "Mexican Cheyenne half-breed" guide Romeo, the probability seems reasonably high that indeed Romeo was the source of the name.

Henry Newton and Walter Jenney, the geologists escorted by Richard Dodge and the 23rd Infantry, gave more attention to ethnographic data than Dodge. They echoed the Lakota name "Mato Tepi," as recorded on a drawing with G.K. Warren's diary (Zellmer 1997), with their own spelling, "Mato Teepee." Newton and Jenney (1880) were the first to publish the name "Mato Teepee," and after that, this name and its English Translation, Bear's Lodge, predominated for the next quarter-century.

Geologists were particularly inclined to accept Newton and Jenney's contention that the name Bear Lodge was "well applied" and should be retained (1880:221). Early exceptions who accepted Dodge's new name were a military engineer, Major G. L. Gillespie (who democratically used both names, "Bear Lodge" and "Devil's Tower," on his 1876 map); the artist Thomas Moran; and the missionary Reverend Peter Rosen. Rosen, however, provided the first and apparently only reputed translation of the name "Devil's Tower"; it was, he said, *Okeeheedee-Paha* (Rosen 1895:51), named after Okeeheedee, "the Bad Spirit." Rosen's assertion regarding the name "Okeeheedee" has never been verified by any other source, and it is likely to have been a "forced" translation, i.e., from English to Lakota rather than vice versa. Rosen's lack of understanding is shown by the fact that he went on to say that "Some of [the Indians], indeed, believed that Toon-kan, or Inyan, the stone god, made [the tower] his abode." Later, Dodge's English version, "Devil's Tower," was widely accepted not only by local Wyoming settlers but with apparent finality by Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States, who in 1906 assigned the name "Devils Tower" to the nation's first National Monument. (The apostrophe that had always been present before was reputedly lost as the result of a clerical error, according to Gunderson 1988:22.)

AMERICAN INDIAN KNOWLEDGE OF BEAR LODGE

An extended discussion of Plains Indian religion is beyond the scope of this study, and it is now recognized that much of the early "classic" literature is inadequate in its descriptions and attempted explanations (Hoover 1979:32-33). It is nonetheless appropriate to note certain concepts held in common by many Plains Tribes.

Plains Tribes often considered mountains, buttes and other elevations (such as islands in rivers) to be sacred. In some cases, such landmarks were generally seen as places of power, whereas in other instances only one or a few individuals within a Tribe might consider the place important due to personal success in vision questing (Parks and Wedel 1985:169). The identification of such places as animal lodges occurred among several Plains Tribes, although it may be that only the Pawnee characterized the lodges as places where individuals gained the healing power of multiple sacred animals (ibid.:152-53).

It should also be noted, with Hoover (1979), that Plains legends are generally more accessible than theological subtleties. This is not to suggest that legends are always lacking theological subtext, but rather that such meanings are often lost on the uninitiated.

This section of the study presents an overview of readily available stories, legends and traditions pertaining to Bear Lodge. Most of these have been published previously; a Mandan story was written from an oral account during the 1998 Tribal consultation meeting, and it may not have been published before. It is likely that many additional Bear Lodge stories exist, both published and unpublished. It should also be cautioned that not all Tribes having potential traditional affiliation with Devils Tower are represented here. For instance, Parks (1996) notes stories closely comparable to "the Girl who became a Bear" among the Assiniboine, Blackfeet, Hidatsa, Iowa, Plains Cree, Ponca, Sarci, and Wichita. Other Tribes that have comparable stories, as described in various sources, are the Piegan, Pawnee, Omaha, and Gros Ventres, and these stories may or may not involve Devils Tower. All that can be said at present is that the limited literature examined in regard to these Tribes produced no mention of the tower.

It should also be recognized that Tribes far afield from Devils Tower may share stories with similar or nearly identical motifs to those that explain the origin of the Tower. For example, the Onondaga tell a story of children who become the Pleiades; stories of a stretching tree are told on the Northwest Coast, in California, and among the Iroquois as well as on the Plains; and stories of people ascending to the sky on a chain of arrows are widespread among Plateau and Northwest Coast Tribes (Thompson 1929, Feldman 1965). Similar stories are also told among nearby Tribes such as the Blackfeet and the Wind River Shoshone, e.g., among the latter a story tells of Coyote attempting to seduce his daughters, who flee to the sky to become a star constellation (Hultkrantz 1981:14). This profusion of potentially pertinent literature makes for a difficult search in finding stories that actually refer to Devils Tower.

Arapaho

Several prominent sources on the Arapaho make no reference to Devils Tower (e.g., Dorsey and Kroeber 1903, Scott 1907). Legends have, however, been recorded. Although Arapaho territory was mostly well to the west of the Cheyenne River, the Bear's Tipi vicinity was frequented by Arapaho hunters and horse traders. The Arapaho were closely allied with the Cheyenne (Sundstrom 1996), and Mexican traders came to the Belle Fourche to sell blankets to the Arapaho in 1854 (Gunderson 1982, 1984). Dick Stone secured an account, dating to the first half of the nineteenth century, of an Arapaho man who had power over animals and lured buffalo, deer and antelope into a trap near Bear's Tipi by singing to them (Stone 1935-36:58, Shirl 1982:8).

In one Arapaho story (told to Dick Stone by Sherman Sage in 1932; Stone 1935-36:58), a girl was transformed into a bear; she chased after her sister and five brothers and fell on the sister, breaking her chest. The bear climbed onto a high rock (later known as Bear's Tipi) and told her family that she and her siblings would be transformed into seven stars (Shirl 1982:7, Gunderson 1988:37-38, NPS 1996).

Other Arapaho tales involve similar elements but apparently do not relate to Bear's Tipi. One describes the origin of the Pleiades when men ascended into the sky by kicking a ball. Another recounts the story of the "Bear Girl" with mention of people having climbed "a high mountain" in order to escape, but the mountain is not named nor does it grow to assist the people (Voth 1912:44, 49).

Yet another story, told by an Arapaho man, Clarence Smith, accounts for the origin of both the Pleiades and the Big Dipper, but it does not involve Bear's Tipi. The elder sister of six brothers was transformed into a bear during a game of tag. The bear pursued the brothers into their village, killing people, and the people fled. A young man attempted to placate the bear but this was fruitless; the bear pursued and when he reached the six brothers "he and the six brothers shot up toward the heavens as quick as a flash. The Great Spirit changed them into a group of seven stars. As for the bear, she followed them but landed toward the northern skies and was changed into a Great Dipper, which can be seen to this day" (Smith 1909:16-17).

Suggesting that oral traditions are being affected by extra-Tribal factors, one Northern Arapaho man commented, prior to the 1998 consultation meeting, "I think they added that part about the girls, in school, because they didn't use to talk about that." He went on to say that "long ago" people said "that rock would glow. I don't know how long ago it was, but maybe it was still cooling down, then."

Arikara

Although the Arikara are not treated in the Ethnographic Overview for Devils Tower National Monument (Hanson and Chirinos 1997), traditional knowledge of the area is clearly present among this Tribe. Arikara people hunted in the vicinity (Zeimens and Walker 1977, Gunderson 1982:5), and Devils Tower is considered a sacred site, a place where men went to fast and pray, by the Arikara (Parks 1996:146; Parks and Wedel 1985:169). Parks (1991, 1996) recounts four different Arikara stories of the girl who became a bear; broadly, the stories are nearly identical to those of the Kiowa, but the Arikara do not recall the name of Devils Tower (Parks 1996:146). In one Arikara story, the bear girl attacks her uncles rather than brothers (Parks 1991:4:733-36).

A particularly unusual Arikara story is entitled "When Bloody Hands Became an Eagle." In this legend, Bloody Hands transforms himself into an eagle and, to escape his grandmother, lands on the top of Devils Tower (Parks 1996:347-50).

Cheyenne

Northern Cheyenne people refer to themselves as "Tsetsestatse Na Suhtaio" because they consist of two bands, the Tsetsestatse and the Suhtaio. In some of the literature on Cheyenne traditions, one finds deployment of an ethnographic convention, which intentionally deletes mention of specific places. Thus Grinnell (1907) relates several stories that seem to relate to particular locales, yet they are never named; later, Grinnell shows that he is aware of actual locations, by commenting that "The scene of the stories is about those prominent buttes north and northeast of the Black Hills" (1908:320). Bear Butte is most clearly implied, but Bear's Lodge is also likely to be involved. The reticence to identify mythic locations is somewhat ironic; elsewhere Grinnell (1906) discussed specific Cheyenne place names, as applied to streams. It is possible that perusal of Grinnell's original notes could result in identification of additional legends pertaining to Bear's Lodge.

In one Cheyenne story (told to Dick Stone by Young Bird, in 1932; Stone 1935-36:61-61B), a man who became suspicious of his wife's absences from camp learned that she was consorting with a bear, in order to protect the others from its anger. Once the husband gained her confidence, he and the other men pursued the bear. It was so large that the men took refuge on a high rock, and the bear clawed the rock as it grew, carrying the men to safety. Eventually the men succeeded in killing the bear (Shirl 1982:12-13, Gunderson 1988:39-41).

In another version of the story (told to Dick Stone by Medicine Top in 1933; Stone 1935-36:63-63D), a man's wife was captured by a bear; he and his six younger brothers set out to rescue her. The youngest brother rescued his elder brother's wife, and when the bears began to pursue them he took a small stone and turned it into Bear's Lodge; after they killed the largest bear, eagles brought them back to the ground (Mattison 1956:4, Shirl 1982:16-18, Gunderson 1988:45-49).

Yet another version (from a Lame Deer MT newspaper, date unknown) tells of two girls, one of whom befriended a bear; the bear attacked the sister, and then began pursuing everyone else in the camp. The people climbed a rock tower, later known as Bear's Tower, and the bear left his claw marks on it as he tried to reach them (Shirl 1982:19-20).

Moore (1996:204) notes sacred Cheyenne narratives pertaining to seven brothers and the Pleiades, the latter being known as "*Manohotoxceo*" ("the bunch of stars"), and he mentions that the Pleiades figure in tribal ritual, but he reveals little else. Schlesier (1987:50) presents a version of the story in which the celestial bear *Maheonhovàn* comes to earth to punish people who have insulted bears by calling their name; when *Maheonhovàn* pursues a lone surviving girl the Pleiades (the seven brothers, *Manohotoxceo*) come to her aid. After the great mountain grew up to protect the girl, the bear paints her face with red clay and then begins hugging the mountain and attempting to throw it down. Schlesier notes that there are several endings to the story: in one, the youngest brother killed the bear; in another, the brothers fled back to the sky, taking the girl with them, and the bear followed; and in still another the shaman *Motseyoéf* made the mountain open up. The bear was brought inside and the mountain closed back; but the celestial bear "is still there, alive, waiting to be unleashed from her confinement to take revenge on those who are destroying the wild animal world" (ibid.:50-51).

Kroeber (1900:182-83) tells two different origin stories for the Pleiades. In one, seven dogs with a human mother became the Pleiades. In another, seven men on the warpath met a woman who adopted them as her brothers, and when she was taken by a buffalo to be his wife the men rescued her and then fled into the sky where they became the Pleiades. Another Cheyenne story relates how a girl and her brothers became the stars of the Big Dipper; this, too, does not involve Bear's Lodge (Stands in Timber and Liberty 1972:16-19, Goble 1989).

Bear's Lodge does not figure into Kroeber's versions of the origin of the Pleiades, but Major General H. L. Scott (n.d., 1920) mentions that the Cheyenne had a legend very similar to that of the Kiowa, involving girls who were transformed into the Pleiades (also see Norton 1981:26). Kroeber does, however, recount a story of a place known to the Cheyenne as Bear Lodge; it is a hole rather than a peak, and it is located in Yellowstone National Park (Kroeber 1900:188).

Randolph (1937:185-88) presents a Cheyenne version of the story with several unique elements. An "immense bear" appeared while two sisters were gathering wild turnips; the girls escaped, and with their entire village, fled to the west. They came upon "a great stone tower" with no trail to its summit. When the bear appeared "the older sister seized a stone knife and, digging small footholes in the sheer face of the rock, climbed to the top." The others in the group followed her, and the bear jumped and clawed at the tower but could not reach the people. "Once the force of his leap was so powerful, and his weight so great, that the bear almost upset the tower. It started to fall, swayed, and then settled slightly. After that, he could

not so much as shake it, although he dug his claws deep into the rock and roared furiously." Then the bear left.

Randolph goes on to relate that "...this band never ventured into the *Moxtav Hohona*—Mountains of the Black Stone—although they had been their best hunting grounds." "To this day the Cheyennes call the tower the 'Bear's Tower,' and the river that flows past its base the 'Bear's Tower River.' The older Indians say that it is still leaning slightly, just as it was left after being shaken by the bear. They point to the marks of the beast's claws, which may still be seen on the face of the rock" (1937:188).

There are yet other Cheyenne traditions pertaining to Bear's Lodge, traditions relating to the culture hero, Sweet Medicine. Sweet Medicine (also known as Sweet-Root, according to Grinnell 1908) secured the Four Sacred Arrows and taught everything to the Cheyenne people. After having lived four generations (Gunderson 1984), Sweet Medicine was with the people in a big village west of Bear's Lodge when he "knew his time had come" (Stands in Timber and Liberty 1972:39). Having prophesied the coming of the white man (see Grinnell 1923:2:379-81), their bringing of horses and cattle, and that the Cheyenne would give up their old ways and "in the end become worse than crazy," Sweet Medicine was left in a wooden teepee to die. Some years later people returned and found the teepee empty; the spot was marked with stones. There is some dispute whether this site was west of Bear's Lodge, or west of Bear Butte (ibid.:41).

Cheyenne people have recently re-established their connections with Bear Lodge; in 1981, they joined Oglala and Hunkpapa people for a special pipe ceremony at the National Monument (Devils Tower National Monument 1981, Gunderson 1982:98). They have, however, protested the difficulty of conducting ceremonies while having to compete with tourists and, especially, climbers (Brady 1996).

Crow

An elderly Crow woman, Kills-Coming-to-the-Birds, reputedly 117 years of age in 1932 (a grown woman when the stars fell in 1833), reported having gone to Bear Lodge "to worship and fast"; she saw a bear there. Bear Lodge was considered a holy place "because it was different from the other rocks, rising high up in the air instead of being on the ground" (Stone 1935-36:65).

Bear Lodge was a vision quest site for Crow men, who would build small rock houses called "dream houses" and lie in them with their heads to the east and their feet to the west (Stone 1935-36:65-65A, 67; Shirl 1982:9-10; Gunderson 1982:13-14, 1988:32).

After a young woman was urged by her sister to imitate a bear, she was transformed into one; she chased her sister and six male relatives up a pointed hill, from which they escaped to

become the stars of the Big Dipper (Lowie 1993:205-211). Bear Lodge is not named in this story, but it is the likely identity of the pointed hill.

Two girls pursued by a bear were rescued when the Great Spirit caused a rock to grow, carrying them out of reach of the bear. The bear's claw marks are seen on the rock, and the girls are still at the top of the rock (told by Rides the White Hip Horse to Dick Stone; Shirl 1982:9, Gunderson 1988:32, NPS 1996). In another version (told by a Crow Agency representative in 1980), only one girl was chased, and after the bear left the Great Spirit lifted the girl down from atop the rock and returned her to her people (Shirl 1982:11).

Note regarding the term "Sioux"

The word "Sioux" originated as a derogatory Chippewa term meaning "serpent" (Moore 1996:13), and it might best be avoided simply for that reason. When used in this study, the term is placed in quotes primarily to indicate a lack of specificity. Here, two "Sioux" bands, Dakota and Lakota, are discussed; several Lakota subtribes are also separately treated.

Dakota (a "Sioux" band)

"Dakota" is a term that must be approached with caution, as it was sometimes applied to any Siouan-speaking group in the Dakota Territory. This was especially true during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (e.g., Lynd 1864; Dorsey 1890; Wissler 1906, 1907; Beckwith 1930; Deloria 1932). Properly applied, it pertains to the Ihanktonwan or Yankton band (LaPointe 1976:2). When the context does not make clear that the Dakota band is intended, rather than "Sioux" in general, this study places the term in quotes. Scott (n.d.) credited the "Dakota" with the name "Mato-Ti" or "Grizzly Bear's Lodge."

Hunkpapa (a Lakota subtribe)

Bear's Tipi was considered sacred to the Hunkpapa (Shirl 1982:25). Hunkpapa people participated in religious ceremonies at Devils Tower National Monument in 1981 (Gunderson 1982:98).

Itazipco (a Lakota subtribe)

Bear's Tipi was considered sacred (Shirl 1982:25). The Itazipco were one of the groups living close to the tower before the birth of Sitting Bull (Gunderson 1982:39).

Kiowa

Of all the Tribes having origin traditions pertaining to the tower, Kiowa knowledge is arguably most remarkable. As pointed out by Harrington (1939:165), Kiowa memories early in the twentieth century unmistakably referred to Devil's Tower, a place not only 650 miles northwest of their historic area of residence, but also more than a century into their past. Kiowa people had not visited the place since prior to 1804.

Major General H. L. Scott of Fort Sill, Oklahoma Territory, was apparently the first Euroamerican to record a Native American origin story for the tower. The legend was told to him by a Kiowa scout, 1-See-O or 1-See-O-Plenty Camp Fireplaces, in 1897 (Scott n.d., 1920). In Scott's version, which has been published and recopied repeatedly (e.g., Denver Rocky Mountain News 1927, Sundance Times 1927, WPA n.d., Stone 1935-36:68-68A, Hunt 1941n376, Reimer 1981a, Shirl 1982:4, NPS 1996), seven girls (often called "the star girls") were chased by bears and rescued by a rock that heard their prayers and lifted them to the sky, where they became the stars of the Pleiades. The great rock was thereafter known as Tso-Aa, "Tree Rock." A Kiowa ledger book by Big Bow (1833?-1901) illustrates the story (McCleary 1997b).

In another Kiowa version, a girl was transformed into a bear, and she chased her six brothers and one sister until they were saved by the growing rock. In both stories, the bear (or bears) left claw marks on the rocks (Shirl 1982:4-6). In yet another version, a boy was transformed into a bear and began chasing his seven sisters; they climbed the stump of a great tree which grew, taking the girls into the sky where they became the stars of the Big Dipper (Momaday 1970:9 [see also umass.edu 1995], Albanese 1990:21, 23). Harrington (1939:174-7) relates a Kiowa story very similar, except with far more detail, to the one involving the girl who changed into a bear. A key detail added is that the children ascended into the sky from the top of the rock by climbing on arrows shot upward by one brother. In another version of the girl who is transformed into a bear, the big rock is known as *T'sotsedle* (Rock Stands) (Tsonetokoy 1998a:9). Still another version has the girl transformed into a bear named "*Sate-ahdle-mah*" chasing other girls who climb onto a rock which grows and is clawed by the bear. Then they jump off the rock and climb into a tree, which grows, until they become the stars of the Big Dipper (Tsonetokoy 1998b:1-2).

Still another Kiowa story is recorded in monument archives, and a summary of it was published by Shirl (1982:5); it was told by Vick Paddleknee, a visitor from Anadarko, Oklahoma. Having never visited the monument before, Mr. Paddleknee said he wanted to visit the tower "to relate it to the legend that his Grandmother had told him when he was a boy." In the story, there were six brothers and two sisters; one sister was very vain, and she painted her face and lay in the sun. A holy bear came and licked the paint from her face. This occurred several times; the bear bewitched the girl and she was transformed into a bear. As the brothers and other sister fled, the badlands of South Dakota were created. Across the Black Hills, a rock heard their prayers and rose into the sky, where the seven became the stars of the Pleiades. The story was concluded with a twentieth century twist (deleted from Shirl's rendering), as Mr. Paddleknee's sister commented that those seven Kiowas "have a unique honor—they were in orbit even before the Russians" (Benton 1960).

The story of the girl painting her face and being bewitched by a bear is a popular one among Kiowa people; two versions, one quite lengthy, are recorded in the Weston Labarre papers, from a 1935 expedition of the Santa Fe Laboratory of Anthropology (Tsonetokoy 1998c).

Parsons (1929:9-11) recounts an elaborately detailed story of "Star Girl," whose husband paints her face daily, only to have it licked off by her bear lover. After the husband and his cohorts killed the bear, the wife was transformed into a bear, whereupon she chased her siblings onto a rock, which called them to run around it four times, clockwise. The siblings became stars after the rock raised up and saved them. Another Kiowa story has the hero Sun-Boy or Half-Boy (who, being split in two, is sometimes referred to as the Twin Gods) being saved by the tower (Nye 1962:vii, 49-50).

Another Kiowa story involves only one girl being chased by a giant bear; she thwarts the bear by asking a small hill to turn into "a buffalo's entrails" which then prevent the bear from reaching her (Boyd 1983:2:92). Here, the geographic reference appears to be to the Black Hills generally, rather than to Devils Tower.

Momaday (1976) provides the single most profound account of Tribal connection with Rock Tree. He reports being named *Tsoai-talee*, "Rock Tree Boy," by the storyteller *Pohd-lohk*, and reveals that "The first notable event in my life was a journey to the Black Hills. When I was six months old my parents took me to Devil's Tower, Wyoming, which is called in Kiowa *Tsoai*, 'rock tree'" (ibid.:42). Momaday goes on to recount the origin legend of Rock Tree. He describes his great-grandmother's recollections of generations past, who "had come upon *Tsoai*, [and] had been obliged in their soul to explain it to themselves," and he imagines her satisfaction in knowing that "her grandson Huan-toa had taken his child to be in Tsoai's presence even before the child could understand what it was, so that by means of the child the memory of *Tsoai* should be renewed in the blood of the coming-out people" (ibid.:55).

Kiowa-Apache

The Kiowa-Apache people apparently revered Bear Lodge, and associated it with the Pleiades or the Big Dipper (Sundstrom 1996:186). The Kiowa-Apache land of the dead was said to be located in the Black Hills (McAllister 1955:162).

Lakota (a "Sioux" band)

Fallen Star was the son of a Lakota woman and a man from the sky. As a man he returned to the sky; seeing two little girls surrounded by bears, he instructed them to climb a small knoll, which under further instruction from Fallen Star began to grow. The bears clawed at the rock but could not reach the girls; pretty birds later carried the girls back down to safety (LaPointe 1976:66-67, Gunderson 1988:53-54). A very similar version of this story relates that eagles helped the girls back to the ground (Little Eagle 1996).

A young man once descended from the summit of Bear Lodge, bring a message from *Taku Wakan*; it instructed the Lakota people "to perform a prayer dance called: *Wiwayang Wachi*, (gaze at the sun while dancing)" (LaPointe 1976:68). This resulted in another name for Bear Lodge, *Wiwayang Wachipi Paha*, meaning Sundance Mounds.

A group of Crow warriors attacked a Lakota party worshipping at Mato Tipila. A bear came out of the woods and offered to fight the Crows; he gave all of the Crows' arrows to the Lakota (Shirl 1982:22).

Mandan

Although not included in the ethnographic overview prepared for Devils Tower National Monument (Hanson and Chirinos 1997), the Mandan people have traditions pertaining to the feature known to them as "Bear's Hat." A story was related as follows:

> There was a big flood. After it went down, the first relative who went to see if there was dry land was a bear. He was very lazy. He took his hat off and went to sleep, and that became Bear's Hat.

The narrator went on to explain that the "Sioux" see Bear as a wise person. One might say that a wise person is sleepy; he wakes up after dreaming and has more wisdom. A day later, the narrator told a more detailed version of the same story:

> Mythology tells us there was a great flood. *Mahdo* was a very wise spirit, "the Man with More Wisdom." When they would go to ask him, they had to wait, because he was sleeping, gaining wisdom through his dreams. Mandan people had a circle, built on Spirit Hill, near Vermilion, South Dakota. When the gate was opened they sent the most powerful animal out to find out where the water went. The Bear had a mystical hat. All that wisdom is still in the hat.
>
> There was a song that belonged to one of the Mandan chiefs, Four Bears. It belonged to him until he left, because of the smallpox. It is a stomp dance song, now; it talks about an encounter with a big bear and the people coming back with his hide. What they did over there meant conquering that mystic power; that sacred hill saved them.

This tradition bears a close resemblance to the Lakota recognition of the Great Bear as the God of Wisdom, *Hu Nonp*, "patron of wisdom, of medicine and of sorcery and the protector of all shamans and all medicine men and all magicians" (Jahner 1983:298).

Minneconjou (a Lakota subtribe)

Chief White Bull of the Minneconjou (Minneconjui) Band reported that Bear's Tipi was known by and important to all of the "Sioux" bands; in 1850, it was within the territory held by the Minneconjou, Hunkpapa and Itazipco Bands. "Honor men" of the Band went there to pray and fast, sleeping on sagebrush beds. The Minneconjou Band wintered at Bear's Tipi in 1852, 1864, and 1868. Some old "Sioux" chiefs are buried near Bear's Tipi (Stone 1935-36:55-55B, Shirl 1982:25-26).

White Bull disputed what he understood to be the Euroamerican presumption behind the name "Devil's Tower": "If there had been such a thing as a Devil living there when the Indians were there, all the Indians would be dead" (Shirl 1982:26). White Bull and Old Bull stated that there had been a war between the Crows and the Minneconjou, near Bear's Tipi. One hundred and eighteen years before (sometime before 1821), people had lived near Bear's Tipi and built their homes with rotten logs (Shirl 1982:27).

Erdoes and Ortiz (1984:225-27) present "a Legend of Devil's Tower" which they attribute only to the "Sioux." It is told, however, by Lame Deer, who is Minneconjou (see Lame Deer and Erdoes 1972). Before Lame Deer proceeds with the story, he echoes White Bull by saying:

> Of course, Devil's Tower is a white man's name. We have no devil in our beliefs and got along well all these many centuries without him. You people invented the devil and, as far as I am concerned, you can keep him (Erdoes and Ortiz 1984:225).

Lame Deer went on to say that two young Indian boys were lost on the prairie; for three days they wandered, and on the fourth day they realized they were being followed by Mato, a giant grizzly. The boys ran, but were unable to outrun the bear; they prayed to *Wakan Tanka*, the Creator, and suddenly the earth shook and began rising beneath them. The bear, with claws "as large as a tipi's lodge poles", dug into the sides of the column of rock, deeply scratching it on all sides, but finally he gave up and left. What happened to the boys atop "Bear Rock"? Lame Deer commented on the "mountain climbers" who had to be rescued from the summit of Devil's Tower by helicopter. He observed that "the Indians had no helicopters" yet "we can be sure that the Great Spirit didn't save those boys only to let them perish of hunger and thirst on the top of the rock." Thus "it must have been the eagle that let the boys grab hold of him and carried them safely back to their village. Or do you know another way?" (Erdoes and Ortiz 1984:227).

Oglala (a Lakota subtribe)

According to One Bull, nephew of Chief Sitting Bull, the Oglala made trips to Bear's Tipi to worship (Stone 1935-36:52-52B). In one instance, Sitting Bull, Crazy Horse, Red Cloud, Gall and Spotted Tail went to Bear's Tipi together (ibid.; Gunderson 1988:50). There are caves under Bear's Tipi (ibid.; Shirl 1982:23-24). In 1824, Oglala people lived at the base of Devils Tower along the Belle Fourche; the chief was Medicine Bag and his wife was Spotted Fawn. Red Cloud lived near Devils Tower after 1858 (Bryant 1972:3). It is recorded that the *tiospaye* of Crazy Horse gathered at Mato Tipi for the Sun Dance during summer solstice (Doll and Deloria 1994:16).

Oglala stories about Bear Lodge include "The Big Bear Fights" in which a holy bear is said to have joined the Oglala in a fight against the Crow; this was told to Dick Stone by Lone Man in 1933 (Stone n.d.2, 1935-36:51; Shirl 1982:22; Gunderson 1988:49-50).

Another Oglala story (told to Dick Stone by Short Bull in 1932; Stone 1935-36:50) involved a warrior who went to Mato Tipila with a buffalo skull, and after worshipping for two days he suddenly found himself atop the high rock. He prayed to the Great Spirit, fell asleep, and found himself back on the ground, at the door of a great bear's lodge; the buffalo skull remained atop the rock. This story has been published as generalized "Sioux" (Shirl 1982:21, Gunderson 1988:51-52, NPS 1996).

An exceptionally important American Indian rendering of topographic features in the Black Hills is a map drawn by an Oglala man, Amos Bad Heart Bull; it is remarkable for combining pictographic depictions of Black Hills features with cartographic depictions of features on the surrounding Plains (Lewis 1987:67). The map, reproduced in Blish and Bad Heart Bear (1967:289), shows *Mato Tipi Paha*, Bear Lodge Butte ("familiarly known to the whites as Devils Tower"), along the upper branch of the Cheyenne River. The drawing, as described by Blish, "indicates the towering cylindrical column of the strange formation and [has] near the base the sketchy outline of a bear's head" (ibid.:290). Lewis (ibid.) describes the drawing as "a test-tube-like shape inverted on the top of a sketch of a bear's head..." More readily accessible than Blish and Bad Heart Bear (1967), Gunderson (1988:42-43) has reproduced this extraordinary drawing.

Oglala people have been demonstrating their connection with Devils Tower National Monument for many years. Forty Oglala individuals traveled to Belle Fourche, South Dakota, from Pine Ridge in July 1956 to take part in a program called "Music on the Western Frontier." The Oglala people performed several dances, including the "Omaha Dance," as part of the 50th Anniversary Celebration for the national monument (McIntyre 1956a). The following month, several people from Pine Ridge staged dances for Sundance Day, part of the continuing 50th Anniversary Celebration (McIntyre 1956b). The performances were so successful that Oglala performers were recruited to appear in a subsequent program, in September (Koller 1956). By 1981, when the monument celebrated its 75th anniversary, Oglala people were no longer passively providing entertainment to the tourists. A group of Oglala and Hunkpapa people gathered at the monument for religious ceremonies, with spokesman Milo Yellow Hair describing the tower as "'A powerful medicine place, where people go to seek visions'" (Gunderson 1982:98). Oglala people have been active in the recent fight to show the sacrilegious nature of the name "Devils Tower." The reasoning was explained by Elaine Quiver, reporting the comment of another Oglala elder: "We should never name places with evil names because someday the children will grow up thinking this is right" (Levendosky 1996).

"Sioux" (undifferentiated)

Despite the derogatory origins of the term "Sioux" it is widely used in published literature, and not with derogatory intent. It is often used as a general term to cover all of the Tribes

constituting the *Oceti Xakowin* or Seven Council Fires, even by members of those Tribes (e.g., Hoover 1979, Doll and Deloria 1994).

Nora Reimer (1981b) related a "Sioux" legend which she described as "quite similar" to that of the Cheyenne (see the story above, as related by Shirl 1982). There were seven brothers; a bear carried the wife of the eldest to his cave. The youngest brother rescued the wife, and the bear pursued with "11 bears of which he was the leader." The youngest brother took a "little rock in his hand" and sang to it four times, and it grew to its present height. Bears tried to reach the brothers, who killed the bears; the brothers were brought down from the rock by eagles, and then they cremated the body of the bear leader. Andrews (1992) relates a "Sioux" story essentially identical to the Minneconjou story presented by Erdoes and Ortiz (1984); a much earlier version, lacking the rescue of the boys by eagles, is included in South Dakota Writers' Project (1941). A story very similar to the latter has recently been published by Bighorn (1998).

Wind River Shoshone

The extent of Eastern Shoshone tradition pertaining to Devils Tower remains inadequately assessed. The previous ethnographic overview commented that sacred narratives concerning the tower were not found during the literature review (Hanson and Chirinos 1997: 19), yet elsewhere the same study noted existence of a traditional Devil's Tower origin story involving "the Ten Sisters and the Bear" (ibid.:57). A Wind River Shoshone native language name for the butte has been published, along with indications that certain individuals regularly would travel such distances beyond core Wind River territory (Shimkin 1947:250). All of this suggests that, contrary to the ethnographic overview (Hanson and Chirinos 1997:9, 17), Devil's Tower was indeed visited by Eastern Shoshone people and recognized in their belief system. In addition, one Wind River woman has claimed in print that the Shoshone people call the tower "Grizzly Bear Lodge" (Mitchell 1997).

Although the information divulged remains sparse, a Shoshone elder noted that there is a spirit with horns that lives at the tower, which is currently known by a name which can be translated as "Bear Scratched His Way up There." This spirit is depicted in rock art, all the way down to South America, and white people called it a "devil." It is not a devil, but rather "a very strong spirit; to obtain it gives you supernatural powers." The elder mentioned his belief that white people saw the rock art around Bear Scratched His Way up There, misinterpreted it and came up with the name "Devil's Tower."

Hanson and Moore (1992:24) document that contemporary Shoshone ritual use of the tower includes fasting and seeking songs for use in other rituals such as the Sun Dance. This was confirmed by the Shoshone elder at the 1998 consultation meeting. What is known of Shoshone religion is consistent with all claims of affinity with the tower. Shoshone individuals participate in vision quest activities, and favor mountains and "hillocks or solitary rocks," especially those with rock art, for prayers directed toward nature spirits called *puha*

(Hultkrantz 1981:23, 34-35). *Puha* are positive spirits, although the more powerful ones can be very dangerous if treated inappropriately (ibid.:34). Also, Shoshone people are known to have an extensive lore on bears, "an animal species which apparently has fascinated them more than other animals"; for instance, Shoshone people have reported observing bears performing the Sun Dance (ibid.:149).

General Observations

In addition to the diverse stories about Bear Lodge, of which those described above are only a sampling, it has been given many names by different Plains Tribes. Previously published names are listed in Table 5; newly recorded names or new spellings of previously published names, from the present study, are listed in Table 6. Table 7 lists the various English translations for names of the tower.

Despite the diversity of stories told, one thing is nearly constant: that the tower is a place of spiritual refuge. It is a place of physical refuge as well, but the physical security of the summit (e.g., from bears) is often simultaneously dangerously isolated (i.e., so that people usually are unable to get down and resume normal life). Hence in most versions of the story, the girls (or brothers or uncles) who find physical refuge on the tower must continue their lives on a spiritual plane, as stars.

What must be emphasized is that no traditional story found—whether told by American Indian people or "the white man"—portrays the tower as anything sinister or evil. Hence the legends do not in any way reflect the current official name of the tower. The closest one can come to a story that might be misinterpreted in a manner supportive of the name "Devil's Tower" is the Cheyenne myth in which the celestial bear was imprisoned within the tower, where she awaits release to take revenge against those who destroy the animal world. If someone mistakenly thought the word for bear meant "devil," it would be possible to construe that the Devil was believed to be imprisoned in the tower. Later in this report, we discuss the possibility of such a mistranslation.

Table 5. Previously Recorded Tribal Names for Bear Lodge

Tribe	Place name (native language)	English translation; references
Arapaho	Woox-niii-non	Bear's Tipi (Stone n.d.1; (Gunderson 1988:38; Hanson and Chirinos1997:13)
Cheyenne	NarKovea	Bear's Lodge, Bear Tipi, Bear's Tower, Grizzly Bear's Lodge (Scott n.d., 1920; Shirl1982:20; Gunderson 1988:38; Hanson and Chirinos 1997:12, 20)

Table 5. (continued)
Previously Recorded
Tribal Names for Bear Lodge

Tribe	Place name (native language)	English translation; references
Cheyenne	Nakoevë	Bear Peak (San Miguel 1994, Sundstrom1996:182)
Crow	Dabicha Asow	Bear's House, Bear's Home, Bear's Lair (Shirl 1982:9; Gunderson 1988:56; San Miguel1994)
Crow	Dabiche Asow	Bears House (Hanson and Chirinos 1997:10)
Kiowa	T'sou'a'e, T,sou'ä'e	Aloft on a Rock (Harrington 1939; Hanson and Chirinos 1997:10)
Kiowa	Tso-aa, Tso-ai, Tsoai, Tso-i-e	Tree Rock or Rock Tree (Shirl 1982; Gunderson 1888:32; Momaday 1976; (Tsonetokoy 1998b)
Kiowa	Tso-tsedle, T'sotsedle	Rock Standing, Standing Rock (Tsonetokoy 1998a, 1998b; Harrington 1939:169 claims this termis not "properly applied to Devils Tower" but rather to a place in Oklahoma)
Kiowa	(?)	Bear Rock, Bear Lodge or Bear's Lodge (in English; Harrington 1939:169; McClearv 1997b)
Kiowa	(?)	Rock that Pushed Up the Boys (in English; Nye1962:vii)
Lakota or other "Sioux" Bands	Mato Tipi, Mato Tipila, Mata Tipi Paha	Bear Lodge, Bear Lodge Hill, Bear Lodge Butte, Grizzly Bear's Lodge (Black Elk 1986; Cassells et al. 1984; U.S. Senate 1986; Hanson and Chirinos 1997:13; Shirl 1982; San Miguel 1994; Giese 1996)
Lakota or other "Sioux" Bands	(?)	Bear Hill (Standing Bear 1932)
Lakota or other "Sioux" Bands	Mathóothipila, Mathóothipi, Mathóothi	Bear-Dwelling, Bear Tipi (Harrington 1939:169)
Lakota or other "Sioux" Bands	Wiwayang Wachipi Paha	Sundance Mound (LaPointe 1976:68)
Lakota or other "Sioux" Bands	Witchátchepahá	Penis Mountain (Harrington 1939:169)
Lakota or other "Sioux" Bands	Wicace Paha	Human Penis Hill (DeMallie 1988:x)

Table 5 (continued).
Previously Recorded
Tribal Names for Bear Lodge

Tribe	Place name (native language)	English translation; references
Lakota or other "Sioux" Bands	Hi"yà"kaghapahà	Mythic-owl Mountain (Harrington 1939:169)
Lakota or other "Sioux" Bands	Wanàghipahà	Ghost Mountain (Harrington 1939:169)
Lakota or other "Sioux" Bands	He Hota Paha	Grey Horn Butte (Giese1996, Loftus 1997)
Wind River Shoshone	(unknown)	(Hanson and Chirinos 1997:9)
Wind River Shoshone	wë'shaβe⅂ar**	Gourd-its-Butte (Shimkin 1947:250)
** These names are disputed. 'sh' substituted for 's circumflex'; 'a' substituted for backward 'c'.		

Not all of these names are verified by contemporary people. One published name in particular distressed Lakota people consulted for the present study. This was Witchátchepahà or Wicace Paha, "Penis Mountain." DeMallie (1988:x) credits Ella Deloria with having recorded the name, and Harrington (1939) had published essentially the same name. One elder called this name "derogatory" and advised that "It is insulting to Lakota culture" to name something after a part of the human body. Another elder commented that the name had come from white people; General Mills, she said, recorded in his diary that one of his troops "said it looked like you-know-what." Yet another elder explained that there was a mistranslation; the name that was misunderstood was *Ché Paha*, meaning "Crying Hill."

Table 6. Additional Native Language
Names for Bear Lodge

Tribe	Place name (native language)	English translation
Arapaho	θi'tYoo Ne'	"At the Altar"
Cheyenne	Na' koo! Veé!	Preferred spelling for Na Kovea, Bear's Lodge
Crow	Daxpitchée Awaasuua	Preferred spelling for Dabicha Asow, Bear's House
Lakota	Ché Paha	"Crying Hill"

Table 6. (continued)
Additional Native Language
Names for Bear Lodge

Tribe	Place name (native language)	English translation
Lakota	Chan-hoo-tah-ah	"Tree Stump"
Mandan	Mahdo Wakupe	"Bear's Hat"
Wind River Shoshone	Aguay Za-Quid-Ipe	"The Bear Scratched His Way up There" or "Bear Claw Markings" or "Bear Scratchings"

Moore (1984:308) makes clear that "Nako" is the name of the Bear (also see Schlesier 1987:50); previous renderings of "Bear's Lodge" in Cheyenne give the impression that the two words are "Na" and "Kovea." Moore explains that as a personal name, Bear occurs in a neutral zone between male and female, probably due to "some word play in Cheyenne between the words for bear and for mother. Many modern bilinguals pronounce the two words the same way—nako—although older people put a vowel contrast on the first syllable."

DEVILS TOWER AND THE WHITE MAN'S MYTHOLOGY

As shown above, many American Indian Tribes told stories accounting for the origins of Bear Lodge. Yet until recently, nearly all of these stories were recorded by Euroamerican people, and they showed varying concern for accuracy: Newell F. Joyner, in a candid letter to John P. Harrington of the Bureau of American Ethnology, remarked that

> There is a legend, credited to the Sioux, of three girls who were saved from the bear by the growing of the rock. They got down by making a rope of flowers which they had gathered. I know the person who concocted this legend at some public affair. He erroneously told the Kiowa legend which he had read; he forgot how it ended and when asked what happened to the girls, concocted the flower-rope theory. A newspaper man in the crowd recorded and published the story and attributed it to the Sioux. This has been reprinted numberless times (Joyner 1937).

Some years later, in an internal memorandum, Joyner identified the storyteller as Dick Stone:

> Mr. Stone told me that he forgot the ending and deliberately skipped that part; but someone questioned him and he facetiously remarked that since the girls had been gathering flowers, according to the legend, they must have made a rope of the flowers and let themselves down. A newspaper man in the audience published the legend and included Stone's impromptu ending. The story was given wide distribution. By the time I reached Devils Tower in 1932, the entire legend was discredited by students of Indian lore. They pointed to the 'un-Indian-like' ending (Joyner 1958).

Joyner went on to say that Stone undertook his massive effort to accurately record the diverse American Indian stories of Devils Tower as "penance" for having initiated this incorrect version of its origin; Shirl (1982:1) reiterates the story about Stone's efforts, but without identifying the "impromptu ending" that he crafted. Some examples of the girls' escape down the rope of braided flowers are Anonymous (n.d.), Beard (n.d.), Gilbert (1924), Torrington Telegram (1932), Gridley (1939:199-20), Hunt (1941:376), and Clark (1966:306). In most instances the girls are said to have been "Sioux" but in others (e.g., Gridley 1939) their Tribe is not identified.

Other supposedly "Indian" legends include certain elements that sound suspiciously like the Euroamerican imagination, rather than anything originating from American Indian people. An example is the following one, in which the girls, instead of becoming stars, take on angelic characteristics:

Table 7. English Language Translations of Tribal Names for Devil's Tower.

Place name (English)	Tribe(s)
Aloft on a Rock	Kiowa
At the Altar	Arapaho
Bear Claw Markings	Wind River Shoshone
Bear-Dwelling	Lakota
Bear's Hat	Mandan
Bear Hill	Lakota
Bear's Home	Crow
Bear's House	Crow
Bear's Lair	Crow
Bear Lodge	Kiowa, Lakota
Bear's Lodge	Cheyenne, Kiowa
Bear Lodge Butte	Lakota
Bear Lodge Hill	Lakota
Bear Peak	Cheyenne
Bear Rock	Kiowa
Bear Scratched His Way Up There	Wind River Shoshone
Bear Scratchings	Wind River Shoshone
Bear Tipi	Cheyenne, Lakota
Bear's Tipi	Arapaho
Bear's Tower	Cheyenne
Crying Hill	Lakota
Ghost Mountain	Lakota
Gourd's Butte	Wind River Shoshone
Grey Horn Butte	Lakota
Grizzly Bear's Lodge	Cheyenne, Lakota
Human Penis Hill (disputed)	Lakota
Mythic-owl Mountain	Lakota
Penis Mountain (disputed)	Lakota
Rock Standing	Kiowa
Rock That Pushed up the Boys	Kiowa
Sundance Mound	Lakota
Tree Rock	Kiowa
Tree Stump	Lakota

> Indian girls picking berries were surprised by bears and chased from the berry patches. They took refuge on top of a large low rock but fearing their haven was not a safe one, they offered up prayers to "The Great Spirit—Maker of All Things," to save them. Immediately the rock they were on started to move upward, carrying the girls out of reach from harm by their attackers.t... Indians in the village nearby, seeing the girls were safe, prayed to the "Great Spirit" to bring them down safely. As they watched and prayed the girls were given wings and they floated down safely into their mothers' arms. Through prayer this miraculous tower of safety was created to save their small daughters. ... (Johnson 1953).

Similarly, Robinson (1988) asserts that an "Indian legend claims that Satan himself beats his drum on the summit of the tower and creates thunder during the summer thunderstorms." Citing no data source and failing to identify the Tribe supposedly responsible for the legend, this article (published for a lay audience) lacks credibility except as a figment of the Euroamerican imagination. A similar story is attributed to the "Sioux" by Clark (1966:305); she says, however, that "the Thunderbird takes his gigantic drums to the top of the Tower, beats them, and thus causes the noise of thunder and the storms that follow."

At least some of these stories may have had Indian origins, with changes and elaborations made by the Euroamericans who retold the stories. There also are stories that are unmistakably Anglo-American in origin. One, not referencing Devils Tower but rather pertaining to the origin of the wild rose in the Black Hills, was written in "Indian style" despite clearly expressing sentiments derogatory toward Indian people. Details are not pertinent here, but the story tells how the first white arrivals to the Black Hills saved the Indians from disease and famine only to be killed by a jealous medicine man; from the ashes of their bodies, which the Indians burned, sprang the wild rose. This story was reportedly written by John M. Whitten and published in the Deadwood Pioneer in 1878; all original copies are believed to have burned in 1879 and the story was subsequently reproduced from memory by Hughes (n.d.). Shirl (1982:28-29) published this story, which was included in Dick Stone's manuscript (Stone 1935-36:49-49B).

Other stories seem little more than spoofs or intentional "tall tales." The first of these pertains to the Black Hill, generally, and the second, specifically to Devils Tower:

> There's a legend that Paul Bunyan made these mountains in the Winter of the Blue Snow. That winter his crew ate so many flapjacks he had boys with slabs of bacon strapped to their feet skating on the griddle to keep it greased. One day Babe, his fabulous blue ox, gulped down the flapjacks and red-hot griddle, then died of heartburn. Paul scraped a sizeable mound of dirt and rocks over the remains. Later, rains plowed out gullies that grew into gulches, then birds and chipmunks seeded them. And so the Black Hills were made (Case 1956:482).

> It seems that the Hulett boys did not have a tourist attraction. It also seems that Devils Tower used to be located down by the Pumpkin Buttes (south of Gillette, Wyo.). So the Hulett boys threw a big party for the Gillette boys at Spotted Horse. When the Gillette boys were drunk enough the Hulett boys hitched their horses to the Tower and pulled it toward Hulett. When they were almost home the harness broke so the Hulett boys left it where it is today. The Gillette boys have never gotten up the energy to come and pull it back. In the process of dragging it over here the bed of the Belle Fourche river was formed (Devils Tower National Monument n.d.).

Also in the category of "white man's mythology," we might include stories which, if indeed told by Indian people, are most likely to have been crafted in recognition of what white people were interested in hearing. One such story is the legend reporting that a great lake, surrounded by gold, exists in a cave beneath Devils Tower. The story supposedly came from an aged "Sioux" man in the 1890s, after being handed down for several generations; it told of Indians finding a passageway leading to a subterranean lake the shores of which were lined with gold and human bones. Some years later, even local newspapers were reporting the story with skepticism: "As regards the story of the great cave beneath the Tower, and the lake and the untold wealth of gold to be found there in, it reads about like the stories of the various 'lost' mines so familiar to the west" (Sundance Times 1934; copy in Stone 1935-36:6969B). Shirl (1982:31-32) includes this story. The story might be an elaboration on the traditional story of a cave beneath the sacred butte where Sweet Medicine received the Four Sacred Arrows. Yet the story of the cave, the subterranean lake and the gold may have simply been a fabrication by whites. Joyner (1937) told J.P. Harrington:

> The legend concerning the cave at the foot of the Tower is the result of many persons finding small caves under rocks... I know the man who likes to tell tall stories and who I believe originated the one about the lake under the tower.m. I am certain that attributing this to the Indian is a White man's prank.

In closing this section, we must briefly mention the most famous of the "white man's" myths of Devils Tower: the story related in the Steven Spielberg/Columbia Pictures film, "Close Encounters of the Third Kind" (for a serious treatment of the film as American cultural mythology, see Torry 1991). Filmed in May, 1976 and released in December 1977 (Robinson 1977, 1978), the film was an enormous box-office success. As a result, in addition to Bear Lodge's spurious connection with the Devil, a new association with space aliens was created in the public imagination (see Dillon 1991). Indeed, while the present study was underway, several acquaintances drew a blank when told that the author was doing research at Devils Tower--but they responded with immediate recognition once "Close Encounters" was mentioned.

ANALYSIS OF BEAR LODGE PLACE NAME HISTORY

Harrington (1939:169) is one of the few anthropologists to chronicle Indian place names for Bear Lodge that seem potentially connected to the "Devil's Tower" name. These are the names Hi"yá"kaghapahà, "Mythic-owl Mountain," and Wanághipahà, "Ghost Mountain," derived from a generalized version of the Mythic Owl's name. Harrington instructs the reader to "compare the English Devils Tower" with these, but says no more. The connection seems tenuous, at best. As explained earlier, owls and ghosts are minor spirits; neither qualifies as a "bad god" on a par with the beneficent forces.

One of the most intriguing possible explanations for the name "Devil's Tower" was first pointed out by Linda Zellmer (1994a, 1997; see Arave 1996), who suggested that the word "bear" may have been mistranslated "devil." This idea is most closely supported by two Lakota dictionaries. One was compiled by Paul Warcloud Grant (n.d.:12, 48); there, "Black Bear" is glossed "wah-ON-ksee-cha)" while "wah-KON-she-cha" is said to mean "Devil, Evil Spirit." Another dictionary (Williamson 1970:15, 48) gives an essentially identical pair of words; "Black bear" is shown as "wahanksica" and "Devil" as "Wakansica." Yet a third dictionary (Karol and Rozman 1971:6, 8, 19) identifies "devil" as "wakánshica" but for "bear" gives "mató"; for "black bear," "mató sápa"; and for "grizzly bear," "matóhota." It would seem that the two words "wahanksica" and "wakansica" could easily be misunderstood or incorrectly heard.

Three aspects of this explanation are, however, somewhat troubling. First, the supposed term for bear, "wahanksica," does not resemble the much more commonly cited Lakota word, "mato." Second, the ethnographic information clearly indicates that there is no indigenous concept of a devil, hence the presence of a Lakota-language word for devil (particularly prior to missionization, when Dodge coined the name "Devil's Tower") is questionable. Two of the three dictionaries that list the word "wakansica" are known to have been produced by missionary organizations, and it seems likely that the terms were "forced," i.e., that Lakota speakers were pressed to find a word that would correspond with the English word "devil." Third, during the 1998 consultation meetings, several Lakota speakers were unable to verify this hypothesis. The mistranslation hypothesis cannot be clearly rejected, yet it lacks firm support.

We are left with nothing but ambiguous potential support for an American Indian derivation, even via mistranslation, of the name "Devil's Tower." On the other hand, the marked Euroamerican proclivity for names laden with infernal imagery would be entirely consistent with a hypothesis that both the anonymous early source (Dougherty?) and Richard Irving Dodge selected "devilish" names without any basis beyond the extraordinary topography of the tower.

Few American Indian names for the tower can, by any stretch, be made to correspond with "Devil's Tower" except by means of a simple mistranslation, as per Linda Zellmer's suggestion; the majority of names in fact relate to bears, so from that perspective a mistranslation seems relatively likely. Complex misunderstanding of American Indian theological concepts is also possible, but only with regard to a few names such as "Mythic Owl Mountain" or "Ghost Mountain." The prevalence of bear-related names can be quantified; from Table 7, we see that of 33 names, 19 (57.6 percent) refer to bears. Considered another way, of seven Tribes with identified names for the tower, all seven (100 percent) have bear-related names and six of the seven (85.7%) have bear-related names in their native language. Only the Kiowa seem to lack a native-language name that is bear-related; their use of the names "Bear Lodge" and "Bear Rock" is recorded only in English.

Priority of Names

The matter of the so-called Dougherty map is, to be sure, puzzling, and it obviates the possibility of confidently stating that the term "Devil" was first applied to Bear Lodge by Richard Dodge, perhaps (as has often been alleged) without foundation. Even so, one must ask how John Dougherty and Richard Dodge might have independently devised names so similar when other names clearly were in use, and in all probability predominantly so. That it was independent may require some demonstration, but several lines of evidence support this while none suggests otherwise:

- **First**, although Dodge amply shows that he was by no means bound by previously ascribed names, there is the fact that Dougherty (?) recorded "Devils Mountain" while for Dodge it was "Devil's Tower."
- **Second**, no similar name appears in the historical record between Dougherty's map and Dodge's expedition.
- **Third**, there is no reason to believe that Dodge would have had access to Dougherty's map.
- **Fourth**, trappers' maps were systematically distrusted, and rarely used, by U.S. military explorers (Zellmer 1997). It is far more likely that Dodge carried the well-executed maps prepared by the Warren, Raynolds, and Custer expeditions, and that these (which bore the label "Bear Lodge") were the only maps that informed his journey.
- **Fifth**, that Dodge did indeed rely on maps from Warren, Raynolds and Custer is seen in his initial reference to Devil's Tower as "Bear Lodge Butte."

It should be noted that Dodge's disregard for previously published place names was never a matter of ignorance; he consistently demonstrated cognizance of prior names, and then proceeded to declare them misnomers. We have already described how he attempted to invalidate the name "Bear Butte" in favor of "Bare Peak." With regard to the Belle Fourche River, he proposed no alternative name but nonetheless declared the stream "sadly misnamed" (Dodge 1876a, September 21; Turchen and McLaird 1975:69). His opinion on the latter contradicted not only the French name, but also the Cheyenne and "Dakota" names *Ēpewohec* and *Wakpe Washte*, all of which mean "Beautiful River" (Odell 1942:5). Dodge also

disparaged the name "Black Hills," calling it an "insignificant title", but again he proposed no alternative (Dodge 1876a).

Even if the so-called Dougherty map is eventually verified as to date and authorship, it will remain without historic influence unless entirely new evidence is discovered. That eventuality, in turn, would require explaining away a sequence of names that seems clearly to indicate a complete lack of awareness of the "Dougherty" map at any time throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. With no reference whatsoever to the "Dougherty" map or "Devils Mountain" for some four decades, a very different term was brought forward for the tower: *Mato Tipi*, or "Bear Lodge." This name was then used, exclusively, for two decades, whereupon a single authority (R. I. Dodge) introduced another name, "Devil's Tower." The new name was rejected by the scientific members of Dodge's expedition, and "Bear Lodge" continued to be used by geologists, and others, for close to another two decades. Then the name "Devil's Tower" was used by an artist (Thomas Moran) and a missionary (Peter Rosen), and after the turn of the century, with Dodge's books having achieved wide circulation, it became the predominantly used name.

Between the time the tower first appeared on a published map in 1857, and the time the Devils Tower National Monument was created in 1906, "Bear Lodge" appeared on many more maps and was used by many more authors than "Devil's Tower." The name Bear Lodge clearly has historical priority over that of Devil's Tower.

Lack of Adoption/Complaints About the Name "Devil's Tower"

Table 4 shows that few authorities were initially willing to adopt Dodge's terminology for Bear Lodge. Particularly telling in this regard is that Henry Newton and Walter Jenney, despite their direct involvement in the expedition commanded by Dodge, continued to use "Bear Lodge" instead of Dodge's "Devil's Tower." It is difficult to avoid reading skepticism of Dodge in their comments on the topic:

> The Bear Lodge (Mato Teepee).—This name appears on the earliest map of the region, and though more recently it is said to be known among the Indians as 'the bad god's tower,' or, in better English, 'the devil's tower,' the former name, well applied, is still retained (Newton and Jenney 1880:220-21).

Several other publications, in the decades following Dodge's renaming of Bear Lodge, reverted to the "Sioux" language version of Bear Lodge, "Mato Teepee."

Years later, protests against the name continued. Major General H. L. Scott wrote:

> I felt outraged that Colonel Dodge should so violate precedent or explorers' ethics as to change the name in 1876 to "Devil's Tower", a name without taste, meaning or historical precedent—which received its vogue because there were

> no white people in the country when Warren and Raynolds made their reports but were coming in when Dodge wrote his work which was much sought after by the newcomers. I had the name "Bear Lodge" put back on the maps of the Department of Dakota with headquarters in St. Paul in those days and I am writing now to ask you to inform the people of Wyoming of the beautiful Kiowa legend about one of the most remarkable rocks in America and in the hope that good taste and historical precedent will appeal to the people of Wyoming to give its most remarkable rock its own aboriginal name (Scott 1920).

Attempted Reinstatement of the Name "Bear Lodge"

Major General Scott's hopes for reinstatement of the name Bear Lodge were taken up by others. A limited amount of correspondence on this topic has been located. In the late 1920s, Brigadier General W. C. Brown urged substitution of Bear Lodge for Devils Tower; Horace M. Albright, Director of the National Park Service, investigated the possibility. In a letter to Frank Bond, Chairman of the U.S. Geographic Board, Albright noted that the governor of Wyoming (Frank C. Emerson) and the chairman of the Wyoming State Geographic Board (Mr. H. G. Watson) opposed a name change, although he admitted that the State Historian (Mrs. Cyrus Beard) did not oppose it (Albright 1930). In fact, Mrs. Beard enthusiastically supported the change:

> I am wholeheartedly in sympathy with General Hugh L. Scott's suggestion about restoring the name "Bear Lodge" to what is now known as "Devil's Tower" in Crook County. Wyoming's nomenclature stands in great need of revision. ... I am ready to do anything I can to help out in this revision (Beard 1929).

Mr. Watson made clear the basis for his opposition to the name change:

> Up to the present time only hostility has been shown to any change in the name. ... The name Devil's Tower has been so thoroughly advertised that a change would practically destroy all the advertising which has been put out in the past (Watson 1929).

Albright added his own conclusion:

> I am inclined to agree with the majority as the name "Devils Tower" has now become well established and I fear that it would be difficult to secure recognition of any other name (Albright 1930).

PLACE NAME POLICY

There are those who would argue that names are harmless, and that what a place is called is of little consequence. This is the time-worn "sticks-and-stones-can-break-my-bones" viewpoint, which dismisses the substance of cultural content to names. A case can be made, however, that names do hurt, and that the name "Devils Tower" actively contributes to a misunderstanding of Native American religion and spirituality. Simply informed that Devils Tower is a site sacred to Indian people, the average person might easily fall back on residual cultural biases accusing Native Americans of devil worship. Even scholars favorably disposed toward nature religions have demonstrated their susceptibility to misinterpretations. Thus despite her recognition that American Indian religion is centrally focused on the human relationship with the earth, Catherine Albanese has written that:

> The Kiowa recalled the *sinister* Devil's Tower of the Black Hills (1990:21, emphasis added).

Albanese goes on to relate the Kiowa story of children being rescued from the bear by a giant tree, the stump of which became Devils Tower. In this story, one reasonably might see the bear as sinister, but the only thing sinister about the tower itself is the name that was bestowed by white people.

The name "Devils Tower" has also prompted adverse reactions from Christians, irrespective of American Indian religious issues. It would seem that some Christians might agree with the comment of a Kiowa man, who remarked that "Negative connotations to a name, you pass that on to succeeding generations." One instance of Christian reaction has been reported with a certain amount of humor; another caused no small amount of correspondence and a fair degree of consternation within the Department of the Interior:

> In 1956, a commemorative postage stamp was issued in recognition of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Devils Tower National Monument. The stamp depicted the tower and bore the legend DEVILS TOWER. The monument superintendent reported an incident involving the stamp in his monthly report:
>
> > We have received a number of newspaper clippings from throughout the United States regarding a Des Moines woman who bought a sheet of Devils Tower postage stamps at her local post office. She returned them advising that she wanted them for church work and the Devils Tower ones were unsuitable (McIntyre 1956c).
>
> Two years earlier, a Tulsa, Oklahoma, newspaper had carried a story reporting the dream of a Tulsa churchman, 78-year-old Richard Colbert Mason, of erecting a 300' tall statue of Jesus Christ atop Devils Tower. Mason was quoted as having stated,

> But everything around there is named for the Devil—Devil's Gate, Devil's Slide, Devil's Den, Devil's Cave, Devil's Tower. Why not put Christ up there? ... That Devil's Tower has been sitting out there in the Black Hills for a million years and nobody paid any attention to it... Why shouldn't the Christians in this country use it to proclaim Christ? (Gold 1954).

Mason began active lobbying for his cause, first writing to the Secretary of the Interior (Mason 1956) and then to President Eisenhower (Mason 1958). A terse reply (Secretary of the Interior 1958) informed Mason that:

> ...the proposed work is in conflict with the policies laid down by the Congress under which the National Park Service was created and operates and in which we concur. ... We believe that the development which you propose of erecting the statue and constructing elevators to carry visitors to the top of the monolith would do irreparable harm to one of nature's wonders. In the circumstances, permission to erect the statue in Devils Tower National Monument must be refused and proceeding with its promotion is discouraged.

Mason was by no means discouraged; having been rebuffed at the highest levels, he apparently carried his campaign to the monument superintendent. Here, too, he was rejected. A letter informed Mason that

> It is regretted consideration cannot be extended to you [despite the] modified visualization of a church on top of the Tower serving as a pedestal or base for a statue of Christ... ...your proposal for such a development on top of Devils Tower would be in direct conflict with the long established policies of the National Park Service (Murphy 1964).

Whether a name change to something more apparently secular, such as Bear Lodge, might prevent future situations such as these is speculative. In the midst of the name change furor in 1996, however, one editorial letter suggested a name change to "Rock of Ages" (Campman 1996) while another asked, more broadly,

> Why can't a name be found that truly connotes the wonder and magnificents [SIC] of this formation, and, one incidentally, that might give some credit to its real creator, God? Let's remember that our western heritage is built upon solid Christian values (Meier 1996).

TRADITIONAL CULTURAL ISSUES AT DEVILS TOWER NATIONAL MONUMENT: A BRIEF UPDATE

Sometimes a report such as this will refer to "traditional cultural activities." During the 1998 annual consultation meeting among Tribal people and Devils Tower National Monument personnel, one Northern Cheyenne elder commented "Our traditional ceremonies are not 'an activity.' Where is it in the constitution that you have a right for recreation?" The point is well taken, and here we avoid that word insofar as possible.

One issue not dealt with here in any depth is climbing. The issue is complex, and is being dealt with in the federal courts; most recently, Devils Tower National Monument has been upheld in its Final Climbing Management Plan. Also, Hanson and Moore (1992) have written a report comparing and contrasting the perceptions of American Indians and climbers in regard to climbing activities. The Wyoming District Court supported the monument's right to request a voluntary moratorium on climbing in June, the peak month for American Indian ceremonies within the monument, although the monument was advised against attempting any mandatory ban on commercial climbing (U.S. District Court 1998). The court also determined that the monument's efforts to educate visitors have caused no injury. In upholding the monument's right to institute a voluntary climbing ban, the court saw that action as appropriate in removing impediments to worship. The court stated (ibid.:14) that

> The purposes underlying the ban are really to remove barriers to religious worship occasioned by public ownership of the Tower. This is in the nature of accommodation, not promotion, and consequently is a legitimate secular purpose.

There is little that could be said here to substantively add to understanding or improved management of the situation, although it should be noted that many American Indian people continue to feel that climbing is deeply offensive (Hanson and Moore 1992). One of the most succinct statements on this perspective is from Brady (1996):

> ...competition with tourists and other commercial interests, particularly climbing,, make it extremely difficult to conduct religious ceremonies, let alone a four (4) or five (5) day fasting ceremony.m. These ceremonies are held in solitude and secrecy. **Climbing the stone feature is very disruptive and offensively intrusive.** If we are to make use of the site in a meaningful way, some restrictions on climbing are imperative.m. For the United States not to acknowledge Bear Lodge as a sacred site (often referred to as "Devils Tower" by Western-Euro America) and accommodate the needs of our practitioners is cultural religious genocide.

At the 1998 consultation meeting, however, a consensus was reached that "the voluntary climbing closure during the month of June is working." It was stated that "The park will continue focusing on education so that climbers can make an informed decision on whether or not to climb the tower" (Cartwright 1998).

Consultation Between the National Park Service and Plains Tribes

The beginnings of informal consultation between Devils Tower National Monument and area Tribes are not well documented. A management plan from the late 1980s suggests that there was little attention to American Indian issues, and documentation of Sun Dance activities during the 1980s suggests apprehension on the part of park management (Robinson 1986, 1987; Pierce 1989). The 1990s, however, brought several situations that required a more active consultation process. Archaeological surveys require consultation, in connection with the Archaeological Resources Protection Act, and the monument had an archaeological survey conducted in 1991; also, in connection with the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), the monument was selected to video tape NAGPRA eligible museum objects in order to facilitate required consultation. The superintendent reported that "The video has been very well received and is an important statement about our intentions towards American Indian peoples" (Liggett 1996).

In 1995, a formal consultation process was initiated, as reported by Liggett (1996):

> In September formal consultation meetings were held in Spearfish, SD between the National Park Service and designated tribal representatives. The meeting was extremely productive for the National Park Service and the staff at Devils Tower and was very favorably received by American Indian participants. This meeting ranks as one of the high points for 1995.

The next consultation meeting was in 1996, and other meetings were held in the spring of 1997 and 1998. One issue that promptly emerged in 1995 was that of the name, as discussed in detail below. It is important to note from the outset that Tribes involved in consultation reached a formal consensus on "Bear Lodge" as the appropriate name for the tower, in 1998.

Several issues of concern were discussed during the 1998 consultation meeting. Most of these have some pertinence to the name issue, as they demonstrate from various perspectives how serious American Indian people are about the sacred nature of the tower. Hence it was considered important that this report include coverage on those discussions as well as that pertaining directly to the name. Even so, discussion of the related issues are presented here in Appendix C rather than in the main text of the report. Topics included in Appendix C are the Sun Dance (perhaps especially important in regard to historical connections with Bear Lodge), the Bigfoot Memorial Ride, offerings and appropriate means of disposition of offerings, the proposed Hulett Airport, and other issues.

The Name Issue

With the issue of the name having gained notoriety during the past few years, there is a danger that some observers might think it only a recent concern. This would be incorrect. Chief Luther Standing Bear (see Standing Bear 1934) wrote to Dick Stone, in a letter dated May 8th 1933, that

> Col. Dodge was ... wrong in saying the Indians called the place the bad God's tower. The Sioux had no word for Devil, for the devil and hades of the white man had no place in Indian thought (Stone 1935-36:39, Gardiner and Guilmette 1986:20).

As summarized by Tsonetokoy (1998b:5):

> Native American opposition to the name Devils Tower has been expressed for over a century but is finally being heard only recently. Native people have always felt that to name a sacred site with a name which has such negative connotations attached to it and for the local white communities to continue to support and perpetuate such an insulting name is akin to a "Freudian slip" disclosing deep seated prejudices and racial attitudes.

Many non-Indian observers have noted the disrespect inherent in the name "Devils Tower." As early as 1927, the Sundance Times commented on "Bear Lodge" previously having been "the official name for the Devil's tower," and echoed Major General Scott's opinion by calling Dodge's nomenclature "a name without meaning or historical precedent" (Sundance Times 1927). Daly (1977) noted that "Mateo Tepee doesn't mean Devils Tower"; Andrews (1992:55) calls it "a name given ... by white settlers who had little respect for Indian beliefs." Levendosky (1996) has also supported the American Indian perspective.

In 1996, following the consultation meeting among the Tribes and the National Park Service, Wyoming newspapers began to report that Indian people found the name "Devils Tower" offensive and wanted a name change (Tollefson 1996a). The National Park Service issued a press release noting that American Indian names for the tower include "Bear's Lodge, Grizzly Bear's Lodge, Bear's Tipi, Bear's Lair, Bear Lodge, Bear Lodge Butte, Tree Rock and Grey Horn Butte" (Devils Tower National Monument 1996a). Mayor Winnie Bush of Hulett set the tone of local response by urging "Let's not give [the monument] back to the Indians like we did Custer Battlefield" (Kiger 1996b). Area mayors gathered in protest (Kiger 1996c), and Mayor Bush expressed disbelief about "Devils Tower" being offensive because no Indians had approached the town requesting a name change (Tollefson 1996c).

With monument superintendent Deb Liggett traveling to Salt Lake City to make a presentation to the Western States Geographic Names Board, the opposition to a name change mobilized, and U.S. Representative Barbara Cubin promised to introduce a bill that would preserve the

name of Devil's Tower (Brown 1996). Cubin said she was "incensed" at the idea of changing the name, and she echoed Mayor Bush by stating "that she doesn't believe American Indians find the name Devils Tower offensive" (Kiger 1996e). She issued a press statement claiming that a name change "now or in the future would bring economic hardship to the neighboring towns who rely on the monument for their financial stability" (Staff and Wire Reports 1996).

At the U.S. Board of Geographic Names conference in September, 1996, there were opinions pro and con regarding a name change. The Bear Lodge Multiple Use Association (ironically named, as it turns out) urged that there be no name change (Kiger 1996f). At the peak of the public debate in 1996, the Gillette News-Record launched a "Name That Rock!" contest, which was light-heartedly declared to be "open to anybody, even federal employees!" (August 18 news clipping, in Devils Tower National Monument files; see copy reproduced in Tsonetokoy 1998b:9). The Casper Star-Tribune gave voice to some opinions in favor of, or at least not emphatically opposed to, the name change. LaFrance (1996) accused Barbara Cubin of "overzealous xenophobia," and reminded her that it was an "Easterner," Richard Irving Dodge, who had devised the name "Devil's Tower" to begin with; Charles Levendosky (1996) interviewed Lakota people and documented the offensive nature of the name. Other sympathetic views were published in the Rapid City Journal (Rebbeck 1996), the Salt Lake Tribune (Smith 1996) and the Denver Post (Purdy 1996).

Representative Cubin introduced H.R. 4020, to the 104th Congress, titled "To provide for the retention of the name of the mountain at the Devils Tower National Monument in Wyoming known as 'Devils Tower'." Senator Enzi introduced a companion bill, S. 802, to the Senate on May 23, 1997 (Congressional Record 1997). The bills languished, but Mrs. Cubin had made her concerns known.

That the name "Devils Tower" is considered offensive to American Indian people is more than amply demonstrated by comments made at the 1998 consultation meeting:

- To attach that name to a natural outcrop, of our Creator—the name of a bad spirit that opposes everything the Creator did... (Oglala Lakota)

- It's very derogatory for that name to be used for a sacred place. We also call it "the altar." (Northern Arapaho)

- Negative connotations to a name, you pass that on to succeeding generations. (Kiowa)

- We were not allowed to speak Lakota at school. Now, who is the devil? I want to know. (Oglala Lakota)

- No matter what name you change it, we'll always remember it as "Bear Lodge." (Northern Cheyenne)

- It's very disgraceful to us Indians to call that "Devils Tower." It's a very sacred place. (Northern Cheyenne)

- I've been to that tower, I won't call it what they call it. (Northern Cheyenne)

- The other name is just not proper, about the Devil. (Oglala Lakota)

- Some of us are Christian people, we don't believe in the Devil. We worship Mother Nature. I would prefer "Bear Lodge, the Sacred Tower." (Oglala Lakota)

- I have utter respect for every sacred site that has been mentioned Physically, we worship the ground because that's where we came from. (Ihanktonwan Dakota)

[Regarding placement of "Devils Tower" on the National Register of Historic Places:]

- We said no—not until the name is restored. (Oglala Lakota)

[Note: A determination of eligibility to the National Register of Historic Places was requested for Devils Tower on December 2, 1996, by Deborah Liggett. Additional information was submitted on January 24, 1997, and the Keeper of the National Register determined Devils Tower eligible to the National Register on February 6, 1997 (info from Wyoming Historic Preservation Office, Cheyenne WY; see Appendix D).]

There are written statements as well. Brady (1991) firmly stated that

> The name "Devils Tower" is **very offensive**, it is satanistic and has absolutely nothing to do with the Cheyenne religious cultural way of life.

Some Indian people express their disgust with the name through humor. One man remarked that the only Devils he knows are his brothers-in-law; another told about his first visit to the National Monument:

> First time I went to Devils Tower, I said 'Where is the Devils' Convention? She said, 'I don't understand.' I said, there are all kinds of Devils—red, black, white. She didn't get the joke. We were camping there (Oglala Lakota elder).

In previous years, Tribal representatives had nearly reached an informal consensus on the name Bear Lodge, but the group did not pass a formal resolution. A few representatives had been reticent to support a name that primarily represented the heritage of other Tribes, and there was a general feeling that it was also important to list the unique names for the tower from each Tribe. This year, the lengthy discussion kept returning not to the different tribal names or which should take precedence, but rather to the utter inappropriateness of the name "Devils Tower." As one Tribal elder remarked, recognizing the importance of a compromise among the Tribes, "I can see the logic, now: kick the Devil out of it."

Not long after that comment, the wording of a resolution was finalized and it was circulated around the meeting room. The portion dealing with the name read as follows:

> Belle Fourche, South Dakota June 6, 1998
> We, the undersigned, delegates and traditional leaders of the federally recognized tribes assembled here for a meeting on the sacred place known to the federal government as Devils Tower, hereby agree:
> (1) That Devils Tower should be restored to the name Bear Lodge and call upon the Federal Government to support such effort.

Twenty-one people signed, and no dissenting voices were heard. A copy of the resolution, with signatures, is reproduced in Appendix A.

There has been some discussion about the possibility of a compromise approach to a name change, changing the name of the physical feature to "Bear Lodge" but leaving the name of the monument as "Devils Tower" (Devils Tower National Monument 1995; see Farmer 1996, Levendosky 1996, Tollefson 1996a, Brooke 1997). This approach meets with little enthusiasm from Tribal members. Nearly all feel that the name is offensive regardless of how it is applied to anything in the vicinity of Bear Lodge. As one Lakota elder remarked, if you change one name and not the other, "you have a running battle between the Devil and the Bear."

CONCLUSIONS

This study substantiates the questionable origin of the name "Devil's Tower." Independent appearance of the name "Devils Mountain" in an unpublished map notwithstanding, the overwhelming bulk of available evidence, both historical and ethnographic, suggests that references to the devil were in all probability a mistranslation at best. If not, the name may have been created by the Euroamerican imagination rather than representing any sort of ethnographic name (as is the case with nearly a dozen and a half other places in Wyoming that have infernal names). There is an account suggesting that the name ascribed by Doughertya(?) was taken from his own imagination rather than from a reputedly ethnographic source; Tsonetokoy (1998b) describes a "rare account" telling of "a non-Indian explorer just after the turn of the 19th century [who] camped in the valley and experienced an eerie feeling which he attributed to 'demons' living around the Tower." This came from an article by Melmer (1996), but Melmer did not identify the source of his information.

There is, of course, nothing unusual about place names reflecting Euroamerican imagination rather than giving recognition to the American Indian heritage. More pertinent are two other considerations: the offensive nature of the name "Devils Tower," and the matter of explorer's protocol.

U.S. Board of Geographic policy states that place names are not acceptable if they are "derogatory to a particular person, race or religion" or are "names considered to be obscene or blasphemous in a present-day context" (Devils Tower National Monument 1995). In terms of this policy, the name "Devils Tower" is clearly inappropriate. Currently, the National Park Service juxtaposes the name "Devils Tower" with the active portrayal of Indian legends pertaining to the tower. This is done through posters, books and ranger presentations. There are also signs notifying visitors that the tower is sacred to Indian people, and as a result the National Monument risks having visitors mistakenly conclude that Indian people thought of the Bear as the Devil, or otherwise draw the false conclusion that Indians worship the Devil. Even the staunchest opponents of a name change have recognized that Indian people are united in opposition to the current name. For example, Senator Enzi's statement regarding S.802 says, "...they seem agreed upon ... what the monument should not be called: Devil's Tower" (Congressional Record 1997).

Standard explorer's protocol would call for the first published name to be accorded priority. The "Dougherty" map aside (it having never been published, and its date and authorship remaining conjectural), "Bear Lodge" is clearly the first-published name, a distinction it held for nearly a quarter-century. From that point of view, it is only coincidental that the first name, Bear Lodge, in fact reflects a genuine American Indian heritage while the other name does not.

Favorable action by the U.S. Board of Geographic Names would be required to change the name of the tower, regardless of who proposes a change. Although it was shown earlier that the Board was susceptible to local political pressure when the suggestion of a name change came up in 1929, a name change is potentially favored in that neither the Wyoming Board of Geographic Names nor the U.S. Board of Geographic Names have ever made a formal decision recognizing the name "Devils Tower" (Zellmer 1994b).

The intertribal agreement reached during the 1998 consultation meeting improves chances for the interested and affected Tribes to secure assistance from sympathetic U.S. Senators or Representatives who could sponsor name change legislation. For instance, Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell (R-Colo.) was instrumental in getting the name of Custer Battlefield National Monument changed to Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument in 1991. Whether "Bear Lodge" would be attached to the feature alone, or also to the monument, would be essentially a political decision. Continued resistance to a name change from certain local constituencies would be all but certain, but this is independent from what has been clearly demonstrated here:

- **First**, that the name "Devils Tower" is lacking in historic priority;
- **Second**, that the name has no ethnographic validity, despite the claims of Colonel Richard Irving Dodge, who coined the term;
- **Third**, that the name is highly offensive to American Indian people; and
- **Fourth**, that the name has the potential to contribute to cross-cultural misunderstandings.

In summary, this detailed study has demonstrated the overall accuracy of Major General Hugh Scott's characterization of the name "Devil's Tower" as "a name without taste, meaning or historical precedent."

REFERENCES

Albanese, Catherine L.
1990 Nature Religion in America from the Algonkian Indians to the New Age. Chicago History of American Religion Series, Martin E. Marty, ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Albright, Horace M.
1930 Letter from the Director, National Park Service, January 6, to Mr. Frank Bond, Chairman U.S. Geographic Board. Copy in the files of Linda R. Zellmer, Noble Science and Engineering Library, Arizona State University, Tempe AZ.

Allen, J. L.
1987 Patterns of Promise: Mapping the Plains and Prairies. In Mapping the North American Plains. F. C. Luebke, F. W. Kaye, and G. E. Moulton, eds., Pp.41-62. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Andrews, Elaine
1992 The First Americans: Indians of the Plains. New York: Benford Books, Facts on File.

Anonymous
n.d. The Devil's Tower. Typescript, 2 pages. University of Wyoming, Laramie, Hebard Library (Manuscript Collection, National Monument-Devils Tower, N213m--dt).

1988 Devils Tower National Monument Annual Report—1987. Devils Tower National Monument, Archives, File No. 1657, 1972-1995 DETO annual reports.

1989 Devils Tower National Monument Annual Report for 1988. Devils Tower National Monument, Archives, File No. 1657, 1972-1995 DETOlannual reports.

Anonymous
1990 Annual Report for 1989, Devils Tower National Monument. Devils Tower National Monument, Archives, File No. 1657, 1972-1995 DETO annual reports.

1992 Annual Report for 1991, Devils Tower National Monument. Devils Tower National Monument, Archives, File No. 1657, 1972-1995 DETO annual reports.

1996 Historian Discusses Devil's Tower Name Controversy. The Wyoming Catholic Register, October 1996, p.13. (Copy on file, Devils Tower National Monument, Archives, Research File 494.)

Arave, Lynn
1996 Tribes Say Devils Tower is Offensive Name. Deseret News, Sept. 10-11.

Asher & Adams
1874 Asher & Adams' Wyoming. Washington: Office of the Librarian of Congress. Scale 20 mi. = 1 in.

Associated Press
1981a Shot Fired into Sioux Camp Site. Sioux Falls SD: Argus Leader, Oct. 4.

1981b Snow Slows Indians' Departure from Camp. Rapid City SD: Rapid City Journal, Oct. 22.

Bartlett, Richard A.
1962 Great Surveys of the American West. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Beard, Mrs. Cyrus
n.d. Black and Yellow Trail Across Wy. Wyoming State Archive, MSS 599a.

Beard, Mrs. Cyrus
1929 Letter from the Wyoming State Historian, to Hon. Horace M. Albright. National Park Service, November 5. Copy in the files of Linda R. Zellmer, Noble Science and Engineering Library, Arizona State University, Tempe AZ.

Becher, Mary Jo
1976 The Early Days of Crook County, Wyoming. M.A. Thesis, History, University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh.

Beckwith, Martha Warren
1930 Mythology of the Oglala Dakota. Journal of American Folk-Lore 43:339-442.

Benedict, Ruth F.
1923 The Guardian Spirit Concept in North America. Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association 29.

Benton, Robert E.
1960 Tower Legend, Kiowa. Manuscript. Devils Tower National Monument, Archives, File No. 1671, DETO American Indian History.

Bierhorst, John
1985 The Mythology of North America. New York: William Morrow and Company.

Bighorn, Jordan
1998 How Devil's Tower Came to Be. Internet:http://www.cvnet.net/oyate/story2.htm

Black Elk, Charlotte
1986 Black Hills Steering Committee "Respect for the Earth." In Hearings on the Sioux National Black Hills Act, Pp.205-10. Washington DC: Government Printing Office.

Blish, Helen, and Amos Bad Heart Bull
1967 A Pictographic History of the Oglala Sioux. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Bloom, Lansing B.
1928 Death of Jacques D'Eglise. New Mexico Historical Review 2:369-79.

Boas, Franz
1963 [orig. 1938] The Mind of Primitive Man. New York: The Free Press.

Boyd, M.
1983 Kiowa Voices: Myths, Legends, and Folktales. 2 vols. Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press.

Brady, Steve C., Sr.
1991 Bear Lodge (Devils Tower). Riverton WY: Medicine Wheel Coalition for Sacred Sites of North America. Press release, Sept. 20.

Bray, E. C. and M. Bray (eds.)
1976 Joseph Nicollet on the Plains and Prairies. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press.

Brooke, James
1997 What's in a Name? At Wyoming Butte, a Culture and a History. New York Times, Tues. July 8, p.A8.

Brown, Charles
1996 Cubin Bill Would Block Devils Tower Name Change. Casper Star-Tribune, Sept. 4.

Brown, Dee
1970 Bury my Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West. New York: Holt Rinehart & Winston.

Bryant, Nelson
1972 Pioneer Life in Northeastern Wyoming: From Smoke Signals to Telstar. Kansas: Allen Publishing Co.

Burpee, L. J. (ed.)
1910 Journal of Larocque, from the Assiniboine to the Yellowstone, 1805. Publications of the Canadian Archives, No. 3. Ottawa: Gov. Printing Bureau.

Campman, Ted
1996 A Name Comes of Age. The Denver Post, Letters to the Editor, October 18.

Carter, Harvey L.
1982 Jedediah Smith. In LeRoy R. Hafen, Ed., Mountain Men and Fur Traders of the Far West: Eighteen Biographical Sketches, Pp. 91-108. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Cartwright, Chas
1998 Letter to Tribal Representatives, H32. Devils Tower National Monument.

Carver, Jonathan
1779 Travels through the Interior Parts of North America in the Years 1766, 1767, and 1768. Second Edition. London: Wm. Richardson in the Strand.

Case, Leland
1956 Back to the Historical Black Hills. National Geographic Magazine 110 (Oct.): 479-509.

Cassells, S. E., D. B. Miller, and P. V. Miller
1984 Paha Sapa: A Cultural Resource Overview of the Black Hills National Forest, South Dakota and Wyoming. Custer SD: USDA Forest Service.

Cervantes, Fernando
1994 The Devil in the New World: The Impact of Diabolism in New Spain. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Clark, Ella E.
1966 Indian Legends from the Northern Rockies. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Congressional Record
1997 S. 802, A Bill to Provide for the Retention of the Name of the Mountain at the Devils Tower National Monument in Wyoming Known as "Devils Tower." Senate, May 23.

Coulton, G. W. and C. B. Coulton
1881 Coulton's Montana, Idaho & Wyoming. Entered According to Act of Congress in the year 1876 in the Office of the Librarian of Congress at Washington. In Coulton's General Atlas of the World. New York: G. W. & C. B. Coulton & Co., No.84, No.85.

Daly, Lynn
1977 Mateo Tepee Doesn't Mean Devils Tower. The Rapid City Journal. Sept. 2, p.V-2.

Deloria, Ella C.
1932 Dakota Texts. New York: G. E. Stechert. [reprinted Vermillion SD: Dakota Press, 1978.]

DeLorme Mapping
1992 Wyoming Atlas & Gazetteer. Freeport ME: DeLorme Mapping.

DeMallie, Raymond J.
1982 (ed.) James R. Walker, Lakota Society. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

1988 Foreword. In Mary Alice Gunderson, Devils Tower: Stories in Stone. Glendo WY: High Plains Press.

Denig, Edwin Thompson
1961 Five Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri. J.C. Ewers, ed. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Denver Rocky Mountain News
1927 The Devil's Tower. July 24. Typescript copy in Wyoming State Archives, Devils Tower Vertical File.

Devils Tower National Monument
n.d. White Man's Legend of Devils Tower. As told to Ranger Thorson by Truman Metzel, a former Beulah, Wyo. teacher. Devils Tower National Monument, Archives, File No. 1680, DETO History.

Devils Tower National Monument
1981 Oglala Religious Pipe Ceremony in 1981. Devils Tower National Monument, Archives, File No. 1683 [various newspaper articles].

1995 Briefing Statement: American Indian Consultation, Monument Name. November 7.

1996a News Release, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Aug. 3, 1996.

1996b Monumental Events. Devils Tower National Monument. [December?]

Dillon, Costa
1991 Close Encounters: From Aliens at Devils Tower to Yogi Bear at "Jellystone," National Parks Set the Scene for American Pop Culture. National Parks 65:35-39.

Dodge, Richard Irving
1876a Report of Operations of the Force under his Command in Escorting to the Black Hills the Geological Expedition in Charge of [illeg.] Jenny also Statements in Detail of the Nature of the Country Explored, its Value, etc. National Archives. 1955 Also 1876, 3871 recd Apr 15 1876, Omaha Barracks. December 22, 1876, 1793 [illeg.] 1876, 1215, Dodge, R. I., Lieut Col. 23rd Inf., File with 1356 also 1875, April 10 1876 [illeg.], 2305, Recd also April 12 76.

1876b The Black Hills: A Minute Description of the Routes, Scenery, Soil, Climate, Timber, Gold, Geology, Zoology, Etc. New York: James Miller. [1965 facsimile edition, Minneapolis MN: Ross & Haines]

1877 The Plains of the Great West and Their Inhabitants: Being a Description of the Plains, Game, Indians, &c., of the Great North American Desert. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [New York: Archer House, 1959]

Dodge, Richard Irving
1882 Our Wild Indians: Thirty-Three Years' Personal Experience Among the Red Men of the Great West. Hartford CT: A. D. Worthington and Company.

Doll, Don, and Vine Deloria, Jr.
1994 Vision Quest: Men, Women and Sacred Sites of the Sioux Nation. New York: Crown Publishers.

Dorsey, G. A.
1905 The Cheyenne. Field Columbian Museum Anthropological Series 9(1, 2).

Dorsey, G. A., and A. L. Kroeber
1903 Traditions of the Arapaho. Chicago: Field Columbian Museum Anthropological Series 5:1-475.

Dorsey, James O.
1890 A Study of Siouan Cults. Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Report: 351-544.

1962 [orig. 1896] The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890. Abridged by Anthony F. C. Wallace. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Drake, Samuel G.
1841 Biography and History of the Indians of North America, from its First Discovery. Boston: Benjamin B. Mussey & Co.

Ehrenberg, Ralph E.
1971 Sketch of Part of the Missouri & Yellowstone Rivers with a Description of the Country &. Prologue (Fall):73-78.

1987 Exploratory Mapping of the Great Plains Before 1800. In Mapping the North American Plains. F. C. Luebke, F. W. Kaye, and G. E. Moulton, eds., Pp.3-26. Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press.

Engle, P. M.
1857 Sketches and Surveys Made During the Exploratory Tour of 1857 to Nebraska and Dakota under Lt. G.K. Warren, by P. M. Engle, Topographer to the Expedition. Copy on file at Devils Tower National Monument, Maps/ Drawings file.

Erdoes, Richard and Alfonso Ortiz (eds.)
1984 American Indian Myths and Legends. New York: Pantheon Books.

Evernden, Neil
1992 The Social Creation of Nature. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Farmer, Jared
1996 Devils Tower May Get a Second Name. High Country News 28(16), September 2. Internet: http://www.hcn.org/1996/sep02/dirHots2816.html.

Feldman, Susan (ed.)
1965 The Storytelling Stone: Traditional Native American Myths and Tales. New York: Bantam Doubleday Laurel Books.

Flandrau, Grace
1925 The Verendrye Overland Quest of the Pacific. Oregon Historical Quarterly 26(2).

Gale, Dennis
1981 Oglalas to Reach New Site Sunday. Sioux Falls SD: Argus Leader, Oct. 30.

Gardiner, Steve, and Dick Guilmette
1986 Devil's Tower National Monument: A Climber's Guide. Seattle: The Mountaineers.

Giese, Paula
1996 Arvol Looking Horse: Keeper of Original Lakota Sacred Pipe. http://indy4.fdl.cc.mn.us/~isk/arvol/arv_menu.html.

Gilbert, J. C.
1924 Devils Tower National Monument. The Dearborn Independent, Nov. 1, page 11. Copy in Wyoming State Archives, Devils Tower Vertical File.

Gillespie, G. L.
1876 Map of the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers and Their Tributaries, explored by Capt. W. F. Raynolds and 1st Lieut. H. E. Maynadier, 1859-60, Revised and Enlarged by Major G. L. Gillespie, U.S.A. Chief Engr. Military Division of the Missouri. Washington DC: U.S. War Department. Published by authority of the Secretary of War Office of the Chief of Engineers, U.S. Army.

Goble, Paul
1989 Her Seven Brothers. New York: Bradbury Press.

Gold, Freda
1954 Statue of Christ Atop Devil's Tower Visioned by Tulsan as Symbol of Peace. The Tulsa World, September 12. Copy on file at Devils Tower National Park, Archives, File No. 1681, Proposal to Place Jesus Statue on Summit.

Goodman, Ron
1990 Lakota Star Knowledge. Rosebud SD: Sinte Gleska University.

Grant, Paul WarCloud
n.d. Sioux Dictionary: Over 4,000 Words, Pronunciation-At-A-Glance. Sisseton SD.

Graphic Company
1875 The Graphic Map of the Black Hills Gold Region and the surrounding country in Dakota, Wyoming and Nebraska, exhibiting all the existing lines of communication and every topographical feature of interest to Science and Industry, Prepared from Official reports and Surveys. Published by The Graphic Co., 39 & 41 Park Place, New York.

Gridley, Marion E.
1939 Indian Legends of American Scenes. Chicago: M. A. Donohue & Company.

Grinnell, George Bird
1906 Cheyenne Stream Names. American Anthropologist 8:15-22.

1907 Some Early Cheyenne Tales. Journal of American Folk-Lore 20:169-194.

1908 Some Early Cheyenne Tales. II. Journal of American Folk-Lore 21:269-320.

1923 The Cheyenne Indians: Their History and Ways of Life. 2 vols. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Gunderson, Mary Alice
1982 They Came to Devils Tower. Manuscript. Presented in Partial Fulfillment of a Grant Provided by the Wyoming Council for the Humanities. Devils Tower National Monument, Archives, File No. 1663.

1984 Devils Tower. Wyoming Horizons. Casper Star-Tribune Magazine. August 5, pp.11-13. Wyoming State Archives. WPA Subject 1270, Crook County, Misc. Articles.

1988 Devils Tower: Stories in Stone. Glendo WY: High Plains Press.

Hanson, James A.
1996 Little Chief's Gatherings: The Smithsonian Institution's G.K. Warren 1855-1856 Plains Indian Collection and the New York State Library's 1855-1857 Warren Expeditions Journals. Crawford NB: The Fur Press.

Hanson, Jeffery R.
1980 The George Drouillard Maps of 1808. Archaeology in Montana 21(1):45-54.

Hanson, Jeffery R., and Sally Chirinos
1997 Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of Devils Tower National Monument, Wyoming. Denver CO: Intermountain Region, National Park Service Cultural Resource Selections No. 9.

Hanson, Jeffery R., and David Moore
1992 Applied Ethnography at Devils Tower National Monument, Wyoming. Arlington TX: Univ. of Texas-Arlington, Dept. of Sociology-Anthropology, for the National Park Service, Rocky Mountain Region, Denver CO.

Harrington, J. P.
1939 Kiowa Memories of the Northland. In So Live the Works of Men, D. D. Brand and F. E. Harvey, eds., Pp. 162-176. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Hayden, F.V.
1868. Geological report of exploration of the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers, under W.F. Raynolds, 1859-60. Washington DC: Government Printing Office.

Hollowbreast, Donald
1991 Untitled Manuscript, Given to Devils Tower Park Managers at a Meeting at Dull Knife College. Lame Deer MT, March 4.

Hoover, Herbert T.
1979 The Sioux: A Critical Bibliography. Newberry Library Center for the History of the American Indian Bibliographical Series. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Hughes, R. B.
nd. Legend of the Rose. Typescript. University of Wyoming, Laramie, Hebard Library (Manuscript Collection, Indian-Religion & Mythology, In2-r-m, Folder #1).

Hultkrantz, Åke
1981 Belief and Worship in Native North America. Christopher Vecsey, editor. Syracuse NY: Syracuse University Press.

Hunt, Lester C. (ed.)
1941 Wyoming: A Guide to Its History, Highways, and People. Compiled by Workers of the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Wyoming. New York: Oxford University Press.

Irving, Washington
1964 [orig. 1836] Astoria, or Anecdotes of an Enterprise Beyond the Rocky Mountains. Edited by Edgely W. Todd. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Jagger, Thomas A., Jr.
1901 Laccoliths of the Black Hills. Twenty-First Annual Report of the United States Geological Survey to the Secretary of the Interior, III.

Jahner, Elaine A. (ed.)
1983 James R. Walker, Lakota Myth. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Jenney, W. P., H. Newton, H. P. Tuttle, and V. T. M. Gillycuddy
1875 Preliminary Map, Black Hills. U.S. Geological and Geographic Survey. Department of the Interior.

Johnson, Ann Murrin
1953 Legend of the Devil's Tower. In untitled brochure. San Diego: Steele Printing Co. University of Wyoming, Laramie, Hebard Library (Manuscript Collection, National Monument-Devils Tower, N213m--dt).

Jorgensen, Joseph G.
1972 The Sun Dance Religion: Power for the Powerless. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Joyner, Newell F.
1937 Letter to John P. Harrington. Devils Tower National Monument, Archives, File No. 1699, Correspondence Between Supt. Joyner and John Harrington, Bureau of American Ethnology.

Joyner, Newell F.
1958 Memorandum, Newell F. Joyner, Museum Curator, to Superintendent, Sept. 9. Devils Tower National Monument, Archives, File No. 1701, Dick Stone Manuscript.

Karol, Joseph S. and Stephen L. Rozman (eds.)
1971 Everyday Lakota: An English-Sioux Dictionary for Beginners. St. Francis SD: The Rosebud Educational Society.

Kifaru Productions
1991 (?) Wiping the Tears of Seven Generations: The Documentary of the Bigfoot Memorial Ride. Video. Malibu CA: Kifaru Productions, www.kifaru.com.

Kiger, Valerie
1996a Tower Ceremony Draws Mixed Crowds. Gillette News-Record, June 23, pp.1, 10.

1996b Should Devils Tower Change its Name? Gillette News-Record, August 1, pp.1, 12.

1996c Area Mayors Gather to Protest Changing Devils Tower Name: Whether it's Gray Horn Butte or Bear's Tipi, Many Locals Don't Like the Idea of a Change. Gillette News-Record, August 14, pp.1, 11.

1996d Tower Name Debate Dates Back in History. Gillette News-Record, September 1, pp.1, 11.

1996e Cubin 'Incensed' by Tower Name Debate. Gillette News-Record, September 6, pp.1, 10.

1996f Tower Name Talk Earns Mixed Reaction. Gillette News-Record, Sept. 8, pp.1,12.

Kime, Wayne R. (ed.)
1989 The Plains of North America and Their Inhabitants, Richard Irving Dodge. Newark: University of Delaware Press.

Kime, Wayne R. (ed.)
1996 The Black Hills Journals of Colonel Richard Irving Dodge. Norman: U. of Oklahoma Press.

Koller, Joe
1956 Letter, July 9, to Mr. R. M. Bernd, Chairman Tower Anniversary Committee. Devils Tower National Monument. Archives, File No. 1659. DETO 50th Anniversary Celebration.

Krause, Herbert, and Gary D. Olson
1974 Prelude to Glory: A Newspaper Accounting of Custer's 1874 Expedition to the Black Hills. Sioux Falls SD: Brevet Press.

Kroeber, Alfred L.
1900 Cheyenne Tales. Journal of American Folk-Lore 13:161-190.

LaFrance, Katey
1996 Raising Hell About Devils Tower. Casper Star Tribune, September 20.

Lame Deer, John Fire and Richard Erdoes
1972 Lame Deer: Seeker of Visions. New York: Simon & Schuster Touchstone Books.

LaPointe, James
1976 Legends of the Lakota. San Francisco: Indian Historian Press.

Laramie Daily Boomerang
1991 Early Map Makers Overlooked Several Formidable Geological Formations in State. Laramie Daily Boomerang, July 24, p.8.

Larocque, F. A.
1960 The Missouri Journal. In Les Bourgeois de la Campagnie du Nord-Ouest. 2 volumes. L. R. Masson, ed. New York: Antiquarian Press.

Levendosky, Charles
1996 How Can a Place Named 'Devils' Be Holy? Casper Star-Tribune, August 18. [Internet: Commentary on First Amendment Issues. First Amendment Cyber-Tribune (FACT), http://w3.trib.com/FACT/1st.lev.devils.holy.html]

Liberty, Margot
1958-59 John Stands in Timber Manuscript. Copy on file, Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument, research library, Crow Agency MT.

Liggett, Deb
1996 Annual Report for 1995, Devils Tower National Monument. Devils Tower National Monument, Archives, File No. 1657, 1972-1995 DETO annual reports.

Little Eagle, Avis
1996 Paha Sapa: Sacred Birthplace, Birthright of the Sioux Nation. Indian Country Today, June 18-25, pages B2-B4.

Loftus, Margaret
1997 The Fight for Devils Tower. U.S. News Online, Outlook. Internet: http://www.usnews.com/usnews/issue/970616/16out2.htm.

Lowie, Robert H.
1954 Indians of the Plains. New York: McGraw-Hill.

1993 [orig. 1918] Myths and Traditions of the Crow Indians. Lincoln NB: University of Nebraska Press.

Ludlow, William
1874 Map of a Reconnaissance of the Black Hills, July and August, 1874, scale 1:760,320. With troops under command of Lt. Col. G. A. Custer, 7th Cavalry. Washington DC: Corps of Engineers.

Lynd, J. W.
1864 The Religion of the Dakotas. St. Paul: Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society 2:63-84.

McAllister, J. Gilbert
1955 [orig. 1937] Kiowa-Apache Social Organization. *In* Fred Eggan, ed., Social Anthropology of North American Tribes, Pp.99-169. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

McCleary, Tim
1997a Annotated Bibliography. Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument.

1997b Page from Ledger Book of Kiowa *Big Bear* (c.1833-1901),Titled "Pleiades + Bear Rock Origin Myth"; personal communication to David White, Aug. 11.

McIntyre, Raymond W.
1956a 1956 Monthly Narrative Reports, July. Devils Tower National Monument, Archives, File No. 1644.

McIntyre, Raymond W.
1956b 1956 Monthly Narrative Reports, August. Devils Tower National Monument, Archives, File No. 1644.

1956b 1956 Monthly Narrative Reports, November. Devils Tower National Monument, Archives, File No. 1644.

Mason, R. C.
1956 Letter to Secretary of the Interior, Dec. 11. Devils Tower National Monument, Archives, File No. 1681, Proposal to Place Jesus Statue on Summit.

1958 Letter to President Dwight D. Eisenhower, June 6. Devils Tower National Monument, Archives, File No. 1681, Proposal to Place Jesus Statue on Summit.

Mattison, Ray H.
1956 Devils Tower National Monument, A History. Cheyenne WY: Black Hills Areas Association.

Meier, Shirley
1996 Letter to the Editor. Sundance Times, September 12.

Melmer, David
1996 Devils Tower's Spring Closure Draws Lawsuit. Indian Country Today, March 26.

Mitchell, Diana
1997 Your Devils Tower is Our Bears Lodge. Casper Star-Tribune, Sunday, March 16, Section E.

Momaday, N. Scott
1970 The Way to Rainy Mountain. New York: Ballantine Books.

1976 The Names: A Memoir. Sun Tracks, An American Indian Literary Series, vol. 16. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Moore, John Hartwell
1984 Cheyenne Names and Cosmology. American Ethnologist 11:291-312.

Moore, John Hartwell
1996 The Cheyenne. Cambridge MA: Blackwell Publishers.

Moran, Thomas
1893 The Devil's Tower 1892. St. Louis MO: NPS, Thomas Moran sketch of Devils Tower National Monument, 1893, Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, NPS, JEFF-4222. Copy in the files of Linda R. Zellmer, Noble Science and Engineering Library, Arizona State University, Tempe AZ.

1894 Journey to the Devil's Tower. Century Magazine 25:450.

Morgan, Dale Lowell
1953 Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Morgan, Dale Lowell and Carl I. Wheat
1954 Jedediah Smith and His Maps of the American West. San Francisco: California Historical Society.

Murphy, Robert J.
1964 Letter, Superintendent Robert J. Murphy to R. C. Mason, Nov. 13, 1964. Devils Tower National Monument, Archives, File No. 1681, Proposal to Place Jesus Statue on Summit.

NPS
1996 Arapaho Legend, Crow Legend, Kiowa Legend, Sioux Legend. Devils Tower National Monument Homepage. Internet: http://www.nps.gov/deto.

Nasatir, Abraham Phineas
1930 Anglo-Spanish Rivalry on the Upper Missouri. Cedar Rapids IO: Torch.

1990 (ed.) Before Lewis and Clark: Documents Illustrating the History of the Missouri, 1785-1804. 2 vols. Lincoln NB: University of Nebraska Press, Bison Books. (orig. 1952, St. Louis: St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation.)

Nash, Roderick
1982 Wilderness and the American Mind. Third edition. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Newton, Henry and Walter P. Jenney
1880 Report on the Geology and Resources of the Black Hills of Dakota with Atlas. U.S. Geographic and Geologic Survey of the Rocky Mountains Region. Washington DC: Government Printing Office.

Norton, Stephen L.
1981 Devils Tower National Monument, Wyoming. Washington DC: U.S. Dept. of the Interior, National Park Service, Handbook 111.

Nye, W. S.
1962 Bad Medicine and Good: Tales of the Kiowas. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Odell, Thomas E.
1942 Mato Paha: The Story of Bear Butte, Black Hills Landmark and Indian Shrine; Its Scenic, Historic, and Scientific Uniqueness. Spearfish SD: Thomas E. Odell.

Parks, Douglas R.
1991 Traditional Narratives of the Arikara Indians. 4 vols. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

1996 Myths and Traditions of the Arikara Indians. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Parks, Douglas R. and Waldo R. Wedel
1985 Pawnee Geography: Historical and Sacred. Great Plains Quarterly 5:143-176.

Parsons, Elsie Clews
1929 Kiowa Tales. New York: American Folk-Lore Society, G.E. Stechert and Co.

Pierce, Bill
1989 Devils Tower National Monument, Statement for Management. U.S. Dept. of the Interior, National Park Service.

Pirsson, V. L.
1894 Description of the Character of the Igneous Rocks Making Up Mato Teepee and the Little Missouri Buttes. American Journal of Science 47:341-346.

Powell, Peter J.
1969 Sweet Medicine: The Continuing Role of the Sacred Arrows, the Sun Dance and the Sacred Buffalo Hat in Northern Cheyenne History. 2 vols. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Purdy, Penelope
1996 Devil's Tower is a Sacred Site to Native Americans. Denver Post, June 16.

Rand McNally
1991 The Comprehensive World Atlas. Stamford CT: Rand McNally.

Randolph, Richard
1937 Sweet Medicine and Other Stories of the Cheyenne Indians. Caldwell ID: Caxton Printers Ltd.

Raynolds, W. F. and H. E. Maynadier
1867 Map of the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers and Their Tributaries, explored by Capt. W. F. Raynolds and 1st Lieut. H. E. Maynadier, 1859-60. To accompany a report to the Bureau of Engineers. Washington DC: U.S. War Department.

Rebbeck, Dick
1996 Sacred Tower: Devils Tower Becoming Religious Mecca. Rapid City Journal, June 15, Pp.C1-C2.

Reimer, Nora
1981a The Legend of Devils Tower: The Kiowa Legend. In Crook County Historical Society, ed., Pioneers of Crook County, 1876-1920, P.4. Pierre SD: State Publishing Company.

1981b Cheyenne and Sioux Legends. The Kiowa Legend. In Crook County Historical Society, ed., Pioneers of Crook County, 1876-1920, Pp.4-5. Pierre SD: State Publishing Company.

Rice, Julian
1994 Ella Deloria's The Buffalo People. Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press.

Robinson, Homer A.
1977 1976 Annual Report. Devils Tower National Monument, Archives, File No. 1657, 1972-1995 DETO annual reports.

1978 1977 Annual Report. Devils Tower National Monument, Archives, File No. 1657, 1972-1995 DETO annual reports.

1986 1985 Annual Report. Devils Tower National Monument, Archives, File No. 1657, 1972-1995 DETO annual reports.

1987 1986 Annual Report. Devils Tower National Monument, Archives, File No. 1657, 1972-1995 DETO annual reports.

Robinson, Robert
1988 Tower of the Bad God. Trailer Life (July):128, 130.

Roosevelt, Theodore
1906 A Proclamation by the President of the United States of America, to set aside the Devils Tower National Monument. Internet http://www.nps.gov/deto/legs.htm (9/1/96).

Rosen, Rev. Peter
1895 Pa-ha-sa-pah, or the Black Hills of South Dakota: A Complete History. St. Louis: Nixon-Jones Printing Company. [Microfilm, Western Americana 1550-1900, Frontier History of the Trans-Mississippi West, Reel 459, No. 4616-4621. New Haven: Research Publications Inc., filmed from the holdings of Yale University's Beinecke Library.]

Russell, I. C.
1896 Igneous Intrusions in the Neighborhood of the Black Hills of Dakota. Journal of Geology 4.

Rypkema, Terry and Curt Haire
1977 Climbers Guide to Devils Tower National Monument. Devils Tower WY: Rypkema and Haire.

San Miguel, George L.
1994 How is Devils Tower a Sacred Site to American Indians? National Park Service. Internet: http://www.nps.gov/dcto/sacred.htm#2.

Schiverdtfeger, Wm.
1875 The Black Hills of the Cheyenne. Map of Explorations and Surveys Made Under the Direction of Lieut. Colonel R. I. Dodge. 23d U.S. Infantry.

Schlesier, K. H.
1987 The Wolves of Heaven: Cheyenne Shamanism, Ceremonies, and Prehistoric Origins. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Scott, Maj. General Hugh L.
n.d. Notes, vol I p.99. "Seven Star Girls." Typescript extract at University of Wyoming, Laramie, Hebard Library (Manuscript Collection, Indian-Religion & Mythology, In2-r-m, Folder #1). Also filed as Scott, H. L., Origin of the Bear Lodge, MSS 793, Wyoming State Archives.

1907 The Early History and Names of the Arapaho. American Anthropologist 9:545-60.

1920 Letter, Princeton NJ, May 10, to the President of the Historical Society of Wyoming. MSS 793, Wyoming State Archives.

Secretary of the Interior
1958 Letter to R. C. Mason, June 10-23 [?]. Devils Tower National Monument, Archives, File No. 1681, Proposal to Place Jesus Statue on Summit.

Shimkin, Demitri B.
1947 Wind River Shoshone Ethnography. Berkeley: Anthropological Records 5: 245-88.

1953 The Wind River Shoshone Sun Dance. Washington DC: Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 151, Anthropological Paper No. 41:397-484.

Shirl (Shirley Rathbun)
1982 First Encounters: Indian Legends of Devils Tower. (Stories collected by Dick Stone.) Gillette WY: Sand Creek Printing.

Smith, Christopher
1996 Tribes Say Devils Tower is No Name for a Pious Peak. Salt Lake Tribune, Sept. 4, Pp.A1-A2.

Smith, Clarence
1909 Legend of the Big Dipper. Carlisle PA: The Indian Craftsman 1(2):16-17.

Smith, D. N.
1876 Black Hills Map Including Nebraska and Part of Dakota, Wyoming, Colorado and Kansas. Burlington IA: D. N. Smith.

Smith, G. Hubert
1980 The Explorations of the La Vérendryes in the Northern Plains, 1738-43. W. R. Wood, ed. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

South Dakota Writers' Project
1941 Legends of the Mighty Sioux. South Dakota Writers' Project, Works Project Administration. Chicago: Albert Whitman & Company. [reprinted 1960, Sioux Falls: Fantab, Inc.]

Spier, Leslie
1921 The Sun Dance of the Plains Indians: Its Development and Diffusion. New York: American Museum of Natural History Anthropological Papers 16.

Staff and Wire Reports
1996 Cubin Tries to Thwart Tower Change. Gillette News-Record, September 4, 1996.

Standing Bear, Luther
1932 Letter to Dick Stone, June 21. Copy in Stone 1935-36:89.

1934 Stories of the Sioux. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Stands in Timber, John and Margot Liberty
1972 Cheyenne Memories. Lincoln: Bison Books, University of Nebraska. [orig. 1967 Yale University Press.]

Steinmetz, Peter N.
1997 Grade Index to Devil's Tower. Internet: http://www.bmc.jhu.edu/~peter/climbing/dtindex.html.

Stone, Dick
n.d.1 History of Devils Tower, 1804-1934. Cheyenne: Microfilm on file at Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department.

n.d.2 The Big Bear Fights. Typescript. University of Wyoming, Laramie, Hebard Library (Manuscript Collection, Indian-Religion & Mythology, In2-r-m, Folder #1).

1935-1936 Untitled, Dick Stone Manuscript. Devils Tower National Monument, Archives, File No. 1701.

Sullivan, Maurice S.
1936 Jedediah Smith: Trader and Trailbreaker. New York: Press of the Pioneers.

Sundance Times
1927 Devil's Tower Indian Legends of Interest. Vol. 18, no.4, November 10. Typescript copy in Wyoming State Archives, Devils Tower Vertical File. (Also on microfilm, Wyoming State Archives.)

Sundance Times
1934 Legend of Untold Wealth in Gold and Lake of Crystal Water Beneath the Devils Tower, an Interesting Yarn. Sundance Times, April 5. Typescript. University of Wyoming, Laramie, Hebard Library (Manuscript Collection, Indian-Religion & Mythology, In2-r-m, Folder #1).

Sundstrom, Linea
1996 Mirror of Heaven: Cross-cultural Transference of the Sacred Geography of the Black Hills. World Archaeology 28(2):177-189.

Terry, Frank
1897 Naming the Indians. American Monthly Review of Reviews 15:301-307. Internet: http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/modeng/modeng0.browse.html (1995).

Thompson, Stith (ed.)
1929 Tales of the North American Indians. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Thwaites, R. G. (ed.)
1959 The Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expeditions. 8 volumes. New York: Antiquarian Press.

Tollefson, Chris
1996a Devils Tower May be Renamed: Native Americans Find it Offensive. Casper StarTribune, Aug. 16:A1, A10.

1996b Locals Slam Name Change Idea. Casper Star-Tribune, August 16:A1, A16.

Torrington Telegram
1932 Indians Believe Giant Bears Clawed Grooves in Rock. Torrington Telegram, Torrington WY. February 11. Copy in Wyoming State Archives, Devils Tower Vertical File.

Torry, Robert
1991 Politics and Parousia in "Close Encounters of the Third Kind." Literature-Film Quarterly 19(3):188-96.

Tsonetokoy, Dewey D., Sr.
1998a (ed.) The Voices of Our Elders: Papers of Weston Labarre. Santa Fe Laboratory of Anthropology Expedition 1935. Carnegie OK: Preservation Times, the Newsletter on Kiowa History, Culture and Sociology 1(1)(Feb.):9.

1998b Devils Tower, Still a Sacred Site. Carnegie OK: Preservation Times, the Newsletter on Kiowa History, Culture and Sociology 1(2)(March):1-11.

1998c (ed.) The Voices of Our Elders: Papers of Weston Labarre, Santa Fe Laboratory of Anthropology Expedition 1935. Carnegie OK: Preservation Times, the Newsletter on Kiowa History, Culture and Sociology 1(2)(Mar.):12-14.

Turchen, Lesta V. and James D. McLaird
1975 The Black Hills Expedition of 1875. Mitchell SD: Dakota Wesleyan University Press.

umass.edu
1995 Kiowa Legend of Devils Tower. Internet: http://hanksville.phast.umass.edu/june95/stories/Kiowa.html.

U.S. District Court
1998 Bear Lodge Multiple Use Association et al, Plaintiffs, vs. Bruce Babbitt, Secretary of the Interior, et al., Defendant. United States District Court for the District of Wyoming, No. 96-CV-063-D. April 2.

U.S. Senate, Subcommittee on Indian Affairs
1986 Hearings on the Sioux Nation Black Hills Act. 99th Congress, Second Session, S.1453. Washington DC: Government Printing Office.

Urbanek, Mae
1988 Wyoming Place Names. Missoula MT: Mountain Press Publishing Co.

Voth, H. R.
1912 Arapaho Tales. Journal of American Folk-Lore 25:43-50.

WPA (Works Progress Administration)
n.d. "Devils Tower." Wyoming State Archives, WPA Subject 1270—Crook County—Misc. Articles.

Warren, G. K.
1857 Lieutenant Warren's Official Journal Commanding Explorations in Nebraska, 1857. Unpublished manuscript. Albany NY: Warren Papers, New York State Library.

Watson, H. G.
1929 Letter from the Chairman, Wyoming State Geographic Board, to Horace M. Albright, National Park Service, December 23. Copy in the files of Linda R. Zellmer, Noble Science and Engineering Library, Arizona State University, Tempe AZ.

Western Geographics
1991 Topographic Recreational Map of Wyoming. Canon City CO: Western Geographics.

Williamson, John P.
1970 An English-Dakota Dictionary: Wakicun Ka Dakota Ieska Wowapi. Minneapolis: Ross & Haines, Inc.

Wissler, Clark
1906 Some Dakota Myths, II. Journal of American Folk-Lore 19:195-206.

1907 Some Dakota Myths I, II. Journal of American Folk-Lore 20:121-131, 195-206.

Wood, W. Raymond
1987 Mapping the Missouri River Through the Great Plains, 1673-1895. In Mapping the North American Plains. F. C. Luebke, F. W. Kaye, and G. E. Moulton, eds., Pp.27-40. Norman: U. of Oklahoma Press.

Zeimens, George M. and Danny Walker
1977 Archaeology of the Eastern Powder River Basin, Wyoming. Prepared for the Bureau of Land Management.

Zellmer, Linda R.
n.d. Close Encounters: Mapping Devil's Tower. Draft manuscript.

1994a Letter to George L. San Miguel, Devils Tower National Monument. University of Wyoming, Geology Library, August 19. On file at Devils Tower National Monument.

1994b Letter to George L. San Miguel, Devils Tower National Monument. University of Wyoming, Geology Library, September 23. On file at Devils Tower National Monument.

1997 Noble Science and Engineering Library, Arizona State University, Tempe AZ; personal communication with David White, August 18; based in part on Zellmer n.d.

APPENDIX A

CORRESPONDENCE

Wyoming-South Dakota-North Dakota-Montana list

Chairperson
Northern Arapaho Business Council
[redacted]

Chairperson
Northern Arapaho Language and Cultural Commission
[redacted]

Francis Brown
[redacted]

Chairperson
Shoshone Business Council
[redacted]

A. Joyce Posey
Shoshone Tribal Cultural Center
[redacted]

Chairperson
Oglala Lakota Tribal Council
[redacted]

Elaine Quiver
[redacted]

Johnson Holy Rock
[redacted]

Joseph Swift Bird
[redacted]

Philip Under Baggage
5th Member
Oglala Lakota Cultural Committee
[redacted]

Chairperson
Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux Tribal Council
[redacted]

Brian Williams
Planning Assistant
Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux Tribal Council
[redacted]

Chairperson
Flandreau Santee Lakota Executive Committee
[redacted]

Chairperson
Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe
[redacted]

Raymond Uses The Knife
District 1 Council Representative
[redacted]

S. Bronco Lebeau
Tribal Preservation Officer, Cultural Office
[redacted]

Chairperson
Crow Creek Lakota Tribal Council
[redacted]

Tony Willman
Coordinator
Department of Natural Resources
Crow Creek Sioux Tribe
[redacted]

Clark Zephier
Pipe Carrier
[redacted]

Chairperson
Rosebud Lakota Tribal Council
[redacted]

Terry Gray
Tribal Preservation/NAGPRA Committee
Sinte Gleska University
[redacted]

Leroy Rattling Leaf
Tribal Council/NAGPRA Committee
Sinte Gleska University
[redacted]

Victor Douville
Tribal Historian
Sinte Gleska University
[redacted]

Scott Jones
Cultural Officer
Lower Brule Sioux Tribal Council
[redacted]

Chairperson
Lower Brule Sioux Tribal Council
[redacted]

Chairperson
Yankton Lakota Tribal Business and Claims Committee
[redacted]

Chairperson
Northern Cheyenne Tribal Council
[redacted]

Adeline Whitewold
Northern Cheyenne Tribal Council
[redacted]

Hugh Clubfoot
Cultural Commission
Northern Cheyenne Tribal Council
[redacted]

Jennie Parker
Cultural Commission
Northern Cheyenne Tribal Council
[redacted]

Steve Brady
Medicine Wheel Coalition
[redacted]

Charles Sooktis
Cultural Commission Vice-Chairman
[redacted]

Chairperson
Crow Tribal Counc
[redacted]

Chairperson
Fort Peck Tribal Executive Board
[redacted]

Carl Four Star
Director
Fort Peck Historic Preservation Office
[redacted]

Curley Youpee
Fort Peck Cultural Commission
[redacted]

Chairperson
Fort Belknap Community Council
[redacted]

Chairperson
Blackfeet Tribal Business Council
[redacted]

Chairperson
Confederated Salishland Kootenai Tribal Council
[redacted]

Mr. Francis Auld
Tribal Preservation Office
Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribal Council
[redacted]

Pat Hewankorn
Director
Kootenai Cultural Committee
Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribal Council
[redacted]

Chairperson
Spirit Lake Lakota Tribal Council
[redacted]

Paul Little
Director
Devils Lake Lakota Cultural Preservation Office
[redacted]

Chairperson
Three Affiliated Tribes Business Council
[redacted]

Elgin Crows Breast
Cultural Preservationist
Three Affiliated Tribes Business Council
[redacted]

Twila Martin Kekahban
Tribal Chairperson
Turtle Mountain Chippewa Tribal Council
[redacted]

Mr. Francis Cree
District 4 Councilman
DETO Tribal Representative
Turtle Mountain Chippewa Tribal Council
[redacted]

Chairperson
Standing Rock Lakota Tribal Council
[redacted]

Ladona Brave Bull Allard
Cultural Resource Planner
Standing Rock Sioux Tribal Planning
[redacted]

Oklahoma list

Chairperson
Kiowa Tribe of Oklahoma
[redacted]

Dewey Tsonetokoy
[redacted]

Sherman Chaddleson
[redacted]

Gordon L. Yellowman
Cheyenne and Arapaho Business Committee
[redacted]

Virgil Franklin
Cheyenne and Arapaho Business Committee
[redacted]

Chairperson
Apache Tribe of Oklahoma
[redacted]

Alonzo Chalepah
Cultural Commission/NAGPRA Committee
Apache Tribe of Oklahoma
[redacted]

Bobby Jay
NAGPRA Committee
Apache Tribe of Oklahoma
[redacted]

Applied Cultural Dynamics **David R. M. White, Ph.D.**
97 Moya Road, Santa Fe NM 87505-8867 U.S.A.
Phone 505-466-3444

MARCH 16, 1998
WYOMING/MONTANA/N.S.DAKOTA VERSION

(FACSIMILE OF ORIGINAL LETTER)

Dear --

I am writing to introduce myself and let you know about a project I am working on for the National Park Service. I have done several projects for the National Park Service, in California, Indiana, Louisiana, and Utah, and I have worked with Indian people all over the country.

As you know, there has been a significant controversy over the appropriate name (or names) for the rock formation now officially known as "Devils Tower." In the event that there are proposals to change the name of the Monument, and in order that the Park Service may be able to deal more knowledgeably and sensitively with the name issue, I have been asked to compile information on different names used historically, and by different groups of people.

At the present time, I am planning to travel from New Mexico up to the National Monument sometime in mid-April. I will contact you again a week or two before my travel and if possible, I would welcome an opportunity to meet with you or with other knowledgeable Tribal members you may be able to suggest. I know it is important to Indian people and the Park Service to accurately communicate the whole, accurate story of Devils Tower to the public, and it is with this in mind that I am contacting you so that I can learn as much as possible (and appropriate) about the situation.

Thank you for your attention on this matter, and if you have any questions please feel free to call me.

Sincerely,

Applied Cultural Dynamics **David R. M. White, Ph.D.**
97 Moya Road, Santa Fe NM 87505-8867 U.S.A.
Phone 505-466-3444

MARCH 16, 1998
OKLAHOMA VERSION

(FACSIMILE OF ORIGINAL LETTER)

Dear

I am writing to introduce myself and let you know about a project I am working on for the National Park Service. I have done several projects for the National Park Service, in California, Indiana, Louisiana, and Utah, and I have worked with Indian people all over the country.

As you know, there has been a significant controversy over the appropriate name (or names) for the rock formation now officially known as "Devils Tower." In the event that there are proposals to change the name of the Monument, and in order that the Park Service may be able to deal more knowledgeably and sensitively with the name issue, I have been asked to compile information on different names used historically, and by different groups of people.

Within a week or two, I will call to see if you would be willing to spend some time on the phone with me discussing the name issue, or if there are other knowledgeable Tribal members you might suggest that I call. I know it is important to Indian people and the Park Service to accurately communicate the whole, accurate story of Devils Tower to the public, and it is with this in mind that I am contacting you so that I can learn as much as possible (and appropriate) about the situation.

Thank you for your attention on this matter, and if you have any questions please feel free to call me.

Sincerely,

WYOMING/MONTANA/N.S.DAKOTA VERSION

April 14, 1998

Dear :

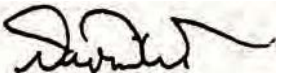
I am writing to follow up on my previous letter about the appropriate name (or names) for the rock formation now officially known as "Devils Tower." As previously mentioned, I have been asked to compile information on different names used historically, by different groups of people.

Before, I had planned to travel from New Mexico to the National Monument sometime in April, and expected I might be able to arrange meetings with a few people who lived within reasonable driving distance from the Monument. Then, George San Miguel notified me of the consultation meeting to be held in Belle Fourche, South Dakota, in June. Now, I am planning to attend that meeting instead of travelling in April, because I think it would give me the greatest opportunity to meet with numbers of Indian people concerned with this issue.

Sometime within the next few weeks, I will call to see if you also expect to be at the meeting. If so, I would welcome an opportunity to meet you at that time. Alternatively, maybe we could spend some time on the phone discussing the name issue.

If you have any questions about this, please feel free to contact me.

Sincerely,



OKLAHOMA VERSION

April 14, 1998

Dear :

I am writing to follow up on my previous letter about the appropriate name (or names) for the rock formation now officially known as "Devils Tower." As previously mentioned, I have been asked to compile information on different names used historically, by different groups of people.

Earlier, I had planned to travel from New Mexico to the National Monument sometime in April, but thought there would be no opportunity for me to meet personally with people who lived far from the Monument. Then, George San Miguel notified me of the consultation meeting to be held in Belle Fourche, South Dakota, in June. Now, I am planning to attend that meeting instead of travelling in April, because I think it would give me the greatest opportunity to meet with numbers of Indian people concerned with this issue.

Sometime within the next few weeks, I will call to see if you also expect to be at the meeting. If so, I would welcome an opportunity to meet you at that time. Alternatively, maybe we could spend some time on the phone discussing the name issue.

If you have any questions about this, please feel free to contact me.

Sincerely,

[Pages Redacted]

APPENDIX B

INTERTRIBAL RESOLUTION ON THE NAME OF BEAR LODGE

Belle Fourche, South Dakota June 6, 1998

We, the undersigned, delegates and traditional leaders of the federally recognized tribes assembled here for a meeting on the sacred place known to the federal government as Devils Tower, hereby agree:

1) That Devils Tower should be restored to the name Bear Lodge and call upon the Federal Government to support such effort; and,

2) That it is essential and mandatory that representatives of tribal governments be included in all consultation regarding the planning and construction of Hulett airport; and,

3) That Mr. Johnson Holy Rock, of the Oglala Lakota Nation, and the Gray Eagle Society will represent this group at the June 23, 1998 meeting of the city of Hulett, the Federal Aviation Administration, and the National Park Service.

1. John & Virginia Tarnesse (Shoshone) W.R.R., Wy.
Clark Zephier Crow Creek Sioux Tribal Representative
William C'Hair Northern Arapaho
[illegible] No. Arapaho
Hugh Clubfoot Northern Cheyenne
Joe Walks Along Sr. Northern Cheyenne
Jennie Parker Northern Cheyenne
Fremont Fallis Rosebud Treaty Council
Larry Gray Rosebud Sioux Tribe Cultural resource mgt Coordinator
Joseph Swift Bird Oglala Sioux. Grey Eagle Soc. Pine Ridge, S.D.
Charles [illegible] " " " " " " " "
Alice Swift Bird " Oglala Sioux Grey Eagle Soc. Pine Ridge S.D. 57770
Elaine Quiver
Dewey D. Tsonetokoy Sr. Kiowa Ethnographic Endeavor for Preservation
James Turning Bear Ihanktonwan - cultural resource team Fort Peck Reservation
Floyd Youngman - IHANKTONWA "CRAT" - FORT PECK SIOUX

June 6, 1998
Pg. 2
Belle Fourche SD

Steve Brady, Northern Cheyenne Tribe
LUKE BRADY, CRAZY DOG SOCIETY - NO. CHEY.
Otto Braided Hair Crazy Dog Society - Northern Cheyenne
CURLEY YOUPEE, FORT PECK Assiniboine And Sioux Tribes.

CONSULTATION MEETING PARTICIPANTS
JUNE 5-6, 1998
BELLE POURCHE, SOUTH DAKOTA

	NAME	REPRESENTING	ADDRESS	PHONE
	Jim Schlinkmann	National Park Service	[redacted]	
	Chas Cartwright	Devils Tower National Monument		
3	Fred S. Little Owl	Three Affiliated Tribes New Town, ND		
4	Riley Mitchell	Devils Tower National Monument		
5	David White	Applied Cultural Dynamics		
6	Fremont Fallis	Sicangu Treaty Council Rosebud Sioux		
7	Dewey Tsonetalay	Kiowa		
8	a virgene Tarness	Medicine Wheel Coalition (Shoshone)		
9	Barbara A. Sutter	N.P.S. Denver CO		
10	William O'Hare	Northern Arapaho		
11	[illegible]	M.W.C.		
12	Terry Cutty	Rosebud Sioux Tribe cultural resources staff		
13	[illegible]	Turtle Mtn. Band of Chip		

CONSULTATION MEETING PARTICIPANTS
JUNE 5-6, 1998
BELLE FOURCHE, SOUTH DAKOTA

	NAME	REPRESENTING	ADDRESS	PHONE
14	Otto Bruce	Turtle Mtn. Band of Chippewa		
15	NELSON P. White Sr.	Ng. Arapaho Tribe		
16	LINUS NADEAU	TURTLE MTN. Chippewa		
17	PATRICIA PARKER	NPS		
18	Johnson Holy Rock	Oglala Sioux Tribe Grey Eagle Society		
19	Elaine Quiver	Oglala Sioux Tribe Grey Eagle Society		
20	Charles Jumping	Oglala Sioux Grey Eagle S		
21	Joe Swift Bird	Grey Eagle Soc.		
22	Alice Swift Bird	" "		
23	CURLEY YOUPEE	FORT PECK TRIBES		
24	JAMES TURNING BEAR	" "		
25	FLOYD YOUNGMAN	" "		
26	Clark Zephier	Cheyenne Creek Sioux		

CONSULTATION MEETING PARTICIPANTS
~~JUNE 5-6, 1998~~
BELLE FOURCHE, SOUTH DAKOTA

	NAME	REPRESENTING	ADDRESS	PHONE
27	[illegible] Harris	[illegible]	[redacted]	
28	Mark Elk Shoulder	N. Chey. Culture Comm.		
29	HUGH CLUBFOOT	N. CHEY. CULTURAL Comm.		
30	Joe WALKS ALONG, SR.	N. Chey-TRIBAL COUNCIL		
31	Jennie Parker	No. Chey Tribal Council Cult Com.		
32	Johnson Holy Rock	Oglala Sioux Tribe - Grey Eagle Society		
33	[illegible] Swift Bird	Oglala Sioux Grey Eagle		
34	Joe Swift Bird	Oglala Sioux Grey Eagle		
35	Charles [illegible]	" " " "		
36	Floyd YOUNGMAN	FT. PECK CULTURAL RESOURCE ADVISORY TEAM		
37	James Turning Bear	Ft. Pk. cultural resource advisory team		
38	Steve Brady	MWC/NCT		

CONSULTATION MEETING PARTICIPANTS
JUNE 5-6, 1998
BELLE FOURCHE, SOUTH DAKOTA

NAME	REPRESENTING	ADDRESS	PHONE
Lyle Brumley	Crazy Dog Northern Cheyenne	[redacted]	
Ella Braided Hair	Crazy Dog Society Northern Cheyenne		
JACK F. TROPE	Sant'Angelo + Trope (Medicine Wheel Coalition)		
Jim Boggs	(Medicine Wheel Coalition		

APPENDIX C

OTHER ETHNOGRAPHIC ISSUES AT DEVILS TOWER NATIONAL MONUMENT

[Pages Redacted]

APPENDIX D

NATIONAL REGISTER STATUS OF DEVILS TOWER

[Pages Redacted]