

New England in a Pocketbook: Gazetteers and the Modernization of Landscape

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Roland Barthes, the French literary critic, once wrote that an “inventory is never a neutral idea; to catalogue is not merely to ascertain, as it appears at first glance, but also to appropriate.” Barthes was writing about the *Encyclopedia*, a text he considered to be a “huge ledger of ownership.”¹

My topic here is another kind of inventory, not of progress in human reason, but of knowledge about landscape. What follows is an attempt to explore New England gazetteers, which were essentially geographical dictionaries. As a genre of New England literature, gazetteers were published in large numbers during the nineteenth century, but they have been largely overlooked by scholars. And although there is no tree of knowledge with all its various branches to be found in these books, there is an inventory, to be sure, a catalogue of places that is hardly neutral. The gazetteer is a text that seeks to conquer and appropriate the landscape through information, to master the physical environment by producing a comprehensive body of knowledge about it.²

But if we look beyond the practical goals that inspired these books, one might ask exactly what *kind* of place is being offered in them. In what ways do the gazetteers work to create a sense of place? Oddly enough, what is most interesting about the gazetteers is that they don't seem to offer the reader much in the way of a sense of place at all. It is hard to come away from them with a firm grip on the physical reality we know as New England. Rather, the gazetteers seem to do more to undermine any true feel for the landscape. They tend to divest the landscape as a whole of much of its richness, texture, and diversity and instead substitute a more standardized and statistical vision of New England. If they

create any sense of place whatsoever, it is a very shifting and dynamic one. The exigencies of capitalist development demand a constant reworking of the landscape—a kind of creative destruction—and the gazetteers are in part a reflection of this new economic order.

The gazetteers contribute, then, to what might be called the modernization of landscape. Modernization, of course, can be a problematic term. But here I use the concept to mean a constellation of ways of thinking centering on three themes—rationality, componentiality, and progressivity—discussed in a work on modernization and consciousness by the sociologists Peter Berger, Brigitte Berger, and Hansfried Kellner.³

According to these authors, modernization in part entails rational control over the material environment. And in this respect, the gazetteers embody this rationalized impulse by offering readers an efficient, quantifiable, and well-ordered sense of place. Yet at the same time, the landscape that unfolds in these books is also broken down into components—individual towns, rivers, mountains, and so forth—that are commensurable with other like units elsewhere. In this sense, the physical reality described in the gazetteers is chopped up and robbed of its unity.

Finally, the gazetteers exhibit what these sociologists call progressivity, “an expectation of recurring and ongoing change but a positive attitude toward such change.”⁴ Indeed, the gazetteers assume a landscape that is always unstable and destined to change and thus in continual need of revision and updating—on the ground and in the gazetteers themselves. Deeply wedded to a dynamic sense of place, the gazetteers center on a notion of constant progress, the legacy of which we moderns—with our disposable cities and restored landscapes—are still struggling with.

I

New England was a fast-changing place in the nineteenth century, and coming to terms with these changes was no small task. In the period between 1810 and 1860, the region experienced a fundamental transformation; that is, the transition to industrial capitalism. A land once dominated by agriculture became a new kind of place, one where cities and industry emerged to play a far more vital role in the life of the region. New factory towns developed, dams blocked off rivers and streams, railroads stretched out across the land, and forests gave way to a domesticated landscape hemmed in by fences. Economic changes reworked the land and waterscape of the region. Transformed by industrial capitalism, New England had evolved by the middle of the nineteenth century into a completely different physical setting, an entirely new sort of place in which to live.⁵

It is during this period of profound economic transformation that New England gazetteers flourished as a genre. As the economy surged, so did the

publication of such gazetteers. John Hayward, the author of several gazetteers, explained that “the unparalleled growth of New England in all its parts and in all its various agricultural, manufacturing and commercial relations . . . is deemed by the editor a sufficient apology for presenting to the public a new Gazetteer of any section of that favored land.”⁶ Indeed, between 1810 and 1860 the publication of gazetteers became a veritable cottage industry in New England.

As a genre, gazetteers first began to appear in significant numbers in the eighteenth century.⁷ Most of them were published in Britain and contained brief descriptions of nations, cities, towns, rivers, and mountains in either Europe or the world at large. Entries for places in New England could, of course, be found in such volumes. But it was not until the nineteenth century that gazetteers describing individual New England states (published in America) were being written in large numbers. James Dean published *An Alphabetical Atlas, or, Gazetteer of Vermont* in 1808. Noah J. T. George, Zadock Thompson, and John Hayward wrote gazetteers of that state in 1823, 1824, and 1849, respectively.⁸ The first gazetteer of New Hampshire was compiled by Eliphalet and Phinehas Merrill in 1817, followed in 1823 by John Farmer and Jacob B. Moore’s New Hampshire gazetteer, and by Hayward’s version in 1849.⁹ Efforts to publish a Massachusetts gazetteer go as far back as the 1780s (see below). But the first completed gazetteer of the state was the work of Jeremiah Spofford in 1828.¹⁰ John Hayward produced his *Massachusetts Directory*, which was basically a gazetteer, in 1835 and *A Gazetteer of Massachusetts* in 1846.¹¹ John C. Pease and John M. Niles issued a one-volume gazetteer of both Connecticut and Rhode Island in 1819.¹²

Also popular were gazetteers that encompassed the entire region of New England. The first such effort was D. Hewett’s *Gazetteer of the New England States*, written in 1829.¹³ Hayward’s *New England Gazetteer*, which first appeared in 1839, may well be the most famous gazetteer ever published on the region.¹⁴ Between 1839 and 1857, the book went through sixteen editions.

The word gazetteer has its roots in journalism, originally referring to someone who conveyed news. By the late seventeenth century, however, the word began to denote a geographical index or dictionary. Like newspapers, it was important for gazetteers to appear both as accurate and current as possible. Special pains were taken to emphasize the up-to-date nature of the gazetteers. “It is generally considered,” wrote Pease and Niles in their gazetteer, “that works of this description cannot be very permanent, as most of the subjects of which they treat are constantly changing.” Still, they pointed out that the “permanent and settled character” of Connecticut and Rhode Island suggest that “the topographical descriptions and the statistical details will remain essentially correct for a length of time.”¹⁵ But the fact remains that the gazetteer was founded on the idea that the landscape needed to be continually updated. Nothing better suggests the dynamic sense of place that the gazetteers represented than this need to revise the identity of the different places that made up New England. With the gazetteer, the landscape now had various editions.

The production of a gazetteer was very much a collective enterprise. It might even be said that gazetteers were not so much written as compiled. "The river is not less dependent on the springs for its usefulness," wrote Hayward, "than an Editor of a publication of this description, is on the kind co-operation of intelligent men in the several sections of the country to which the work refers."¹⁶ Authors would typically solicit descriptions and other information concerning the physical features, economic progress, and history of individual towns from learned gentlemen throughout a state. Sometimes, authors would publish a prospectus to guide correspondents as to the kind of description and information they desired.¹⁷ Authors also borrowed liberally from other gazetteers, town histories, and statistical tables, often appropriating large portions verbatim from such texts. Gazetteers were typically sold by subscription, at times with incentives that entitled a person who obtained ten or more subscribers to a free copy of the publication. Readers were urged to call any errors to the attention of the author so that they could be corrected in future editions.

Written especially to appeal to men of business and travelers, gazetteers were handbooks of the new economic order. They contained geographic information that located a town, noted its size and boundaries, and often described its distance from a city of major importance such as Boston, Portsmouth, or Hartford. Information on when the town was founded, its population, the central events in its history, its religious institutions, and the state of its economy were all typically furnished. Gazetteers were designed to be functional guides to the economic geography of the region. They were sensible, practical books that were meant to be, in a word, useful. "It is unnecessary," wrote Farmer and Moore in their gazetteer, "to offer an apology to the public for the appearance of a work, the utility of which, if well executed, no one will question."¹⁸ James Dean's Vermont gazetteer simply displayed the following quote from Hume on the title page: "How much praise is implied in the simple epithet, *Useful*."¹⁹

Their small size as books, their low price, and the huge amount of information to be found in them, suggest that utility was indeed the overarching goal. New England gazetteers published in the nineteenth century could be as small as thirteen centimeters in length, small enough to fit easily into a pocket. Many gazetteers were produced at between eighteen and twenty-one centimeters, still a small enough size to be comfortably handled and carried about. Yet despite the small size of the books, authors prided themselves on the huge quantity of information they were able to include in them. The point was to present as much information in as condensed a form as possible.

Gazetteers generally appeared in one of two styles. Some of the earlier gazetteers (before 1830) were printed in a tabular format. Typically, the towns would be listed in alphabetical order, while columns of information displaying the county, population, latitude, longitude, and so forth, spanned the page. It was much more common, however, for gazetteers to appear in prose form. The entries encompassed brief blurbs to lengthy essays on the individual towns that com-

prised the area of study. But even so, much of the information given for each town—population, county, date of incorporation, and so forth—was the same, implying that knowledge about *all* places could be broken down into the same discrete set of categories. Thus were places divested of much of their individuality and character and instead forced to yield before a list of preconceived attributes.

II

Imagine for a moment the unthinkable: that each time the gazetteer is closed, the entries in some mysterious fashion start to move around, to circulate throughout the book. An imaginary nineteenth-century gentleman reopens the gazetteer to find a heap of confusion. He is no longer certain how to find an entry. He looks for his town, the place where he lives, to find that it is no longer there, no longer in the spot where it once was and ought to be. The places have somehow fallen out of place. This of course is all a fantasy, a dream that the disciplined, fixed arrangement of knowledge in the gazetteer was set up to prevent.

To put New England in a pocketbook was to mark each place on a register of geographic knowledge. And to know the region in this way was to aspire to control and mastery over the place in a burgeoning commercial and industrial age. The connection between knowledge and power over place is a central aspect of the New England gazetteers. Enormous rigor was applied to the information presented in these books. They articulate a knowledge regarding place that seems at once thorough and authoritative. Not to worry: open and close the book as many times as need be and the places will stay put. Indeed, nothing is simpler than finding a place in these New England gazetteers. In their own distinct way, they constructed a neatly ordered vision of New England.

Places are easy to locate in the gazetteers because the information is alphabetized. But this was not the case for all the gazetteers. One exception was the “Geographical Gazetteer of the Towns in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts,” the first gazetteer to deal exclusively with a New England state.²⁰ Published in installments between 1784 and 1785 in the *Boston Magazine*, the gazetteer was the work of several people, each of whom was assigned a specific town or set of towns.²¹ Although the project disbanded after having completed descriptions of only Suffolk County, the entries were eventually gathered together and bound, along with a map of Boston.

The gazetteer provides entries for twenty-two towns in the county. Most of the towns begin with a description of their “situation,” which is taken to mean their distance and direction from Boston. Also generally offered is a statement of the town’s boundaries and extent. There follow headings on such topics as history, trade, manufactures, rivers and brooks, diseases, air, number of inhabitants, births, deaths, and marriages. No systematic list of headings is employed for each of the entries. Although the entries clearly privilege the geographic—

offering physical descriptions of the towns as places—they go on to deal with a variety of topics in a seemingly indiscriminate fashion.

Boston is the first place described, an entry that stretches one-third of the way through the gazetteer. Towns then appear in the following order: Chelsea, Roxbury, Dorchester, Milton, Braintree, Weymouth, Hingham, Hull, Cohasset, Brooklyn [Brookline], Needham, Dedham, Walpole, Stoughton, Sharon, Medfield, Wrentham, Medway, Franklin, Foxborough, and Bellingham. To anyone familiar with Suffolk County's geography, the order of the towns will seem reasonable enough. The towns are organized spatially. Beginning with the metropolis of Boston, the gazetteer then considers the towns roughly north to south in concentric rings moving west across the county.

Before the project disbanded, the compilers began describing the town of Charlestown in neighboring Middlesex County.²² The choice to begin describing Middlesex County—which lies contiguous to Suffolk—again suggests the spatial orientation that structured the enterprise. Without a fair grasp of how the towns lie in relation to one another, it is hard to locate a particular entry short of flipping through the gazetteer. Yet the gazetteer does remain faithful to the actual physical geography that was Suffolk County. For the most part, towns that lie next to or close to each other in the county appear that way in the text of the gazetteer.²³

The decision to represent place in a spatial format sets this effort apart from nearly all the nineteenth-century New England gazetteers. In those books, towns, as well as all other entries—rivers, brooks, mountains, and so forth—were simply alphabetized for the entire state. On occasion, the information might be alphabetized by county.²⁴ To be sure, categorizing the information alphabetically shattered the on-the-ground spatial configuration that existed in each state. Towns that were quite distant from one another geographically could now be found next to each other on the page. For example, in Massachusetts gazetteers, the city of Lowell was commonly found sandwiched between the towns of Longmeadow and Ludlow, towns that were, respectively, about seventy-five and sixty-five miles away from the famous New England textile city.

Arranging place names alphabetically helped to facilitate the retrieval of information, while at the same time producing a well-ordered vision of New England. "The value of alphabetic listings," writes the anthropologist Jack Goody, "is that each word is automatically assigned a specific but logically arbitrary place in the system, a space that only that item can fill."²⁵ A gazetteer is really little more than an elaborate list, in this case an alphabetized one. Writing of lists in general, Goody explains that "the list relies on discontinuity rather than continuity; it depends on physical placement, on location; it can be read in different directions, both sideways and downwards, up and down, as well as left and right."²⁶ Gazetteers hinge on "physical placement." They depend on location and they are about location. The gazetteer assures that each place is in its proper place, a place that the alphabetical format determines only it could assume. In this sense, the gazetteer creates a vision of New England that is ordered, but at the

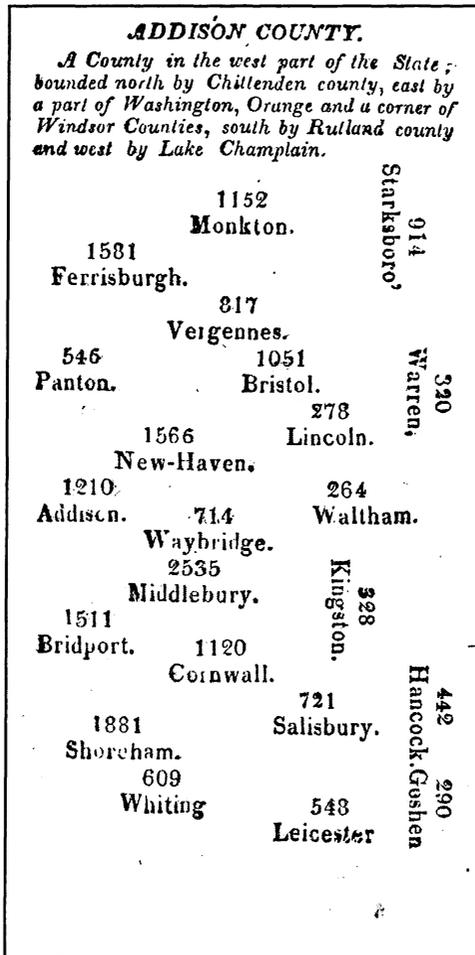


Figure 1. Noah George's gazetter of Vermont. Courtesy of New York Public Library.

same time abstract and disconnected. By investing New England with an alphabetized structure, the gazetteers simultaneously divested the region of any well-rooted sense of place.

Imposing an arbitrary alphabetic structure on place names broke apart the perception one had of New England's geography. The result, needless to say, could be disconcerting. When Noah George published his gazetteer of Vermont in 1823, he arranged the entries in alphabetical order.²⁷ But he also included a diagram (see Figure 1) for each of the counties in the state. As if to counter the violence done the region by employing an alphabetical schema, George offers the

diagrams to recreate a view of where the towns stood in relation to one another. The diagrams seek to reorient readers, to reestablish the actual physical geography of each of the state's counties. They act as a transitional device that could be used to negotiate one's way from a world of geographic knowledge organized spatially to one where the alphabet took precedence.

The power of the gazetteer, as a form of knowledge, rests on its systematization, on its ability to allow readers to easily reference relevant information. These were information-based texts that allowed readers to find out about various places as quickly as possible. Speed and efficiency in the retrieval of information were their overriding goal, in an age that more and more was coming to see speed—particularly the speed with which commodities circulated—as vital to existence.

At times the drive to make the information as readily available as possible verges on obsessive. George's gazetteer of Vermont, despite its alphabetical arrangement, includes an index which lists the towns and their page numbers.²⁸ The index is superfluous and some might say amusing. Since the towns are already alphabetized in the text, the index merely lists the pages in numerical order (Addison on page twenty-one, Albany on page twenty-two, and so on). Such an index conveys just how preoccupied George was with making the information accessible. Likewise, John Hayward provided indexes in his gazetteers. At times he placed them at the front of the book (after the preface), a move suggesting his wish that the information be as readily available as possible. Hayward prefaces the index to his *Massachusetts Directory* (which is at the back of the volume) by noting that since "all the Counties and Towns are arranged Alphabetically, but few notices under this head will be necessary."²⁹ The result is, in effect, an index of an index, enhancing what is already a well-systematized gazetteer.

Apart from their tendency to alphabetize information, the other notable feature of these books is their tremendous concern with numbers. Of all the information to be found in them, it is statistical information that stands out as the privileged form of knowledge about place. Statistics are typically offered on the current population and economy of the enormous number of New England towns by then in existence. The books are filled with figures, statistics on everything from the number of people, factories, sheep, bushels of wheat, the size of buildings, dams, factories, mountains, streams, and waterfalls. Sterling, Vermont, we learn, contains 23,040 acres of land; Prospect Hill in Waltham, Massachusetts, is 470 feet above sea level; Danville, Maine, produced 1,218 bushels of wheat in 1837. Evidently, according to these authors, one gets to know a place by the numbers.

There is nothing obvious or natural about making statistical information the main descriptor of the many places that made up New England. Indeed, this is a very modern form of conveying information about a place. Sense of place is, in effect, reduced to a metric. Place is being measured, just like one would measure

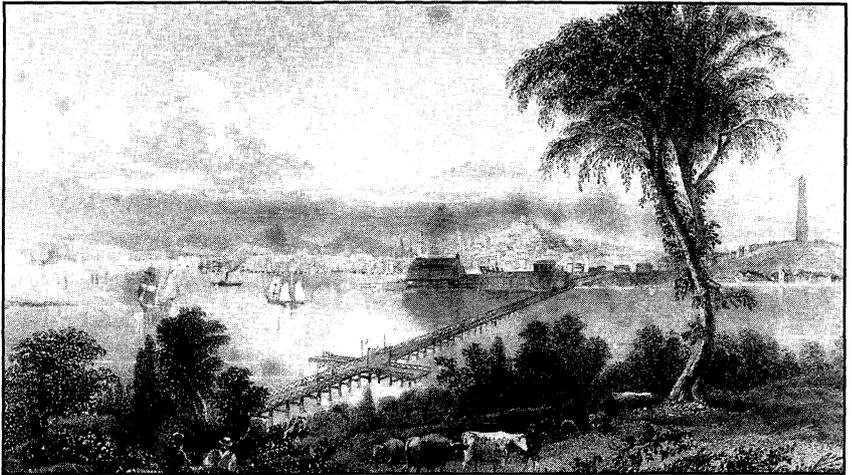
any commodity, be it lumber, grain, water, or any other element of the natural world. It was precisely during the nineteenth century that systems of measurement were being developed to transform aspects of the landscape—its forest, rivers, and so forth—into commodities.³⁰ In a similar sort of way, the gazetteer was taking the landscape and measuring it so that it could be packaged and sold to readers as a useful body of information. Moreover, such a numerical mind-set tended to impose a measure of uniformity on the places that made up New England, robbing them of much of their richness and diversity.

The gazetteer, then, is a modern-style reference work. The actual descriptions found in them—so bland and filled with detail—were probably of little intrinsic interest to readers. “Being confined to giving an account of ‘things as they are,’” write Pease and Niles, “we have aimed at no embellishments [*sic*] of style, elegance of diction or richness and brilliancy of description.”³¹ Indeed, it is hard, if not impossible, to imagine someone sitting down with a gazetteer and reading it from cover to cover. There is very little, if any, literary pretension about them. Nor is there any all-encompassing narrative that would draw the reader into and through the entire text. In this sense, the landscape as a whole was divested of a narrative, again offering readers little in the way of a coherent story on which to base a well-grounded sense of place.

The point was not to revel in the landscape, to experience a deep attachment and emotional bond to the places represented in the gazetteer; the point of the book was to literally reference the landscape. That idea shines through clearly in A. J. Coolidge and J. B. Mansfield’s *A History and Description of New England*.³² Published in 1859 in a weighty, two-volume edition, the book contains entries for counties, cities, and towns on a state-by-state basis. But the book is not a gazetteer, nor does it aspire to be one. In the preface, the authors seek to distinguish their book from the numerous gazetteers then in print, thereby justifying their endeavor. The gazetteer, in their opinion, “although indispensable to the commercial world, of great utility to men of letters, and containing with its descriptive matter much of historical interest, stands outside of the proper sphere of history.” They explained further:

Destitute, for the most part, of living actors, and the incidents which surround them, it [the gazetteer] is like a view of the distant city, where one beholds the piles of brick and granite, but sees no moving form, and hears no human voice. It allows you to carry the surveyor’s chain and compass, taking the measurements and altitudes of the way, but not to ride and enjoy the prospect.³³

Although filled with human *achievements*, the gazetteer evidently lacked a human *voice*. Instead, gazetteers were utilitarian guides that allowed one to visualize, compare, assess, and survey a place in the broadest possible sense. Both



The frontispiece in John Hayward's *New England Gazetteer*.

the gazetteer and the survey were means for bringing places under control. The surveyor used the chain and compass to determine the relative location of places on the earth's surface. The point was not to measure distance and direction merely for the sake of better knowledge alone. To survey a piece of land was to mark it off and measure it with an eye toward its functional value. Similarly, the gazetteer aimed to fix that land in space, to assign meaning to it by defining its relationship to some other known spot. Thus gazetteers did not lend themselves to enjoyment; they were instrumental texts for making order upon the land, for denaturing the region and rendering any well-grounded feel for the place as a whole almost impossible. The landscape that unfolds in them is meant to be organized, not enjoyed.

III

Probably no single American spent more time compiling gazetteers than John Hayward. The author of gazetteers on Massachusetts, Vermont, New Hampshire, as well as the entire United States, Hayward also wrote *The New England Gazetteer*, that region's best-known geographical dictionary. First published in 1839, Hayward titled the work *The New England Gazetteer; Containing Descriptions of All the States, Counties and Towns in New England: Also Descriptions of the Principal Mountains, Rivers, Lakes, Capes, Bays, Harbors, Islands, and Fashionable Resorts Within That Territory. Alphabetically Arranged*. This was not merely a gazetteer of New England. It was the gazetteer of New England, a work, as the title suggests, that could be relied on for its comprehensive treatment of the place. It was no simple task compiling such

a book, writes Hayward in his preface. But readers could rest easy that whatever the faults of the work, at least he had been diligent in carrying out the task. In compiling a gazetteer, writes Hayward, “long and wearisome journeys must be performed; hundreds of volumes and local histories must be consulted, and thousands of letters must be written.”³⁴ What more could one ask?

The book opens with a frontispiece (see Figure 2) that pictures the city of Boston, a place that Hayward later describes in the text as “the capital of Massachusetts, and of New England, and the birth place of American Freedom.”³⁵ The pastoral scene in the foreground contrasts with the site of Beacon Hill, crowned by the dome of the state house that fills the background. The sun is low in the sky, but hardly setting. To the right, the Bunker Hill Monument stands tall overlooking Boston Harbor. The scene, the way the built environment seems to weigh on the landscape, reflects a measure of dominance over place. A solid sense of mastery over place, of a capital city firmly ensconced, is conveyed. But read on into the gazetteer and this solidly built cityscape begins to crumble. The entry for Charlestown, Massachusetts, notes in passing that the Bunker Hill Monument has yet to be completed. In fact, the monument was not finished until 1842, three years after the gazetteer was published.³⁶

The frontispiece is a wish, a dream of the future. It is, in some sense at least, a fantasy that anticipates the changes to come in the New England landscape. Most important, the guiding logic behind the frontispiece is the same thinking that informs not only Hayward’s *New England Gazetteer*, but all the gazetteers we have discussed. The frontispiece, like the gazetteer as a whole, seeks to provide for the future, to offer readers an updated version of the landscape at a time when that landscape was constantly changing. Frontispiece and gazetteer alike are set up to try to outrun progress, economic change and time itself. Together they embody the shifting sense of landscape that so defines modern life.

This tendency of the capitalist landscape to encourage a dynamic sense of place was something that occupied Hayward in the preface to his book. For if there was one factor that defined the modern landscape, it was change. New England was changing rather quickly during these years, and gazetteers like the ones Hayward compiled were designed to keep New Englanders abreast of those changes. Yet whatever the changes going on in New England, Hayward’s book still aspired to be the most complete gazetteer then available on the region, a point which no doubt accounted for much of its commercial success. His goal was to write a book so complete and thorough that no place would escape notice; all places, as the title announced, are encompassed between the book’s covers. But Hayward was the first to admit that despite the pains taken to make the work as comprehensive as possible, he was “mortified” that, as he noted in the preface, the work was “not more complete.” In his opinion, it simply was not possible for the writer of gazetteers to keep up with New England’s constant economic change. Even the most diligent writer would find himself outpaced by “the rapid car of improvement in New England.”

The “car,” of course, is the railway car, at the time a potent symbol of industrial progress. To equate progress with a vehicle was to recognize the important role played by circulation—mostly of commodities—in the new economic order. The railroad worked on the principles of speed and efficiency, and so too did the gazetteer, which facilitated the circulation of information. Moreover, just as the railroad forged a straight path through the landscape and thereby caused passengers to experience the landscape in a narrow, linear way, the gazetteer too, with its alphabetized structure, forced an arbitrary reordering of the environment. Writing of the impact of the railroad on people’s spatial perception, the historian Wolfgang Schivelbusch observed: “The speed and mathematical directness with which the railroad proceeds through the terrain destroy the close relationship between the traveler and the traveled space.”³⁷ Although not nearly as profound in its impact, the gazetteer too carried out a similar kind of destruction.

Karl Marx once wrote about the tendency of capitalist technology to go “beyond every spatial barrier,” leading ultimately to “the annihilation of space by time.”³⁸ The gazetteer can be thought of as a technology, as a device that, in this case, annihilates *place* by time. In other words, it employs time (futuristic time as evidenced by Hayward’s frontispiece) and its adjuncts speed and efficiency at the expense of place. Rather than give a faithful rendering of the physical environment (that would show, for example, a half-completed monument) it offers instead a book that seeks to stay one step ahead of the economic transformation of the landscape. Moreover, the gazetteer opts for alphabetization, for speed of retrieval over spatial reality. And in the end, it winds up offering its readers little in the way of a sense of place at all. In fact, it provides precisely the reverse, a place of sense, a landscape so rationalized and ordered that, to repeat, it allows one to take “the measurements and altitudes of the way, but not to ride and enjoy the prospect.”

Notes

1. Roland Barthes, “The Plates of the *Encyclopedia*,” in *New Critical Essays*, trans. Richard Howard (New York, 1980), 26-27.

2. A growing body of literature has tried to problematize the seemingly neutral, authoritative sense created by maps and other forms of geographic knowledge. See, e.g., J. B. Harley, “Silences and Secrecy: The Hidden Agenda of Cartography in Early Modern Europe,” *Imago Mundi* 40 (1988): 57-76; idem, “Deconstructing the Map,” *Cartographica* 26 (1989): 1-19; Denis Wood, “Pleasure in the Idea/The Atlas as Narrative Form,” *Cartographica* 24 (1987): 24-45; Richard Helgerson, “The Land Speaks: Cartography, Chorography, and Subversion in Renaissance England,” *Representations* 16 (1986): 51-85; and Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, eds., *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments* (Cambridge, 1988).

3. Peter Berger, Brigitte Berger and Hansfried Kellner, *The Homeless Mind: Modernization and Consciousness* (New York, 1973). Of course, these three themes are not the only ones that the authors claim are central to modern consciousness.

4. *Ibid.*, 113.

5. The literature on industrialization is voluminous. See, e.g., Thomas Dublin, *Women at Work: The Transformation of Work and Community in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1826-1860* (New York,

1979); Paul G. Faler, *Mechanics and Manufacturers in the Early Industrial Revolution: Lynn, Massachusetts, 1780-1860* (Albany, N.Y., 1981); and Jonathan Prude, *The Coming of Industrial Order: Town and Factory Life in Rural Massachusetts, 1810-1860* (Cambridge, 1983). For an environmental perspective on industrial change, see Theodore Steinberg, *Nature Incorporated: Industrialization and the Waters of New England* (Cambridge, 1991).

6. John Hayward, *A Gazetteer of New Hampshire, Containing Descriptions of All the Counties, Towns, and Districts in the State* . . . (Boston, 1849), 3.

7. See, e.g., Lawrence Eachard, *The Gazetteer's: or Newsman's Interpreter* . . . , 9th ed. (London, 1707); T. Salmon, *The Modern Gazetteer: Or, a Short View of the Several Nations of the World* . . . , 5th ed. (London, 1758); Richard Brookes, *Brookes' General Gazetteer Abridged* . . . (London, 1796).

8. James Dean, *An Alphabetical Atlas, or, Gazetteer of Vermont* . . . (Montpelier, Vt., 1808); N. J. T. George, *A Pocket Geographical and Statistical Gazetteer, of the State of Vermont* . . . (Haverhill, N.H., 1823); Zadock Thompson, *A Gazetteer of the State of Vermont* . . . (Montpelier, Vt., 1824); and John Hayward, *A Gazetteer of Vermont* . . . (Boston, 1849).

9. Eliphalet Merrill and Phineas Merrill, *A Gazetteer of the State of New-Hampshire* . . . (Exeter, N.H., 1817); John Farmer and Jacob B. Moore, *A Gazetteer of the State of New-Hampshire* . . . (Concord, N.H., 1823); and Hayward, *Gazetteer of New Hampshire*.

10. Jeremiah Spofford, *A Gazetteer of Massachusetts* . . . (Newburyport, Mass., 1828). Also see Isaiah Wood, *The Massachusetts Compendium* . . . (Hallowell, Me., 1814). Wood's book situates each town in Massachusetts and in the District of Maine in relation to the towns which surround it. It is not titled a gazetteer and does not contain the other geographic, economic, and demographic information commonly found in such books.

11. John Hayward, *The Massachusetts Directory* . . . (Boston, 1835); idem, *A Gazetteer of Massachusetts* . . . (Boston, 1846).

12. John C. Pease and John M. Niles, *A Gazetteer of the States of Connecticut and Rhode-Island* . . . (Hartford, Conn., 1819).

13. D. Hewett, *A Gazetteer of the New England States* (New York, 1829).

14. John Hayward, *The New England Gazetteer* . . . , 7th ed. (Concord, N.H., 1839).

15. Pease and Niles, *Gazetteer of Connecticut and Rhode-Island*, iv.

16. Hayward, *Massachusetts Directory*, iv.

17. See Rodolphus Dickinson, *A Description of Deerfield in Franklin County Intended as an Exhibition of the Plan of a Contemplated Gazetteer of Massachusetts Proper* (Greenfield, Mass., 1818). "My intention," wrote Dickinson, "is to publish a minute account of every place in the ancient part of the state . . . and I have selected the present subject as a guide to facilitate the inquiries of gentlemen, to whom my communications, requesting information relative to their several towns, should be address. *Ibid.*, 2. Dickinson never followed through with his plans to publish the gazetteer.

18. Farmer and Moore, *Gazetteer of New-Hampshire*, iii.

19. Dean, *Gazetteer of Vermont*, title page.

20. "Geographical Gazetteer of the Towns in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts," *The Boston Magazine* 3 (1786): 1-90.

21. Samuel A. Green, *Remarks on The Boston Magazine, The Geographical Gazetteer of Massachusetts, and John Norman, Engraver* (Cambridge, Mass., 1904), 5.

22. *Ibid.*

23. Of course, every time the gazetteer moves to the next concentric circle, towns that lie far away in physical reality wind up close to each other in the text.

24. See Pease and Niles, *Gazetteer of Connecticut and Rhode-Island*, which is organized by county and then alphabetically by town within the county. The towns are alphabetized, but not the counties. Instead, the counties themselves are arranged in the order in which they were founded. To find a town quickly one must know which county it is in and roughly when the county came into existence, presuming a certain level of knowledge among readers.

25. Jack Goody, *The Domestication of the Savage Mind* (Cambridge, 1977), 110.

26. *Ibid.*, 81.

27. George, *Gazetteer of Vermont*.

28. *Ibid.*, 258ff.

29. Hayward, *Massachusetts Directory*, 197.

30. On the commodification of nature that took place during the nineteenth century, see William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York, 1991), 97-259 and Steinberg, *Nature Incorporated*, 77-95.

31. Pease and Niles, *Gazetteer of Connecticut and Rhode-Island*, iv.

32. A. J. Coolidge and J. B. Mansfield, *A History and Description of New England, General and Local*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1859).

33. *Ibid.*, v.

34. John Hayward, *The New England Gazetteer* . . . , 7th ed. (Concord, N.H., 1839). The book has no page numbers. See the preface.

35. *Ibid.*, see under Boston.

36. See Richard Frothingham, Jr., *History of the Siege of Boston, and of the Battles of Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill; also, an Account of the Bunker Hill Monument* (Boston, 1851), 351.

37. Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the 19th Century* (Berkeley, Cal., 1986), 53.

39. Karl Marx, *Grundrisse: Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy* (New York, 1973), 524.