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Going to the Devil

ERNEST L ABEL and MICHAEL L KRUGER
Wayne State University, USA

After surveying some of the origins for American placenames associated with the Devil, we determined the prevalence of those placenames including their cognates, e.g., Satan or equivalents in other languages, e.g. Diablo, and related terms such as Hell and its synonyms, e.g. Hades, compared to placenames with angel or Heaven and their equivalents, e.g., archangel, Cielo. We found a much higher prevalence of Devil and Hell placenames attached to natural sites such as mountains and lakes compared to inhabited sites such as cities and schools which were more likely to contain the terms angel or Heaven in their placenames. We also found a considerably higher percentage of Devil and Hell placenames in the western and southern states than in the northeastern and Midwestern states.

Placenames are not arbitrary. We may no longer know the circumstances under which many were given or their original meaning, or even less likely, who was responsible for attaching a name to a place, but all placenames have a link to a society's heritage, ideology, experiences or people (Brun and Wheeler, 1966; Kadmon, 2000; Rennick, 2005). While some of these associations seem obvious, as Robert Rennick (2005) reminds us, seemingly obvious origins may oftentimes be anything but. George Stewart's (1970: 331) example of Nome, Alaska's name from a cartographer's placing a '? name' on a cape and its subsequently being understood as 'cape name' except that the 'a' in name was misread as an 'o' is a case in point.

This article is about placenames in the United States that refer to the Devil or Hell. The first part of this article briefly describes how some of these places received their devilish affixations. The second part analyzes these names in terms of kinds of places to which they are attached and the regions where they are more/less prevalent.

Sulphurous utterances

There are several ways in which the Devil got his name stamped into America's geography. A longstanding custom, inherited from Britain, of attaching the word 'devil' to dangerous and peculiar natural formations or sites lies behind many such names (Goff, 1975). The pioneers who first ventured into the ever-expanding frontier seemed especially prone to such 'sulphurous utterances' (Mencken, 1944: 245). Puritan New England passed laws prohibiting profane language, but trappers,

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hunters, traders, explorers, surveyors, treasure seekers, and 'fugitives of a dozen varieties' (Menken, 1944) were not so fastidious in their speech. In 1841 when representatives from the State of Michigan came to a little seventy-person hamlet in Livingston County started by farmer George Reeves who had built a mill and general store there, they asked what he thought the name of the town he had helped settle should be called. Reeves is said to have answered, 'you can name it Hell for all I care,' and that became the town's official name in 1841 (Associated Press, 2006). On other occasions, when seemingly impenetrable natural formations and geological oddities were encountered or terrifying waterways had to be navigated, 'suphurous utterances' often came to mind (Stewart, 1970; Cutlip, 1975), a penchant that prevailed throughout the colonizing of the rest of the continent.

One such occurrence resulting in the naming of a spectacular landmark on the Oregon, Mormon, California, and Pony Express Trails from 1840 to 1869 was the 'Devil's Gate.' Six miles southwest of Independence Rock in Wyoming, the Devil's Gate is a 330 foot gash in the Sweetwater Mountains where the Sweetwater River bursts through, sweeping everything in its path except the heaviest rocks. Captain B. D. Moore, a 'Captain of U.S. Dragoons,' who saw it in the 1840s speculated the name originated in the mind of 'some earnest believer in satanic grandeur' (Moore, 1862).

Visitors to Devil's Canyon in Sonoma County, California, during the late nineteenth century were acquainted enough with Christian folklore to agree that the canyon's name was especially apt for 'such a diabolical, sulphurous, hot, and altogether infernal den' (Anon., 1864). A travel writer for *Harper's Bazaar* likewise thought the general 'weirdness' of the place justified its name (Anon., 1886). Another magazine noted, it was a fit place for 'his satanic majesty, for the fumes of sulphur are surely very strong and the "fires are not quenched"' (Wilson, 1897).

Christian theology and folklore were responsible for the attachment of the Devil's name to many other sites in America, albeit for an entirely different reason — the mistranslation of native American placenames (Goff, 1975). The first European explorers and settlers were quick to give names to the landscape and to the places they settled so that they would be able to find one another. Oftentimes, they merely adopted native placenames, substituting their own European pronunciations and perspectives as to what those names meant. In many instances, however, the translations often resulted in a complete distortion of the original meaning. This was especially true when native names referred to the 'spirits' that inhabited a particular area.

Native Americans recognized many kinds of spirits. Two such spirits were most prevalent, a good spirit, regarded as passively benevolent, and a bad spirit whom they feared and appeased through medicine men whose job was to protect their people from his malevolence. When Christians asked the name of a place and one of those spirits was mentioned, they never equated the good spirit with their own Christian God (Lovejoy, 1994) but they were prone to identify both bad and good 'spirits' with Christianity's Devil (Lovejoy, 1994). The reason for this reflexive connection was an underlying ideology that any people who were unaware of the one true god (theirs) were profound sinners and they had only one category for such people: 'children of the Devil' (Lovejoy, 1994: 606). In Europe all pagan gods were recast as the Devil and these sentiments were carried over to the New World and were held by many of the early European settlers and explorers. In the east, John Smith said that the chief god

of the natives was 'the Devel [*sic*]' whereas in the western part of the continent, Hernando Cortez said the natives had to be rescued from their 'service to the Devil' (Lovejoy, 1994: 606). This pervasive mentality about native Americans was often expressed through such terms as 'red devils.'

On some occasions, however, newcomers mistranslated a native name and then rendered it into a more familiar name. Wyoming's famous Devil's Tower, for instance, is a mistranslation of *Mateo Teepee*, 'the Bear Lodge.' First mistranslated as 'Bad God's Tower,' it was subsequently rendered into 'Devil's Tower' (Gunderson, 1988). Minnesota's Devil Track River is a mistranslation of Manido *bimadagakowini zibi* meaning 'spirits walking-place-on-the-ice-river' (Minnesota Historical Society, 2007). White settlers used the native name until 1871 when it was given its present Christianized translation (Minnesota Historical Society, 2007).

Unusual occurrences

Another commonplace source for many Devil placenames was an unusual occurrence that happened at a particular site. One such instance occurred when Dutch traders were sailing up the Hudson River. Seeing some lights on a slight plateau on the west bank of the River, between Newburgh and Crom Elbow, their curiosity led them ashore. Whey they saw the frenzied jumping, changing, and grimacing of medicine men they imagined the place was some kind of diabolical dance chamber and named the place the Duyvel's Dans Kamer (Lossing, 1866: 375).

The name for Mt Diablo in California derives from an incident early in the nineteenth century. When a Spanish military expedition pursuing runaways from a San Francisco mission saw a mysterious figure at night dancing wildly around a fire in the hills (probably a medicine man), they thought it was the Devil. The fugitives escaped during the night and, after the soldiers returned and told their story, the mountain was given its present diabolical name (Ortiz, 1989).

By the nineteenth century the east had been largely settled and Americans from that part of the country began to take a growing interest in sightseeing, especially in the west. Travel writers not only described what they saw, they often commented on the names of the places they visited and many of them were confounded by the number of diabolical placenames they encountered (the great majority of which had been attached to their respective locations by the end of the century).

As early as 1837, travel writers, many of them working for Christian periodicals, began railing at 'this diabolical nomenclature.' 'Why the above very inappropriate name [Devil's Punchbowl in the Au Sable Chasm in the Adirondacks] has been given to this wild, yet stupendously grand reservoir of pure cold water, I cannot conceive,' a travel writer told readers of the *Christian Advocate and Journal* (Wood, 1837). Other writers were similarly perplexed. 'So many of the natural curiosities are thus given over to this satanic majesty, that one is at a loss to know the reason' (Brigham, 1870). 'Possibly,' the first writer speculated, 'the mind naturally associated the arch-fiend and punch together. None but a devil, or an inspired agent of his at least, could be guilty of mingling a fluid fit only for the throat of a fiend, with the sweet waters contained in [this] rock-grit fountain' (Wood, 1837).

Fifty years later, travel journalists for Christian periodicals were still complaining about America's 'diabolical nomenclature:' 'Why is it that those who father these

chasms and glens cannot name their offspring with some regard to originality as well as propriety?' (Anon., 1874). A writer for the *Congregationalist and Christian World* similarly complained about 'the wholesale giving over of such attractions to his Cloven-Hoofed Majesty' in the Yellowstone. 'Why,' she asked the tour guide, are so many of these things named after the Devil?' To which he answered, because 'you can't nem any of dese tings after an angel' (M. C. H., 1904).

A hiker known only as Clement complained to readers of the *New York Evangelist* that Colorado's Devil's Punchbowl near the town of Marble didn't deserve its name. A 'wretched misnomer,' he said, 'for no punch bowl of the Devil ever held such a pure and wholesome liquid as was contained in this large basin hollowed out of the solid rock' (Clement, 1879). A like-minded tourist, appalled at all the Devil's real estate, urged 'all men of taste and of sense to purge this sublime and beautiful work of God of the disgusting associations which vulgar minds would attach to it. The propensity to defile grand and beautiful objects with satanic and other vile names, has been carried far enough in our country' (Ruffner, 1839).

Another instance of the disapprobation many Americans felt about the large number of places carrying the Devil's name is a Dr Talmadge's sermon in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1889 on the subject of the diabolical nomenclature of placenames in America. 'Satan has no more right to this country than I have to your pocketbook,' the Reverend Talmadge protested. 'Now it is very much needed that a geological surveyor or congressional committee or group of distinguished tourists go through Montana and Wyoming and California and Colorado and give other names to these places. All these regions belong to the lord and to a Christian nation, and away with such Plutonic nomenclature' (Talmadge, 1889).

The disapprobation attached to Devil placenames has continued into the twenty-first century, typically in the form of petitions for name changes. One of the most publicized of such efforts is Arthur Mijares campaign to have the name of Mt Diablo in Contra Costa County changed to Mt Kawukum. Mijares, a resident of Oakley, California, doesn't like the fact that Mt Diablo, which he can see from his living room in Oakley, carries the Devil's name. Mijares, who describes himself as a deeply religious man for whom the Devil is a powerful presence, insists that naming a landmark after the Evil One is simply profane. 'Words have power,' he says, 'When you start mentioning words that come from the dark side, evil thrives. When I take boys camping on the mountain, I don't even like to say its name' (Associated Press, 2005). After his petition was rejected by the US Board on Geographical Names (Vorderbruegeen, 2005), Mijares took his complaint to the White House (Vorderbruegggen, 2006a) but has not received any reply as yet.

Although these and other writers have commented on the seemingly large number of placenames in America that have been onomastically linked with the Devil, these placenames have not been systematically analyzed as to their prevalence, type (artificial vs. natural) or part of the country where they are most/least common.

In the present study we performed such an analysis by surveying placenames containing the words 'Devil' or 'Hell' and their cognates, e.g., Satan, Hades. For comparison purposes, we also determined the prevalence of placenames containing the words angel or heaven and their cognates, e.g., archangel, seraph. A rationale for this comparison is the Judeo-Christian theological confrontation between a

contingency of rebellious angels led by Satan, who would subsequently be known as 'The Devil' along with many other names, and angels led by Michael who remained loyal to God. The Heavenly Angels are typically benevolent spiritual beings who act as messengers between heaven and earth. The Bible only identifies two orders of these spiritual beings — angels and archangels. Christian tradition beginning in the fifth century CE expanded these beings to a hierarchy of nine orders beginning with seraphim and cherubs, and ending with archangels and angels. The counterparts of these Heavenly Angels, those that sided with Satan, are called the Dark Angels, or devils (without the 'the'). In Christian tradition, after their defeat, the Devil and his followers were cast out of Heaven and took up residence in Hell from which he regularly emerged to seduce mankind into his realm.

Methodology

Placenames were obtained from the United States Geographic Names Information System (GNIS) available online at www.nmd.usgs.gov/www/gnis. The search engine accesses all placenames in its database that contain the key words (see below), along with the state in which they occur, and their associated feature of which there are sixty-three categories. Features were classified as either natural or artificial, depending on how they were described in the GNIS. For instance, lakes, rivers, basins, etc., were classified as natural, whereas reservoirs, locales, mines, dams, cemeteries, etc., were considered artificial. Military and post offices are not defined by the GNIS and as in Kelly's (2000) study, they were categorized as artificial. Regional divisions were based on the US Census Bureau's divisions.[1]

Keywords used in the compilation of devil-names were Devil, Satan, Lucifer. Keywords for Hell included Hades and Purgatory. Keywords for Angel included archangel, arcangel, cherub, and seraph. Dictionary translations were sought for Devil, Hell, angel, and Heaven in Spanish, French, Dutch, and German and those terms were entered as key words for their respective category.

For those places in which the name had been changed, or there were multiple names, placenames were included in the Devil or angel categories depending on whether the original contained either. Surnames containing the target word, e.g., Deville, Angell, Hellinger, were not included. Placenames derived from Los Angeles County, California, e.g., Los Angeles High School, Los Angeles Fire Stations, and scores of other similar placenames were not included as 'angel' sites since their inclusion would have markedly distorted the number of sites in this category. We also did not include names for television stations since these also took their location from surrounding areas. The Chi-square test, students' t-test for independent samples, and factorial analysis of variance (ANOVA) were used for data analysis.

Results

We identified 1699 placenames that had the Devil affixed to them, and 133 more with synonymous names or cognates in other languages. This contrasted with 525 angel-placenames and its additional 32 cognates (see Table 1). As previously mentioned, had all placenames derived from their association with Los Angeles been included, the number of 'angel' placenames would have been much higher.

TABLE 1
NUMBER OF DEVIL AND ANGEL PLACENAMES IN THE UNITED STATES

Devil Placenames		Angel Placenames	
Devil	1699	Angel	525
Satan	25	Archangel	20
Lucifer	5	Arcangel	5
Diablo	94	Seraph	5
Diable	2	Cherub	2
Duyvil	5		
Teufel	2		

Hell, the Devil's traditional homestead, was part of 699 placenames. Synonyms and cognates in other languages accounted for an additional 96 names (see Table 2). Heaven was affixed to 225 sites and additional 17 had 'Cielo,' the Spanish term for Heaven, in their names (see Table 2).

Devil Placenames. Judging by the number of places to which his name has been affixed, the Devil has the greatest fondness for canyons (152), followed by creeks (121), holes and dens (83 and 82 respectively) and kitchens (area between steep cliffs where water drains and gives off mist) (32). Although to a lesser extent, angels have a similar preference for creeks (19) and canyons (7) but shun dens, holes, and kitchens (0 for each). The Devil's favorite passageways are Gates (71), Gulches (38), Slides (31), Gaps (24), and Passes (12). Angels, on the other hand, shun these passageways, having traveled through only 6 Passes, 3 Gates, 1 Gap and Gulch, and no Slides. While the Devil likes to dine in, judging by the number of his Punchbowls (19), Wash-basins/boards (17), Chairs and Tables (11 each), Ovens (4), and Cauldrons (3), Angels have none of these household items in their placenames.

The Devil's least favorite places are churches, cemeteries, plains, reserves (1 each), and woods (2) whereas these are among the most common places to find Angels.

The Devil also seems fond of waterways, especially creeks. Next in favor come lakes, rivers, islands, swamps, springs, bays, bayous and wells, waterholes, ponds, pools, shoals, and bogs, and a sinkhole in Florida called a Millhopper.

Many communities throughout the United States have a rich, fanciful placename record of the Devil's visits as reflected in the parts of his body he has left behind,

TABLE 2
PLACENAMES WHERE THE DEVIL AND THE ANGELS LIVE IN THE UNITED STATES

Devil		Angel	
Hell	699	Heaven	225
Hades	15	Cielo	17
Purgatory	68		
Purgatoire	3		
Inferno	9		
Infierno	1		

especially parts of his backbone (sharp narrow trails) (93) and elbow (a sharp river bend) (89). There are parts of his head in 21 communities; in 17 he has raised his thumb and in ten his nose in the air (narrow rock formations sticking straight up); and has left some of his teeth (several rocks in a row) at five. Parts of his neck and gut were left at 3 sites, parts of his throat, foot, toe, eyebrow, eye, and heart at 2, and parts of his heel and jawbone at 1 each. The GNIS doesn't have any record of his leaving a footprint, but Philips (2001) cites two such spots in Connecticut.

General patterning

Taking into account both present and past placenames in Table 1, 77% of the placenames are Devil-related, compared to 23% for Angels. The greater than 3:1 ratio of names in favor of the Devil would seem to indicate that Americans have a much stronger preference for naming places after the Fallen Angel than the Heavenly Angel.

Since the 'Devil' and 'Angel' accounted for most of these placenames, the remaining analyses were based on placenames containing only these two referents.

Regional patterning

The definition of regional patterning followed the US Census classification. Although these regions are historically, economically, and ethnically diverse, the states within them tend to share enough commonalities that they can be regarded collectively as distinctive cultural entities (Zelinsky, 1973).

Forty-two states had more placenames with 'Devil' than 'Angel' compared to seven states with more 'Angel' than 'Devil' placenames. One state, Delaware, had the same number of each. California had the highest number of 'Devil' placenames with 335, which represents 12.9% of all 'Devil' placenames in the entire United States. This was followed by Oregon with 161 such placenames, Montana (142), Colorado (123) and New Mexico (115).

As in Kelly's (2000) study, regional differences in naming patterns were examined in two ways. First we collapsed across features and compared the frequency of 'Devil' and 'Angel' placenames in each region of the country to determine which of these two antinomian pairs was more common. 'Devil' placenames had a higher percentage of occurrences than 'Angel' placenames in each region of the country (Chi square = 70.0, df = 3, $p < .001$). The highest percentage of placenames for both the 'Devil' and 'Angel' occurred in the West (54.01% and 42.3%), followed by the South (26.8% and 20.7%), Midwest (12.8% and 25.8%) and the Northeast (6.3% and 11.1%). The West and the South had the greatest disparity with far more 'Devil' than 'Angel' placenames (81.2% vs. 18.8; 81.4% vs. 18.6%, respectively) while the Northwest and Midwest had the smallest disparity (65.6% vs. 34.4%; 62.6% vs. 37.4%, respectively.

Classification patterning

There was a significant difference between the number of 'Devil' and 'Angel' placenames related to our classifications of artificial vs. natural.

The percentage of ‘Angel’ names for ‘artificial’ places (cities, schools, parks, etc.) was 57.6% compared to 42.4%% for ‘Devil’ placenames. By contrast, differences for ‘natural’ placenames were much greater with 92.5% for ‘Devil’ vs. 7.5% for ‘Angel’. This difference between artificial and natural placenames was statistically significant (Chi square = 664.5, df = 1, $p < 0.001$).

Region x classification patterning

For our next analysis, we compared placenames for each classification in each region. For artificial placenames, there was an almost 2:1 higher percentage of ‘Angel’ names compared to ‘Devil’ names in the Northeast, South and Midwest regions (78.1% vs. 21.9%; 59.6% vs. 40.4%; 72.8% vs. 27.2%, respectively) except the West, where the percentage of ‘Devil’ names was higher than the percentage of ‘Angel’ names (56.0% vs. 44.0%). This effect was statistically significant (Chi square = 49.4, df = 3, $p < 0.001$).

When we examined natural placenames, the percentage of ‘Devil’ names was greater than the percentage of ‘Angel’ names in each region (93.0% vs. 6.1%; 95.9% vs. 4.1%; 93.5% vs. 6.5%; 90.3% vs. 9.5%% for the Northeast, South, Midwest and West respectively). This relationship was also statistically significant (Chi square = 12.9, df = 3, $p < 0.01$).

Since larger states, such as California, would ordinarily have more placenames than smaller states and would bias the overall results, we analyzed the data on the basis of percentages of Devil and Angel placenames in each state relative to the total number of such names rather than their frequency. When each state was weighted equally by using percentages rather than frequencies to compare the occurrence of ‘Angel’ versus ‘Devil’ placenames across all 50 states, we found that overall, there were nearly twice as many ‘Devil’ placenames compared to ‘Angel’ names across the country (34.1%% vs. 15.9%). However, there was a higher percentage of artificial sites with Angel compared to Devil placenames (29.1% vs. 9.2%) ($F = 13.0$, df = 1.92, $p < 0.001$) and a higher percentage of natural sites with Devil versus Angel placenames (63.0% vs. 3.8%) ($F = 395.8$, d = 1.92, $p < 0.001$).

Discussion

Traditionally, the Devil is the source of evil in Judeo-Christian countries. In fact, one of his titles is ‘The Evil One.’ One would expect, therefore, that Devil-related placenames would have negative connotations whereas placenames for Angels, the Devil’s heavenly counterpart, would have a positive connotation. In his analysis Kelly (2000) found positive words were much more common in American placenames than what one would expect from their frequency in English. Our finding of a considerably higher percentage of Devil placenames, representing negative placenames, is completely opposite to the general pattern described by Kelly (2000). Whereas Kelly found what he considered an ‘overwhelming’ bias for Americans to select words with positive connotations, e.g., ‘best,’ ‘clean,’ ‘right,’ rather than negative connotations, e.g., ‘worse,’ ‘dirty,’ ‘wrong,’ for their placenames, this only seems true for ‘artificial’ places, i.e., places that people ‘built’ for themselves.

Kelly (2000) also refers to a higher percentage of positive words in the Thorndike-Lorge compendium of common words, and noted that for each pair of antonyms, there was a statistically significant higher percentage of positive placenames compared to common words. In other words, words with positive connotations are much more common in English prose and especially placenames.

A completely different result, however, was reported by Schrauf and Sanchez (2004), who found a considerably higher proportion of negative emotional words (50%) compared to positive (30%) and neutral (20%), for both young and older English and Spanish monolingual speakers who were asked to list all the emotional-related words they knew. The difference between the findings cited by Kelly (2000) and those from the Schrauf and Sanchez (2004) studies is that in the Thorndike-Lorge word list is bowdlerized, leaving out the common 'four letter words' and includes many words not in common use, whereas in the latter study, words were drawn from personal working vocabularies, and were therefore much more representative of biases in perception of the world. The Schrauf and Sanchez study (2004) is also much more in keeping with our own previous finding of a higher percentage of 'negative' than 'positive' acronyms for personal names (Abel and Kruger, 2007). We also found that individuals with negative acronyms, e.g., D.E.D. died at an earlier age than those with positive acronyms, e.g., A.C.E.

Despite the basic difference in general patterning, we did find the same bias in naming for negative and positive geographic features as Kelly (2000), albeit our results were of a different magnitude. Kelly found that almost twice as many of the places 'built' by humans, i.e. 'artificial places' had positive compared to negative names (91% versus 53%), whereas we found an almost even split (57.6% versus 42.4%). By comparison, we found negative (i.e. Devil) placenames completely dominated natural sites (92.5% versus 7.5%).

Referring to 'nominal realism,' Kelly opined that the overwhelmingly tendency to find positive words in placenames where humans lived and worked was predictable. Assuming people want to have positive feelings about themselves and their neighbors, they should be more likely to choose placenames with positive connotations. Natural sites are more remote and therefore the names they give these places reflect the feelings people have about these places and not the feelings they have about themselves. While we did not find as distinctive a pattern as Kelly for man-made sites, our results for 'natural locations' is compatible with Kelly's hypothesis.

We also found, as did Kelly (2000), a higher percentage of placenames in the west were much more likely to contain negative connotations, i.e. references to the Devil, compared to other parts of the country. But the west also has a higher percentage of Angel placenames. Leaving aside the problem of mistranslation and misunderstanding of native placenames, the higher percentage of devil placenames seems to reflect a pervasive cultural thought pattern among the early frontiersmen in the way they thought about the landscape. While the Devil may be (and still is) a real entity for many people (Bishop, 1999; Gallup, 1995) he is also a metaphoric personification of danger. Frontiersmen undoubtedly knew their Bible and, when encountering formidable or unusual places in the landscape, the metaphor that seems to have come to mind was often the one they had been schooled to think of in terms of fear and danger. The settling of colonial America was no less formidable than elsewhere, and

the Northeast, with its seventeenth-century obsession about witches during the early settlement period, was much more likely to have a mind set obsessed with the Devil and his living quarters than on angels and heaven. But prohibitions against uttering the Devil's name may have kept places from being named after him. One of the reasons there are so many euphemisms for the Devil, e.g., 'Old Nick,' 'Arch fiend,' 'The Deuce,' 'Mr Scratch,' was conformity with this prohibition against actually using his name. This may be why so many places in New England that refer to 'evil spirits' such as Hockomock[2] kept their original native names.

Notes

[1] The four regions and the states included within them (based on the Census Bureau's categories) are Northeast (Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania); South (Maryland, Delaware, West Virginia, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, N. Carolina, S. Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas); Midwest (N. Dakota, S. Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Michigan, Indiana, Ohio); and West (Washington, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Oregon, California, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico, Alaska, Hawaii).

[2] Stewart (1970: 207) refers to several places in New England such a Hobomak, Hobbomoc, and Hobbomocka that are original Algonquian names that imply these places were inhabited by evil spirits. Other places in the United States with variants of these names are Hockamin Creek in Minnesota, Hockamik in New Jersey, Hockomock in Maine. While these names clearly refer to an 'evil spirit' and were understood by early European settlers understood as such (Federal Writers Project, 1937), since these native names were not given an anglicized Devil-related name, they were not included in our analyses.

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Notes on Contributors

Ernest Abel is a Professor in the Departments of Obstetrics and Gynecology and Psychology at Wayne State University. He has previously published articles in *NAMES* on the nicknames of Civil War Generals and on the names given to animals.

Michael Kruger is a statistician in the Department of Obstetrics/Gynecology at Wayne State University.

Correspondence to: Ernest Abel, Departments of Obstetrics and Gynecology and Psychology, Wayne State University, Detroit, MI 48202, USA. Email: ad6042@wayne.edu