

# Habits of Interpretation: The Semiotics of Place Names

Michelle Metro-Roland\*

---

Place names, as well as statues and monuments, or loci for cultural and historical narratives. Continuous cultural maintenance is needed to ensure that meaning remains accessible and relevant. The functional role that place names play in our everyday lives makes them both more relevant than a monument, but paradoxically more prone to being forgotten as repositories for historical memory because inevitably the original cultural significance recedes into the background in favor of the lived experience of the place. In a sense these highly significant names become normalized by use and they take on new meanings. This hidden, normalized quality to place names makes it especially difficult to effect change when renaming might be necessary. This is particularly true when there are conflicting meanings ascribed to places and their toponyms by competing groups. In this paper I look at the ways in which place names are significant and meaningful, and the ways in which they are normalized, by looking at the problems that arise as meanings and sensibilities and power dynamics change over time and lead to questions about the appropriateness of certain place names. Two examples that come from the United States, the case of Piestewa Peak in Phoenix, Arizona and Brady Street in Tulsa, Oklahoma help illustrate this. Though the solutions found in both cases were different renaming in one and replacing in the other, both underscore the problem of forgetting and re-remembering, and the ways in which habits of interpretation can be affected by process of signifying, designifying and resignifying meaning in place.

---

## 1. Introduction

Several times each week I drive south on Westnedge Avenue in Kalamazoo, Michigan. My thoughts are usually occupied with the news on the radio, negotiating the traffic, and thinking about some impending task. In spite of the fact that I am a cultural geographer interested in urban landscapes I have to confess that since moving to the city I have not once on these drives stopped to think about the origin of this street's name nor most of the other roads, avenues, boulevards, or drives that I travel along. Instead I have been more concerned to know which roads lead where. There are a few

---

\* Professor, Western Michigan University, U.S.A.

obvious exceptions. Along Stadium Drive sits the university football stadium, and I reside off of Coolidge, which I associate with Calvin Coolidge the 30th President of the US, but this is just conjecture. The rest of the streets are purely functional, a maze through which I move as I undertake the daily tasks of work and life. Westnedge Avenue, it turns out, was renamed from West Street in the early 1920s to honor two brothers, Col. Joseph B. Westnedge who died at the end of WWI and Dr. Richard B. Westnedge a surgeon who served in the Spanish American War of 1898. I know this because in February 2013 a bust of the surgeon was reported missing in the local press. The university archivist speculated that it had likely been stolen in order to melt down the metal (Klug, 2013).

I tell this story for two reasons. While our landscapes are a virtual historical text (Lewis, 1979; Conzen, 1990), a guide to our past in both their materiality and their toponymy, they are not the most effective historical records. The stories they hold are easily forgotten. Geographers such as Yi-Fu Tuan (1974, 1977) and Ken Foote (2003) have highlighted the ways in which monuments require cultural tending, the stories and significations need to be maintained over time lest they become mere objects in the landscape “standing in the way of traffic” (Tuan, 1977: 164). Place names are like statues and monuments in that they are imbued with cultural and historical significance, however the functional role they play in our everyday lives makes them paradoxically more subject to forgetting as the original cultural significance recedes into the background in favor of the lived experience of the place. In a sense these highly significant names become resignified and normalized by use. This hidden, normalized quality to place names makes it especially difficult to change when renaming might be necessary. This is particularly the case when there are conflicting meanings ascribed to places and their toponyms by competing groups.

Banal spatial/placial reminders such as place names are tenacious partly due to their seemingly innocuous efficacy. Michael Billig’s (1995) work on banal nationalism has highlighted the ways in which national identity is reproduced in the objects and experiences of everyday life, the way for example the nightly TV weather report serves to underscore national belonging by offering temperature reports circumscribed within the outlined borders of the country, as if weather were so exclusive to one nation. Similarly, place names are ways in which messages about power, gender, race, class, and ethnicity, are imbibed. And they are sticky, and persistent. The battles to get place names changed are exactly that, uphill battles that must be undertaken because of the

normative nature of the way place names take up space in our daily lives, there, but almost ignored. It takes effort to displace a place name. Old habits die hard as we would say.

I want to illustrate these two facets of places names, the ways in which they are significant and meaningful, and the ways in which they are normalized, by looking at the problems that arise as meanings and sensibilities and power dynamics change over time and lead to questions about the appropriateness of certain place names. I do this with two examples that come from the United States, the case of Piestewa Peak in Phoenix, Arizona and Brady Street in Tulsa, Oklahoma. In both examples a specific place name that had been normalized and extended to include other entities in the area, was revealed as problematic by a small group that sought to clarify the signification of the name, and was opposed by the majority. Though the solutions were different both underscore the problem of forgetting and re-remembering, and the habits of interpretation that are colored by the process of signifying, designifying and resignifying.

## 2. Renaming-Piestewa Peak in Phoenix, Arizona

The desert metropolis of Phoenix, Arizona, in spite of its suburban sprawl and its life supporting system of air conditioned buildings, is surrounded by reminders of its Sonoran desert location, especially in the mountains that rise up in its midst and around, including Camelback, South Mountain and the Phoenix Mountains. These areas are popular recreation sites, offering opportunities for hiking, mountain biking and nature study. Rattlesnakes are routinely seen and there are a wide array of cacti, including cholla, barrel, prickly pear and saguaro. The territory of Arizona was colonized by Spaniards, controlled by Mexico and eventually taken by the US through war and purchase in the 1800s. The population of the state today is majority white and Hispanic/Latino, with 5.3 % Native Americans and 4.6% Black (US Census, 2014a). There are 21 federally recognized Native American tribes including among them Navaho, Apache, Hopi, Yavapi and Pima. The map of Arizona represents the influences of the many cultures. Looking through William Bright's list of Native American Place Names one finds that in Arizona one finds some features bearing names that derive directly from indigenous languages but in many case they are the English exonym of

the native name or even the Spanish name. In some cases these produce interesting mixes such as Table Mesa (English and Spanish cognate) or Ajo, which may not be the Spanish word for garlic but Spanish spelling of an O'Odhaam word for red ore found in the area and not the tribes own name for the location mu'i wawhia, "many wells." (Bright, 2004: 27). With cultural mixing place renaming offers a locus for contestation and misunderstanding.

The Phoenix Mountains and the controversy over renaming one of its peaks present an example of this (see Kelleher, 2004 for a thorough academic treatment of the controversy). In 2003 the then Governor of Arizona, Janet Napolitano, proposed to the Arizona State Board on Geographic Historic Names to officially change the name of the 795 meter high peak in the Phoenix Mountains to Piestewa Peak after Army Specialist Lori Piestewa, the first Native American woman killed on active military duty thus setting off one controversy in the quest to find a solution to another controversy. The place being renamed was Squaw Peak, which is the site of the most challenging of the hiking trails in the Phoenix Mountains. It is a popular recreational option and each year hikers are rescued from its vertiginous 1900 meters of switchbacks, which give a 360 meter elevation gain.

The word Squaw, the American Indian Movement (AIM) in Phoenix charged in the 1990s, was highly offensive (Bright, 2000; Johansen, 2013). The position of the group was that "through communication and education American Indian people have come to understand the derogatory meaning of the word. American Indian women claim the right to define ourselves as women and we reject the offensive term 'squaw'" (S-Peak, n.d. in Johansen, 2013:41)." The word, AIM-Arizona argued in a piece called "S-Peak," is listed in the Thesaurus of Slang "as a synonym for prostitute, harlot, hussy, and floozy. In the Algonquin languages the word 'squaw'... [and i]n the Mohawk language the word 'otsikwaw' means female genitalia. Mohawk women and men found that early European fur traders shortened the word to 'squaw' because that represented what they wanted from Mohawk women... Europeans and European Americans spread the use of the word as they moved westward across the continent" (S-Peak, n.d. in Johansen, 2013:41).

Reaction amongst non-Native Arizonians ranged from supportive to skeptical. One of the typical reactions was incredulity at the more offensive meaning of the word (Goddard, 1997; Bright, 2000). Squaw, it was argued, referred only to females in general, and not to their body parts. As Mark Monmonier in his study on place names

writes “AIM’s understanding...differs from that of place-names experts, who trace it to an otherwise neutral Eastern Algonquin word for young woman. Although the negative connotations of a prostitute or sex slave apparently evolved after the term passed into English in the seventeenth century, for many white Americans squaw was and still is just a neutrally convenient one-syllable word for Indian woman.” (2006:3) A state wide poll taken a few weeks after the new name was approved found that 32% favored the change while 28% were opposed and 40% were indifferent (KAET, 2003). Among those opposed when asked about their opposition the largest percentage, almost a quarter, said they liked the name Squaw Peak. Some of the opposition was caught up with the political nature of how the new name had been put into place. The name change did not follow the requisite five-year waiting period to name a geographic feature after someone, and there were accusations of strong-arm tactics being used by the Governor (Kelleher, 2004; Goldman 2003). The opposition was most virulently articulated by an article written in *The New Times* by Robert Nelson. Full of invective not only for the governor but for the deceased soldier, Nelson asserted that “actual linguistic scholars have proved [emphasis added] that the word ‘squaw’ in fact comes from the Algonquin word meaning ‘young woman’” (Nelson, 2003).

The renaming highlights the various players and scales that are concerned. The new name for the peak and nearby stretch of state highway was accomplished by the governor in 2003. And although Arizona maps and documents began using the new name, it was made official nationally only in 2008 when the US Board on Geographic Names, after the requisite five year wait period, approved the name (Sexton, 2008). In 2011 the city renamed the Squaw Peak police precinct Mountain View, when it was moved to a new building (Smokey, 2011). But today, eleven years after the renaming controversy, the main street leading to the Phoenix Mountains and Piestewa Peak is still named Squaw Peak Drive. According to city ordinance, to change the street name would require the permission of 75% of residents on the street (City of Phoenix, n.d.).

The question of the street name change, though, highlights a more important issue with name changes, and that is the disconnect between everyday practice and the actual act of naming. The right to name is a manifestation of the power to impose, that is true, but names exist outside of maps and official government offices; they exist in the mouths and minds of those who use them. They come into existence not once but in an ongoing process of daily iterations. When the Arizona Republic newspaper recently wrote about the issue of renaming the street, the online version of the story included

brief vignettes with people at the park.

The comments are insightful. Allegra Powell said, "I think it's just kind of known as an institution named Squaw Peak so I don't have a problem with it because I'm used to it. If people feel offended, especially Native Americans feel that that's somehow degrading then I would be respectful of that." Bill Williams said, "Personally it's not offensive. In fact most people I know still refer to it as Squaw Peak. But either way I don't really care. If they want to change it I'm ok with Piestewa as well. Sort of non-committal. For me if it truly offends some then I'm ok with changing it." And Melissa Blackstrom said "I call it Squaw Peak. That's all I've ever know it as. So the name change wouldn't affect me one way or the other." Only one of the five, a resident of Squaw Peak Drive, affirmatively advocated for the renaming of the street (Gardner, 2014).

The other three responses are fascinating for what they reveal about the power to rename and about the persistent habit of place name usage. The question at hand was whether the street should be renamed in order to come into harmony with the actual present name of the mountain but the ambivalence that was revealed has to do with the disconnect between the official and the vernacular. In everyday usage the peak is still referred to as Squaw Peak, it's how it was first know, and people were "used to it." The question of its offensive character was acknowledged, but that did not convince people to change their own usage.

In the case of squaw, it appears to be a real disconnect between signification. Dustin Gardiner (2014) the reporter covering the story echoed the comments of Robert Nelson but in a more nuanced way writing, "The word 'squaw,' considered offensive to many Native Americans, has been interpreted to have several meanings. Some historians and advocates contend it originated from a word referring to the female anatomy. Others say the origin wasn't negative but the word took on a new meaning as White settlers used it in a pejorative sense." The key word is interpret. Gardiner (2014) in the same article quotes Amanda Blackhorse, an activist from the Navajo Nation: "I can't believe we still have names like this, (Squaw is) the equivalent of calling someone a slut or a prostitute. It was basically used to degrade Native women." According to Kelleher (2004) there was an evolution in thinking about the term squaw during the 1990s by the Arizona State Board on Historic Geographic Names. At first it was seen as a niche issue for AIM activists and there was a belief that the interpretation of squaw as offensive was not shared widely by the Native American community. But by the time of

the first petition in 1998 to change the name of the peak, which was unsuccessful, the Board “did decide that the name of Squaw Peak was considered offensive by many members of the 22 [sic] federally recognized tribes of Arizona and now had a “declared” pejorative nature according to U.S. Board determinant criteria” (108). However that consensus was not widely shared by the non-Native general public and nothing was done. Ives Goddard (1997), senior linguist at the Smithsonian is often cited for his sociolinguistic argument about the benign origins of the word in the Massachusetts dialect of Algonquin creating a situation in which there are competing claims from within the academy and the Native American population. The result is that unlike other racial slurs where there is consensus across groups, for most non-natives, squaw has been emptied of its pejorative signification, either in its origins or later usage by European settlers, hence its persistence even among people who would not normally use such controversial language.

The US Board on Geographic Names policy is to defer to “everyday local usage” with the exception of derogatory names. Its stated policy recognizes the problem of signification. Thus the Board is “conservative in this matter and prefers to interfere as little as possible within the use of names in everyday language because attitudes and perceptions of words considered to be pejorative vary between individuals and can change connotation from one generation to another” (1997:22). The two unequivocal exceptions are the words “Jap” or “Nigger” used as slurs for Japanese and African Americans respectively. Unfortunately, the elimination of the “J” word and the “N” word is but one small victory in the battle to eliminate racism in the toponymic map of the United States, because while overt slurs can be removed, place names belie racial, ethnic, class and gender relations in far less overt but just as effective ways. This is at the heart of the next example of Brady Street in Tulsa, Oklahoma where the ultimate solution is an attempt not at erasure but at resignification.

### 3. Replacing-Brady Street in Tulsa, Oklahoma

The city of Tulsa is a medium-sized American city of just under 400,000. According to U.S. figures 58% of city residents are white, 16% African American and 15% identifying as Hispanic/Latino (US Census, 2014b). Founded in the late 1800s it was closely associated with the oil boom of the early 20th century. Like many cities it has a number

of streets and parks named after prominent citizens from the boom period. Among those is Brady Street, named after Wyatt Tate Brady, a shoe salesman, town father and member of the Ku Klux Klan, a nativist, racist, secret society that terrorized blacks and other minority groups deemed not American enough. In 2011 a literary journal called *This Land* (a reference to the 1940 Woody Guthrie folk song) published an article on Brady revealing his role in the 1921 race riot, which decimated the prosperous black neighborhood of Greenwood, burning homes, offices and shops to the ground and resulting in uncounted deaths. The Brady Heights Historic District, a residential area featuring the Wyatt Tate Brady mansion, was named to the National Register of Historic Places in 1980 (Tulsa Preservation Commission, n.d.a). In 2010 the Brady District, through which Brady Street runs, was named to the National Register of Historic Places for its historic value as one of the oldest commercial areas in the city (Tulsa Preservation Commission, n.d.b). The neighborhood had been undergoing gentrification since at least the 1980s and had developed into a vibrant, arts-focused district in the city.

In 2013 in the aftermath of the revelations from the *This Land* article, the movement to rename the Brady District, the theatre and the historical residential neighborhood of Brady Heights gained momentum. Throughout the late spring and summer the City Council considered the matter. The motion before it in August proposed “changing the name of the street now designated as Brady Street to Burlington Street in the City of Tulsa, Oklahoma. (Henderson) (Continued from August 8, 2013 City Council Meeting) [PW 7/25/13] 13-496-4” (Tulsa City Council, 2013a). The suggested new name came from Councilman Jack Henderson and was based on a document from 1907 showing the name Burlington. The on-line minutes from the August 8 meeting, which began at 6:00 pm, broke at 9:00 and then continued on, show that 48 citizens spoke concerning the issue. A poll taken at the beginning of June found just over half of the 400 likely voters polled opposed to the name change, though when these were broken down further based on race, 70% of black respondents were in favor of the name change while only 22% of whites were (Sooner Poll, 2013).

The business owners in the district, in a letter to the City Council, stated their opposition to a change; instead, they sought to create an additional signification for Tate Brady stating that "rather than seeking to revise history, today's residents, visitors and merchants should regard the name as a demonstration of a new set of principles. It reminds us that what is today was not always so. Today, we welcome

diversity and use it as a cornerstone for growth. Removing the name is to surrender to the past. Keeping it signals that we will not run from that" (BADOA, 2013). They did not however indicate the ways in which the memorializing of Tate Brady was a sign of a "new set of principles." The mayor, according to news reports, stated his opposition to the name change "citing concern that the renaming effort could become a slippery slope for other streets and landmarks named after people with questionable pasts" (Juozapavicius, 2013). When the actual vote was taken at the August 15 meeting it was on an amended ordinance, "Rename Brady Street to Matthew Brady Street aka M.B. Brady St." and with an additional so called "Friendly amendment by [Blake] Ewing: Honorary Name-inside IDL [Inner Dispersal Loop] "Reconciliation Way" (Tulsa City Council, 2013b). Both amendments were accepted by Henderson, the originator of the Burlington solution, and the motion passed, with his vote and that of 6 others, 7-1.

In other words, after months of debate, with vocal opposition to the change from many of the business owners in the Brady District, the name of the main street was finally changed, from Brady Street to Brady Street. At first glance, it's easy to miss what happened in this case. If one goes to Google Maps and looks up the neighborhood, what one finds is W[est] M.B Brady St. and E[ast] Mathew B. Brady St. The Brady Arts District web page avoids discussion of the controversy and rather tautologically but truthfully explains that "the Brady Arts District name is derived from Brady Street which runs East and West through the heart of the District," though the addresses for individual businesses list the full street name (Brady Arts District, n.d.). If one is actually on the street in the seven blocks of the arts district one will see street signs that say MB Brady, in green, and above that Reconciliation Way in Blue, the color indicating that it is an honorary and not official toponym. This compromise, suggested by Councilman Ewing was to add the honorary place name, and keep the street name of Brady in tact but to change the referent. In semiotic terms, the signifier Brady St. remained while the signified, Tate Brady, stepped out and a new and improved and sanitized signified stepped in. Matthew M. Brady happens to be a famous American Civil War Era photographer with no known connection to Tulsa or Oklahoma. Reactions reported by the mainstream press were, not surprisingly, mixed. As the Tulsa World reported, immediately after the vote in the chamber could be heard, "It's still Brady.' But thank God it's not Tate," and "It's still Brady no matter which way you cut it" (Canfield, 2013).

## 4. Concluding remarks

Place names have potency because of the ways in which they occupy the quotidian spaces of our lives. Unlike monuments they have a functional role in our lives. They become normalized in their usage. Eventually the original signification is overlain and the names take on new significations. They also, though, become stuck. They become a habit. We become accustomed to them. Linguists speak about place names becoming opaque; as “the original meaning is lost over time, the name comes to feel like a word, in that it feels like an arbitrary combination of sounds used to refer to a certain item or idea” (Radding & Western, 2010). Place names however occupy a middle space as signifiers. They reference a spot on the earth’s surface but also a complex nexus of social and cultural meaning, some of which arises from the place itself, and some of which comes from beyond, from the words that have been overlain on that place.

In the two cases we have looked at, the words used to name the places have undergone a transformation from meaningful to banal, to then to reinscribed with meaning connected to but interpreted differently from the original intention. Place names can reveal as well as they can hide. In Tulsa opponents of the change argued that the name was a historical artifact and that its continued presence would serve as an effective way to educate about the unsavory past of the city and Tate Brady. The argument in the case of Squaw Peak was that whatever the term had meant originally, and however it had been used, any negative connotations had been elided over time, whereas those opposing the name sought to reclaim and reveal its derogatory nature. In effect what the two towns faced was a resignification which pushed the place names out of the banal. They made the names matter again. But as we have seen in the case of Piestewa Peak the banality of place names in actual usage can be seen in the tenacity in which the vernacular usage continues to revert to habit. The difficulty of changing vernacular usage was avoided altogether in the case of Brady Street in Tulsa. It is too soon to tell what the efficacy of the changed signified will be. But it is likely that the significance of Brady Street, and the Brady District as a burgeoning arts district for contemporary art and culture, will continue to be the more relevant interpretant. The American Pragmatist philosopher Charles Peirce wrote, “You can write down the word ‘star,’ but that does not make you the creator of the word, nor if you erase it have you destroyed the word. The word lives in the minds of those who use it. Even if they are asleep, it exists in their memory” (Peirce, 1955: 114). Even if we wipe words off of

maps, the places exist and exert a bigger significance than the names. In a semiotic sense, it is not what we call the place but what we do there that makes it and today people still go to the peak to hike whatever it is called and to the district to eat, no matter who the namesake was. And it is likely that the names, Piestewa, or M.B. Brady will, also, eventually over time, fade as they are used day-to-day to reference not the individuals or the controversy, but the place and what happens in there.

## Reference

- American Indian Movement, Arizona Chapter n.d. "S-Peak: SQUAW: Facts on the Eradication of the 'S' Word". [http://www.oocities.org/aim\\_arizona\\_chapter/S-Peak.html](http://www.oocities.org/aim_arizona_chapter/S-Peak.html). (AIM)
- Billig, Michael, (1995) *Banal Nationalism*. London: Sage.
- BADOA (2013) "Brady Arts District Owners Association Letter." Retrieved October 3, 2014 from <http://ftpcontent.worldnow.com/griffin/NEWSon6/PDF/1307/ORIG%20BADOA%20Statement%20to%20City%20Council%20-%207-14-2013%202.pdf>.
- Brady Arts District (n.d.) "About the District." Retrieved October 3, 2014 from <http://thebradyartsdistrict.com/?q=about-the-district>.
- Bright, William (2000) "The Sociolinguistics of the 'S-word': Squaw in American Placenames." *Names*, vol. 48, no. 3-4, pp. 207-16.
- Bright, William (2004) *Native American Placenames of the United States*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Canfield, Kevin (2013) "City Council OKs compromise on Brady Street name" *Tulsa World*. Retrieved October 3 from [http://www.tulsaworld.com/news/government/city-council-oks-compromise-on-brady-street-name/article\\_75a34a31-1bd1-508f-a1b7-97a4a4b8a4c5.html?mode=jqm](http://www.tulsaworld.com/news/government/city-council-oks-compromise-on-brady-street-name/article_75a34a31-1bd1-508f-a1b7-97a4a4b8a4c5.html?mode=jqm).
- City of Phoenix, Planning and Development Department (n.d.) *Street Naming Process*. Retrieved October 3, 2014 from <https://www.phoenix.gov/pdds/DSD/00023.pdf>.
- Conzen, M. ed. (1990) *The Making of the American Landscape*. New York: Routledge.
- Foote, Kenneth (2003) *Shadowed Ground: America's Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Gardiner, D. (2014, June 14) "2 Phoenix streets retain 'Squaw' more than a decade after

- peak was renamed.” AZ Central. Retrieved October 3, 2014 from <http://www.azcentral.com/story/news/local/phoenix/2014/07/14/phoenix-streets-using-squaw-name-might-changed/12651765/>.
- Goddard, Ives (n.d.) “The True History of the Word Squaw.” Retrieved October 3, 2014 from [http://anthropology.si.edu/goddard/squaw\\_1.pdf](http://anthropology.si.edu/goddard/squaw_1.pdf).
- Goldman, John (2003, April 19) “Arizona's Squaw Peak Is Renamed to Honor Soldier.” Los Angeles Times. Retrieved October 3, 2014 from <http://articles.latimes.com/2003/apr/19/nation/na-piestewa19>.
- Johansen, Bruce Elliott (2013) “Arizona” in *The Encyclopedia of the American Indian Movement*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, LLC, pp. 40-42.
- Juozapavicius, J. (2013, July 26) “Tulsa may rename landmarks that honor Klan member” AP. Retrieved October 3, 2014 from <http://bigstory.ap.org/article/tulsa-may-rename-landmarks-honor-klan-member>.
- KAET-TV/Channel 8 and the Walter Cronkite School of Journalism and Mass Communication at Arizona State University Poll, April 24-27, 2003. Retrieved October 3, 2014 from <http://www.azpbs.org/horizon/poll/2003/4-29-03.htm>. KAET
- Kelleher, W. (2004) “A contemporary public naming controversy in Phoenix, Arizona: the changing social perspectives on landmark nomenclature.” *Names*, vol. 52, pp. 101 – 27.
- Klug, Fritz (2013, February 20) “100 Year Old Bust of Richard B. Westnedge Stolen From Kalamazoo Cemetery.” MLive. Retrieved October 3, 2014 from [http://www.mlive.com/news/kalamazoo/index.ssf/2013/02/bronze\\_bust\\_of\\_richard\\_b\\_westn.html](http://www.mlive.com/news/kalamazoo/index.ssf/2013/02/bronze_bust_of_richard_b_westn.html).
- Lewis, Peirce (1979) “Axioms for Reading the Landscape” in D. W. Meinig, ed. *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 11-32.
- Monmonier, Mark. (2006) *From Squaw Tit to Whorehouse Meadow: How Maps Name, Claim and Inflamm*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2006
- Nelson, Robert. (2003, April 17) “Squaw Peeved” Phoenix Times. Retrieved October 3, 2014 from <http://www.phoenixnewtimes.com/2003-04-17/news/squaw-peeved/>.
- Peirce, Charles (1955) *The Philosophical Writings of Peirce*, selected and edited with an introduction by Justus Buchler. New York: Dover Publications.
- Radding, Lisa and John Western (2010) “What’s In a Name? Linguistics, Geography, & Toponyms.” *Geographical Review*, vol. 100, no. 3, pp.394-412.

- Sexton, Connie (2008, April 10) "Squaw Peak officially Piestewa Peak." AZ Central. Retrieved October 14, 2014 from <http://www.azcentral.com/community/phoenix/articles/2008/04/10/20080410piestewa.html#ixzz3FuM4LbrJ>.
- Smokey, Sadie Jo (2011, February 24) "Phoenix police precinct to be named Mountain View." AZ Central. Retrieved October 3, 2014 from <http://www.azcentral.com/community/phoenix/articles/20110224phoenix-police-precinct-named-mountain-view.html>.
- Sooner Poll, June 1-5, 2013. Retrieved October 3, 2014 from <http://soonerpoll.com/oklahoma-poll-shows-racial-divide-on-renaming-brady-arts-district/>.
- Tuan, Yi-Fu (1974) "Space and Place: Humanistic Perspective. *Progress in Human Geography*, 6, pp. 211-52.
- Tuan, Yi-Fu (1977) *Space and Place: The Perspectives of Experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Tulsa City Council. (2013a, August 8) Council Meeting Regular, Minutes. Accessed October 3, 2014 [http://www.tulsacouncil.org/inc/search/meeting\\_detail.php?id=M6NSGTAJ715201323316](http://www.tulsacouncil.org/inc/search/meeting_detail.php?id=M6NSGTAJ715201323316).
- Tulsa City Council. (2013a, August 15) Council Meeting Regular, Minutes. Accessed October 3, 2014 [http://www.tulsacouncil.org/inc/search/meeting\\_detail.php?id=HKOXF3TW730201330550](http://www.tulsacouncil.org/inc/search/meeting_detail.php?id=HKOXF3TW730201330550).
- Tulsa Preservation Commission (n.d.a) Brady Heights Historic District. <http://www.tulsapreservationcommission.org/nationalregister/districts/bradyheights/>.
- Tulsa Preservation Commission (n.d.b) Brady District. <http://www.tulsapreservationcommission.org/nationalregister/districts/brady/>.
- U.S. Board on Geographic Names (1997) *Principles, Policies, and Procedures*, by Donald Orth, & Roger Payne. Reston: VA. Department of the Interior.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2014a, July 8). *State & county Quickfacts: Arizona*. Retrieved October 3, 2014, from <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/04000.html>.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2014b, July 8). *State & county Quickfacts: Tulsa, Oklahoma*. Retrieved October 3, 2014, from <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/40/4075000.html>.