PROBLEMS AND METHODOLOGY
IN THE COMPILATION OF AN
ATLAS FOR AMERICAN LITERATURE:
HENRY THOREAU; A CASE STUDY

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is an investigation of the "sense of place" in American literature and the use of setting in selected works by four major American authors. A theory about the importance of setting in American writing is postulated and four categories are established for defining an author's use of setting in his work. Regional and local color writing are discussed because of their special interest in the physical environment of their characters. A survey is made of the importance of setting in the work of major authors from the time of Benjamin Franklin to that of Ernest Hemingway. The general problems involved in providing suitable maps and illustrations for an "Atlas for American Literature" are studied, and methods for solving these problems discussed. Examples of specific problems and solutions to these problems are provided by maps and illustrations for one book by each of three authors who represent important periods in American literary development, namely James Fenimore Cooper, Mark Twain and John Steinbeck. The latter half of the thesis is a comprehensive study of the setting of all of Henry David Thoreau's writings and the provision of maps and illustrations to accompany them. Maps by Thoreau, contemporary maps and modern reconstructions are included, as well as selected illustrations relevant to the settings of his work. A chronology of all of Thoreau's travels beyond the Concord and Boston area has been compiled and a partial index drawn up for the thirty-six maps.
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Page 62: The house which is claimed to be the original of *The House of the Seven Gables* is one that has been changed to satisfy tourists in Salem.

Page 89: *A Literary and Historical Atlas of America.*

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to provide maps and illustrations which increase the reader's understanding of the setting of selected works of American literature; to examine the problems and methodology of compiling an "Atlas for American Literature"; and to consider the various ways in which setting is used by a number of major American writers.

The plan of the thesis is to look at the general subject of the spirit of place in American writing in the first chapter, including a brief survey of the response by American authors to the demand by critics in the early years of the 19th Century for a distinctively American element in their books.

Chapter two formulates four convenient classifications for discussing the ways in which authors use setting in their works. The following chapter defines and evaluates regionalism and local color in American writing. Chapter four gives a panoramic view of the significance of setting in American literature through short studies of a wide range of authors. Part one of the thesis concludes with a chapter on the general problems encountered in compiling a literary atlas and the methods evolved for solving the problems.

Part two of the thesis contains an evaluation of the use of setting and selected maps and illustrations which delineate the setting of one book by each of three representative
authors: James Fenimore Cooper for the early Romantic period; Mark Twain (Samuel L. Clemens) for the developing Realism of the late nineteenth century; and John Steinbeck for the Naturalist group of writers in the twentieth century. Problems which arose in providing maps and illustrations for each of these authors are discussed.

The final portion of the thesis is devoted to a comprehensive study of the physical environment as evidenced in the writings of Henry David Thoreau. The maps include several drawn by Thoreau, a number of contemporary maps which Thoreau used in his excursions, and several modern reconstructions made for this thesis. In addition, some of the maps which were used as source material have been included. The illustrations have been chosen for their relevance to the landscape in Thoreau's world and do not duplicate readily available existing material.

II

Narrative writing is generally held to be composed of three main elements: setting, incident or plot, and characterization. Edgar Allan Poe added what he considered a most important fourth element: the effect or impression the writing is intended to convey. 1 Setting is, then, the "where and when"

in which an action of the plot is performed by a character by some means and for some purpose. The inter-relationship of setting to the other components of narrative writing is discussed.

Setting is employed in the thesis to mean the geographical location where the action takes place and includes the topography of the land, the natural scenery, and man-made improvements such as roads, bridges, buildings, and towns. The place where a story happens is closely allied to the time when it happened. It is difficult to think of a place without in some way having reference to a particular time or epoch of history. This aspect of setting does not receive emphasis in this thesis although the "time" of a story will to some extent be shown in the style of the maps and more obviously in the illustrations. Wherever possible illustrative material has been selected from the era in which the story was set. Maps that are modern reconstructions attempt to preserve some of the cartographic conventions of the period about which the book was written.

"Setting" is not intended to include the general subject of the social or spiritual environment of the characters in a

1. Kenneth Burke has an interesting view of setting in A Grammar of Motives, New York, 1945. He finds five basic components in attributing motives: act, scene (setting), agent, agency, and purpose. The setting "contains" the act and the agents (actors), and the setting must be a fit "container" for the act; it expresses in fixed properties the same quality that the action expresses in terms of development.
narrative unless there is a clearly demonstrable connection with the physical environment. In the same way the larger and generic meaning of "Nature" is not considered for the most part. Such objects of external "nature" as flora and fauna are not discussed unless there is a close association with the setting and the association is important to the meaning of the narrative.

The terms physical environment and setting are used interchangeably. Topography is used when referring to primarily physical features of a setting in which manmade improvements are minimal. Geography has been used when it appeared appropriate to the way in which an author treats his locale as in naming streets and towns as though consulting a map of the region.

The writing considered in the thesis is mainly prose narrative although poetry of major authors receives some attention in the survey of nineteenth and twentieth century writing. Historical novels have been omitted despite the fact that many of this genre make elaborate use of setting. Because the thesis draws almost entirely on American sources, both for primary and secondary material, it seemed wise to make all spelling conform with American usage even when a British edition of a book has been cited. Full bibliographical information is omitted when referring to very well known American works such as Ralph Waldo Emerson's essay "The American Scholar". The
date of first publication of books that are cited is shown in parentheses immediately following the title. Because both the maps and illustrations attempt to "picture" the setting of the author's book, a number of analogies to painting are made in the thesis. These are meant to be suggestive rather than definitive.¹

¹ Very little has been written on the subject of the general relationship between painting and literature. René Berger's The Language of Art, London, 1963 and Erwin Panofsky's Studies in Iconology, New York, 1962 have been useful guides in exploring this subject.
CHAPTER I

The Sense of Place in American Literature

"Literature begins with geography, with love of home and parents. Out of the ground comes poetry, out of poetry philosophy, out of philosophy all that we are."

Robert Frost

All literature as all history takes place somewhere, and the physical setting has been closely related to the theme, action and development of character in many American books. The names of certain writers are automatically associated with a particular landscape; through their writing they have made one portion of the world their own. The novels of Thomas Hardy bring to mind the countryside of Dorset in England, Charles Dickens means the streets of London, and Arnold Bennett the "Five Towns" of the English Midlands. In the same way the reader thinks of Herman Melville and the South Seas, Henry Thoreau and Concord, Massachusetts, and Robert Frost and New England.

Americans like authenticity in their books, and American writers have been ready enough to supply it. There is a

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1. This quotation is from a letter from Professor Reginald Cook, October 13, 1966, and it is used with his permission. Professor Cook was a close associate of Robert Frost at Bread Loaf, Vermont, and has written books on Frost and Thoreau.
literate-mindedness in American writing, and authors have often utilized very exact settings for their stories as though impressing upon the reader "I was there". Given this new land, this "Gift Cutright" of Robert Frost's poem, Americans often seem to be trying to make their peace with the land itself; trying to grow into it, understand it, love it, resist it, perhaps destroy it. ¹ This sense of near resolution or attempted resolution is evident again and again in the novels and, to a lesser extent, the poetry. The importance of place and landscape in American literature is evident in the writings of Cooper, Thoreau, Whitman, Twain, Norris, Dreiser, Cather, Glasgow and Faulkner, to list only a few of the writers who have tried to understand the American landscape.² The sense of place is strong in the "Western" story even though the setting has become highly stylized. Authors of farm novels delight in describing the rural landscape in which their characters move, and the regionalist and local colorist make the depiction of a particular locale a central concern.

Several of the authors discussed in this thesis wrote what can only be called "travel books", sometimes thinly disguised

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¹ The very destruction of so much of the American landscape in the course of westward expansion suggests a strong love-hate relationship to the land itself.

² Howard Mumford Jones has an interesting chapter, "American Landscape", in his O Strange New World, New York, 1964.
as fiction. The authors frequently indulge in ponderous reflections on what the land is trying to tell them. Those who did not publish their thoughts on the places they visited in books of travel description often recorded their impressions in their journals, letters and diaries. So much activity indicates a conscious effort and need to come to terms with their native land, and it is as true of James Fenimore Cooper writing three decades after America secured her freedom from England as for F. Scott Fitzgerald in the Jazz Age. Even when the author's "travel books" are about their foreign excursions there is a constant reminder that they are looking in a reverse mirror; that, after all, Europe is the land Americans came from. This sensitivity to locale is understandable in terms of history and geography and it can be said to have reached fruition in the "documentary" form of writing. The documentary is a recent important development in America both in fiction and in film. Today novelists like Truman Capote and Norman Mailer write history as fiction and, whatever its literary merit, reach a wide and appreciative audience. For American authors, then, the "sense of place" is a basic ingredient, a necessity from which they must start, and for some, an addiction.

II

All art is to some degree selective of its materials, and the writer of a narrative must select what he considers are the significant items in his setting to provide for the working out
of the action of his story. The reader is then the judge of how effective the setting is in helping to accomplish the purpose of the narrative. An analysis of four methods of using setting follows this chapter, but here some general considerations need to be examined.

The setting of any work of literature may be regarded from two points of view: that of the reader who is on the outside looking in at the locale of a story and the setting as seen by the characters themselves. Thus an author may show an aspect of personality in the reaction of his characters to a city background or to a rural setting while at the same time indicating to the reader that a different quality really resides in the place described. The reader may stay "objective" in his impression of a scene while a character in the narrative reacts in a very subjective manner.¹ The way that the setting influences the reader may, of course, coincide with the meaning experienced by the people in the story. Occasionally an author will insist on explaining to the reader through authorial comment exactly what the "environment" has done or is about to do to the characters in his story. The reader's primary obligation is to enter fully into the physical world that the author has created and to understand this world on as many

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¹ The "psychological landscape" or landscape of the mind will be discussed in the next chapter.
levels as possible. Second and third readings of some novels provide new insights into the relevance of the setting to theme or characterization.

The use of a readily recognizable locale for a story has certain obvious advantages in establishing the "realism" of the story. A setting which leaves a vivid memory of a believable place helps the author in establishing the characterization or the plot of the story. The reader acknowledges immediately that a place called New York or San Francisco exists in the real world, and thus part of the author's task in creating a "world" for his characters is accomplished. Yet the most realistically portrayed setting will not persuade the reader to accept characters or actions which are implausible on other grounds. The physical environment created for the characters must be consistent with their psychological action for the author to achieve a full transference of credibility. When an author depends too heavily on a very exact and realistically rendered setting, he may impair the "universality" of his story; it may seem to apply only to one small area of the world. Over concentration on the local quality of the landscape or the customs and speech of an area may result in mere quaintness. The subject of local color and regionalism is examined in chapter three.

1. Changing attitudes to the degree of dialect that is permissible are dealt with in studies of "the pastoral" in literature.
Apart from merely establishing a place for the story to happen, the setting often has a direct bearing upon the meaning and purpose of the narrative. Descriptions of rooms have frequently been used to portray certain aspects of the inhabitant's character; forests or a wild outdoor scene are used to suggest that elemental forces in nature find their counterpart in man; mountains have often been used to convey an impression of man's search for the ideal or the untampered with, wholesome part of the world; the ocean has been used again and again to suggest the unknowable or man's philosophic quest; love scenes often occur in scenically attractive settings while death takes place in dark valleys or on lonely city streets. These are only a few of the more obvious "conventions" that are found in literature. 1 The most successful settings remain those which do not strain obviously or obtrusively for an effect but manage to blend the physical scene with the overall theme of the story.

Another name for what happens in this blending process is "atmosphere". Authors consciously create the atmosphere appropriate to their narrative. The way in which a character sees the world he moves in can be effective in presenting a

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1. Alain Robbe-Grillet uses the setting in some of his novels to support the character's thoughts and emotions as though human conscience can exist only by attaching itself to objects. Bruce Morrisette writes in *Alain Robbe-Grillet*, New York, 1965 that things are more than objective correlatives since they are necessary to, and cosubstantial with, his character's mental life.
side of his personality. Or the author may show that there is a difference between the atmosphere that the character "feels" and what the reader understands to be actually present. Atmosphere in a story involves more than the setting, depending as well on such things as dialogue, character delineation, plot and style, but the physical setting is what the reader immediately takes in. The great authors create the atmosphere of their stories with a minimum of relevant detail.

Works of "pure imagination" often seem to take place in locations that are wholly imaginative. Fairy tales have conventionalized backgrounds that could be anywhere and suit the "once upon a time" quality of the story. The tales of mystery and terror by Edgar Allan Poe frequently happen in generalized surroundings such as "a decayed mansion on the edge of the forest". The purpose here is to divorce the reader as far as possible from identifying with any one real place; to begin the process of a "willing suspension of disbelief" upon which the story's success depends. In a somewhat similar way the "surrealistic" novel asks the reader to leave the real world. Coming to America in the 1930's, surreal novels give the reader the impression of seeing the setting through the dream state or the subconscious mind. Nathanael West uses this method very effectively in creating the dramatically charged atmosphere in which his characters move.

In recent years authors have sometimes gone to considerable
trouble to present "composite" settings in which scenery, streets, buildings of several places have been scrambled together so that no single locale is identifiable. The threat of libel suits by readers who feel outraged at some imagined similarity to their own place or person has also brought the disclaimers at the beginning of many works of fiction that all places mentioned in the work are imaginary. Whole communities and states have become indignant at what they considered to be a distorted portrayal of their fair land. On the other hand, in Green Hills of Africa (1935) Ernest Hemingway wrote in the "Foreword" that "unlike many novels, none of the characters or incidents in this book is imaginary.... The writer has attempted to write an absolutely true book to see whether the shape of a country and the pattern of a month's action can, if truly presented, compete with a work of the imagination."¹

III

All the great American books of the 19th and 20th Centuries have been thoroughly saturated with the "spirit of place". This interest in place is not the reason for their greatness, but it is one element in its composition. The ability to come to terms with the physical environment is one of the distinguishing marks of the fully achieved book. This does not mean, either, that all such books lend themselves to illustration by

Perhaps the most provocative remarks about the spirit of place are found in D.H. Lawrence's *Studies in Classic American Literature.* Writing in 1923 Lawrence maintained that Americans had not yet come to grips with their homeland, had not encompassed what it means, and have failed as a result to become a living, organic community that believes in some unfulfilled, perhaps unfulfillable, purpose. He makes the obvious point that historians and geographers have long recognized: physical environment changes people. "Every continent has its own great spirit of place. Every people is polarised in some particular locality, which is home, the homeland. Different places on the face of the earth have different vital effluence, different vibration, different chemical exhalation.... Call it what you like. But the spirit of place is a great reality." Lawrence sees Americans as Europeans still breaking away from a European background and not yet become "American".

Speculation on "when America became a nation" has occupied the attention of both historians and literary critics. Jay B.

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2. *Ibid.*, 5-7. In his novel *Saint Mawr* Lawrence makes extensive use of his own theory; the great, circling landscape of New Mexico is contrasted with the fenced in scenery of England, and parallels are drawn between the physical worlds and the psychic landscape of the novel's characters.
Hubbell states in The South in Literature that there is truth in the assertion that writing in the United States remained an aggregation of sectional literatures until after the Civil War.\(^1\)

This appears to be the conclusion that Robert Frost reaches in "The Gift Outright".

The land was ours before we were the land's.  
She was our land more than a hundred years  
Before we were her people. She was ours  
In Massachusetts, in Virginia,  
But we were England's, still colonials,  
Possessing what we still were unpossessed by,  
Possessed by what we now no more possessed.  
Something we were withholding made us weak  
Until we found out that it was ourselves  
We were withholding from our land of living,  
And forthwith found salvation in surrender.  
Such as we were we gave ourselves outright  
(The deed of gift was many deeds of war)  
To the land vaguely realizing westward,  
But still unstoried, artless, unenhanced,  
Such as she was, such as she would become.\(^2\)

IV

The problem of how to write about a new country troubled authors in the United States after America gained political independence from England in 1783. Newspapers and critics began at once to ask for an "American" literature free from the "undemocratic elements" of English writing. The demand was for books that utilized the scenery, character and customs of the new republic, and it was obvious that the new environ-

\(^1\) Jay B. Hubbell, The South in Literature, Durham, 1954.  
ment did furnish new raw materials for the artist. The writer faced the necessity of finding a suitable technique for handling his new material, and most of the early American efforts before Cooper were derivative from and inferior to British writing. Authors lamented the lack of an ordered, traditional society and the "antiquities" of the Old World. As late as 1941 Archibald MacLeish made a plea for nationalism by urging the "adaptation of an art of letters developed in Europe to the experience of life in a country geographically, meteorologically, socially, psychologically and otherwise unlike the country and the life of Europe".  

The first American to achieve an international reputation as a writer, Washington Irving, complained of the barren "annals" of his native land. The natural scenery was different enough and places like the Niagara Falls were already popular attractions, but another quality was held to be lacking. John Ruskin voiced the general view when he wrote that American scenery could not be beautiful because it had no castles. The Hudson River might be superior in size and grandeur to the Rhine, but the Rhine had the benefit of a long, humanizing association with people. American authors at first ignored the long occupation

1. Archibald MacLeish, Yale Review, Vol. xxxi (Autumn, 1941), 64.
3. In The World of Washington Irving Van Wyck Brooks differs with this view, writing that after all the Hudson River Valley had been settled for over two hundred years and teemed with legends of the Dutch. Ship captains had a story for every scene encountered on the trip from Albany to New York.
of the land by the Indian and restricted their interest to America after the white man arrived.

As might be expected, American writers at first tried to solve the problem of finding a suitable technique by copying English models. Washington Irving attempted to satisfy the longing for an "American" element in the widely read short story "Rip Van Winkle" (1819). He gave the story a setting in the Hudson River Valley, but the tale was a re-working of an old German folk story. Rip Van Winkle "saw at a distance the lordly Hudson, far, far below him, moving in its silent but majestic course, with the reflection of a purple cloud, or the sail of a lagging bark, here and there sleeping on its glassy bosom, and at last losing itself in the blue highlands". 1 The story was written while Irving was living in Birmingham, England, and the setting depended upon the author's memory of boyhood journeys in the "Kaatskill Mountains". Later Irving was to write of the craggy peaks of the Rocky Mountains in Astoria (1836) and compares them with certain castellated architecture he had seen in Europe.

In 1837 Ralph Waldo Emerson challenged Americans in his famous address "The American Scholar" to cast off their dependence on Britain and Europe.

Our day of dependence, our long apprenticeship to the learning of other lands, draws to a close. The millions that around us are rushing into life cannot be fed on the sere remains of foreign harvests. Events, actions arise, that must be sung, that will sing themselves. Who can doubt that poetry will revive and lead to a new age, as the star in the constellation Harp, which now flames in our zenith, astronomers announce, shall one day be the pole-star for a thousand years. 1

Oliver Wendell Holmes called this essay by Emerson "America's intellectual Declaration of Independence", and yet James Fenimore Cooper had already shown considerable originality in handling the American scene. His achievement has been obscured in part by his being known as "the American Scott", a title that he found distasteful. Cooper's "sense of place" is most attractive and powerful in the Leatherstocking novels; the impact of the wild regions of forest, lake and mountain that Cooper experienced as a youth is convincingly conveyed through the creation of a new literary hero, the American frontiersman. The strength of a deeply felt experience overcomes Cooper's sometimes clumsy and graceless style and his long-winded dialogues. His writing shows a sometimes distressing ambivalence between the pull of traditional society and the wilderness, but he did manage to create a new literature from the new environment. His best work has suffered from lack of critical acclaim; Cooper would find great satisfaction, however, in the fact that

his Leatherstocking novels have remained continuously in print both in his own country and abroad.

Within five years of Cooper's death in 1851 the United States had produced literature that qualified not only as "American" but also as "international" on the basis of its high quality. Melville, Emerson, Thoreau, Whitman and Hawthorne wrote important books between 1850 and 1855, and with the possible exception of Emerson, their contribution to an "American" element in literature is reflected in the strength of their awareness of the sense of place in their writing. After the "American Renaissance", to use Professor F.O. Matthiessen's term, critics no longer needed to apologize for the scarcity of worthwhile American books.
CHAPTER II

Methods of Using Setting in
American Writing

"The backgrounds that are satisfying in fiction
are the unemotional backgrounds of Miss Austen's
novels - (though she can, when she pleases,
paint landscape subjectively; Elinor looks at it
with Sense, Marianne with Sensibility); the grand
symbolic backgrounds of Dickens; Yonville, penen-
trated with the emotions of Emma Bovary."

Robert Liddell

Only cursory critical attention has been given to the gen-
eral aspects of the relationship between setting and character-
ization or plot in American and English literature. Few
theoretical studies have been made although the use of setting
in the works of individual authors has received more consider-
ation. To provide a frame of reference for the discussion of
setting, four methods of using setting are formulated in this
thesis.


2. One of the most provocative discussions of "background" is
found in Liddell's book quoted above. The author extols
Jane Austen's handling of setting at the expense of Thomas
Hardy who allows Egdon Heath to overpower his character-
ization. Kenneth Burke makes some useful observations on
Kathleen Tillotson in Novels of the Eighteen-forties,
London, 1954 points out that with the widening of the
social range of the novel came a corresponding widening
of its geographical range. Other useful studies on setting
are noted in the material which follows.
Successful fiction conveys man’s vision of the nature of reality through concrete, objective terms; that is, abstractions are given solid illustrations through the setting, the interaction of people and the revelation of character to provide a personal, immediate sensory experience for the reader.¹

As Henry James notes in The Art of Fiction (1884), novels succeed only if they interest the reader; any edification or persuasion the author may intend come after the reader’s involvement in some way with the story. Narrative writing draws on the imagination more than on history or fact, but it must give emotions concrete embodiment, what James called "solidity of specification", to achieve the supreme virtue of the novel, the "air of reality". One important device for accomplishing this "air of reality" is through the setting.² T.S. Eliot has used the term "objective correlative" to explain the process by which a set of objects or events provide the formula of a particular emotion so that when the external facts are given, the emotion is at once evoked. Ernest Hemingway wrote that he preferred to present the best possible description of what caused an emotion rather than to describe the emotion itself.

¹. William F. Thrall and Addison Hubbard, A Handbook to Literature, New York, 1960 has proved a most useful guide to the labyrinthine terminology of literature.

². In the roman à clef real places and people are presented as though they were imaginary. Ernest Hemingway wrote about events that happened in specific places in France and Spain in The Sun Also Rises (1927).
The writer's attitude to "what constitutes reality" has changed as the principal literary movements have proceeded from the Romantic (1830 to about 1865 in America), the Realistic (1865 to 1900) and Naturalistic (1900 to the present). H.M. McLuhan has written a most perceptive account of the change in point of view towards the delineation of landscape.¹ The Romantics were compelled to remain "nature" poets whether they liked it or not, according to McLuhan; they wanted to see through nature and, failing, made it an objective correlative for states of mind independent of it. This was because the Romantics lacked the comprehensive and elastic technique for handling their material through the "inner landscape", or le paysage intérieur, which developed about the time of Baudelaire and Rimbaud.

This psychological landscape "by means of discontinuity, which was first developed in picturesque painting, effected the apposition of widely diverse objects as a means of establishing ... 'an objective correlative' for a state of mind".² Whereas in the external landscape diverse things lie side by side, so in the psychological landscape the juxtaposition of various things and experiences becomes a means of presenting experiences which are united by existence but not in conceptual thought.³

². Ibid., 271.
³. This technique made possible the acceptance of the city as a myth; Dickens was the first to make London a "character".
The technique of inner landscape permits the use of any and every kind of experience and object and insures a high degree of control over the effect. The arrangement of the landscape is the formula of the emotion and can be repeatedly adjusted until the formula and the effect are in precise accord. This development of diverse ways of showing the "country of the mind" has also made it possible for the reader to enter more immediately into the action and characterization as well as the setting. In Cooper's novels the reader remains "objective" in his position outside the scene while Leatherstocking reacts to the vastness and beauty of the wilderness, and Cooper, as a good Romantic writer, tells the reader the philosophic or spiritual truths inherent in the landscape rather than making him feel them as a participant. Mark Twain reduces the distance between the objective correlatives and William Faulkner minimizes the separation between the viewer and the object, sometimes removing all the barriers and insisting that the reader enter fully into the physical world he has created. Although an over-simplification, the Romantic literary setting can be compared with a "poetic" landscape by Claude Lorraine or the American, Asher Durand, as noted later.¹ The Realist setting is captured by the democratic camera and the untouched photograph, and the

¹. A useful discussion of "Romantic Poetry and the Genius Loci" by Geoffrey Hartman is found in Disciplines of Criticism edited by Peter Demetz and Jowry Nelson, Jr., New Haven, 1968.
Naturalist, with his interest in universal laws, through the "x-ray". All three methods enlist varying amounts of "actuality" depending upon the philosophic position of the artist. The same small town described by James Fenimore Cooper, Mark Twain, and John Steinbeck is recognizable as one place. But Cooper adds a romantic glow from the windows reflecting on the snowy street; Twain shows the ugly, pig-rutted streets and the poorly built houses of the riverbank town (although romanticizing his picture of his own home town, Hannibal); and Steinbeck portrays the same town in the grasp of vast, impersonal economic or biological forces over which it has no control. Thoreau uses all three of these methods at various times in talking about Concord.

As an aid in defining the four methods of using setting, an analogy with painting gives insight into the problems involved.¹ For this purpose paintings by Antonio Canaletto (1697-1768), Peter Brueghel the Elder (c.1525-1569), Jan Vermeer (1632-1675), Paul Cezanne (1839-1906) and Georges Seurat (1859-1891) are considered. In a typical Canaletto painting the interest centers on the carefully detailed scenic features; for example, the plaza of San Marco in Venice. The architecture and the canals exist as a value in their own right, and the figures in the painting are subordinate to the pictorial qualities of the

¹. The "Introduction" to Erwin Panofsky's Studies in Iconology, New York, 1962 was helpful in making the distinctions between primary or natural object, secondary or conventional matter and intrinsic meaning or content.
buildings themselves. The paintings are a kind of "travelogue".  

In paintings by Vermeer the viewer is very aware of the richness of the setting which is rendered with technical brilliance, but the artist clearly intends that the setting exists primarily for the purpose of illuminating aspects of the personality of the person portrayed; it adds depth of understanding, but our interest centers on the kind of person Vermeer is revealing in what is, after all, a portrait.

Peter Brueghel is often satirical in his commentary on human foibles. Many of his paintings appear to maintain a balance between what is happening to the people in the foreground and the intriguing and persuasive setting which he has provided for them. His pictures are often "stories" and the setting explains the action while at the same time participating in it.

This sense of participation is extended in the work of Cezanne. His landscapes are suffused with penetrating light values reacting upon natural shapes, and the mountains become living things. In a canvas like "The Bathers" the landscape itself "takes on" something of the quality of the nude female figures; the shapes become suggestive and act upon one another bringing the viewer into the picture in a way that is totally unlike what happens in looking at a Canaletto where the landscape remains static. Following on from Cezanne, in the Cubist

1. D.H. Lawrence's The Plumed Serpent (1926) might be described as "a landscape with figures".
perspective, the viewer is confronted by a number of different views of an object while remaining himself at the center of the picture whereas in picturesque paintings the viewer remains outside.

The paintings of Georges Seurat provide a technically interesting attempt to "transfuse" setting and the figures in the landscape. His pointillism was an experiment with light and color, but for the viewer what is most striking is the way in which background and people blend together; the figures standing on the bank of the Seine in "La Grande Jatte" seem to dissolve into the trees and there is an inter-penetration which is very evocative.

Turning now to the four methods of using setting, it must be remembered that some overlapping occurs. The same author may use more than one method within the same novel; indeed, William Faulkner has employed all four methods in his Snopes trilogy.

I

The simplest, most frequently employed method of using setting is the straightforward description of where the action takes place. The author gives a passive, non-intrusive quality to the landscape and furnishes the minimum of objective description

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1. At least superficially some of Canaletto's scenic views of Venice have this quality of "passiveness" although this does some injustice to Canaletto as a technician.
necessary to establish an "air of reality" for his characters. The action takes place without the author intending directly or indirectly that the reader should think that the locale has any bearing on the action that happens in the story. The background remains basically passive, untouched by emotional connotations for either the characters or the reader; it is both subordinate and incidental to the plot and the lives of the characters. This passive use of setting does not mean that it may not add considerably to the story by interesting the reader in the environment for its own sake. Jane Austen's settings are often passive and unobtrusive.

This passive kind of background is utilized by Allen Tate in *The Fathers* (1938). The novel tells the story of two families living at the time of the outbreak of the Civil War. The Buchans live on a plantation at Pleasant Hill, a few miles south of the Potomac River in Virginia; the Poseys live in Georgetown, a small village on the outskirts of Washington, D.C.

With the Potomac River serving as a dividing line between the North and South at the time of the Civil War, the reader might have been led to expect that the two physical settings would be made to symbolize two contrasting modes of life — the industrial, commerce-oriented North and the more leisurely, semi-feudal plantation life of the South. Even though the plot structure requires that the Buchans and the Poseys cross and re-cross the river several times, Mr Tate has provided a
primarily passive setting.

The author uses a considerable amount of geography in moving the reader about on the named streets in Alexandria of Georgetown, and he outlines for the reader the topography of the first Battle of Bull Run. Some of Tate's descriptions of the Buchan plantation do have an indirect bearing on what happens in the story, and yet the landscape remains essentially passive in many of the scenes although convincingly real. In a climactic scene of the novel four of the main characters, Lacy and Semmes Buchan and George Posey and his half-brother Yellow Jim, are shown walking along a canal that parallels the Potomac River near Washington. Yellow Jim "leading the way walked at the usual pace over to Frederick Street where he turned to the right for the bridge over the canal. In two minutes he passed over the canal and got on the tow-path which brought us quickly to the aqueduct, and from there on the tow-path might have been in deep country.... I could just discern the top of the stone wall on the land side of the canal; then suddenly around a little bend I saw on the canal's edge below the wall, a large rock house."¹ A mile and a half further on the party leaves the tow-path for a ledge of rock above the river where two of the four men are murdered and their bodies fall into the water.

II

The second category can appropriately be called "deterministic." Here the influence of the physical surroundings of a character are shown to be one of cause and effect. What happens to the people in the story bears a clear relationship to the kind of world in which they have lived or are living.

Both geographers and historians early pointed out the conditioning effects of the environment although the "environmentalists" have moderated their views in recent years. At one time it was maintained that such attributes as the wildness and unsociability among people of northwestern Europe were the result of their more varied climate as compared with the uniform seasons of Asia where people were thought to be less warlike. ¹ Climate is often spoken of as causing specific mental states. Hippolyte Taine wrote that "rain leaves no room for other than sinister and melancholy thoughts...."² Certainly Ernest Hemingway has used rain to complement the feeling of hopelessness and despair of some of his main characters.³ The Darwinian notion

1. A brief summary of the environmentalist position is given in A Geography of Mankind by Jan Broek and John Webb, New York, 1968, chapter two. Geography texts sometimes call upon literature for descriptions; for example, passages from George Stewart's The Storm are used in the section on weather in Outside Readings in Geography, edited by Fred Doehrs, Lawrence Somers and Donald Patterson, New York, 1958.


3. The frequent use of rain in A Farewell to Arms has been noted by several critics of Hemingway.
of the adaptation of people to the environment through evolution was widely accepted in the late nineteenth century as a valid explanation of why human societies developed individually. In the United States the professional geographers turned from environmentalism to the concept of "culture" in the 1920's. The cultural geographer asks how a particular society perceives its physical setting and exploits its resources. Theories about "human ecology" have also attracted wide attention in recent years in an effort to explain the interaction of man and the external world.

In fiction the writer utilizes these environmentalist theories in a variety of different ways. Washington Irving wrote in *Salmagundi*, the periodical he edited with James Paulding from 1807 to 1808, that Philadelphia with its straight, orderly streets produces an honest, worthy, clock-work and upright citizen while the crooked, twisting lanes and alleys of New York produced the irregular, crazy-headed and eccentric people of that city. Another example of the connection between place and character on a simple level is found in Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852). Miss Ophelia is leaving her northern heritage, a Vermont farm, to undertake the care of her cousin Auguste St. Claire's young daughter, Eva, in New

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1. In *Light in August* (1932) William Faulkner contrasts the difference between the Negro part of town and the white section by describing the physical setting of each section.
Orleans.

In the chapter entitled "Of Tom's New Master" the author tells the reader that whoever has travelled in New England will remember seeing in some cool village the large farmhouse with the clean-swept grassy yard and its air of order and stillness and unchanging repose. There is no litter, nothing is out of place and everything is carefully ordered. Having been brought up on such a farm, the reader knows what to expect from Miss Ophelia.

In her habits, she was a living impersonation of order, method, and exactness. In punctuality, she was as inevitable as a clock, and as inexorable as a railroad engine; and she held in most decided contempt and abomination anything of a contrary character.

The great sin of sins, in her eyes, - the sum of all evils, - was expressed by one very common and important word in her vocabulary - "shiftlessness"... Miss Ophelia was the absolute bond-slave of the ought. 2

Miss Ophelia, it is clearly suggested, has been moulded by her New England background and the granite foundation that underlies the Vermont farm.

1. The presumed influence of different settings is noticeable in the general public's conception about the difference in personality between those living in the northern countries of Europe and the "Latin temperament" of the Mediterranean; a similar belief is held by many Americans not only of the "North-South" poles but also the "East-West" axis.

A painting by Grant Wood, "American Gothic", suggests a similar inter-relationship between environment and personality. The setting is a farm background dominated by a very austere white, wood-frame farmhouse in front of which the farmer and his wife stand stiffly. The farmer has grim, hard facial lines and the wife appears an uncertain copy of her husband: severe, narrow-minded, hardworking. The artist has repeated the vertical lines in the two faces in the pseudo-Gothic windows of the farmhouse and again in the overalls the farmer is wearing.

With the development of "Naturalism" in the late nineteenth century, "determinism" flourished, and many authors made direct use of the theory in providing a setting for their characters. Theodore Dreiser shows the impact of a poor neighborhood in Kansas City on Clyde Griffiths in An American Tragedy (1925). The process is almost an equation: given a certain kind of external environment, the resulting character is predictable. In Dreiser's writing the economic forces that condition man's behavior are shown to be exceedingly strong and, indeed, overpower the weaker specimens. Characterization suffers in some of his novels because of the force of environment.

1. Some of the "proletariat" literature written during the Depression years exploit determinism to the point of becoming totally doctrinaire; propaganda and not literature.

2. In Thomas Pynchon's novels the human personality is very nearly lost in the flood of "the inanimate".
The impact of the theories of Darwin, Freud and Marx are such that free choice appears to be denied the characters in many modern novels. Not only is man's behavior explained by his early conditioning but also pardoned in as much as he is the victim of forces over which he has little or no control.\(^1\) The progressive development of character may be difficult for the writer committed to the environmentalist theory. Because of the insidious strength of the forces acting upon his personality, a static situation tends to result; change is limited due to the background from which the character comes. One method of overcoming this difficulty is to have the physical environment change drastically as in the "rags to riches" stories. The change of financial status will in time bring a corresponding change in behavior. Heredity, the other ingredient usually thought to be involved in the formation of character, is also shown to be conditional upon geography in as much as the person's environment determines the range of choice of marriage partners.

III

The third classification is the active or participatory setting. In this method of using setting the locale of the story takes on the characteristics of an "actor" in the

\(^1\) Richard Poirier, *A World Elsewhere*, New York, 1966 gives valuable insights into this situation in his chapter on "Panoramic Environment and Anonymity of Self".
narrative. On an elementary level of explanation is the typical "Western" novel or film. The "good guys" and the "bad guys" chase or alternatively are pursued within a stylized landscape which is conveniently contrived to provide the necessary action. A cave or an outcropping of rock is located at the right place and becomes part of the "motion" of the story. The scenery participates on a physical level in this kind of writing. The author of more complexly designed novels may place his stage properties in such a way as to involve them in the action without their giving the appearance of having been obviously manipulated. James Fenimore Cooper is capable of moving his characters about in his forest romances so that the rivers, the lakes and the forests actively participate in the story.

Although limited by the single frame that a painting provides, Peter Brueghel's landscapes often seem to "participate" in the action of the people in his pictures. The action is often of a physical kind such as skating on a canal, coming home from hunting or harvesting grain. Although the viewer is "looking in" at the action, he is very aware of the way the landscape interacts with what the figures are doing.

On the more sophisticated level, the active setting is often a symbolic one. English and American authors use the physical details of a character's environment to stand for certain qualities in his personality. The house in Nathaniel

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1. The two English novels that immediately come to mind in thinking about setting in this way are *The Return of the Native* (1878) by Thomas Hardy and *Wuthering Heights* (1847) by Emily Bronte. The setting of both novels has been widely discussed.
Hawthorne's *The House of the Seven Gables* (1851) is as important a "character" in the novel as the human inhabitants of the dwelling. The old Pyncheon house has a threatening aspect and a dark, gloomy appearance which is reflected in the personality of Hepzibah Pyncheon. The physical qualities of the house are directly related to important attributes of its inhabitants, and the house is itself an important link in unravelling the plot.

Charles Dickens has carried this participation of an old house to the final extreme in *Little Dorrit* (1855) by having it collapse as the fortunes of the people involved with it collapse. Henry James also makes extensive use of the physical properties of a house in *The Spoils of Poynton* (1897) in relating the spiritual demoralization of a family.

The appropriateness of the setting, the "objective correlative", to the emotions that it is meant to evoke depends entirely upon the skill of the author. If the writer is too obvious in his selection of detail the reader will find the association contrived and unbelievable. Hawthorne occasionally errs in this manner through his overbearing interest in allegory. A setting that is incongruous to the action may be used to give

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1. Richard Poirier notes in *A World Elsewhere*, New York, 1966, that American authors have shown great interest in building houses as a concrete expression of their ability to change the environment. Along with Hawthorne the list would include Cooper, Thoreau, Twain, Cooper, Howells, James, Fitzgerald and Faulkner.
a startling, comic or grotesque picture which the reader will remember the next time the emotion is mentioned. Symbiotic settings are frequent in deathbed scenes or the portrayal of the first stirrings of young love. The underlying assumption is that in an emotional crisis in the character's life, some part of the place where it occurs becomes or seems to become part of the story.

Authors have used the events of a physical journey to show what is happening to the character in his physical journey through life. The most famous example is Dante's *The Divine Comedy* (c. 1321). The picaresque novel has utilized this method of revealing personal qualities through the reactions of the characters to the "journey". Mark Twain makes use of this method whereby the river becomes a participant in *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884) and *Life on the Mississippi* (1883).

An analogy between the use of setting in plays and in the novel provides perspective on the "active" method. In creating a "set" for a drama, the author's choice of setting is limited by the overall intention of the play. The set must help explain what is happening to the characters on the stage; the stage-set "contains" the action, but it must not intrude upon the audience's concentration upon the action. Some plays use a very "passive" kind of set while others depend heavily on the set to create the atmosphere desired. In the play *The Grass Harp* (1951) based on the novel by Truman Capote much of the
action takes place in an elaborately designed tree-house. This tree-house is comparable to the raft on which Huck Finn finds freedom on the Mississippi River and is described as a "raft in a sea of leaves". The tree-house is a participant in the action and at the same time creates the atmosphere which is conducive to the audience accepting as credible the feelings which are expressed from the tree-house.

IV

The fourth method of using setting is termed "trans-fusing". In narratives which employ setting in this manner there is an inter-penetration, a suffusion, of the setting with the plot and characterization. Everything that happens is pervaded by the physical scene itself; a conscious effort is made to blend the external world of the five senses with the emotional reactions of the narrator or the characters in the story. The characters seem to live through an umbilical or symbiotic relationship to the physical environment and draw sustenance from it.

An example of this blending of place with characters and

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1. The concept of "immediacy" is especially relevant here for the reader is expected to "take in" the fusion of scene, act and actor and respond to it directly; to "feel" what is happening before "thinking" it. The initial or immediate impression may be altered to some extent or deepened by subsequent readings. John Bayley initiated a useful dialogue on "immediacy" in Essays in Criticism, Vol. II, no.4, October, 1952, 453-460.
action is found in William Faulkner's *The Hamlet* (1940). Ike Snopes is an idiot, able to perform only the simplest jobs in the small, rural community of Frenchman's Bend. He is in love with his neighbor's cow, and he steals out early in the morning to be with her in the creek bottom.

... then he would hear her and he would lie drenched in the wet grass, serene and one and indivisible in joy, listening to her approach. He would smell her; the whole mist which drew along his prone drenched flanks played her pearled barrel too and shaped them both somewhere in immediate time, already married. He would not move. He would lie amid the waking instant of earth's teeming minute life, the motionless fronds of water-heavy grasses stooping into the mist before his face in black, fixed curves, along each parabola of which the marching drops held in minute magnification the dawn's rosy miniatures.... 1

This blending, comprehensive interaction of the setting with the plot and personality of the characters is rare in literature. In Faulkner's novels the characters frequently live in a world to which they are hyper-sensitive; the external world surrounds them, engulfs them, acts upon and through them. Other "Southern" writers have also been greatly interested in what the land means and drench their novels with the history of what has happened on Southern soil. In Faulkner the Sutpen, the Compson, the McCaslin, and the Sartoris families all have this strong sense of heritage, of almost fatal attachment to

the land which they sometimes rebel against. The reader must participate in Faulkner's landscape by becoming emotionally involved to appreciate the full power of the stories. If the setting is the farm of a "poor white" family such as the Bundrens in *As I Lay Dying* (1935), the reader must join in picking the cotton and drinking from the cedar water bucket; to remain outside in such a pervasive atmosphere would be to fail to comprehend to the fullest extent the action of the story.

In another Faulkner story, *Go Down, Moses* (1942), the inter-fusion of theme and setting is accomplished through a wilderness landscape in which a huge, almost mythical, bear is hunted. The wilderness itself is central to the story of Ike McCaslin's "initiation" into manhood through understanding what it and the bear mean.

This "transfusing" quality should not be confused with the "pathetic fallacy", the crediting of the external world with the emotions of human beings, which operates at a more superficial level. Ellen Glasgow is less successful than Faulkner in her attempt to inter-fuse the setting and the story, but she made a most interesting effort in *Barren Ground* (1925). The heroine, Dorinda, derives much of her nature from the red

1. Over use of the pathetic fallacy leads to false emotionalism and a too impassioned description of nature, but in moderation the device is in accord with human nature.
soil of her father's Virginia farm. The landscape around the home farm is the most meaningful force in her life. When Dorinda meets her lover, Jason, Ellen Glasgow writes:

The light had changed again and her inner mood was changing with the landscape. A feeling of intimate kinship with the country returned, and it seemed to her that the color of the broomsedge was overrunning the desolate hidden field of her life. Something wild and strong and vivid was covering the waste places.

In this scene the reader is observing what is happening to Dorinda from the outside whereas in Faulkner the barriers have dissolved and the reader understands from the inside. Nevertheless, Barren Ground is able to convey the force of the land and the way that her passionate interest in it has changed Dorinda's life from one of sterility to relative contentment through revitalizing the home farm.

V

The four authors forming the basis for this thesis employ the physical environment in interestingly different ways. James Fenimore Cooper's five novels known collectively as The Leatherstocking Tales emphasize the vastness, the solitude and the peace found in wilderness areas and the virtues to be secured from contact with the natural landscape which is also evidence of a Divine presence. Four of the five novels use historical events as part of the plot structure, helping to persuade the

reader that the action of the "forest romances" actually happened. The hero of the novels, Natty Bumppo, variously known as "Deerslayer" and "Pathfinder" and "Leatherstocking", has derived his simple, honest nature, his sharp insight into the ways of man, his abhorrence of the evils of civilization, and his love of beauty from his constant association with the benign influence of forest, lake, river and mountain which Cooper so lovingly delineates. Cooper's settings are reflected in the landscape paintings of the Hudson River School, and particularly the work of Asher B. Durand as will be noted later. As a good "Romantic", Cooper continually invests his settings with moral purpose and philosophical theorizing.

In Thoreau's writing the inter-action between geography and literature is extensive, and in his best work there is the "transfusing" quality in his use of the external world. Most of Thoreau's important books are in a special sense "travel books". The titles alone suggest his overwhelming interest in the real world: A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers (1849), A Yankee in Canada (1866), The Waine Woods (1864) and Cape Cod (1865). But this real world is only a starting point, for Thoreau manages to suffuse and transfuse the "not me" of the actual physical surroundings with the spirit of man as part of his surroundings. His "transcendentalism" consists in his intermingling of the two in his lifelong attempt to penetrate beneath the surface to the "thing felt". Thoreau takes Ralph
Waldo Emerson's dictum about the original nature of language—that our words, even the most abstract, derived from concrete, observable things—and uses it again and again in his writing. At his best Thoreau is brilliantly successful in making a union of the world of spirit and the immediately perceptible "geography" around him.

In Mark Twain's two best books, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* and *Life on the Mississippi*, even the most casual reader is soon aware of the importance of the physical world of the big river and the towns on its riverbanks. In *Life on the Mississippi*, Twain uses the river on which he worked as a cub pilot as the central theme around which he relates a collection of stories about river life. The river current flows through the book as the young apprentice experiences the multitudinous impressions that go with learning to be a pilot. The protagonist in the book is the Mississippi in the same way that it becomes a "river god" in *Huckleberry Finn*. Much of the appeal of both books is in offering a glimpse of the freedom which is presumed to be attached to the pastoral idyll, a recurrent note in American writing. As with Thoreau, a glance at the titles in *The Writings of Mark Twain* indicates how large a proportion of his production could be called "travel books". Too often these works are merely a succession of loosely related stories about places Twain visited whereas his two books about the Mississippi River combine the deeply felt response to a
setting he knew intimately and a successful narrative thread.

John Steinbeck's novels offer a different view of the physical environment. Although a portion of his best novel, *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939), is straight "travelogue" while the Joads make the journey west on Route 66, Steinbeck has incorporated his deterministic philosophy of life in the way the landscape is viewed. In doing so he is representative of many twentieth century authors. The novel begins with a description of the geography and economy of the Dust Bowl area of Oklahoma where the Joads live. Steinbeck inter-relates what is happening to the people and to the land by juxtaposing the natural setting with the plight of the people living in it. After a hard journey, the family reach the fresh, clean Colorado River within the promised land of California; their bathing in the river is a kind of baptismal rite. Then follows a repetition of the overpowering force of economics and biological determinism as the family attempts to survive in a hostile world.

Excepting Cooper, the other three authors are considered by some critics as "regional" writers. In a country as large and diverse as the United States, the difficulty of writing the American novel has led to much speculation as to whether authors "belong" to a particular section or region. Thoreau has been classified as "New England", Twain as both "Western" and "Southern", and Steinbeck as typical of "California". The advantages and hazards of the regional and the local are the subject of the next chapter.
CHAPTER III

Regionalism and Local Color in American Literature

"Yet no literature can be mature without the regional consciousness; it can only be senile, with the renewed immaturity of senility."

Allen Tate

From the early years of the Republic writers emphasized local geographical settings and concentrated their attention upon the history, manners and speech of limited areas or regions of the United States. It is generally accepted that a localized environment such as a fishing village on the Maine Coast or a backwoods farm community in the Appalachians changes or modifies the lives of the inhabitants in certain identifiable ways. As a subject for literature, one test of a "regional" novel is whether the action and the characters can be moved to another geographical setting without serious distortion or loss of meaning.

Regional elements began to appear in American writing very early in its history, and perhaps the most significant "local" feature commented upon was in the development of different

1. Allen Tate, Collected Essays, Denver, 1959, 283.

2. The homogenizing effects of national and international mass media have tended to eliminate regional differences in recent years at the same time that there has been an increased interest by specialists in local folklore.
brands of humor. "Downeast Humor" stood out as a distinctive regional product soon after the Revolutionary War, and the stereotype of the shrewd, hard-bitten Yankee from New England has continued to be a source of jokes to the present day. Seba Smith wrote his The Life and Writings of Major Jack Dowling in 1833 thus helping to establish the "Yankee" as a stock type in humor. Covering a larger geographical area was the Southwest Humor which flourished in Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi and Georgia from about 1840 to 1870. Just as Downeast Humor could be distinguished by the Yankee drawl, so the humorists of the Southwest used phonetic spelling to render the Southern speech of the "red necks" and "crackers" from the rural areas. The influence of this humor on the work of Mark Twain has been noted by several scholars.

American poets also participated in the effort to create a truly national literature following the American Revolution. Following the example of their English cousins, the genre of "topographical poetry" suited the American poets' purpose of celebrating distinctively American scenery. This poetry was written within the confines of widely accepted neoclassic conventions of form and content; English poems of this kind are typified by Alexander Pope's "Windsor-Forest" (1713).

In the United States there was a considerable development of this kind of poetry. The depiction of local scenic land-

scapes brought poems celebrating Bunker Hill by several authors, and Mount Vernon as the home of the "father of our country" was also the subject of much verse. The Hudson and Schuylkill rivers were frequently described in this early period and such natural phenomena as Niagara Falls and the falls in the Passaic River. Towns that had a "glorious history" such as Eutaw Springs in South Carolina and Boston were also the subject of many poems. This kind of landscape celebration in verse had a particular vogue between 1783 and the War of 1812.

The names given to places were thought by early foreign visitors to be ugly and vulgar. The passage of time has given such names as "Big Muddy", "Medicine Hat" and "Deadwood" an aura of charm which was thought lacking in the nineteenth century. The literal-mindedness of Americans is evident in their place names which often are a statement of the geographical character of the area such as "Long Island", the "Green Mountains" and the "Red River". Throughout the land Indian names were widely accepted, and on the West Coast some place names derived from the Spanish. Immediately after becoming a nation many Greek and Roman names were used such as Athens, Utica, Syracuse and Rome.

According to one student of the subject, "Regional literature in contemporary America is the offspring of literary nationalism which in turn is the child of the Romantic movement".¹

¹. Benjamin Spencer, "Regionalism in American Literature", in Merrill Jensen's Regionalism in America, Madison, 1951, 219. This collection of essays is the best general treatment of regionalism.
Differences in climate, history, occupation and institutions which had fashioned America and given it a distinct national identity were also seen to be effecting further distinctions in the vast new continent. In both history and geography it was early thought useful to divide the United States into sections or regions, although there has been continuing controversy over the exact boundaries of the different regions. A wide range of criteria have been established such as physical features, land use, speech, voting patterns, religion and social organization, but these tests of what constitutes a region seldom satisfy everyone. Within literary circles there has been less controversy over the description of an area, and more over the question of whether or not a particular author should be identified with a particular region; for example, is Mark Twain a Southern author, Western or simply "American"? The Literary History of the United States published in 1948 recognized New England, the Old South and the South, the Middle Colonies, the Middle States and Western as regional groupings requiring separate chapters. The term "sectionalism" is applied by some recent critics to what they refer to as "schools of literature". Thus, there is said to be a New England School, a South Carolina School, a Knickerbocker School.

1. The decennial United States census first recognized sections and sectionalism in its 1850 report.

2. For a study of sectionalism, see Fulmer Wood's "Origin, Evolution and Application of the Sectional Concept, 1750-1900" in Merrill Jensen, Regionalism in America, Madison, 1951.
Nathaniel Hawthorne is thus classified as an important writer in the New England School; Washington Irving and James K. Paulding represent the Knickerbocker School; John Pendleton Kennedy and William Gilmore Simms are seen as members of the South Carolina School. The number of exceptions to this concept of "sectionalism" has reduced its value as a useful distinction.

Whereas historians and geographers have differed over the boundaries of other regions, the "south" has been readily accepted by them and by literary historians as constituting an area whose climate, soil, people and history have given it certain characteristics which distinguish it from other parts of the United States. Southern speech has, alone, been sufficient evidence of its regional character, and the South has been generally accepted as the most distinct of all the regional divisions in America.

"Yet most observers admit that Southernism is a reality too elusive to be explained in objective terms. It is something like a song or an emotion, more easily felt than touched."¹ In 1835 The Southern Literary Journal began publication to provide a voice as far as practicable for "topics of a local character, bearing directly upon the customs, peculiarities, and general tone of thinking, which prevails in this section of the country".²

1. Francis B. Simkin, "The South", in Regionalism in America, 149.

2. Spencer in Regionalism in America, 222. Today there are several literary magazines with "regional" titles such as Southwest Review, Rocky Mountain Review and New England Quarterly.
No incompatibility was understood to exist between regional expression and the interests of the entire nation.

Indeed, one of the justifications of regional literature was the feeling expressed by John Steinbeck in the 1960's that America was simply too vast to be encompassed in a single great novel. Nathaniel Hawthorne wrote in the 1850's that America had no limits and no oneness, and that when an author tried to write from the heart, he found that everything else fell away except his native state. A number of writers agreed that the national literature was really made up of an aggregate of regional writing, and that to write genuine American literature a Southern author must write Southern literature, or a Western author Western literature.

Another issue was raised in the South which is thought to have influenced the development of regional writing. A strong feeling developed among Southern authors that they were discriminated against by Northern publishers, and this imagined or real grievance gave impetus to the growth of regionalism. Boston and New York dominated literature as the two main centers of book publication. Moreover, to be published in the Atlantic magazine in Boston or Harper's in New York was considered by many authors the peak of literary success. Well after the Civil War two Midwest authors, William Dean Howells and Mark Twain, showed their strong feeling of respect for the two magazines. The growing

1. Mark Twain agreed with those who felt America was too large for any one novelist to generalize about it.

2. Today New York is the giant in the publishing world, with Boston and Chicago following.
controversy over slavery also led the South to demand a literature of its own to counteract the influence of the "incendiary madmen" north of the Potomac.

Increased interest in "the local" became evident soon after the Civil War. William Dean Howells expressed a fairly representative belief when he said that decentralization of American letters was a counterpart to the decentralization of American life. "Our very vastness forces us into provincialism of the narrowest kind." Hamlin Garland became the leading spokesman for the new interest in regionalism. His Crumbling Idols (1894) presented the most comprehensive view of local realism, also called "veritism" by Garland. He suggested that American writers make a spontaneous report of their own social and physical environment rather than concern themselves with "human constants". Each locality must produce its own literary record and each phase of life speak with its own voice since each age was its own best interpreter. Garland admitted that within the big cities there were "common experiences and habits", but he wanted writers to fasten on the subtle differences produced by their own local experience.²

Edward Eggleston's The Hoosier Schoolmaster (1871) is an


2. Mark Twain believed that an author's "capital" was the slow accumulation of unconscious observation, and that there was a danger of his becoming a superficial observer when he wrote about an area not familiar to him.
excellent example of an entertaining and widely read regional novel. The inhabitants of the state of Indiana were fertile in the invention of dialect forms; the term "hoosierisms" is used to describe these improvisations. Eggleston wrote his book using the dialect of the people he knew and the geography that meant home to him. His inspiration was the view of Hippolyte Taine, a French environmentalist writer, that the artist of originality will work courageously with the materials he finds in his own immediate surroundings. The Hoosier Schoolmaster was also intended as a protest against the dominant position of the New England scene in the literature of his time. Some critics find that Eggleston is too "localized" in his literary interests to appeal to a wide audience, and the concept of "local color" writing was suggested as a better term for this kind of book.

II

Local color writing exists primarily for its exploitation of the speech, dress, customs and scenery of a more limited geographical area than the regional novel. In local color the locale itself is often the main interest in the narrative, which, almost inevitably, takes place in a small town or rural area. The local dialect is carefully rendered and has been of considerable interest to collectors of folklore. A tendency for local colorists to emphasize obviously eccentric characters or to be over-sentimental in their plots is also evident in the less successful work.

The "color" in local color stories is frequently drab and
sombre, and frustrated spinsters in isolated communities are often the subject of the female local colorist. Decay and decline is evident in these small communities that appear as backwaters unstirred by the main currents of progress and intellectual life. The young leave the villages and the old are left with additional problems of maintaining civic services with declining resources. In the North the setting may be a once flourishing seaport where the wharves are now rotting away or a rocky hill farm in New England facing economic ruin from competition with the fertile farm lands to the west. In the South the problem of decay is often exacerbated by the additional difficulty of Negro-white relations. With few exceptions the setting for these local color stories is aesthetically depressing rather after the fashion of *Main Street* (1920) by Sinclair Lewis.

The local color writer has often lived in the setting that he describes and has "escaped" to literature and the city. Their affection for the home scene is still evident although they are now able to see it with the perspective of physical distance and a degree of emotional detachment. Two authors whose work immediately comes to mind are Mary Wilkins Freeman (1852-1930) and Mary Noailles Murfree (1850-1922). Mary Freeman wrote *A New England Nun and Other Stories* in 1891 in a period when local color was very popular. The principal story from which the book takes its title is about a New England girl who waits fourteen years for her lover to return from making his fortune in Australia. During this time she becomes increasingly set in her spinster
ways, and she is secretly pleased when the marriage is called off. The atmosphere is created by her plain, comfortable house with its good china and linen which come to mean inordinately much to her. It is the reader who feels the stunted, narrow life that the "New England nun" is leading. Mary Noailles Murfree wrote rather similar stories about the poverty and ignorance of people living in the Great Smoky Mountains. Her novel *In the Clouds* (1887) gives a picture of moonshining and a love affair in a setting dominated by a mountain peak "in the clouds".

A third woman writing in this period was Sarah Orne Jewett (1849-1909) whose *Country of the Pointed Firs* was published in 1896. Again the novel is the story of simple people, this time fishermen living in a small village on the coast of Maine. The author shows a deep perception of the lives of the people and obvious delight in depicting the setting which is so much part of their existence as well as livelihood. As with the best work of Willa Cather whose work is discussed in the next chapter, the depth of Miss Jewett's insight into the outwardly bare lives of the people in her novel is so penetrating that a feeling of "universality" results. Her sense of place is evident in her description of "the rocky shore and dark woods, and the few houses which seemed to be securely wedged and tree-nailed in among the ledges by the landing.... When one really knows a village like this and its surroundings, it is like becoming acquainted with a single person. The process of falling in love at first sight is as final as it is swift in such a case, but the
growth of true friendship may be a life-long affair."

Dorothy Canfield Fisher (1879-1958) wrote novels about small town life in Vermont which derive much of their interest from the evocation of the quality of the landscape in the Green Mountains and its influence upon the personality of her characters. *The Brimming Cup* (1921) is typical of her work and tells the story of a love triangle in which integrity wins out, the kind of integrity which is nurtured by the local setting.

In general, local color writing lacks the seriousness of purpose of the "realistic" novel, especially when it becomes too concerned with the parochial and "quaint". Often the main interest of the author seems to be the description of some small geographical area and its people at the expense of understanding that more than environment is involved in determining how people act. The stories sometimes become "landscapes without figures".

According to some critics, *The Luck of Roaring Camp* (1868) by Bret Harte (1836-1902) was the first local color story. This collection of tales about lumber and mining camps in California illustrates a common failing of much local color writing - the setting is convincing but the plot is so overloaded with melodrama and sentimental "diamonds in the rough" that few readers today take the author seriously.

In the 1920's and the Depression years which followed

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interest in local writing increased; people wanted to know what was happening at the rural and small town level during the social and economic upheaval just after the "Great War" and during the Depression. The "proletariat" novel attempted during this time achieved only limited success. The Proletarian Movement may have helped an author like Steinbeck to better understand both class and racial consciousness but it produced little lasting literature. The Works Progress Administration (WPA) also stimulated interest in the regional and local through hiring writers to produce the "American Guide Series" for all the states. Another reaction to the troubled times was that writers with more conservative political inclinations made an effort to depict what they thought were the "values of an earlier age which made America great". This led to the searching out of those pockets of "indigenous" Americans whose way of life had been preserved uncorrupted by the outside world. This interest has culminated in the widespread emphasis on folklore and its preservation which followed World War II.

A more recent development of the concept of regionalism has grown out of the work of cultural anthropologists and sociologists. It is expressed in writing that consciously seeks out the particular and local of those aspects of human character common to all men in all times and places. This "culture" concept provides a new framework for the evaluation of local differentiations.
An interesting study of the attitude towards "place" of a regionalist writer is found in an essay by Eudora Welty entitled "How I Write". Her writing of the Delta Country of Mississippi is heavily endowed with her sense of place, and she has been criticized for an over-emphasis on the atmosphere of her settings at the expense of character development and plot. Miss Welty describes what happens in writing a story thus:

Like a good many other writers, I am myself touched off by place. The place where I am and the place I know, and other places that familiarity with and love for my own make strange and lovely and enlightening to look into, are what set me to writing my stories. To such writers I suppose place opens a door in the mind, either spontaneously or through beating it down, attrition. The impression of place as revealing something is an indelible one — which of course is not to say it isn't highly personal and very likely distorted. The imagination further and further informs and populates the impression according to present mood, intensification of feeling, beat of memory, accretion of idea, and by the blessing of being located — contained — a story so changed is now capable of being written.

She goes on to say that regional writing itself has old, deep roots and "place" is one of the most simple, direct and obvious sources of the short story. It is also one of the most ancient as it is for lyric poetry; the regional writer's vision

2. Ibid., 548.
is made of local clay just as much as a mud pie in childhood. It is the act of the imagination that transforms the material into a successful story. She states that she is a proud partisan of regional writing because the connection between place and story is deep, requires time, and makes profound claims on the writer. "In a way place is your honor as it is your wisdom, and would make you responsible to it for what you put down for the truth." 1

Ellen Glasgow (1836-1918) expresses a similar view in her A Certain Measure, "An Interpretation of Prose Fiction". She had written a number of stories about places that were strange to her before she decided that she must return "to the familiar earth in which I was rooted and to the earlier fibres of my identity, which reached far down into a past that was deeper and richer than conscious recollection". 2 The author then added:

It was not that I wished to come back to the picturesque or the provincial. On the contrary, I had learned that there are many facets of human nature and that the aspect we call regional is only the universal surveyed from a shifted angle of vision. While I have faithfully painted the colors of the Southern landscape, I have always known that this external vraisemblance was not essential to my interpretation of life. 3

Of her best novel, Barren Ground, she wrote that she felt the setting possessed an added dimension, a universal rhythm more

1. Ibid, 548.
3. Ibid., 153-4.
fluent than any material texture, a brooding spirit of place, and under this spirit of place the whole movement of life. Of the setting of the novel she wrote that the "country is as familiar to me as if the landscape unrolled both without and within. I had known every feature for years, and the saturation of my subject with the mood of sustained melancholy was effortless and complete. The houses, the roads, the woods, the endless fields of broom­edge and scrub pine, the low immeasurable horizon — all these images I had seen with the remembering eyes of a child. And time, like a mellow haze, had preserved the impressions unaltered. They are the lighter semblances folded over the heart of the book."

In evaluating the regional and the local color narrative the basic question to be asked has already been suggested: to what extent has the author's preoccupation with what is parochial interfered with the universal themes and emotions common to people in any region in any period of time. Such diverse authors as Nathaniel Hawthorne, Eudora Welty and Ellen Glasgow believe that it takes long experience of an area for a writer to produce "in depth" descriptions of the countryside and people. American literature would be thin indeed without that feeling of texture which a loving "sense of place" provides in the best regional writing.

1. Ibid., 154.
CHAPTER IV
A Panoramic View of American Authors
and their Use of Setting

"Description is explanation".
Gertrude Stein

The scope of an "Atlas for American Literature" is evident in even a brief survey of American writing since the colonists arrived on the East Coast of North America early in the seventeenth century. Accepting the same criteria for selection as the majority of anthologies of American literature would mean the inclusion of several authors whose works are ideally suited to maps and illustrations. Most anthologies include extracts from the writings of John Smith, William Bradford, William Byrd and Sarah Kemble Knight, all of whom wrote history or geography or kept journals of their impressions of the new country.

Turning to another preoccupation of the early period, maps would be useful as a visual accompaniment to the Personal Narrative of the Reverend Jonathan Edwards or The Journal of the Quaker, John Woolman. Moving on to what is often termed "The Revolutionary Period, 1765-1789" it is at once evident that Notes on Virginia by Thomas Jefferson, third President of the

United States, lends itself perfectly to the work of the cartographer.¹

This thesis, however, examines only those works which have obvious "literary" quality; that is, stand on their own merit as literature rather than as history, geography or travel accounts. The authors discussed are important literary figures whose writings are better understood if accompanied by maps and illustrations. The authors receive a survey-type treatment in this chapter, and are listed in chronological order. Eight of the writers — Hawthorne, Melville, Whitman, James, Dreiser, Hemingway, Anderson and Faulkner — are given more extended consideration than the others.

The only autobiography included is by Benjamin Franklin although perhaps an equally good case could be made for The Education of Henry Adams (1907), and the life story of Lincoln Steffens has considerable literary merit. Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790) would probably approve of the provision of maps and illustrations for his Autobiography (1771, 1784-1789), and certainly the story of his life is also an account of his travels. In the early pages of the Autobiography the author takes the reader around Boston as it was in the 1720's, and a

map of the city in this period would be helpful. He also describes in considerable detail his "outward voyage" in journeying to Philadelphia in 1722, and a map of this journey as well as one of the city at about the time he walked up Market Street would give an additional dimension to the reader's understanding. From 1726 on Franklin travelled several times to England and to the continent, and all of these journeys would be suitable material for the cartographer. The possibilities for illustration from paintings and engravings are enormous and would include early scenes in Boston and Philadelphia, New York harbor as Franklin knew it, and at least a glimpse of London and Paris when Franklin lived there.

Washington Irving (1783-1859) has been mentioned earlier in connection with the "nationalizing" of writing in America. His Knickerbocker's History of New York (1809) is the second "classic" in American literary history. Manhattan Island as described in the "Reign of Wouter Van Twiller" would be a valuable companion for the reader of Irving as well as early wood engravings of New Amsterdam. Irving is only the first of a long list of American writers who were very interested in painting; he named his first important literary success abroad The Sketch Book (1819-1920). Other of Irving's books which would be improved by the inclusion of maps are Tales of a Traveller (1824), A Tour of the Prairies (1835) and Astoria (1836). Some editions of these books contain maps, but the
maps are on too small a scale to provide enough detail for the serious reader to follow the author's descriptions with much accuracy. *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville, USA* (1837) is a natural source of map material, some of which is available from the surveys made by Captain Bonneville whose maps and journals Irving had purchased.

Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804-1864) wrote *The House of Seven Gables*, already mentioned in connection with methods of using setting. Henry James wrote that Hawthorne was very much the product of New England. James believed that it takes a great deal of history to produce a little literature, and a complex social machinery must be set in motion. In his opinion, Hawthorne was intensely and vividly local, springing from the soil of New England. To know Hawthorne it is almost indispensable in James' view that the reader also know the region around Boston.¹ Another critic of American writing, Jay B. Hubbell, agrees and wrote that "Hawthorne cannot be thoroughly understood without some knowledge of this decadent seaport town in which he grew up".² Salem, Massachusetts, Hawthorne's birthplace, is the setting for *The House of Seven Gables*, and the house, built in 1686, still exists. A map of the area and

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1. Henry James, *Hawthorne*, New York, 1880. This short account contains excellent criticism but is inadequate as a biography.

illustrations of the house would be useful for the reader of the novel.\(^1\) Hawthorne also used real places such as Great Stone Face in the White Mountains in his short stories about New England. His most widely acclaimed novel, *The Scarlet Letter* (1850), is set in Boston and its vicinity as it was in the Puritan period. A map of Brook Farm and its nearby area would be of interest to the reader of *The Blithedale Romance* (1852) and his *American Notebooks* (1868). Hawthorne's only novel set outside the United States, *The Marble Faun* (1860), would be enhanced by a map of Italy and of the city of Rome.\(^2\) The city of Rome is an integral part of the action. Along with its geographical and artistic landmarks, Rome is important to the story as the home of the Catholic Church. It has been suggested that if the action of the novel were plotted on a map, it would form a cross. When *The Marble Faun* was published it attracted American readers, at least, almost as much by its description of Roman ruins and Italian landscapes as it did by the plot of the story.\(^3\) Hawthorne's account of his travels in

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2. Professor Norman Holmes Pearson of Yale University has informed the author that during a visit to Rome he followed the action of the novel on a map prepared for him by a friend.

3. In his biography of Hawthorne already mentioned James wrote that Hawthorne was not able to give an authoritative description of the streets and monuments of Rome in *The Marble Faun* however much he tried because he remained an "outsider". English and American authors might write delightful novels of Italy, but they will have something second-rate about them.
England and on the continent have been printed as *The English Notebooks* (1941) and would be more meaningful if accompanied by maps and illustrations. *Our Old Home* (1853-57), written while he was consul in England, also contains many descriptions of the English countryside and English towns.

The first poet to be discussed is another New England writer, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. His long narrative poem *Evangeline* (1847) is an ideal subject for cartography. Like *Hiawatha* (1855), *Evangeline* is an attempt to supply America with a legendary past, and both poems have become part of America's folk history. The poem is based on the British expelling some six thousand inhabitants from Nova Scotia. The heroine, Evangeline, set off on a grueling journey to find her young husband, Gabriel. She travels through many parts of the United States, even reaching the swamp country of Louisiana in her search. She finally is united with Gabriel just before he dies in Philadelphia. Commentaries on this long poem have helped in establishing the actual locale of the poem such as the lakes of Atchafalaya in Louisiana, and several other places can be identified. Wood engravings of the various places as they were in the period around 1755 would add interest to the authenticity of the maps.

The second major writer following Hawthorne in this survey is Herman Melville (1819-1891) whose writings immediately bring to mind the South Seas. Beginning with his thinly disguised
"travel book", *Typee* (1846), Melville's books abound in opportunity for the cartographer. Early ocean charts from the East Coast of the United States to Liverpool, England, would be valuable for *Redburn* (1849); charts of the Atlantic Ocean and around Cape Horn for *White-Jacket* (1850); and into the Indian and Pacific Oceans for *Omoo* (1847) and *Moby-Dick* (1851). Charles Anderson has written the most extensive study of the geography of Herman Melville's books. Melville was the first writer to use the South Seas in his novels, and his books aroused great interest in the region—an interest which he in turn tried to satisfy. Jay Leyda has compiled a most unusual documentation of where Melville was and what he was doing throughout his lifetime; his two volume *The Melville Log* furnishes the raw material for the cartographer to draw maps of his voyages both as a young sailor and imaginatively in his novels. For *Moby-Dick* several maps and charts would be useful. Beginning with maps of New Bedford, Massachusetts, and the Nantucket Island region of New England, the voyage of the Pequod can be traced through the Atlantic, around the Cape of Good Hope and into the Indian Ocean, through the Sunda Strait.

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2. Jay Leyda, *The Melville Log*, New York, 1951. The end papers of this two volume work include four maps: Pittsfield, Massachusetts in 1858, the world in 1865, Pacific Ocean in 1840, and New York in 1817.
and finally north into the East China Sea south of the Japanese "cruising grounds" where the whaling ship sank. Melville also made later voyages to London and the Continent in 1849, to the Mediterranean and the Near East in 1856, to California in 1860, and a last voyage to Bermuda in 1888. In writing about the whaling ship Melville explored new territory for literature just as Cooper did in writing of the frontier wilderness. It is not surprising that in a tale of the sea the shipboard setting, the ocean and the crew become "integrated". In *Moby-Dick* there is an extraordinary degree of inter-fusion of the Pequod's character, Captain Ahab, and the hunting of the great white whale. The ship is portrayed as almost a living entity closely related to whaling; for example, the tiller is not a conventional wooden wheel but made from the jaw-bone of a whale. "She was apparelled like any barbaric Ethiopian emperor, his neck heavy with pendants of polished ivory. She was a thing of trophies. A cannibal of a craft, tricking herself forth in the chased bones of her enemies." 

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2. The projection of living qualities on ships has been a common practice both in literature and in life.

are freely associated with the ship, and Melville describes
the Pequod leaving Nantucket at the start of the voyage as
thrusting her "vindictive" bow into the icy Atlantic.

The poetry of Walt Whitman (1803-1878) is full of references
to geography. Two kinds of maps for Whitman would be valuable.
Because Whitman wanted very much to be a "national" poet who
encompassed the whole sweep of the United States, his verse
contains references to a wide range of geography. One approach,
then, to providing maps is to show all the places in his poems
— the towns and cities, the rivers and lakes, the mountains
and plains — on a large scale map of the United States as it
was in his day. A different approach is to provide maps which
follow Whitman's life story from his early days on Long Island
through his travels to New Orleans and the "West" to his last
years in New Jersey. Specimen Days (1882) would be useful in
compiling the maps as well as books of recent scholarship on
Whitman's life. The Alderman Library at the University of
Virginia have a map on which Whitman traced his travels from
the East Coast to New Orleans, one of the more controversial
episodes in his life. The range of illustrative material
would need to be equally comprehensive for Leaves of Grass
(1855 to 1891). Certainly Brooklyn Bridge, Manhattan Island,
and the shore of Long Island would be of interest as well as
views of Washington, D.C. which figures in Drum- Taps (1865).

As an early and rather romantic Naturalist writer, Frank
Norris (1871-1902) shows great interest in the setting of his novels. The influence of the physical environment is very pronounced in *The Octopus* (1901) although tempered by the "mystical view of life" of Presley, a would-be poet, and the philosophic search for "the ideal" of Vanamee. The novel takes place in the fertile valley of the San Joachin River in California, centering around two large wheat farms and a small town. Norris gives a brilliantly evocative description of the wheat from its planting to harvest and emphasizes the impact of the land on the farmer's individual and collective lives. The "Octopus" in the story is the strangling monopoly of the railroad system, and Norris makes the physical presence of the tracks and the big steam locomotives part of the plot action. The climactic scene is a battle between the farmers and the railroad based on the historic Mussel Slough affair. The landscape of the valley is skillfully woven into the plot with the mountains rising in the background providing a place of refuge for characters with "mystical" tendencies. Some editions of *The Octopus* include a full page map of the area in the novel. In *McTeague* (1899) the influence of a city environment in conditioning the main characters of the novel is clearly shown. Norris gives a careful description of San Francisco to the extent that the reader can follow the action of the story on a map of the city as it was in about 1890. After the protagonist, McTeague, has to flee the city and the shabby neighborhood where he and
his wife have been living, the chase into the mountains becomes
an heroic struggle of man against geography. The Sierra Nevada
Mountains and the desert of Death Valley in Southern California
become a harsh background for the final scenes of the novel.
Illustrations of the kind of tenement building where the
McTeagues lived and scenes from San Francisco would be of
interest to the reader.

Stephen Crane (1871-1900) is another late nineteenth
century American who shows the powerful force of the physical
surroundings upon his characters. In Maggie: A Girl of the
Streets (1893) the downfall of a girl brought up in the degrading
environment of the Bowery section of New York City is made to
appear inevitable. Crane defined the novel as a series of
sharply outlined pictures passing before the reader like a
panorama. This novel lends itself to pictorial treatment of
slum life in the lower East Side. His Sullivan County Sketches,
collected for the first time in 1949, present a study of the
hills, ponds and forest around Hartwood, New York, where Crane
lived as a boy. The descriptions have the imprint of life seen
through the fresh impressions of a boy who is enjoying himself
out of doors, and remind the reader of Mark Twain's Life on the
Mississippi, said to be Crane's favorite book. His Chilomville
Stories (1900) are set in the area around Port Jervis, New
York. Crane's extensive war correspondence has been collected,
and maps would be most helpful in following this aspect of his
writing career. An illustration of the Commodore, the steamer on which Crane was wrecked, would add interest to his story The Open Boat (1898).

Jack London (1876-1916) uses the background of his novels and short stories to provide the biological "determinism" that is associated with the early naturalists. Setting is very important in Martin Eden (1909) in showing the striking contrast between the rich who lack real understanding of life and the poor who, with all their faults, often help one another. The Oakland area and the waterfront would be suitable for maps and illustrations. In his stories of animals the "environmentalism" becomes even stronger, particularly in The Call of the Wild (1903) with its bitter Alaskan landscape. His sailing trips and his long voyage to Hawaii and the South Seas about which he wrote require maps to aid the reader in following his adventures.

The writings of Henry James (1843-1916) bring many vivid scenes to the reader's mind. James was sometimes over-fastidious in his elaborate use of "setting" in his novels and short stories, and the setting is always significant and frequently very important to his plot and characterization. In this brief survey it is possible to indicate only a few examples of James's use of setting. Daisy Miller (1878) studies the effects of

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"innocent" Americans reacting to what is often shown to be the "decadent" qualities of sophisticated European society. James makes his setting in Rome and the ancient Colosseum part of the central action of the novel. In *Washington Square* (1881) he takes the reader to the fashionable residential section of New York City and sharply delineates the connection between Dr Sloper's personality and his comfortably large brownstone house on Washington Square. James contrasts the elegance and permanence of the Sloper environment with the cramped, modest wooden house where Morris Townsend's sister lives. A map of New York in the 1840's would be helpful as would pictures of this portion of the city. *The Portrait of a Lady* (1881) continues the analysis of what happens to rich American girls in Europe and gives the reader memorable landscapes of English country gardens and country houses as well as the palazzo of Gilbert Osmond in Florence. *The Bostonians* (1886) lends itself to illustration as well as to a bird's-eye view of the Cambridge and Boston district. *The Spoils of Poynton* (1897) explores on both an actual and a symbolic level the effect of owning a very special house in England; the spiritual ruin of the characters is closely allied to the physical setting and the concern for "possessions". A most fascinating use of setting to create atmosphere is *The Turn of the Screw* (1898). In *The Ambassadors* (1903) Lambert Strether is converted by the "cultural geography" of Paris and France into a man who has the
capacity to appreciate the best of the Old World way of life. The scene in Gloriana's Garden is an excellent example of how James is able to make the landscape work to his purpose with a minimum of obtrusive detail.  

Henry James's interest in painting is evident in several of his novels; his word portrait of Isabel Archer in Portrait of a Lady is matched by his portrait of Lord Warburton's country house. For his book A little Tour in France (1901) James asked Joseph Pennell to make the illustrations, and it would be useful to have a map of the "tour" to accompany the pictures and text. The same is true of The American Scene (1907) which demands the best possible illustrations; the 1946 edition with a "Foreword" by W.H. Auden includes a few indifferent photographs of such places as Grant's Tomb, Gramercy Park, and Hawthorne's "House of Seven Gables" in Salem.

Edith Wharton (1862-1937) used the term "chronicle-novel" to describe her manner of handling her material. Events in her novels tend to follow an orderly sequence and this reflects her great interest in the force of environment in shaping the destiny of her characters. The world of Edith Wharton's

1. Lambert Strether seeks to find in the French countryside a landscape which is the equivalent of a little painting by Lambinet. The scene in Gloriana's Garden is used by Percy Lubbock in his discussion of "point of view" in The Craft of Fiction, London, 1957. The same scene is also discussed in A Treatise on the Novel by Robert Liddell, London, 1960.
characters exist before they will it to exist. The House of Mirth (1905) gives the reader an inside picture of a wide range of environments from the shabby world of Gerty Farish to the various city residences and summer homes of wealthy New York society. Along with Theodore Dreiser and other Naturalist writers, Edith Wharton shows the overpowering force of environment on her heroine, Lily Bart. In The Age of Innocence (1920) the same setting of wealthy New York society is extended to include Newport as it was in the 1870's. The social class system is duplicated in the physical environment of her characters. The author uses many identifiable places such as Bryant Park and Fifth Avenue and creates some vivid landscapes. Her interest in the physical aspect of places is evident in the first book she published, The Decoration of Houses (1897). Suitable illustrations for her books are found in the engravings in such magazines as Vogue and Harper's Bazaar.

The writing of Hamlin Garland (1860-1940) is discussed in the chapter on regionalism and local color. His definition of Realism, "verbatim", emphasizes the accurate reporting of the details of provincial life in America. In his Main-Travelled Roads (1893) Garland gives a careful portrait of the harsh actuality of the environment of the Plain States, the Dakotas and Iowa and how important the characters' setting is in making

1. In A World Elsewhere Richard Poirier provides an interesting comparison of the way Edith Harton and Henry James utilize "environment" in their novels.
them act as they do in his stories. Garland's representation of the countryside goes a long way in persuading the reader that environment is a crucial force in forming patterns of behavior. Most suitable to depiction in maps and illustrations is his autobiographical series beginning with *A Son of the Middle Border* (1917) which shows his mother's family moving from the East to Iowa and later going on to California; *Trail-Makers of the Middle Border* (1926) is the story of his father's family migrating from Maine to Wisconsin in 1850, and includes pictures of Boston, the Great Lakes and the Minnesota Prairies; *Daughter of the Middle Border* (1921) records the author's own story; and *Back-Trailers from the Middle Border* (1928), gives an account of Garland's return from the Midwest to the East.

Continuing the emphasis on the conditioning force of environment is Theodore Dreiser (1871-1945). His work has already been mentioned in discussing the "determinist" use of setting. Donald Pizer has pointed out in his introduction to *Sister Carrie* (1900) that Dreiser stayed very close to actual events and used real locations in the novel. His publisher asked that Dreiser change the names of places in both Chicago and New York to protect them from possible libel. The action of *Sister Carrie* takes place in saloons on Adams Street in

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Chicago, in the Bowery in New York and in a hotel on 29th Street, and Minnie's flat is on West Van Buren Street in Chicago. In *An American Tragedy* (1925) the overwhelming impact of Clyde Griffith's background environment is central to the story. Of Clyde's early years in Kansas City Dreiser wrote that he lived in an "inartistic building [that] lies north of Independence Boulevard and west of Troost Avenue, the exact street or place being called Bickel, a very short thoroughfare opening off Missouri Avenue, a somewhat more lengthy but no less nondescript highway. And the entire neighborhood in which it stood was very faintly and yet not agreeably redolent of a commercial life which had long since moved farther south, if not west."¹

This is almost like the report of a sociologist surveying the various zones of an American city. Dreiser is the first great writer of urban life, and he sometimes gives the impression that he has a city street map and a telephone book on his desk while he is writing. The dreary, run-down character of the neighborhood where Clyde lives in the first book of *An American Tragedy* is reflected in the nondescript quality of his life. Later Clyde moves to a city in the Hudson River valley of New York State where he decides to drown his girlfriend in a lake in the Adirondack Mountains (Big Moose). The whole situation surrounding the girl's death is taken from a newspaper account of a

similar real-life event, and Dreiser gave careful attention to geography in the story. The oppressive setting dominated by the thick pine forests and the dark lake is in keeping with the murder that occurs there. In Clyde's flight from detection the setting takes on the quality of pursuer. Dreiser creates a convincing environmental picture through massive documentation. For Clyde the city streets and the Green-Davidson Hotel in Kansas City where he worked are his "university" just as the forests and streams are for Leatherstocking, the whaling ship for Ishmael, and the Mississippi River steamboat for Mark Twain.

William Dean Howells (1837-1920) does not provide as detailed and circumstantial portraits of the cities in his novels as Dreiser, but he too manages to accumulate an impressive amount of "real landscape". The Rise of Silas Lapham (1885) is one of the first novels to use an American businessman as the central character. Silas Lapham is a Vermont farm boy who has become successful in the paint manufacturing business in Boston. Howells takes the reader inside his dwelling and gives considerable attention to the new and expensive house Lapham is building in the "Back Bay" or "water side" of Boston. There is also an excellently rendered scene at Nantasket Beach where the Laphams spend part of the summer. As a spokesman for the realism of the "commonplace", Howells quite naturally devoted loving attention to such details as architecture and the appearance of the towns and cities which form the setting for most of
his work. In *A Hazard of New Fortunes* (1890) the scene of the action is New York, and the book provides a background commentary on social and economic problems in the big city. A riot during labor discontent in the city is graphically described as are the slums and tenements in which some of the characters dwell. Another of Howells' books which would be suitable for maps and drawings is his *Venetian Life* (1866) which includes his descriptions of life while American consul in Venice.

The writing of Willa Cather (1876-1947) is certainly saturated with the "sense of place". *My Antonia* (1918) is an excellent example of a novel in which setting and characterization mingle. The bleak Nebraska plains around the town of "Black Hawk" exert a powerful stimulus on both Jim and Antonia. If Miss Cather is an "agrarian" writer, she is one who certainly does not hesitate to show the harsh and ugly side of farm life. The howling winter wind assaulting the sod house of the Shimerda family and the backbreaking work of creating a farm out of the prairie are no simple eulogy to country life. The farmers are shown as having to shape their lives to suit the land they are trying to farm and the climate. That the country setting provides satisfactions as well as hardships is shown in the novel in several brilliantly written scenes of the countryside when the spring flowers are at their height or during the harvest season. The reader is persuaded by the handling of the setting that Antonia's deep need for the land is basic to her personal
development. In *O Pioneers!* (1913) the author is writing of her childhood memories. Again the protagonist, Alexandra Bergson, finds contentment in her devotion to the land, and again the setting of the novel provides the "solidity of specification" to make the theme convincing. The farm setting dominates as the heroine struggles to make it a success. Willa Cather's themes are too universal and her portrayal of human emotions so successfully evoked that it is a mistake to dismiss her books as "merely regional or local color". Maps and illustrations would help the reader who is unfamiliar with the Great Plains area of the United States to understand the setting.

In the writing of Ellen Glasgow (1874-1945) the influence of landscape upon the personality of her characters is frequently of great importance. She wrote about a limited area of Virginia which she knew well, and she has often been regarded as a "regional" writer. As with Willa Cather, her best work transcends the bounds of the local. Her first novels were a social history of Virginia from the rise of the aristocracy to Reconstruction after the Civil War, and she set many scenes in the area around Richmond, Virginia; for example, Queensborough in *The Sheltered Life* (1932) is Richmond. She renamed streets in Queensborough but stayed faithfully accurate in portraying the terraced hillside overlooking the canal and river and the balconied houses of Mulberry Street. Unlike Eudora Welty, Ellen Glasgow's characters came alive first and then the setting came
to her from scenes of her childhood. In her most important novel, *Barren Ground* (1925), the landscape inter-twine with the life of the heroine, Dorinda, so that they become inseparable. The first two sections of the novel are called "Broomsedge" and "Pine". Dorinda loves the land as Antonia does in Willa Cather's novel of the Nebraska plains, and she is closely in touch with it and responds to it. "Her eyes wandered from far horizon to horizon. Again she felt the quickening of that sympathy that was deeper than all other emotions of her heart ... the living communion with the earth under her feet." The landscape is immutable, and human lives drift across and vanish. Of *Vein of Iron* (1935) she wrote that the setting at Ironside was a combination of two mountain villages, and her picture of the village was so clear she could draw a map of the valley. She knew every road, every house, field, hill and mountain peak.

This thesis began with a quotation from Robert Frost (1873-1953) on the importance of geography to literature. Certainly his own writing reflects his theory that the best writing grows out of love of home and the land one knows. Frost's poems use the New England setting in all of its moods and includes a wide range of topography. Mountain farms in Vermont are a favorite background for his narrative poems and add the authentic detail

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to make them credible: the unpainted barn, the silo, the woodpile, the muddy spring-time road, the speech of the farmer, his wife or the hired man, the brooks and mountains. Actual places are named in some of his work, and others have been identified by scholars. A documentary film shows Robert Frost reading his poems against a variety of settings which match the setting of each poem. Maps and illustrations should be of a general nature showing "his New England" rather than concentrating exclusively on identifiable places in his work. As is soon evident in reading Frost, he often begins with a very local and restricted scene which he carefully develops and then brings in a sweeping moral "philosophy" near the end of the poem. Thus he starts with geography, with love of home and parents out of which comes poetry, and out of poetry grows philosophy and "out of philosophy all that we are". His writing would seem to substantiate Allen Tate's contention that all good writing derives from the place the writer knows, and that only through the particular can a writer reach the universal.

The people in Sherwood Anderson's (1876-1941) stories are very much immersed in and part of their background setting. In his most famous novel, "Winesburg, Ohio (1919), the town itself is one of the "characters" in that its size, configuration and

1. Quotation from Frost at the beginning of Chapter I.
2. Quotation from Allen Tate at the beginning of Chapter III.
general quality are the one most significant "force" in the book. The town is generally accepted as having been Anderson's own home-town of Clyde, Ohio. Some editions of the novel include a detailed map of the center of the town as it might have been seen from the hill where George Willard goes near the end of the novel or as seen from the steeple-study of the minister. A Life artist visited Clyde and discovered that the town had apparently changed very little since Anderson wrote about it nearly thirty years earlier. 1 Another novel which makes use of setting with considerable effect is Anderson's Dark Laughter (1925) which tells the story of a journey by boat down the Illinois and the Mississippi Rivers. Like Huckleberry Finn, the hero of the book, Bruce Dudley, drifts down the river in an open boat, and like Huck, responds to the primitive force of the river and to certain qualities which he finds in the life of the Negro. Many Marriages (1922-23) again portrays small town life in the Midwest of the United States; the thwarted, narrow lives of the inhabitants is reflected in the lack of beauty in their homes and towns.

F. Scott Fitzgerald (1896-1940) offers interesting material on setting in both of his best novels. In Tender is the Night (1934) the action takes place entirely in Europe. Friends of Fitzgerald have testified to the accuracy of his description of

1. Life, June 10, 1946.
such places as the "beach" which Dick Diver created on the French Riviera.\(^1\) The journeys of the Diver family can be followed on maps from Switzerland, through France and into Germany. Such scenes as the walk to the World War I battlefield at Verdun are suitable for illustration. In *The Great Gatsby* (1925) the setting of the "wasteland" between New York City and "West Egg", on Long Island has been noted by most of the critics of the novel. The desolate, soul-destroying suburbs are convincingly portrayed. Gatsby's mansion and the grounds surrounding it are cleverly insinuated into the theme of the novel as are the physical environment of Daisy and Tom Buchanan.

The ending of *The Great Gatsby* ties the landscape of America, "the fresh, green breast of the new world", into the central theme of the novel, the corruption of the "American Dream". The almost reverential comment by Nick Carraway, speaking for Fitzgerald, indicates the author's intense feeling for the environment, his distaste at its exploitation, and his hope that one day his country might learn from the past.

Ernest Hemingway (1899-1961) utilizes setting in two different ways in his writing. A friend of his told Hemingway after reading a first draft of *The Sun Also Rises* (1926) that he had written a "travel book".\(^2\) Hemingway rewrote the novel,

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keeping much of the setting, and even a casual reader will be aware of the detail with which Hemingway takes his characters about the streets of Paris in the early part of the novel.\(^1\) As an example, Jake Barnes goes from Avenue de l'Opera to the New York Herald Office, then to Rue des Pyramides to rue de Rivoli to the Tuilleries, then across the Seine River to Rue des Saints Peres.\(^2\) During this journey there is only a flat, non-adjective, kind of description which fits the mood of the characters. The listing of place names without commenting on them helps to create the impression that Jake knows Paris well and is not one to express easy opinions about scenery; this contrasts with Robert Cohn who takes a tourist's view later in the book when he and Jake visit a cathedral in south west France. Later in the novel Hemingway contrasts the feeling of desolation of the café society set in Paris with the clean, fresh wholesome environment of the hills around Burguete where Jake and Bill Gorton go on a fishing trip. Maps and illustrations would also be valuable for A Farewell to Arms (1929). The retreat from Caporetto is, of course, a matter of history, and it would be helpful to have a map of the lake which Frederick Henry and Catherine cross from Italy into Switzerland. Carlos Baker believes that Hemingway

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1. In a letter to the author on December 1, 1969, Carlos Baker writes that Hemingway had a map of Paris in his head which he had learned "by walking and riding all over Paris from late 1921 through 1927".

intentionally made a symbolic contrast between what happens in
the mountains and what happens on the plains. His general thesis
is that the good things happen in the mountains and the unpleas-
ant down on the plains. The mountains represent the Home-
concept, dry-cold weather, peace, quiet, love, dignity, health,
happiness and the good life; "the Not-Home concept is associated
with the low-lying plains; with rain and fog; with obscenity,
indignity, disease, suffering, nervousness, war and death; and
with irreligion". This theory has a number of contradictions,
however, one being that Milan where Frederick Henry and Catherine
Berkeley are so happily in love is certainly "on the plains".
Other Hemingway books which would benefit from the inclusion of
maps are The Green Hills of Africa (1935), In Our Time (1925)
and some of the short stories set in Upper Michigan such as
"Big Two Hearted River". It is worth noting that Hemingway's
posthumous novel Islands in the Stream (1970) includes a map in
the end-papers; unfortunately, several places mentioned in the
novel are not easily found or have been omitted from the map.

William Faulkner (1897-1962) has been mentioned earlier.
Sherwood Anderson once said of him that Faulkner was a
country boy who only knew that little patch of land in Mississ-
ippi where he was raised. Yoknapatawpha County is Faulkner's
mythical fictional domain just as "Wessex" was Hardy's.

1. Carlos Baker, Hemingway: the Writer as Artist, Princeton,
1963, 289.
Jefferson, the "county seat" of Yoknapatawpha County, is primarily Oxford, Faulkner's home town, but also includes something from other nearby towns such as New Albany where Faulkner was born, and Riply and Holly Springs. Most of Faulkner's books show his obsession with what the land means to the South: its wilderness, farms, decaying mansions, public buildings, and Negro cabins. Civil War monuments figure in his settings and the whole of Southern history is part of the legend that so interests Faulkner—some part of which he is himself responsible for creating for modern readers. Basically he seems to feel that the planters from England stole the Indian's land and that slavery became a curse upon the soil itself; the Civil War disrupted the Old South and destroyed many traditions that had value while replacing them with others of doubtful merit such as the hateful Snopes tribe represent. Some of these values are associated with the materialism of the North. The Snopes and people like them have no true understanding of the land and are harmful to it. In _Go Down, Moses_ (1942) Faulkner is very specific about the value of the wilderness as a teacher of essential moral values. At the same time he recognizes that the destruction of the wilderness by the rapacity of the white Anglo-Saxon is inevitable. This destruction of the natural environment suggests to Faulkner the possible return of society to a kind of savagery. Yoknapatwpha County is located in northern Mississippi between the pine-covered sand-
hills and the rich black-earth river bottom known as The Delta. When Malcolm Cowley refocussed attention on Faulkner's work in the 1940's by publishing *The Portable Faulkner* and new editions of his out-of-print books, Faulkner sent him a new map which he had drawn of Yoknapatawpha County to be used as the frontispiece in the new anthology.\(^1\) In the great range of his novels which include much of the history of the South, Faulkner utilized all four of the categories of setting mentioned in this thesis, and all of them are handled with assurance. An excellent volume of photographs of "Faulkner's Country" has been published, photographs that demonstrate very clearly the many aspects of setting in Faulkner's writing.\(^2\)

The shifting of the scene for the majority of American stories from the country or small town to an urban setting has tended to lessen the amount of "differentiation" between settings. The marked similarities between American cities of between one-half and a million inhabitants has been noted by various sociologists as well as by the novelist Sinclair Lewis. Lewis thought that with the exception of Boston, New Orleans, San Francisco and New York the pervasive quality of American

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1. An earlier version of the map was published in *Absalom, Absalom!* (1936). The original, according to the publisher, appears to have been lost.

cities was one of sameness. The setting of the urban novel is still of great importance for many writers, but it does appear to be true that certain "generic" qualities are apparent in most American cities of a similar size. The works of living authors are not included in this survey, but it is worth noting that both James Farrell and Saul Bellow make extensive use of the urban background of Chicago's South Side in their novels, and Bernard Malamud and Edward Wallant have utilized the seamier areas of New York City with great effectiveness.
"Although almost any novel will yield meaningful information about the time and place in which it was written, three kinds provide particularly happy hunting ground for the historian. The first is the highly autobiographical novel ... with characters modeled upon real people and incidents closely resembling real events. The second is the reminiscent novel ... where the characters and incidents are largely imaginary, but the setting is one intimately known to the author through his own experience. The third is the documentary novel ... in which the setting ... gains authenticity from the novelist's search for facts."

Nelson M. Blake

Before discussing the problems in compiling the maps and illustrations for an "Atlas of American Literature" it is useful to examine the approach of other literary atlases and to review their successful achievements. None of the works mentioned have attempted the same degree of depth or scope of this thesis.

Everyman Library produced a series of "Literary and Historical Atlases" for Europe, America and "Classical" areas of the world in the 1920's and 1930's. Although limited by their small format (6 1/4" x 4 3/4"), the historical maps are of

considerable value for their time, but the literary maps are not
only clearly subordinate to the historical but also very sketchy
and hesitant in approach. The volume devoted to the United
States is An Historical and Literary Atlas of America. It
contains only five maps purporting to illustrate the writings
of major American authors. Readers are able, of course, to use
the historical maps where applicable to a particular literary
work. The specifically literary maps are said to "reveal many
interesting aspects of American literature aside from the
colorless, though useful, data of dates of births and deaths
and places of births and residences. From it may be gleaned
the geographical distribution of literary talent during
successive periods of the nation's history as well as the
tendency of literary production to associate itself with a
beneficial social and economic environment."¹ The latter
portion of this statement by the editor is an extraordinarily
frank dismissal of all the literature produced in the United
States outside of the eastern seaboard from Virginia to New
England.

The five maps in the Everyman atlas are very limited in
what they attempt to present. The first map shows New
Amsterdam about 1650 with a dotted line showing in addition

¹ An Historical and Literary Atlas of America, Samuel McKee, Jr.,
the extent of the Manhattan Island area in the present day. A
second map of New York "about 1730" is followed by an illus-
tration of the city in 1746. Presumably these two maps would
be useful to the reader of Washington Irving's Knickerbocker
History of New York. Map three is a one-half page map of "the
Concord Neighborhood". Indicated on the map are Walden Pond,
Fairhaven Bay, and White Pond, all areas Thoreau writes about
in Walden, but the scale is so small as to make any serious
correlation with his book doubtful. For example, the map is
so small that the names of the two rivers that meet in Concord
village are not shown. The most interesting feature of the
map is the attempt to give some idea of the topography of the
region by including a 200 foot contour line.

Map four shows "the Boston District" including Salem,
the location of Harvard College, Cohasset on the South, and
west as far as Clinton. The final map in the volume shows
"Virginia in American Fiction" and the one-half page map
includes Baltimore, Annapolis and Norfolk. The historical
portion of the atlas includes maps for South American history,
but no mention is made of any literary figures beyond those
on the east coast from Virginia north to Salem, Massachusetts.
The index includes the name of the author, date and place of
birth, death date and a latitude and longitude reference.
No mention is made of "Walden Pond in the index."
In his "Preface" the editor wrote that:

You have a chart of the Concord Neighbourhood showing Walden Pond, Forest Lake, Lexington, and Punkatasset Hill, associated with the name and fame of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Nathaniel Hawthorne and Henry David Thoreau. Fenimore Cooper recalls the old Indian Territory as it was in the wild prime of the Red Man; and you travel from the land of "Hiawatha" in Long-fellows poem southward to the Mexico and Peru of Prescott....

The Everyman Library volume on Europe, revised in 1923, is more ambitious in portraying locations of importance to literature. The routes followed by the protagonists in Ivanhoe (1819) are shown and a full page map of "Dicken's England" is provided. "Land of Burns", "The Lake District", and "George Eliot's Country" give useful information, but none of the maps attempt a detailed or in depth mapping of the author's work.

A more recent effort to present maps which are useful in reading American literature is the central section in A Gloss-attor of World Literature. The editor refers to the importance of the environment on the work of writers and the value of associating ideas and places and suggests that "quite frequently important literary masterpieces cannot be correctly interpreted or appreciated without an understanding of the scenes which depict life in certain places or which refer to specific

1. Ibid., x.
The entries and pictures on the map are largely devoted to showing the birthplace of the author or noting under Salem, Massachusetts "Location of The House of the Seven Gables".

Here is a map which serves as an enlarged illustration of the textbook and a reference work for the literary classroom. It effectively serves every arrangement of organization of literary material: topic, chronological, type, or any combination of these. Providing a useful guide for the travel sketch, the historical narrative, the legend, the frontier epic, the biographical essay, and for all the other types of regional literature, the United States Literary-Pictorial Map becomes a supplementary aid for the encouragement of reading enjoyment and understanding.

One of the most interesting attempts to present the literature of America through pictorial means is Literary America. The authors write that they have attempted "in pictures and words" to show the literature of America. They have avoided portraits of the authors, their birth places, home-towns or tombstones and instead have "sought to convey pictorially the places which inspired their work or became famous because American authors wrote about them".


2. Ibid., 26.

3. David Scherman and Rosemarie Redlich, Literary America, New York, 1952, 5. This volume is published in large enough format (8½" x 11") to present very effective scenic views.
The authors have resisted a literal documentation in some cases in favor of giving the "mood or impression" that might better illustrate what they thought the writer's mood to be. Their purpose is to bring the reader closer to the themes of American literature than a bare photographic recital of the accidents of birthplace and burial. Authors who wrote of an imaginary locale are excluded, and some important sites to illustrate an author's book did not lend itself to a suitable photograph. The authors suggest that such a literary pilgrimage in England or France would be more fruitful because picturesque remnants of the past have been more often preserved than in America.

Ninety-two authors have been included and range from Captain John Smith to Eudora Welty. All of the authors included in Chapter four of this thesis are also in this volume. The book is particularly useful for readers of American writing who have never seen the country.

Two publications dealing with English authors in relation to their use of geography need brief mention. In 1963 John Freeman produced Literature and Locality, "the Literary Topography of Britain and Ireland". 1 It is a most useful guide to literary references for the entire history of English writing. He includes comments on the authors' interest in the places they wrote about and provides sufficiently detailed

road maps to allow the interested reader to locate, for example, a great many places mentioned in Dicken's novels.

A more detailed study of one author is A Hardy Companion by F.B. Pinion. This fascinating "companion" for the student of Hardy includes eleven maps and a wide range of illustrations. The author discusses such matters as whether Egdon Heath in The Return of the Native (1878) is more than a background.

Another interesting work on Hardy is an article by H.C. Darby, "The Regional Geography of Thomas Hardy's Wessex", in which the author extrapolates the geography of Dorset from Hardy's novels. Darby thinks that with Hardy the "topographical novel" became the regional novel in England. Using modern maps of various geographical features, the author shows through Hardy's descriptions such places as the Vale of Blackmoor and the Isle of Purbeck.

II

The methodology developed in compiling the kind of literary atlas envisaged in this thesis is stated in brief outline followed by a discussion of the general problems which had to be solved. For each of the four authors included in


the thesis, special problems peculiar to their writing were dealt with and these are given attention as their work is presented.

The general method followed was: (1) select the authors to be included in the atlas on the basis of their use of geography; (2) determine the most authoritative text; (3) read and list all relevant geographical material and note scenes suitable for possible illustration, and then assess the importance of setting in the author's work; (4) read and take notes on any references to the author's use of setting in autobiographies, biographies, journals, letters and critical studies; (5) check all doubtful references to ensure that only real localities and not imaginary ones are included; (6) locate and assemble contemporary maps of the period such as street maps, township maps, charts, bird's eye views, sketch maps and government surveys and evaluate their usefulness; (7) assemble present day material and research all possible sources of maps and illustrations; (8) construct new maps for specific books or authors where necessary; (9) solve special problems for the individual authors; (10) select from the best possible maps and illustrations those for use in the atlas.

The selection of authors to include in an "Atlas for American Literature" was determined by two tests: first, is the author of sufficient stature in literature, and, second, is there enough geographical material in his writings to warrant
the provision of maps and illustrations. An entire volume could be assembled for "minor" writers such as Sarah Kemble Knight and William Byrd which would have historical interest but marginal literary value. Again, concentration on regional and local color writing would also provide the basis for a literary atlas of considerable interest. For this thesis, only major authors of recognized literary merit have been used.

Having decided which authors to include, it was then necessary to select the most authoritative text. The advice of scholars who have studied the writings of the individual author was consulted. A new edition of Mark Twain's books, including much unpublished material from the manuscript collection, is being issued at the University of California. Valuable material for the atlas has been published in this new edition. James Fenimore Cooper's "collected writings" have been issued in several editions, and some of these include introductions with useful references to geography which are only available in that particular edition. His daughter Susan also added valuable notes to a late edition of her father's books.

While reading the best available text and listing all geographical references and scenes suitable for illustration, an assessment is made of the importance of the setting to the author's purpose as well as a final decision on the value of including the book in the atlas. An example of the listing technique in abbreviated form for Life on the Mississippi and
Grapes of Wrath is included in the thesis. Certain preliminary ideas about the kind of maps and illustrations for the book solidify at this time, and work begins on preparing a detailed bibliography of map sources for the book as well as a list of questions about places and events or people mentioned in the text.

The many questions which were raised in preparing the list are sorted out on the basis of any supplementary material which may be located. For example, Nathaniel Hawthorne's The Blithedale Romance deals at considerable length with events taking place at Brook Farm, and a logical volume to read in connection with the novel is his The American Notebooks (1932) as well as any relevant letters. Another source of information is, of course, the biographies of Hawthorne dealing with this period of his life as well as histories of Brook Farm. The detective work at this level is endless, and no compilation of maps and illustrations can be said to be "completely satisfactory". As more material is published each year, certain gaps in knowledge are filled and questions answered; in this regard an atlas is a cooperative intellectual undertaking.

Any doubtful references in fictional works must be carefully noted and checked; if there is any question about the authenticity of the "fictional" place, it should be omitted or a note included to point out that the imaginary and the real place may differ. At the same time, the value of
"suggestive maps" which provide the cartographer's impression of what a place was probably like may be of value. It is essential that such "suggestive" maps be clearly identified and no maps of this kind are included in this thesis.

The information now gained often suggests contemporary maps which the author might well have known about or used in his travels, and locating these maps is an important step in compiling a literary atlas. An example of this process is the fact that several maps drawn by Thoreau were discovered by the author in an old trunk in the storeroom of the Concord Free Library and form the basis for the section on Thoreau in this thesis. The value of a map showing the country as it was when the author wrote about it is obvious; a map of where the Indian tribes were thought to live as drawn in 1771 is more relevant to James Fenimore Cooper's "Leatherstocking Novels" than a map compiled by experts on the Indian today; both maps are included in this thesis, and both add to the reader's knowledge. As is noted in dealing with the provision of maps for Mark Twain's book, the Mississippi River has changed its course so drastically and frequently that a modern map of the river would be most misleading for the reader following his journeys in life on the Mississippi. A wide variety of sources must be investigated in finding contemporary maps. P. Lee Phillips compiled the monumental A List of Maps of America in the Library of Congress which is the single most valuable
reference work in locating early maps. Published in 1901, the many recent additions to the Library of Congress collection are not included. The Map Division of the Library of Congress is helpful in finding maps and suggesting sources for map material. Other outstanding collections of maps are the Morgan Library in New York, the Newberry Library in Chicago, and the Huntington Library in San Marino, California. Specialist collections such as the Mariner's Museum in Newport News, Virginia, and American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts must also be searched.

Modern maps are more easily located and collected or copied. Of considerable general value are the sets of road maps published by various oil companies in the United States. Guide books for states, cities, rivers and mountains are sources of modern maps as well as books on specialist subjects such as agriculture, folklore, navigation, marine technology, and histories of whatever kind. Special publications are mentioned in the separate chapters. Scholars working at depth on an author are usually generous in giving suggestions and help in locating maps and illustrations. Carlos Baker's detailed study of the day-to-day life of Ernest Hemingway and "alder Harding's similar study of Thoreau are valuable resource tools in locating material.

The construction of a map to accompany a specific book means combining the best available contemporary maps with modern
geographic information and making a "compromise" about what is to be included. All maps are by their nature a compromise; maps seldom are able to show all that might be desirable due to limitations of size, knowledge and skill. The advice of a professional cartographer is most useful at this stage.

Special problems arise for each of the authors in a literary atlas and require a special solution; accumulated experience is helpful in dealing with new problems. For example, locating a street map of Kansas City as it was in 1920 is a special problem, but previous efforts in finding material indicate that it would be fruitless to inquire from the American Automobile Association because they do not retain maps that are more than a few years old; a more likely source would be the historical association or museum in Kansas City; failing that, it would be necessary to try the state historical society, and, possibly, a larger regional body such as the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. The War Department of the United States Government has an excellent collection of very detailed maps for battles during the Civil War. These maps provide excellent views of the Mississippi River as it was just after Mark Twain was forced to give up piloting on the river because of the war.

Assembling the illustrations proceeds as the mapping material is located. Again, a wide range of source material is available including the many public collections in museums
and historical associations. The Index to Illustration is useful for some of the more current pictures although limited in its coverage to only a few magazines such as *American Heritage* and *The National Geographic*.

Illustrations from first editions are frequently a valuable source of information on setting and often relatively unknown to present day readers. Mention is made of this kind of material for the four authors discussed in the thesis. Before 1840 photographs are difficult to locate and artist's impressions are depended upon for picturing settings.\(^1\) The drawings of Phiz are automatically associated with Dickens just as those of John Tenniel accompany the "Alice" books of Lewis Carroll. The illustrations of F.C.C. Darley are acknowledged to add pertinent comment on Cooper's novels in the same way that the photographs by Herbert Gleason have long been famous in depicting the "Thoreau country". The drawings for the first edition of *Life on the Mississippi* are undistinguished artistically, yet many of them add directly to the reader's knowledge of the river and its topography. In the same way the 1938 edition of Steinbeck's pamphlet on the plight of the migrant worker gives graphic portrayal of conditions in *The Grapes of Wrath*.

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\(^1\) Histories of photography are a source of a surprising amount of material useful in literature. Collections of unpublished photographs can be located by assiduous writing to individuals, companies and public associations.
For the thesis only a limited selection of illustrations have been provided, and these are intended to show the "setting" as it was when the author wrote about it if possible or a revealing present day photograph of the topography. Means of transportation have been included when relevant to two of the authors discussed.
PART II

James Fenimore Cooper
Mark Twain
John Steinbeck
CHAPTER VI

James Fenimore Cooper (1789-1851)

"Never has topographical writing encroached further upon painting. This is the school where the literary landscape-painter should study; all the secrets of the art are here." 1

Honore Balzac

James Fenimore Cooper lamented the poverty of materials for the artist in the new country, America. "There is scarcely an ore which contributes to the wealth of the author that is found here in veins as rich as in Europe. There are no annals for the historian; no follies (beyond the most vulgar and commonplace) for the satirist; no manners for the dramatist; no obscure fictions for the writer of romance; no gross and hardy offences against decorum for the moralist; nor any of the rich artificial auxiliaries of poetry." 2 Yet in his lifetime Cooper created from this poverty of materials one novel about society, two historical novels, eight forest romances, eleven tales of the sea, and ten socio-political novels about the United States. To the world the best known American novel is probably *The Last of the Mohicans, a Narrative of 1757* (1826).

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2. Ibid., 24.
Moreover, Cooper was able in his "forest romances" to handle the new surroundings with a degree of originality through the creation of the frontiersman hero, Leatherstocking, to live in the new environment.¹ Henry Nash Smith maintains that Cooper modified the traditional form of the novel as far as he could without shattering it to suit the new materials found in America, and at the same time Cooper altered his materials as much as possible to make them fit the older forms.²

In Cooper's five novels known collectively as The Leatherstocking Tales the action with the exception of The Prairie turns around certain historical events taking place in upper New York State in the period between 1744 and 1793. Although these tales take place in a fairly limited geographical area, Cooper is not a regional writer even in the sense that Nathaniel Hawthorne might be thought regional. His intention and scope are national although of course the nation he wanted to represent reached at that time only to about the Mississippi River. The Prairie, written in 1827, does carry Leatherstocking to the Great Plains in the period around 1804, and here in his last years he recollects the beloved forests of New York.

An understanding of the general topography of the region between Lake Otsego, Lake Ontario, Lake Champlain and the upper waters of the Hudson River is valuable in following the

1. Cooper hyphenated the word as "Leather-stocking" but current practice is to omit the hyphen.

four Cooper novels set in this "arena". It is important to know where the various forts are located, which direction the rivers flow, the relationship of one lake to another, and the rough boundaries of the Indian tribes to fully comprehend his writing. This geographical knowledge on the part of the reader would have been welcomed by Cooper himself.

That he recognized the importance of setting is evident from his skillful and careful descriptions, and Cooper obviously took pleasure in depicting the scenery of his forest romances. In The Deerslayer (1841) he wrote "A bird's eye view of the whole region east of the Mississippi must have offered one vast expanse of woods, relieved by a comparatively narrow fringe of cultivation along the sea, dotted by the glittering surface of lakes, and intersected by the waving lines of rivers". His landscapes often consist of a magnificent back-drop to which the author calls attention from time to time. His descriptions are sketches made with broad, sweeping strokes which emphasize the vastness, the grandeur and the solitude of the outdoor scene. Sublime is a favorite word to describe his larger "canvases". Comparison of Cooper's landscapes with those of the Hudson River School of painters reveals important similarities.

1. In his Introduction to The Prairie Cooper provided an extensive explanation of the geographical meaning of the term used in his title so that the reader would understand the setting of the story.

Both Cooper and Thomas Cole treat the delineation of the natural world in a way that emphasizes a simple effect; both have a romantic quality which depends not on subtlety but on the largeness of the artist's conception. Cooper obviously wants the reader to feel imaginatively the sublimity of a peaceful lake bordered by forested hills as dusk falls. His eye is not that of a botanist or naturalist, and Cooper seldom mentions the names of flowers or trees for he is more interested in creating a "sense of place" and an emotional response to his scenes. His success is more often with the panoramic landscape than in depicting local scenery, and, as Mark Twain noted in his essay "Fenimore Cooper's Literary Offenses", Cooper sometimes has difficulty moving his characters about in a limited locale. His settings must be judged on the basis of what Cooper intended rather than for a realism he did not seek.

As Joseph Conrad has written, "For James Fenimore Cooper nature was not a framework, it was an essential part of existence. He could interpret both for us in his prose with all the

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1. An interesting comparison of the two men is Donald Ringe's "James Fenimore Cooper and Thomas Cole: An Analogous Technique", in American literature, XXX, March, 1958, 26-36. Ringe finds that there may have been at least an indirect influence of Cole's paintings on Cooper. Van Wyck Brooks comments in The Dream of Arcadia, American Writers and Artists in Italy (1780-1915), London, 1958, that Cooper noticed that purple and blue predominate in the landscape of the Bay of Naples whereas greens and greys were found on the American coast.
facility and sureness of effect that belong to a poetical conception alone.\footnote{1} Conrad thought that Cooper's "descriptions had the magistral ampleness of a gesture indicating the sweep of a vast horizon", and he concludes that Cooper wrote as well as any novelist of his time.\footnote{2}

II

Along with his obvious intention to entertain the reader, Cooper wished to show the "way America looked" before the scene became irretrievably altered by the advance of a materialistic civilization. He wrote \textit{The Last of the Mohicans} after a visit to Lake George during which one of his companions suggested that the caves at Glenn's Falls would be a suitable setting for a romance. According to the testimony of his daughter, Cooper examined the ground closely in order to be able to describe it accurately later. Even in 1826 when the book was published the author had the problem of imagining the natural scene at the falls before it had been considerably changed through the reduction of the river's flow by a dam which had been built upstream. In the "Introduction" to the 1850 edition of the novel Cooper notes that the spring where Hawkeye (Leatherstocking) once drank is now a fashionable watering place and Fort William Henry is now a ruin. Yet "the whole of that

\footnote{1}{Joseph Conrad, \textit{Notes on Life and Letters}, London, 1921, 55.}
\footnote{2}{Ibid., 55.}
wilderness in which the latter incidents of the legend occurred is nearly a wilderness still, though the red-man has entirely deserted this part of the State".  

As in so many of his novels, history is important in providing an explanation for the action in The Last of the Mohicans as well as establishing the locale for the story. It is not difficult to imagine a frontiersman like Leatherstocking taking part in the French and Indian War, and thus the reader is inclined to accept the setting of the tales as real. Within Cooper's lifetime reviewers of his work noted the similarities between Leatherstocking and Daniel Boone.  

Beginning with The Deerslayer the reader of The Leatherstocking Tales follows the life story of Natty Bumppo (also known as the "Deerslayer" and "Hawkeye") from his youth with the Delaware Indians to his old age as a trapper. In 1744 as the scene opens in The Deerslayer King George's War had started, and the place of action is Lake Otsego some seventy miles west of Albany, New York. The reader is made aware of the great struggle taking place between the British and the French for possession of the North American continent.  

The next novel in terms of the life story of the hero is 

1. James Fenimore Cooper, The Last of the Mohicans, Boston, 1958, 10.  
The action revolves around the attack by the French on the region between the upper Hudson River and Lake George and Lake Champlain. Cooper warns the reader in his "Preface" that he should not expect imaginary and romantic pictures of things that never happened but to be ready for real events in real places. In The Pathfinder (1840) Leatherstocking is older and wiser, and he leads a party of English to Fort Oswego on Lake Ontario in the year 1759. The Pioneers (1823) is sub-titled "The Sources of the Susquehanna, a Descriptive Tale", and this novel carries the story down to 1793 and the founding of Cooperstown on Lake Otsego. Natty Bumppo is now an old man who expresses his concern for the wanton destruction of his wilderness home, the forest. This novel is an excellent source of factual information about the first years of a frontier settlement in New York State and is based in part on the history of Cooper's father. Cooper had lived as a boy on Lake Otsego and returned there at various times in his life. He also knew the area around Lake Oneida, Lake George and Lake Seneca, and he had a skiff with a lug-sail on Lake Otsego, all of which helped to give reality to the scenes in his Leatherstocking novels. Cooper had walked miles through the forest to Lake Champlain and wandered about in the Thousand Islands in the St Lawrence River. Some of the blockhouses and forts that he describes in his novels were still standing in his lifetime. He knew Fort
William Henry with its bastion, moat and glacis and had visited the grey stone walls of Fort Ticonderoga.  

An American historian who wrote about the same period of history, Francis Parkman, wrote a review of his work soon after Cooper's death. Of scenes in The Pathfinder Parkman noticed that although he borrowed in part from Mrs Grant's Memoirs of an American Lady Cooper "transmuted shadows into substance. Mrs Grant's facts - for as such we are to take them - have an air of fiction; while Cooper's fiction wears the aspect of solid fact." The Last of the Mohicans seemed to Parkman a book with the very odors of the pine woods and the freshness of the mountain wind. "Its dark and rugged scenery rises as distinctly on the eye as the images of the painter's canvas, or rather as the reflection of nature herself." He added that it is not for the mere rendering of material forms that Cooper's scenic paintings are most highly valued but that they are instinct with life, with the very spirit of the wilderness, and breathe the sombre poetry of solitude and danger. Of the scene at

1. Along with his many novels, Cooper also wrote five travel books based on his journeys in Europe. He lived in England, France, Germany, went on long walking trips in Switzerland, and sailed a felucca down the coast of Italy.


3. Ibid., 155-156.

4. Ibid., 156. Parkman thought that Cooper had no equal in these achievements unless it was the author of Wacousta, a romance appearing at about this time, written by Major John Richardson.
Glenn's Falls which Mark Twain berated the historian thought that nothing of Sir Walter Scott's could surpass it. "The scenery of the fight, the foaming cataract, the little islet with its stout-hearted defenders, the precipices and the dark pine woods, add greatly to the effect. The scene is conjured before the reader's eye, not as a vision or picture, but like the tangible presence of rock, river, and forest. His very senses seem conspiring to deceive him. He seems to feel against his cheek the wind and spray of the cataract, and hear its sullen roar, amid the yells of the assailants and the sharp crack of the answering rifle. The scene of the strife is pointed out to travellers as if this fictitious combat were a real event of history."  

Parkman maintained that Cooper had been successful in enlisting the reader in the very scenery itself so that he takes part in the skirmishes. When he wrote the essay in 1852 the scene of The Last of the Mohicans at Glenn's Falls was marred by mills and bridges, yet Parkman noted that the rocks and foaming waters were clothed with all the interest of an historic memory. Along with D.H. Lawrence, Parkman thought that scenes in The Pioneers such as the turkey-shoot, the fish-spearing by firelight on Lake Otsego and the burning of

1. Ibid., 156.
the woods were inimitable in their way. It was this novel that Parkman believed would hold a permanent place in literature because it preserved a setting which would soon pass away.

III

As Parkman suggests, the setting itself becomes a very real experience for the reader and to a degree becomes a participant in the action of the novel. Another American historian, Allan Nevins, has edited The Leatherstocking Saga through abridging the five novels into one volume which makes a continuous narrative. Nevins believed that it was incorrect to speak of landscape in Cooper's novels as a mere background for his action because the setting takes part in the action just as the landscape was a participant in the events of American history. As an example of how this is done Nevins examines a scene from The Pathfinder in which Leatherstocking and Old Cap, his niece Mabel, her suitor Jasper Western, and the Indian, Chingachgook, are journeying through the woods of northern New York towards Fort Oswego. Leatherstocking finds a hostile Mingo trail in front of them, and the party must

1. Lawrence wrote of scenes in The Pioneers that they were marvellously beautiful, "some of the loveliest and most glamorous pictures in all literature". Studies, 55. Balzac also was impressed with the portrayal of landscape in that it was impossible to separate the earth, the trees, the waters from the incidents of the story. He thought that the characters became of small account against the great scene which captures the reader. op.cit., 28.
decide how to descend the Oswego River past the Indians who are lying in ambush. They light a fire of damp wood back of them in the hope that it will draw the enemy up the river and they hide themselves in two canoes behind an overhanging canopy of bushes which affords a complete screen. The Indians are too shrewd and half of them remain in ambush while the other half search out the campfire and discover the artifice.

Efforts to flush out the whites are redoubled. Suddenly a single savage discovers the party; Chingachgook falls him; but at once the whole swarm descend on their prey -- and the group take to their canoes as the only means of escape. As Cap, Mabel, and Jasper whirl rapidly down toward the fort, Leatherstocking, alone in one canoe, deliberately exposes himself to draw the Indians' fire; and before long the fusillade forces him to abandon his craft and take refuge behind a rock in midstream. From that point, rock, river, waterfall, and forested margin are as much sharers in the drama as the human beings, and it is through apt management of them that Leatherstocking and Chingachgook triumph.

Another incident of a similar kind is found in a critical scene in *The Deerslayer*. This time Leatherstocking is helping Chingachgook find the Indian maiden Hist who has been taken by the hostile Hurons. The action takes place on Lake Otsego, called Glimmerglass in the novel. Leatherstocking is on board "the ark", a light canal-boat which is slowly being allowed to drop back on its anchor rope to the outlet of the Susquehanna

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River to pick up Chingachgook from Council Rock, an oval shaped boulder rising a few feet above the surface of the lake. The geography of the setting is important to the action, indeed inseparable from it. The river's outlet is narrow enough so that the branches of the trees overhang the river "forty or fifty feet beyond the line of the perpendicular".¹ Just after Chingachgook swings himself aboard the ark, a number of the hostile Hurons jump down out of the branches of the trees where they have been hiding and attempt to capture the cow. Only one Indian is able to reach the boat as it is swiftly hauled away from the rock, and the heroine, Judith, promptly pushes him overboard.

Later in the same novel Leatherstocking and his friend Chingachgook are attempting to rescue Hist from an encampment of the Hurons on a point of land extending out into the lake. Cooper describes the two acre peninsula in detail, pointing out that the area on which the camp was placed occupied less than half of the total.

It was principally covered with oaks, which, as is usual in the American forests, grew to a great height, without throwing out a branch, and then arched in a dense and rich foliage. The surface of the land was tolerably even; but it had a small rise near its center, which divided it into a northern and southern half. On the latter, the Hurons had built a fire; profiting by the formation, to conceal it from the enemies, who, it will be remembered, were supposed to be in the

¹ Cooper, *The Deerslayer*, 148.
castle, which bore northerly. A brook also ran brawling down the sides of the adjacent hills, and found its course into the lake, on the southern side of the point.... All these peculiarities, so far as circumstances allowed, had been noted by Deerslayer, and explained to his friend.

The reader will understand that the little rise on the ground, that lay behind the Indian encampment, greatly favored the secret advance of the two adventurers. 1

Having set this elaborate topographical scene for the subsequent action, Cooper then proceeds to bring the two parties into conflict with each other knowing that the reader will be able to visualize the place where the action happens. As in the previous passages, the point of land, the oak trees and the little stream merge with the sudden burst of the human conflict on the edge of the lake. This inter-dependence between setting and characters is a continual force in The Leatherstocking Tales.

IV

Mark Twain wrote an essay entitled "Fenimore Cooper's Literary Offenses" which appeared in The North American Review in July, 1895. The essay is not a happy one in its derision of Cooper partly because some of the faults he finds are based on a careless reading of the novels and partly because one of Twain's major complaints about Cooper's inaccuracy in handling

1. Ibid., 287-8.
"geography" can also be levelled at The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn.¹

Twain claimed that in Cooper's The Deerslayer the novelist had violated eighteen of the nineteen rules governing literary art. After complaining as we might expect of the lifelessness of the conversation and the use of two words when one would suffice, Twain examines in detail Cooper's sin of not knowing how to handle the physical setting of his stories. He states that Cooper's eye was "splendidly inaccurate. Cooper seldom saw anything correctly.... In The Deerslayer tale Cooper has a stream which is fifty feet wide where it flows out of the lake; it presently narrows to twenty as it meanders along for no good reason, and yet when a stream acts like that it ought to be required to explain itself. Fourteen pages later the width of the brook's outlet from the lake has suddenly shrunk thirty feet, and become the 'narrowest part of the stream'. This shrinkage is not accounted for.... Cooper made the exit of that stream fifty feet wide, in the first place, for no particular reason; in the second place, he narrowed it to less than twenty to accommodate some Indians."²

1. Alexander Cowie in The Rise of The American Novel regarded Twain's essay as "superb clowning". This would appear to be a misreading of Twain's intentions throughout most of his criticism of Cooper.

The actual text of *The Deerslayer* gives a somewhat different view. Cooper wrote of the outlet of the Susquehanna River from Lake Otsego "The high banks might have been a hundred feet asunder; but, on the western side, a small bit of low land extended so far forward, as to diminish the breadth of the stream to half that width. As the bushes hung in the water beneath, and pines, that had the stature of church-steeples, rose in tall columns above, all inclining towards the light, until their branches intermingled, the eye, at a little distance, could not easily detect an opening in the shore, to mark the egress of the water." Whereas Twain flatly states that Cooper made the stream fifty feet wide, in fact Cooper has said that the two banks of the river "might have been a hundred feet asunder". With the description which follows, the reader realizes that an "exact" measurement of the river's "egress" from the lake would be impossible. Cooper writes that the "fringe of bushes immediately on the shore" were no sooner passed than the stream narrowed; the suggestion to the reader is that the entrance to the river was difficult to assess because of the protecting vegetation.

Twain went on to point out that "The stream has bends in it, a sure indication that it has alluvial banks and cuts them; yet these bends are only thirty and fifty feet long. If

Cooper had been a nice and punctilious observer he would have noticed that the bends were oftener nine hundred feet long than short of it. In fact, Cooper has come surprisingly close to Twain's figure for he wrote "both watched each turning of the stream, of which there were two or three within five hundred yards." Assuming there were two turns, then each was of about seven hundred and fifty feet, close enough to Twain's figure which might well be based on slower flowing streams of the midwest.

To look at a further criticism of Cooper's inaccuracy: Twain makes a great deal of the description of the "ark" on which much of the action in The Deerslayer takes place. From Cooper's remark that it was "in short, little more than a modern canal-boat, though more rudely constructed, of greater breadth than common.... The scow had been put together with some skill; being comparatively light, for its strength, and sufficiently manageable." Twain then concludes that the boat must be about one hundred and forty feet long. This is patently ridiculous from the whole description and must have been based on Twain's assumption that all canal-boats were of such a size. An "ark" the size suggested by Twain would be impossible to manage with

1. Twain, op. cit., 587.
2. Cooper, The Deerslayer, 53.
3. Ibid., 56.
two sweeps or to pull along with some rapidity with only the
anchor rope. Twain ignores the fact that Cooper several times
refers to the ark as a "large flat or scow" that was remarkable
for its lightness. The ark was also capable of sailing slowly
using a small sail from an old sloop, and this would be quite
impossible if the boat were the size that Twain suggests.

Twain again takes Cooper to task for his handling of the
landscape in a scene in *The Last of the Mohicans*. He taxes him
with being inaccurate as an observer. "Cooper gets up a
stirring 'situation' on an island flanked by great cataracts -
a lofty island with steep sides - a sort of tongue which
projects downstream from the midst of the divided waterfall.
There are caverns in this mass of rock, and a party of Cooper
people hide themselves in one of these to get away from some
hostile Indians. There is a small exit at each end of this
cavern. These exits are closed with blankets and the light
excluded. The exploring hostiles back themselves up against the
blankets and rave and rage in a blood-curdling way, but they are
Cooper Indians and of course fail to discover the blankets; so
they presently go away baffled and disappointed." \(^1\)

Again examining what Cooper wrote, the reader finds that
the enemy Indians never actually "back themselves up against
the blankets" although Cooper does have them come near to the

1. Twain, *op. cit.*, 594 g and h.
concealed entrance; this is made plausible by his having the Indians throw a pile of brush into the entrance of the second cave, thus effectively concealing the party.

Twain also complained that the cave was in darkness and wonders how the occupants could have seen the flushed countenance of one of the girls. Cooper has accounted for the necessary light by writing "a corner of the blanket fell, and a ray of light gleamed into the inner part of the cave".¹ Cooper's handling of the topography of the whole scene in the caves below Glenn's Falls is unusually successful and indicates, in contradiction of Twain, a close attention to the physical details.

Nevertheless, it is true that Cooper is more comfortable in sketching the broad outlines of a landscape than in documenting the details; at times he allows the geography to become so complex that the reader hurries over the description in his anxiety to return to the action. Yet Twain is wrong in stating that Cooper's "inaccuracy of the details throws a sort of air of fictitiousness and general improbability over it (The Deer-slayer). This comes of Cooper's inadequacy as an observer".²

In his own handling of geography in The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn Twain placed the central theme in jeopardy by

¹ Cooper, The Last of the Mohicans, 94.
² Twain, op. cit., 589.
carrying the escaping slave, Jim, beyond Cairo, Illinois, and on down the Mississippi River with slave states on both sides instead of arranging for his escape to the free state of Illinois.

V

Edward Everett Hale, Jr. believed that it was to Cooper rather than to the painter Thomas Cole that Europe owed its early artistic knowledge of American scenery, its portrait of America, and just as a portrait has more than form and feature, so Cooper's view of American scenery has also its spirit, its sentiment, its feeling. "Cooper's best words on scenery are not exactly descriptions, or at least not pictorial descriptions, but impressions, impressions generally stored up in the mind of the character who personifies Cooper's feeling for his forest, leatherstocking...." 1

The landscape in his novels is felt as well as seen, and felt as the sweeping impression of a broad scene. His landscapes have the slightly hazy outlines of a George Innes painting rather than the accuracy of Albert Bierstadt. As D.H. Lawrence wrote, Cooper has often left out the "cruel iron of reality" in the scenes in the leatherstocking novels. "There

1. Edward Everett Hale, Jr., "American Scenery in Cooper's Novels", The Sewanee Review, Vol.18, 1910, 331. Cooper also shows leatherstocking as seeing the "noble forest and rolling rivers" as the book God has opened to mankind.
is always a certain slightly bitter resistance in the American landscape, and a certain bitter resistance in the white man's heart.... Cooper glosses it over.... He wants the landscape to be at one with him. So he goes away to Europe and sees it as such. It is a sort of vision." Lawrence sees Cooper's landscapes as wish-fulfillment, and it is true that there is a certain ambivalence in his attitude towards leatherstocking and the wilderness. On the one hand Natty loves the wild and responds to it on a deep level of feeling as does a part of Cooper, but "another Cooper" is very much on the side of an ordered life within the confines of society. Like Twain at a later period in the nineteenth century, Cooper's best writing derives its appeal from the integration of the natural scene with the personality and action of the main character.

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1. Lawrence, *op.cit.*, 56.
Notes on the Maps and Illustrations for *The Deerslayer*

The principal difficulty in compiling suitable maps for *The Deerslayer* is the lack of source material from the period about which Cooper was writing. The first map (C-1) is from the collected documents entitled *William Johnson Papers* published by the University of New York. This map shows the knowledge of the area's geography as it was thought to be about 1771. In *The Deerslayer* Cooper mentions that Fort Bull and Fort Williams were built near Rome, New York to protect the portage between the Mohawk River and Wood Creek, a tributary of Lake Oneida. He also mentions Fort Hunter near Schenectady, another link in the defense chain that reached from the Hudson River to Lake Ontario. These forts are shown on the map.

In the novel, "Hurry" takes his skins out to Albany, and when the King's surveyors ask Hurry about the Lake Otsego region of the state and showed him a map, the lake was fifty miles out of place. Cooper wrote of the egregious errors that existed on the maps of that day even though the area was only a day's march from inhabited posts. Many of the early maps were both drawn and printed in Europe.

*The Deerslayer* reflects the relationships between the British and their Indian allies and the French and their Indian friends. Map C-2 is a modern map of where the Indian tribes were thought to have lived in the early eighteenth century according
to the most recent authorities. The boundaries are not intended to be precise. The map is based in part upon the work of Clark Wissler in his *Indians of North America*, New York, 1966, *Geography of New York State* edited by John H. Thompson, Syracuse University Press, 1966, and a map in Francis Parkman's *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, London, 1916 showing "Forts and Settlements in America in 1763".

The action in the novel is better understood if the reader can picture the general geography of the region of central New York within which the story takes place. Map C-3 places Lake Otsego in its setting between the Hudson River, the Catskill Mountains, the Mohawk River and Lake Ontario. Cooper wrote in *The Deerslayer* that there were "many lakes" to the North and West — the Adirondack Lakes and the Finger Lakes as well as Oneida and Ontario. He also mentions Claverack and Kinderhook and the "four Atlantic Counties of New York State".

In the "Preface" to the Leather-Stocking Edition of *The Deerslayer* the author writes: "As for the scene of this tale, it is intended for, and believed to be a close description of the Otsego, prior to the year 1760, when the first rude settlement was commenced on its banks, at that time only an insignificant clearing near the outlet, with a small hut of squared logs, for the temporary dwelling of the Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs. The recollections of the writer carry him back distinctly to the time when nine tenths of the shores of
this lake were in virgin forest...."¹

In the novel the author gives considerable details on the size and shape of Lake Glimmerglass, Leatherstocking's rather romantic name for Lake Otsego. Cooper wrote that the lake was about three leagues in length and the breadth up to half a league or more, and that the lake is less than one-fourth this distance at the southern end where the Susquehanna River flows from the lake. At the northern end is an isolated mountain (Mt Washington, 1,800 feet) and low mountains or high hills surround three sides of the lake. Although the exact length of a "league" is difficult to establish, three miles is a generally accepted norm. Thus the lake is described by Cooper as being about nine miles long and one and one-half wide at its widest point; modern surveys of Lake Otsego confirm the general accuracy of his figures.

Map C-4 shows the lake in considerable detail and notes various places mentioned in The Deerslayer. The bends in the Susquehanna River which Mark Twain complained about so bitterly are shown on this map, taken from a topographic survey, to have been as Cooper described them. The shoal area in the northern part of the lake where Hutter built his "castle"

¹. James F. Cooper, The Deerslayer, New York, 1893, ix.
actually exists; today it is a "shallow area" surrounded by deep water, in part due to the raising of the level of the lake since Cooper's day. Cooper wrote that the shoal was a little misplaced in the novel, lying in fact nearer to the north end of the lake than shown in the story. He also claims accuracy for "the several points introduced, of the bay, of the river, of the mountains, and of the other accessories of the place".¹ Of Council Rock which features so importantly in the novel, Cooper wrote "The rock appointed for the rendezvous between Deerslayer and his friend the Delaware still remains, bearing the name of the Otsego Rock".² (See note on Plate C-5.)

¹ Ibid., x.
² Ibid., x.
Cooper's landscapes in *The Deerslayer* have many romantic qualities, qualities also found in the paintings of the Hudson River School which flourished during the same period that he was writing. The magnificence of the natural world and the feeling that nature is benign is reflected in both his writing and the paintings as well as a deep faith that the natural scene is the source of valuable spiritual insight and imaginative experience. The author of the "forest romances" was friendly with a number of artists, some of whom were fellow members of the "Bread and Cheese Club" which met in New York. Thomas Cole, John Quidor and William Dunlap all did paintings of scenes from Cooper's novels. In *The Deerslayer* Cooper wrote that Rivenoak made a picture Salvador Rosa would have delighted to draw.

Asher B. Durand (1796-1886) painted a picture which epitomizes this affinity between the arts in his "Kindred Spirits" (1849), Plate C-1. The artist shows William Cullen Bryant, the poet, standing on a rocky ledge with Thomas Cole, the painter. Below and in the distance is a luxuriant forest scene with a rushing brook, two waterfalls and, in the far distance, mountain peaks. Leatherstocking himself could easily be imagined as approaching through this forest scene. Even more suitable for illustrating *The Deerslayer* is another painting by Durand, "Landscape", Plate C-2. In the foreground is a fallen and rotting tree trunk which has come to be
"symbolic" of the landscape school of this period. Towering trees in the middle ground shelter a shallow brook while on the left side of the painting the dark recesses of the forest give a sense of mystery.

In 1828 Cooper himself commissioned Thomas Cole to paint a scene from The Prairie, and his writings provided an impetus to painters to preserve the American scene which was thought to be rapidly passing. Representational detail is important in these paintings but also a striving towards the harmonization of those details. The realistic details are, finally, sublimated to the poetic heightening of a single impression. As Cooper wrote, "The poet and the painter are permitted to give the beau ideal of this nature and he who makes it the most attractive while he maintains the best likeness, is the highest artist".

The idea for writing The Deerslayer came, according to his daughter Susan, from a glimpse of Lake Otsego through "an opening in the wood" along the eastern shore. The view must have been rather like that in the painting by Cooper's close friend Samuel French Morse, "View from Apple Hill" (Plate C-3).

2. Ibid., 489.
3. Susan F. Cooper, Pages and Pictures from the Writings of James Fenimore Cooper, New York, 1861, 322.
was painted in 1828 and shows the lake and the bordering hills from across the Susquehanna River. This painting is now in the New York State Historical Association collection. Another contemporary view of the lake is the steel engraving "Otsego Lake" by Joseph I. Pease showing the area as it was in about 1840. In this scene a party of friends is making an excursion in an ancient flat boat which was kept at Cooperstown for such pleasant parties on the lake. This flat boat is similar to the "ark" as described by Cooper in The Deerslayer. The author is said to be the figure with a hat in the stern of the boat.

This photograph of "Council Rock" (Plate C-5) as it appears today is in accord with Cooper's description. "It was a large isolated stone, that rested at the bottom of the lake, apparently left there when the waters tore away the earth around it.... The height of this rock could scarcely equal six feet; and as has been said, its shape was not unlike that which is given to beehives, or to a haycock."¹ The rock is pointed out to visitors to Lake Otsego as the one which played so important a role in The Deerslayer. This photograph is used with the permission of Dodd, Mead and Company, the publishers of Literary America by David Scherman and Rosemarie Redlich.

¹ Cooper, The Deerslayer, 148-49.
CHAPTER VII

Mark Twain (1835-1910)

"The pure breath, primitiveness, boundless prodigality and amplitude, strange mixture of delicacy and power, of continence, of real and ideal, and of all original and first-class elements, of the prairies, the Rocky Mountains, and of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers -- will they ever appear in, and in some sort form a standard for our poetry and art?"

Walt Whitman

Mark Twain wrote his best books under what can be thought of as either a compulsion or an inspiration to understand and use his deep feeling for the Mississippi River as he knew it as a boy. The fusion between what he felt about the "spirit of place" and the finding of a suitable style produced great writing in The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn (1884), the first section of Life on the Mississippi (1883) and parts of Pudd'nhead Wilson (1894). His other most satisfactory book, Roughing It (1871), also partakes at its best in this union between the involvement of a young man and his physical world.

As will be noted, a number of Twain's books are thinly disguised "travel books", and this is certainly true of his first published work, Innocents Abroad (1869). A popular success, it established a pattern which Twain followed in his writing in

several later books. The author revised his earlier newspaper accounts of his travels in Europe and Palestine, added descriptions and humorous interludes, and compared what he thought of Europe with his own country. A similar pattern of composition is followed in the last portion of *Life on the Mississippi* and again in *Following the Equator* (1897).

In *Roughing It*, however, Twain is concerned with exploring more than what happens when a new territory in the West is opened to settlement. The reader is soon aware that Twain himself is being transformed by his experience; that he is changing his own outlook on life. The environment of the mining camps and places like Virginia City are shown as capable of changing a green tenderfoot from the "east" into a new kind of person. Rather than seeing what he writes about from the outside as in *Innocents Abroad*, Twain discards the role of tourist and becomes integrated into the local western scene. His writing is improved as a result, and much the same situation can be observed in comparing the difference in style between the first and last portions of *Life on the Mississippi*.¹

II

In a letter to William Dean Howells, his personal friend and also editor of the *Atlantic* monthly, Twain wrote on

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¹ Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land*, New York, 1950. The author has made a careful study of the American attitude to the West with particular emphasis on writers.
October 24, 1874:

I take back the remark that I can't write for the Jan. number. For Twitchell & I have had a long walk in the woods & I got to telling him about old Mississippi days of steamboating glory & grandeur as I saw them (during 5 years) from the pilot house. He said "What a virgin subject to hurl into a magazine!" I hadn't thought of that before. Would you like a series of papers to run through 3 months or 6 or 9? — or about 4 months, say? 1

Under the title "Old Times on the Mississippi" these memories of his boyhood experience ran in seven instalments in the Atlantic starting in January, 1875. His best writing up to that time, the articles were popular and were published as a book in England in 1877. 2 When Mark Twain decided to publish the book in America, he felt that it was necessary to expand the articles because books sold by subscription as his were had to be "thick" to attract readers.

Twain evidently felt the need to refresh his memory of the Mississippi before writing the expanded version of life on the Mississippi, and in early April, 1882, Twain and his publisher, James Osgood, and his secretary, Roswell Phelps, began a five

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1. Henry Nash Smith, Mark Twain, the Development of a Writer, Cambridge, 1962, 72. Twain also told Howells to edit his manuscript and gave him "entire freedom" to make any changes he wished.

2. No mention is made by the critics of the edition published in Canada of Mark Twain, but the British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books, Vol. 40, shows that Belford, Toronto brought out an edition of 157 pages, illustrated, in 1876. Presumably it was "pirated".
thousand mile journey on the river. He also read widely in the early history of the river and travel accounts by Captain Basil Hall, Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg, Alexander Mackay and Mrs Trollope, all of whom he quotes in the second portion of the book. The material that resulted from his 1882 visit make up the first two chapters — mainly early history of the exploration of the river — and all that follows chapter twenty-one.

In comparing the two "sections" of the book, written eight years apart, it is immediately evident that Twain's deeply felt experience in becoming a pilot on a river that he loves provide a much richer and more fully realized narrative in the "Old Times on the Mississippi" part of the book than the 1882 additions when he is little more than a "tourist" visiting the Mississippi. The "Old Times" section of the book are on a level with The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn and, indeed, chapter three of Life on the Mississippi was intended for the novel, the first sixteen chapters of which were finished soon after "Old Times". Chapter twenty-eight has details of the feud between the Grangerfords and Shepherdsons which is the basis for chapters seventeen and eighteen of Huckleberry Finn, and chapter twenty-eight describes the Grangerford house.  

1. The first edition of Life on the Mississippi as published in 1883 in America contained 341 pages of which 224 are the additions Twain made after returning to the river in 1882.

2. Chapter 51 of Life on the Mississippi contains a description of a theater similar to the "Nonesuch" and Chapter 56 has a town drunkard similar to "pap" in Huckleberry Finn.
Another reason the "Old Times" section succeeds is that along with the felt emotion Twain had clearly found an authorial stance which suits his material. He begins "Old Times" with "'Nhen I was a boy, there was but one permanent ambition among my comrades in our village on the west bank of the Mississippi River. That was to be a steamboatman." As Huckleberry Finn is narrated by a fourteen year old boy so "Old Times" is written from the point of view of a young man, a greenhorn, who sets out to become a pilot. The narrator is responsive to the "majestic, the magnificent Mississippi" for which he feels a deep empathy, and the reader enters this new world of adventure and romance through the awareness of a cub pilot of nineteen. The "hero" of the book is not the narrator, Mark Twain, but the river itself. The poetry of one of the world's great rivers is seen with the immediacy of a young man who has a strong sense of identification with the physical scene. Twain obviously enjoyed writing this part of the book and the reader shares his enjoyment just as he shares the author's fatigue in the second section.

The Mississippi gives form to *Life on the Mississippi* just as it does to *Huckleberry Finn*. Its power and beauty and danger are described with convincing depth of emotion. T.S. Eliot wrote that "On any level, Mark Twain makes you see the River, as

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it is and was and always will be, more clearly than the author of any other description of a river known to me." Although written about Huckleberry Finn, Eliot's view also applies to "Old Times" and to selected chapters of the 1882 account. A great river is a very powerful natural force in shaping people's lives, and Twain emphasizes this also in his account of the early exploration of the river and its importance in American geography and history. In "Old Times" the river becomes more than a vehicle for the author's narrative and more than a descriptive account. The reader not only sees the Mississippi and becomes knowledgeable about it through the senses but also "experiences" it as a participant in the narrative. The inward and the outward senses unite in this passage from "Old Times".

Henry Nash Smith has studied Twain's development as a writer, and he concludes that in the passage about Hannibal in Life on the Mississippi Twain provides a mixture of intimacy and detachment; he is both inside and outside the story. For Twain the town of Hannibal is present in his imagination "just as it was then; at the same time it is unattainably remote, for it represents a lost innocence".2 Thus Twain writes of his early days on the river with an obvious pleasure in the act of recall which obliterates time by restoring his childhood to him and

2. Smith, Mark Twain, 74.
at the same time his recovery of the past is often tinged with a melancholy. At its best this recovery of the past becomes a pure act of the imagination giving the early days on the river a mythical quality which accounts for their international success.¹

Twain wrote in a letter in 1890 that he had confined himself in his writing to the life which he knew, the life of a boy on the Mississippi, because it had "a peculiar charm" for him and not because he did not know other phases of life. Twain said that he had been a printer, lecturer, miner, publisher and reporter and the most valuable asset in making novels was personal experience. However in the same letter Twain had crossed out the following revealing extract "And yet I can't go away from the boyhood period & write novels because capital [his own personal experiences] is not sufficient by itself & I lack the other essentials: interest in handling the men and experiences of later times."² In the final analysis, it is the vicarious pleasure in the idyllic life on the river which has

1. Bernard DeVoto, The Portable Mark Twain, New York, 1946. In his introduction DeVoto states that Hannibal was the most important single fact in the life of Mark Twain. The river and the riverside town provided a wide range of people and experience, both provincial and cosmopolitan. VanWyck Brooks argues in The Ordeal of Mark Twain, New York, 1934, that Twain's environment was one of the crippling influences on his development as a writer.

attracted so many enthusiastic readers to *Huckleberry Finn* and accounts for the appeal of "Old Times". The sense of freedom from conventional restraints which is associated with river life is present in "Old Times" and Twain believed that the pilots were the most independent, unfettered men in America — especially if compared with authors.

Another writer who lived part of his life on the Mississippi, Thomas Stearns Eliot, has emphasized the importance of personal knowledge in his "Introduction" to *Huckleberry Finn*.

There are, perhaps only two ways in which a writer can acquire the understanding of environment which he can later turn to account: by having spent his childhood in that environment — that is, living in it a period of life in which one experiences much more than one is aware of; and by having had to struggle for a livelihood in that environment — a livelihood bearing no direct relation to any intention of writing about it, of using it as literary material. Mark Twain knew the Mississippi in both ways. The River made the book a great book. 1

III

The attitude to the river experience which Twain adopts in the 1882 portion of *Life on the Mississippi* is that of a person of superior knowledge, sophistication and wider sensibility than the inhabitants whom he observes. It is the author and not those the reader meets in the book who responds aesthetically.

to the beauty and grandeur of the scene. A "suspicious gentility" enters Twain's descriptions when he assumes this superior attitude. 1 "Grassy nooks and vistas swept by us" or Twain writes of the "spendthrift richness of the forest foliage" or of "the tender willow thickets". The narrator writing the 1882 portion of the book tends to see the people along the river as rather miserable human specimens whom he patronizes; in "Old Times" there is identification with them.

In "Old Times" his descriptions are transformed into literature by the depth of feeling conveyed by the young apprentice pilot. Bernard DeVoto thought that the experience and the impulse were integrated and created a masterpiece. Mark Twain had "more experience of America, and had been more intimately a part of it, than any one else in American literature". 2 Twain was on the Mississippi in 1857 as a cub pilot, became a licensed pilot on April 9, 1859, and worked on the river until the Civil War brought an end to river traffic. As the Pequod was Herman Melville's "Harvard and Yale", so the Mississippi steamboat was Twain's university, for he wrote "In that brief, sharp schooling, I got personally and familiarly acquainted with about all the different types of human nature ... to be found in fiction,

1. Smith, Mark Twain, chapter 4.
2. Bernard DeVoto, Mark Twain's America, Boston, 1932, 111. Far from being a "victim" of his environment, DeVoto sees Twain transforming his "setting" into great literature.
"Old Times" also is more successful than the 1882 account not only because of point of view and felt emotion but also because Twain's account of his training as a pilot gives a narrative thread to the story. Becoming a pilot was an extremely arduous undertaking in that it required a nearly photographic memory of close to twelve hundred miles of ever-changing river. His ability to absorb this extremely detailed knowledge of the geography of the river may well have been a valuable discipline for him as an author. His early attitude to the river is stated in chapter nine of "Old Times."

The face of the water, in time, became a wonderful book — a book that was a dead language to the uneducated passenger, but which told its mind to me without reserve... Throughout the long twelve hundred miles there was never a page that was void of interest, never one you could leave unread without loss, never one that you would want to skip... There never was so wonderful a book written by man; never one whose interest was so absorbing, so unflagging, so sparkingly renewed with every perusal... In truth, the passenger who could not read this book saw nothing but all manner of pretty pictures in it, painted by the sun and shaded by the clouds, whereas to the trained eye these were not pictures at all, but the grimmest and most dead-earnest of reading matter. 2

The pilot on a Mississippi River steamboat had a very

1. Gladys Bellamy, Mark Twain as a Literary Artist, Norman, Oklahoma, 1950, 276.
responsible position as the safety of the passengers depended very much on his knowledge and skill. Twain wrote that he had made a valuable acquisition in having to know the great river, and yet it was not all gain. "I had lost something which could never be restored to me while I lived. All the grace, the beauty, the poetry, had gone out of the majestic river." Twain then describes a particular sunset which to a passenger would be magnificently picturesque but the ever-observant pilot had to be aware of what every ripple, eddy or streak on the surface of the water meant in terms of the river's depth, snags, bars and other dangers. The romance and the beauty were replaced by the detailed knowledge of the river's topography and what each feature meant for the piloting of the steamboat. At the end of this chapter Twain wonders if he has gained most or lost most by learning his trade.

When he returned to the river as a passenger in 1882 at the age of forty-seven Twain had achieved a respected position as an author on the eastern seaboard. He recalled old days on the river again, but without evoking the immediacy of the "Old Times" when he was learning the river instead of being a passenger upon it. Most of his old time memories had been utilized in the Atlantic account, and he had a difficult time revitalizing his return to the great river. This portion of the book becomes, for the most part, the descriptions of a

1. Ibid., 54.
traveller with an interest in geography. Padding is evident in the load of statistics with which he burdens the description of the river and the towns and cities along its course. The tourist is now writing largely from his intellect and not from a combination of head and heart. Twain included a three-page statistical table of the most famous records of steamboat trips on the Mississippi, facts which he probably acquired on his 1882 visit. He also returned to one of his favorite themes in the second portion of the book: the South's infatuation with the historical romances of Sir Walter Scott which he saw reflected even in the architecture of the buildings in southern cities. He does manage to salvage a few excellent anecdotes in this part of the book such as the account of what happened when he entered the pilot house of a boat whose pilot pretended that he did not recognize Twain. For a brief moment the reader is again aware of the magical attractions of a pilot's life.

The 1882 account begins with their arrival in St Louis and records Twain's trip down to New Orleans and then back up the river to St Paul, Minnesota. When Twain stopped off in his home town of Hannibal which he had not seen for fifteen years, something of his old joy returned. As he looked down on the scene of his youth from Holiday's Hill he wrote:

1. Arthur I. Scott, "Mark Twain Revises Old Times on the Mississippi, 1875-1883", Journal of English and Germanic Philology, No.54, 1955, 634-38. This study shows that the changes Twain made were minimal.
The whole town lay spread out below me then, and I could mark and fix every locality, every detail. Naturally I was a good deal moved by it.... From this vantage-point the extensive view up and down the river, and wide over the wooded expanses of Illinois, is very beautiful — one of the most beautiful on the Mississippi I think.... It may be that my affection for the one in question biases my judgment in its favor; I cannot say as to that. No matter, it was satisfyingly beautiful to me.... 1

In a later book Twain is again looking down on his native state, this time from a balloon in *Tom Sawyer Abroad* (1894). His handling of geography is masterful.

The houses got smaller and smaller, and the city [St Louis] pulled itself together, closer and closer, and the men and wagons got to looking like ants and bugs crawling around, and the streets like threads and cracks; and then it all kind of melted together and there wasn't any city anymore: it was only a big scratch on the earth, and it seemed to me a body could see up the river and down the river a thousand miles, though of course it wasn't so much. By and by the earth was a ball — just a round ball, of a dull color, with shiny stripes wriggling and winding around over it which was rivers. 2

In *life on the Mississippi* the geography of the river is spread out before the reader in great detail, especially in the 1882 portion of the book. He shows the river both as an idyllic place for a young boy and as a place where both physical and human danger were often present. The river acts as a great

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1. Mark Twain, *op.cit.*, 276.
highway with its scows, barges, broadhorns, lumber rafts, keelboats and steamboats. Twain is ready to acknowledge the improvements that the government has made in providing navigational aids on the river at the same time that he is skeptical of the efforts of government commissions to control its immense power and natural force. The men who work and live on the river are more influenced by their environment than the river is by men's attempts to change or dominate it. As with the frontier wilderness of The Deerslayer, the world that Mark Twain wrote about in life on the Mississippi was disappearing and lives today through Twain's writing. His biography of a river remains a valuable record in the same way as Cooper's The Pioneers.
An annotated list of all references to geography, prepared as a working guide in compiling the maps; comments enclosed in parenthesis are by the compiler; for example, (Illustrate) means that Twain has described a particular scene for which it would be valuable to find a drawing. Page references are from the Hill and Wang edition, 1957. Chapter headings have been included for their insight into the contents following.

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<td>3</td>
<td>Physical history of the river; 1,300 miles in length; 87' deep at Ohio River junction, 129' at its mouth. (Present day?)</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Effects of cut-offs on the river's length; Delta, Louisiana was 3 miles below Vicksburg, Mississippi and now 2 miles above. Hard Times, Louisiana.</td>
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<td>Prophet's Island has grown from 1,500 acres 30 years ago to 2,200 acres now. (1882?)</td>
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<td>Alton, Illinois; rock paintings of Indians.</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Ohio River mouth; Arkansas River mouth. LaSalle returned to Canada; with Tonty down Illinois River, open water on Peoria Lake; past the Missouri River, and Ohio to Chickasaw Bluffs; built Fort Prichomne. (See Parkman).</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Passed sites of Vicksburg and Grand Gulf; Indian monarch's city in Teche country (where?); Natchez Indians near present Natchez; Delaware River; Itasca.</td>
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Chapter III  Frescoes from the Past

This chapter mentions Huckleberry Finn and was originally intended for The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn; (illustration of keelboats and lumber rafts would be of value).

Chapter IV  The Boy's Ambition

24  Hannibal, Missouri; Keokuk, Iowa; St. Louis, Missouri; Water Street stores (illustrate?)

Chapter V  I Want to Be a Cub-Pilot

28  1,500 mile steamboat trip from Cincinnati, Ohio to New Orleans for sixteen dollars fare.

Chapter VI  A Cub-Pilot's Experience

32  the Paul Jones was bound for St. Louis (illustrate)

33  Sixty demands knowledge of Six-Mile Point; Nine-Mile Point; Twelve-Mile Point north from New Orleans.

Chapter VII  A Daring Deed

38  the "Upper River" is 200 miles from St. Louis to Cairo, Illinois.

39  Plum Point (may be fictional)

40  Nut Island crossing; to "get out of the river" means to reach below Cairo.

Chapter VIII  Perplexing Lessons

44  Walnut Bend (fiction?)

45  President's Island and all that country clear up to Old Hen and Chickens; (the point above "40" is the number given to a point of land).

Chapter IX  Continued Perplexities

53-54  Twain says that in the detailed memory work that becoming a pilot required he lost something; "all the grace, the beauty, the poetry, had gone out of the majestic river."
Completing My Education

Height of land at "Burgess's".

Chute No. 103.

Posey County, Indiana broadhorns carrying fruit and furniture; coal barges from Pittsburgh.

The River Rises.

Madrid Bend and Chute 82; behind the islands were wretched little farms.

The crossing at Helena.

Sounding

Tied up at the shore above 21.

A Pilot's Need.

Tower Island.

Rank and Dignity of Piloting

St Louis and New Orleans; upper river; Illinois River.

Chicot snags.

The Pilots' Monopoly.

Cat Island.

Red River, Arkansas.

Racing Days

Madrid Bend (a boat sank there); to St Louis in 16 days; Fort Adams reach, a straight section of the river; Grand Gulf was 340 miles from New Orleans.

Table for the fastest steamboat trips on the river with dates, times, distances and names of the record holding boat.
Chapter XVII  Cut-Offs and Stephen

101  Cairo, Illinois to New Orleans is 900 to 1000 miles; 200 miles to St. Louis; Port Hudson, La., only one-half mile across the neck.

102  Black Hawk Point in 1699; river shortened by 25 miles; below Red River Landing, Raccourci cut-off made 40 or 50 years ago, shortened the river by 28 miles. Vidalia, Louisiana at Island 92, at Island 64 and Hale's Point cut-offs. River was 1215 miles from Cairo to New Orleans 176 years ago; 1180 after 1722; 1050 after American Bend cut-off; and 973 miles at present. Hurricane Island, Island 100, Napoleon, Arkansas; Walnut Bend, Council Bend cut-offs in Twain's day.

Chapter XVIII  I Take a Few Extra Lessons

107  The brief, sharp schooling as a pilot.

110  New Madrid approached going down river.

Chapter XIX  Brown and I Exchange Compliments

113  Eagle Bend, two miles wide; Pennsylvania (illustrate).

Chapter XX  A Catastrophe

116  Greenville, Mississippi; Ship Island; Napoleon.

117  Ship Island (Pennsylvania blown up) 60 miles below Memphis. (What is a "striker" on shipboard?)

Chapter XXI  A Section in My Biography

121  Twain comments on 21 slow-drifting years since he became a pilot; miner, reporter, lecturer, scribbler of books in New England.

Chapter XXII  I Return to My Buttons

122  April 18 leave on Pennsylvania Railroad, New York for St. Louis; as you go west, the dress changes.

123  Full goatees and boots; loafers with hands in their pockets a sign of reaching the west.
Southern Hotel in St. Louis (illustrate).

Forest Park; Tower Grove and the Botanical Gardens; city now 400,000 in size.

Catholic New Church was only notable building according to Charles Murray writing 50 years ago.

Mighty bridge over the river; steamboating born in 1812, flourished 30 years to great size, and 30 years later was dead; it killed the former trade in keel-boating and the railroads killed it, along with the towing of barges.

Chapter XXIII Traveling Incognito

French settlements at St. Genevieve and Kaskaskia sixty miles below St. Louis; Grand Tower packet; hurricane-deck, forecastel and boiler-deck; a Vicksburg packet Gold Dust for Memphis.

Chapter XXIV My Incognito Is Exploded

Steamboat Cyclone.

Chapter XXV From Cairo to Hickman

Scenery from St. Louis to Cairo is varied and beautiful; railway at Chester, Illinois and at Grand Tower. (Illustrate the huge, squat pillar of rock.) Devil's Bake-oven and Devil's Tea-table; Away down the river are the Devil's Elbow and Devil's Race-course. Cape Girardeau on hillside.

Below Cape Girardeau is "Steersman 's Bend" with plenty of water; Thieves at the head of the Grand Chain and Commerce at the foot of it. Tells story of voyage by Bloody Island, grounded at Hanging Dog, jolted at Beaver Dam Rock, breaks at 'Graveyard' behind Goose Island; into Cairo with nine feet of water in the hold. Hat Island is gone.

Noticed big changes below Commerce; Beaver Dam Rock now in middle of river; Jacket Pattern Island now small; Goose Island small, Two Sisters gone; Cairo.

Passed Columbus, Kentucky in morning; Hickman is pretty town on a hill.
Chapter XXVI  Under Fire

142  The famous battle of Belmont in Civil War; story of battle retold.

144  Chute of Island No. 8; feud story as in Twain's The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn; Island No. 10 hard to find in present day; celebrated in war.

146  New Madrid; twists in river between 3 states; Kentucky to Tennessee to Missouri.

Chapter XXVII  Some Imported Articles

148-151  Accounts by Captain Basil Hall, Mrs. Trollope, Charles Murray and Captain Marryat; also Francis Parkman and Alexander Mackay.

Chapter XXVIII  Uncle Mumford Unloads

152  Wooded mouth of the Obion River; steamboat named Mark Twain; big change near Island 21 which now joins the shore; Plum Point no longer dangerous as government has channel lights and markers.

153  More of the romance has gone from the river; snags are removed also by the government; Mississippi River Commission.

155  Devil's Island in Upper River where government tried to change course of river. Bulletin Tow-head in Uncle Mumford's story; Milliken's Bend near Vicksburg; dams opposite the foot of 103.

156  Vicksburg; Lake Borgne for surplus water.

Chapter XXIX  A Few Specimen Brick

159  Craig-head's Point passed and glided by Fort Pillow where there was a massacre; Island 37 by Brandywine Bar, down toward Island 39, then Vogelman's chute in the Devil's Elbow to Island 39 (in times past); in 1876 the region is called Centennial Island.

163  Napoleon, Arkansas; decide to stay on Gold Dust as far as Vicksburg. Description of Memphis and its parks, factories, trade.
Chapter XXX  Sketches by the Way
166  Ship Island region as woodsy and tenantless as ever; island is now part of main shore.
167  Island No. 63 with a lovely chute.
168  La Crosse, Wisconsin.
170  Kentucky Bend country; the bend now filled up; also Walnut Bend is way back from river now; Helena and Arkansas City where railway touches.
171  Helena occupies one of the prettiest situations on the Mississippi; second town in Arkansas. (illustration desirable as it was in 1876).

Chapter XXXI  A Thumb-Print and What Came of It
172  Long story about Napoleon, Arkansas.

Chapter XXXII  The Disposal of a Bonanza
186  Flood said to have taken away entire town. (true?)

Chapter XXXIII  Refreshment and Ethics
188  Island No 74 in Arkansas or Mississippi? Island 92 now in Mississippi; Pilcher's Point; Greenville on Mississippi side has 3,000 people.
189  Calhoun Land Company and Chicot County, Arkansas.

Chapter XXXIV  Tough Yarns
192  At Vicksburg to join a Sunflower packet boat; Stack Island; Lake Providence, Louisiana, the first Southern-looking town you come to downward bound.

Chapter XXXV  Vicksburg during the Troubles
194  Vicksburg a lofty hill-city in past; now a country town like Osceola, St. Genevieve and others. Currentless water and a big island in front of Vicksburg now. History of Vicksburg in war. (Illustrate if possible).
198  The most beautiful of all national cemeteries; Yazoo and Sunflower rivers--interesting region.
Chapter XXXVI  The Professor's Yarn.

Chapter XXXVII  The End of the "Gold Dust".

Chapter XXXVIII  The House Beautiful

Passage in a Cincinnati boat for New Orleans; Baton Rouge; description of the best house in great detail; see Grangerford household as described by Huck Finn; compared with a big river steamboat; steamboats changed but little.

Chapter XXXIX  Manufactures and Miscreants

Formerly corkscrewed, now straight river in the Vicksburg region; Delta, Louisiana now in country; Grand Gulf and Rodney passed; Natchez the last of the beautiful hill-cities; Natchez-under-the-Hill as shabby as ever (illustration); Mrs Trollope.

Port Hudson, scene of two episodes in the Civil War.

Chapter XL  Castles and Culture.

Baton Rouge and the real South; Capitol grounds; wide river. Influence of Sir Walter Scott; Twain on imitation castles of a "Female Institute" in Columbus, Tennessee.

Chapter XLI  The Metropolis of the South.

New Orleans as seen from the water; Canal Street.

Chapter XLII  Hygiene and Sentiment.

Chapter XLIII  The Art of Inhumation.

Chapter XLIV  City Sights.

The old French part of New Orleans; iron verandas. St Louis Hotel.

The Cathedral.
Lake Pontchartrain and the resort; West End and Spanish Fort.

Chapter XLIV Southern Sports

A mule race in New Orleans.

Chapter XLVI Enchantments and Enchanters

Mardi-Gras; Sir Walter Scott's influence on South.

Chapter XLVII "Uncle Remus" and Mr. Cable

Sugar and Postage

Going 20 miles south to sugar plantation of Gov. Warne (ex-); worn out steamboats five miles south of the city. Six miles south monument to victory in War of 1812 by Jackson.

Pilot town which stands on stilts.

Chapter XLIX Episodes in Pilot Life

The "Original Jacobs"

Smithland steamboat to New Orleans.

Bellefontaine Cemetery in St. Louis; "Crescent City" alight at night is a great scene.

Chapter LI Reminiscences

Return trip up river on City of Baton Rouge; made Matches in 22 hours (300 miles). Sixby patented a chart of the river.

St. Louis, walking along Fourth Street.

Chapter LII A Burning Brand

Chapter LIII My Boyhood Home

A fast pocket boat of the St. Louis and St. Paul Packet Company to go up river; reached Hannibal, Missouri at seven a.m.; seen it 15 years ago and again six years earlier; 23 years ago he left. Alton, Illinois and Louisiana, Missouri.
276 View from Holiday's Hill in Hannibal; recognized hundreds of localities; the extensive view over the wooded expanses of Illinois is very beautiful and one of the most lovely on the Mississippi.

Chapter LIV  Past and Present

283 Old Ship of Zion Church in Hannibal (replaced by a new church now).

Chapter LV  A Vendetta and Other Things

288 Bear Creek is hidden now also; Lover's Leap; the hill to the west of the gorge.

289 the cave a mile or two below Hannibal, among the bluffs; no time to revisit it; copper cylinder with a child's body in it.

Chapter LVI  A Question of Law

290 Slaughterhouse on Bear Creek and the jail.

Chapter LVII  An Archangel

295 Quincy, Illinois, a brisk, handsome city (picture?) Marion City; LaGrange; Canton; Alexandria (under water he was told; Keokuk where he lived in 1857.

296 The canal around the Rapids at Keokuk; 8 miles long, 300 feet wide, six feet deep; Athenæum.

298 Burlington, Iowa is another hill-city; Muscatine where he lived some years ago.

Chapter LVIII  On the Upper River

300 Muscatine; Winona; Moline; Rock Island; La Crosse; Burlington; Dubuque; Davenport; St. Paul and Minneapolis and their populations.

301 Davenport, with Rock Island opposite; big railway bridge; island of Rock Island is 3 miles by onehalf mile; Moline and Clinton and Lyons to Dubuque.

302 Below Dubuque is Tête de Mort or Death's-head bluff; above Dubuque the water is olive-green. Description of the bluffs that overhang the river.
Chapter LIX  Legends and Scenery

305  Scenery between La Crosse and St. Paul could
give the Hudson some points; Queen's Bluff is
700 feet high; Trempealeau Island; Winona, 10
miles above is Fountain City and Mount Vernon.

306  Chimney Rock is 600 feet high; Minniesha and
Lion's Head and Lioness's Head carved by nature.
Lake Pepin, Sugar Loaf and Maiden's Rock and Wab-
asha to Frontenac, Red Wing; Diamond Bluff is
impressive; Prescott and the St. Croix.

307  Twain asks the speaker if he ever traveled with
a panorama; yes.

Chapter LX  Speculations and Conclusions

311  Arrival in St. Paul; snow while spring in New
Orleans. Description of St. Paul's success in
commerce and manufactures.

314  Falls of St. Anthony (illustrate). 1,500 feet
wide and fall 82 feet.

315  Fort Snelling; Falls of Minnehaha; White-bear
Lake is the resort.

317  Return east via Chicago and Pennsylvania Railway
to New York, ending a 5,000 mile journey.

Appendix A  Voyage of the Relief-boat through the Inundated
Regions, March 29, 1882.

318  Susie left Mississippi and entered Old River to
Chandler plantation; Turnbull's Island, Red River;
Atchafalaya.

319  Red River Landing; Black River; Fort Adams and
Rapides Parish; 30 miles of Black River in flood.
(any contemporary newspaper photographs?)

321  Calcasieu County; hardly a spot from Black River
to McChesn on Mississippi is above water; to
Trinity and then Troy, 55 miles from mouth of
the Black River.
No land from Vidalia to hills of Catahoula.

Little River and the Ouachita River and on the right the Tensas which form the Black. Indian mounds as refuge for people. Pirogues. Trinity threatened with destruction.

Lake Catahoula.

Appendix B  An account of the controlling of the river with reference to river floods and Cairo.
Maps and Illustrations for Life on the Mississippi

To adequately follow the narrative in Life on the Mississippi a variety of maps is necessary. As Twain wrote the early part of the book about his experiences on the river from 1857 to 1861, maps of roughly this period were located and are included in the thesis. Twain also dwells on the many changes in the river as it appeared to him on his return in 1882, and considerable attention has been given to providing maps which show these changes. The detail that Twain provides about the many "cut-offs" and the disappearance of whole islands from the river is also illustrated in the maps. Along with charts of the river, "bird's eye views" have been included because they provide the "pictorial" aspects which is inherent in Twain's account. No attempt was made to compile one map for the entire book because such a map would be too crowded with information to be good cartography.

One of the interesting questions that arises from the research on maps of the river in the early period is why Twain makes no mention in Life on the Mississippi of the various guide books which were available containing detailed charts of the river channel at high and low water. As early as 1828 Samuel Cumings published The Western Pilot, and this pilot's handbook was revised and published in several succeeding years. Portions of the 1854 edition are included in the thesis.
Knowledge that these aids to navigating the river existed in Twain's time detract somewhat from his emphasis on the extreme difficulty of memorizing 1200 miles of river.

Map One shows a "Bird's Eye View of the Mississippi from the Mouth of the Missouri to the Gulf of Mexico". On it the reader can follow all of the journeys mentioned in Life on the Mississippi with the exception of the last chapters which detail the voyage on the "Upper River" from St. Louis to St Paul. The map was drawn and engraved by Edward Molitor of St Louis in 1883, only a year after Mark Twain made his visit to the river about which he wrote in the latter part of the book. All of the major places mentioned in Life on the Mississippi can be located on this map. It also provides an impression of the surrounding topography through which the river passes. Islands and sand bars are shown on the map as well as the many "cut-offs" which Twain describes. As an example, Twain wrote about the "Devil's Tea Table" above Cape Girardeau in Chapter twenty-five, and this section of the river is clearly shown on the map. Some of the "cut-offs" and islands which are part of his narrative as a cub pilot in the late 1850's do not appear on this 1883 map, and it should be compared with the second map in this collection, T-2.

Published only two years after Twain had left the river, "Lloyd's Map of the Lower Mississippi River from St Louis to the Gulf of Mexico" was said to be compiled from the government
surveys in the topographic bureau and revised and corrected to 1863 by Captains Bart and Bowen, pilots with "twenty years of experience on the river". The scale on this map is five miles to an inch and both the high-water and the low-water channels are said to be shown. In fact, only the low-water channel seems to show on this copy of the map. The figures near the center of the river indicate the distances from New Orleans every five miles. Wagon roads, forts, mines, and towns are all depicted. Of special interest in reading Life on the Mississippi are the islands, sandbars and cut-offs. The names of "landing places" and of the plantations that border the river are also shown. Just below Wittenburg is a plantation named "Isaiah Sellers" but there appear to be no "Grangerfords" or "Shepherdsons" in the area where these families were supposed to be living in The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn. Perhaps because the Civil War was in progress at the time the map was published, the forts on the river are carefully shown.

Map T-3 is an attempt by the cartographer to show the important junction at Cairo, Illinois of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers as the area looked in 1861. The map is successful in capturing the topography of the surrounding hills, and helps the reader visualize the scene as it was when Twain worked on the river. The map is from the Map Division of the Library of Congress.
Map T-4 and T-5 are from a most useful book about the river: The Improvement of the Lower Mississippi River for Flood Control and Navigation by D.O. Elliott and published in three volumes with profuse charts and maps of the river. Map T-4 provides the reader with a small scale map of the river with the distances clearly marked. Map T-5 uses the same base map as T-4 but shows the many cut-offs of the river from 1722 to 1931. It is instructive to compare this map with chapter seventeen in Life on the Mississippi. The famous Raccourci Cut-Off of 1848 about which Twain writes is illustrated in Map T-6 in detail. The map shows the river as it was in 1820 and as it changed its shape through the cut-off of 1848.

The extracts from The Western Pilot are included together as Map T-7. As already noted, Samuel Cumings published his river guides for pilots from 1828, revising them frequently to stay accurate as the river changed its course. The introduction "To the Public" indicates that Twain omitted to write about the activity of the United States government in removing dangerous and difficult obstructions to the navigation of the river. The directions given in The Western Pilot for the safe navigation of the river are in considerable detail and are interesting to compare with Twain's own account of the same areas in Life on the Mississippi.
The illustrations included in the thesis are intended to give a representative impression of the river and the steamboats as Mark Twain knew them in the 1850's as a young pilot on the Mississippi. Very little photographic material appears to be available for this period of history on the river; most of the illustrations are drawings or paintings.

The first plate is the only known photograph of a steamboat on which Mark Twain worked as a pilot or traveled as a passenger. The New Falls City in Plate T-1 is typical of the larger river boats of the 1850's. The photograph is used with the permission of the Mariners Museum, Newport News, Virginia.

Plate T-2 is the Frontispiece from the first edition of Life on the Mississippi which was profusely illustrated. The drawing is an accurate representation of the side-wheeler river steamers of this period. Plate T-3 is also from the first edition and shows something of the "romance" of river life as Twain wrote about it in Life on the Mississippi. Two additional plates from the first edition show places which Twain described in the book. Plate T-4 is of the city of Natchez, the legendary gathering place of the tough river men. Plate T-5 depicts the scenery described at the beginning of Chapter fifty-nine. "Seven hundred feet high, and just as imposing a spectacle as you can find anywhere..." is the way Queen's Bluff is delineated. ¹

¹. Twain, Life on the Mississippi, 305.
The remainder of the illustrations are the work of an artist, Henry Lewis, who visited the river in the 1850's. The pictures are used in Das Illustirte Mississippithal and recently published in John McDermott's interesting book, The Lost Panoramas of the Mississippi, Chicago University Press, 1958, and are used with the permission of the publisher.

Plate T-6 shows a steamboat named Grand Turk loading up with wood for the boilers at a riverside refueling point. This particular sidewheeler has what appears to be a double story pilot house. Plate T-7 is the artist's impression of Memphis, one of the important stops on the river voyage. Plate T-8 shows a steamboat approaching the small city of Alton, Illinois which Twain described in typical tourist fashion as a "flourishing town". Plate T-9 is of Dubuque, Iowa, and is of special interest because it depicts a timber raft in the foreground, a common sight in Twain's day. Plate T-10 represents Fort Snelling which marked the end of Twain's trip on the Upper Mississippi in 1882. This lithograph is also of interest to the reader of Thoreau's excursion to this area in 1861.

1. Ibid., 276.
CHAPTER VIII

John Steinbeck (1902-1968)

"It is apparent in all his writings how the shape of the land has given shape to his thoughts."

Henry Moore 1

John Steinbeck was born on a small ranch near Salinas, California, ten miles east from Monterey Bay. This area and the San Joaquin Valley further east provide the setting for many of his novels. His best writing has been about his home state, and he has drawn heavily on California not only for the locale but also used incidents from its recent history in his stories. The Salinas Valley area possessed great natural beauty when Steinbeck was growing up there, and he lived an "out of doors" life of hunting and fishing.

The author comments on the vast changes in the home town area of his youth in *Adventures with Charley*. 2 This book is his account of a three month journey with his dog Charley across America in a truck fitted out for camping. Arriving in Monterey Steinbeck wrote that he realized the meaning of the

2. Steinbeck also wrote another travel book, his account of his visit to the Soviet Union, *A Russian Journal* (1948). It is worth noting that Cooper also looked down on Lake Otsego and his boyhood home from Apple Hill late in life.
words in the title of one of Thomas Wolfe's books, You Can't Go Home Again. He found the changes in the landscape all too evident and often depressing, and he learned that many of his old friends were now dead. Just as Mark Twain had done in returning to Hannibal, Steinbeck climbed to the top of a hill overlooking the great Salinas Valley which stretched south for nearly a hundred miles. There he recalled his boyhood — the smells, sounds, sights — of the time when he wanted no other world. He remembered his intense desire as a boy to be buried on that mountain side. Steinbeck printed the scene once more on his memory and then hurried away.

In America and Americans Steinbeck writes that his country is too large to encompass in one novel and that no American could hope to know more than a small part of the United States. Because of this, the so-called sectional novel developed. "The American novelist wrote almost exclusively of his own home countryside..."¹

Freeman Champney maintains in his article on Steinbeck that "Even a casual direct contact with this country and its people suggests that this background is the most important thing to know about Steinbeck".² He sees the author as using the Salinas Valley in much of his work because the formative years

¹ J. Steinbeck, America and Americans, Boston, 1966, 136.
of his boyhood were spent in this landscape. Champney also suggests that Steinbeck's interest in marine biology resulted from the teeming life of Monterey Bay and this influenced him in the direction of writing of the "struggle" that goes on within nature. ¹ "More than any important writer except William Faulkner, his writing has perhaps grown out of a special region."²

The ability to create memorable backgrounds for his characters is evident in *Tortilla Flat* (1935). Here Steinbeck uses the waterfront at Monterey with its row of canneries, the dilapidated houses and the shabby bars. He brings to life the world of the Mexican-American, the *paisance*. So successful was his description that the Chamber of Commerce in Monterey denounced the book because they felt it would hurt the tourist trade.

*Of Mice and Men* (1937) takes place at Soledad in the Salinas Valley, and *In Dubious Battle* (1936) makes use of the Pajaro Valley a few miles north of Salinas for the violent strike of the fruit pickers in that area. *The Wayward Bus* in 1947 also takes place in this part of California, as does his excursion into family history, *East of Eden* (1952). Of his other fiction, the widely acclaimed long short story *The Red Pony* (1945) tells of the adventures of a boy on a California ranch, as do several


Of his use of settings that are identifiable, Steinbeck has written that he usually avoided using actual places in order to avoid hurting the feelings of neighbors who love only too well to assume that they are characters in his novels.

Thus you will find that the *Pastures of Heaven* does not look very much like Corral de Tierra, you'll find no pine forests in Jolon and as for the valley in *In Dubious Battle* — it is a composite valley as it is a composite strike. If it has the characteristics of Pajaro nevertheless there was no strike there. If it is like the cotton strike, that wasn't apples. Only in this new book [*The Grapes of Wrath*] have I turned to actual places — that and *Tortilla Flat*. For I still feel it useless and foolish to hurt individual feelings. 1

All of Steinbeck's books contain a skillful rendering of the factual detail of his characters' physical environment. The reader is readily persuaded to enter into the scene described, and the inter-action between the setting and the plot occur without straining for contrived effects. He clearly intends in several of his books to show that the relationship of man to "the land" is important to his well-being. This inter-action will be shown in the discussion of his finest novel,

The Grapes of Wrath (1939). ¹

II

The Grapes of Wrath is the story of the Joad family: their losing a forty acre farm in the Dust Bowl region of Oklahoma in the 1930's, their epic journey to California in search of work, and their stay in migrant worker camps in the San Joaquin Valley. Each chapter about the Joads is separated from the next by an "intercalary" chapter which gives a generalized, panoramic view of what is happening to the individual family.

Steinbeck wrote the novel out of considerable personal knowledge of the migrant's situation. The San Francisco News carried a series of his articles about the conditions in squatter camps near Salinas and Bakersfield from October 5 to 12, 1936. ² These "Hoovervilles" are used as the setting for the latter half of The Grapes of Wrath. In the autumn of 1937 Steinbeck followed the route of migrant workers from Oklahoma to California and lived in their roadside camps. His account was published as a pamphlet Their Blood Is Strong in 1938. With this factual back-

1. An example of the way setting influences action and character is shown in the story "Flight" from The Long Valley. A boy named Pepe is climbing into the mountains to escape his pursuers (he has attacked the man who killed his father). As he penetrates deeper into the hill country and is increasingly cut off from "civilization", he is reduced nearer and nearer to the state of an animal yet even when stripped of his civilized trappings, Pepe continues to be something more than a wild beast.

ground, Steinbeck was ready to write his novel. As with the fusion of deeply felt experience with a successful narrative technique and fully realized characters make *The Grapes of Wrath* a very effective novel.

The physical environment which forms the background for the Joad family's story is handled on two levels. In descriptive portions of the journey west, for example, Steinbeck makes the setting subordinate to what is happening to his characters; it is little more than a convenient place simply described. In the early chapters of the book and in some of the intercalary chapters Steinbeck shows what he felt to be a nearly inevitable causal relationship between the small farmer, his land and the impersonal force capitalism which is symbolized by the banks and the tractor which drive the little farmer off his home acres and into migrant labor. Economic and biological forces 'determine' the general plight and are closely related to what happens to the environment in the novel. Steinbeck does, however, indicate that within this larger pattern there is opportunity for the individual to act with integrity and to assert his human dignity in spite of the near overwhelming forces operating against him.

Steinbeck handles the Oklahoma landscape in which the Joads live with both firmness and a sense of loving involvement. The novel begins with a description of conditions on the land in their area. "To the red country and part of the grey country of Oklahoma the last rains came gently, and they did not cut
the scarred earth. The ploughs crossed and recrossed the rivulet marks. The last rains lifted the corn quickly and scattered weed colonies and grass along the sides of the roads so that the grey country and the dark red country began to disappear under a green cover.¹

In this country Steinbeck shows that in the years when there is enough rainfall the farmer can survive, but when drought follows drought and the corn withers, the families like the Joads who have "paper" (mortgages) with the bank are bound to be forced off their land. That man's relationship to the land is of vital importance is made clear throughout the novel. Despite the loneliness and harshness of the landscape, the Joad family have worked their farm and grown to care for it. For Steinbeck this feeling for the land is what constitutes ownership. The Joad's attachment to their farm is exemplified in chapter eight when Tom Joad is returning home from the prison with Casy. "The quiet thudding of the men's feet in the dust sounded against the secret noises of the dawn" and Casy wonders if they are on the right path. Tom tells him that he could shut his eyes and walk straight to the old home; his feet know the way even better than his conscious self.² This sensitivity to the land is sharply in contrast with that of the mechanical monster, the

2. Ibid., 62.
big tractor whose driver is rather like a robot with his goggles and indifference to the human situation.

The author's Jeffersonian agrarianism is stated at various points throughout the novel: as long as men stay close to the land and use it wisely a good society must be the result. When property exists as figures on a bit of paper as it does for the bank or for the great landholders, then the land owns them. The bank's representatives are shown in chapter five as coming onto land in which they have no interest except to make it a cash-producing enterprise. These men drive big augurs into the soil to test its fertility while the dispossessed families look on in silence. The big tractors are remorselessly inhuman and overpowering, slicing through the land they do not love. The landscape becomes ever more desolate as houses are smashed down and the wells filled in, and people are forced to leave the farms their fathers or grandfathers had settled. "All of them were caught in something larger than themselves." 1

The economic forces are as inexorable as the tractors. Steinbeck shows that the banks and land companies are also following an economically determined path, a path that the author condemns repeatedly. The dispassionate, inhuman force which is driving the Joads from their farm is similar to the railway monopoly in Frank Norris's *The Octopus* which was written

1. Ibid., 30.
about the San Joaquin Valley about forty years earlier.

The end result in terms of the landscape are shown in chapter eleven. The houses are left vacant and the barns no longer have horses in them but lifeless tractors. Houses that are vacant quickly begin to fall apart. The doors swing open, the windows are broken, hunting cats begin to inhabit it and bats and mice and weasels and owls move in. The wind finds a shingle to loosen and next, a dozen. This is what happens to the Joads who are "dusted-out, tractor-ed-out, starved-out" and must leave for California.

Steinbeck uses one of his "intercalary" chapters to emphasize the determinism that is operating to evict the Joads at the same time that it indicates what may happen to them in the future. In chapter three a land turtle is shown heading south-west, roughly the same direction that the Joads are to take later. The turtle is in great danger as he crosses a main highway, and it is struck by a light truck and flipped off the road and onto its back. Patiently the turtle regained its feet and in the process pulled a wild oat seed from its stalk to the earth; the seed is then "planted" when the turtle drags dirt across it in passing over it. This symbolic threat to life and then renewal of life parallels the heroic efforts of the Joads in their attempt to start a new life in "the promised land". The Joads must find a way to survive in a hostile environment, California, and despite many set backs do manage to live on,
though in a diminished condition. Soon after the Joads leave the farm, their dog is killed by a passing motor car because the dog does not know how to act away from its own territory; for the same reason both grandpa and grandma also die before reaching the green valleys of California.

Steinbeck also fuses another aspect of life in his story of the Joad's predicament. The man-made environment in the city is also shown as basically hostile. Steinbeck shows what happens in a used car lot in the city where the Joads must go to find a cheap car for the trip. He makes an analogy between the broken-down, worn out automobiles in the car lot and the broken and uprooted lives of the farm family. The mean methods practised by the second-hand car salesmen is part of the system inherent in modern capitalism in the United States; it is the same system which took their land and which runs the factory farms in California which crush the migrant workers.

III

Between July 1, 1935 and June 30, 1939 it is known that 70,857 Oklahomans left for California.¹ How one family of these Oklahomans managed the journey west occupies the second hundred

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¹ For details on the general condition of farmers at this time, see Ill Fares the Land by Carey McWilliams, Boston, 1944. McWilliams wrote that Steinbeck was "slightly confused in his geography which is indicative of his failure to understand the deep-seated causes of poverty and unrest in Oklahoma's farm population". 187.
pages of *The Grapes of Wrath*. The Joads leave the family farm near Sallisaw in an old Hudson Supersix which has been converted into a truck to carry the family and their few belongings.

In beginning his description of the trip, Steinbeck probably had a road map in front of him. The distances between the towns the Joads must pass through to reach California are listed. "From Sallisaw to Gore is twenty-one miles and the Hudson was doing thirty-five miles an hour. From Gore to Warner is thirteen miles; Warner to Checotah fourteen miles; Checotah a long jump to Henrietta — thirty-four miles, but a real town at the end of it. Henrietta to Castle nineteen miles, and the sun was overhead, and the red fields, heated by the high sun, vibrated the air."¹ By indicating in detail these short stages of the trip the reader is forced to feel how difficult the long undertaking is going to be in an overloaded old car.² Even a few miles along the way is a hurdle successfully overcome, and this is reinforced by the reader’s knowledge that the Joads have only a small amount of money for the journey.

These modern refugees must face many difficult physical situations before reaching the great valley of California.

"Highway 66 is the main migrant road — the long concrete path

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2. Steinbeck’s treatment of Route 66 and the towns along the way has the same intonation found in Pare Lorentz’s movie "The River".
across the country, waving gently up and down on the map, from Mississippi to Bakersfield — over the red lands and the grey lands, twisting up into the mountains, crossing the Divide and down into the bright and terrible desert, and across the desert to the mountains again, and into the rich California valleys.¹

The Joads must flee from the "dust and shrinking land, from the thunder of tractors and shrinking ownership, from the desert's slow northward invasion, from the twisting winds that howl up out of Texas, from the floods that bring no richness to the land and steal what little richness is there".² Steinbeck shows that the Joads will be at the mercy of the elements, the mountains and deserts that try to stop their old truck, the sharp practices of garage owners along the way. He also tells a story which gives the reader a hint that the Joads will persevere and reach their destination. A family similar to the Joads was forced off their land and having no money they built a trailer and pulled it to Route 66 and waited. Good people took them to California in two jumps, feeding them on the way. The authorial comment asks how such courage and faith in their fellowman could exist which he then answers by saying that such true stories teach us faith.

Route 66 is never described in terms of beauty or particular

1. Ibid., 108.
2. Ibid., 108.
scenic interest but mostly as seen through the senses of the Joads as they "crawl" towards California just as the turtle crawled south-west. The Painted Desert is mentioned but not described; the Joads are too concerned with the problem of keeping the Hudson going to be attracted to scenery. The mountains are obstacles to surmount. Steinbeck treats the geography by giving the reader a bird's eye view while the Joads know geography as seen by hot, tired, thirsty occupants of an overcrowded truck. When they reach the Arizona border and cross the Colorado River into California the Joad family stops to rest and take pleasure in bathing in the cool river. They comment briefly on the sharp pointed mountains called "The Needles", but the novel concentrates on their "baptismal" in the river. Their arrival at the river marks the midway point in the novel.¹

The physical countryside of California is described in glowing terms. The land is fertile and rich, but suffers from the same blight on the landscape as Oklahoma: the greed of the large farmers and monopoly capitalism. Against the same forces that crushed them at home the Joads have no resources except their courage and will to live. They do not fully understand what they are up against, and despite a stay in a government camp for migrants which provides a decent human environment, the

¹ At this point Noah, who has taken little part in the story, decides to "go down the river" and try to live as he can.
Joads are soon near starvation in the midst of great natural wealth. "The truck moved along the beautiful roads, past orchards where the peaches were beginning to color, past vineyards with the clusters pale and green, under the lines of walnut trees whose branches spread half across the road." In the midst of the "purtiest goddamn country you ever seen", the fruit rots on the ground instead of being picked by those who are hungry, and armed guards are stationed to protect the orchards. Again the reader contrasts the attitude to the land on these big farms with that of the "little man" represented by the Joads. The lesson to be finally learned is that through cooperation with others some dent can be made in the hard wall of unconcern.

As the book began in drought, so it ends in heavy rain and flooding which brings new problems for the Joads. A hint that they will survive is again provided in the fact that the rain brings the new green of grass which suggests that life in nature will go on.

The novel's reception gives some idea of its faithfulness to the facts. Congressmen and newspaper editors in both California and Oklahoma called it sensational, obscene and untrue although it was obvious that some of them had not bothered to read the book. Articles and at least one book were published

1. Ibid., 292.
to disprove the impression Steinbeck's book had made. On the other hand, government officials and university professors testified that *The Grapes of Wrath* was very close to reality and, if anything, understated.
Notes for maps and illustrations for
The Grapes of Wrath

(Page numbers from the Penguin Edition, 1964)

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End of first portion of novel: preparation for flight. 108 pages.
Chapter XII

Route 66 is described as the migrant road.

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Clarksville and Ozark and Van Buren and Fort Smith on route 62 and there is an end of Arkansas. Roads into Oklahoma City: 66 down from Tulsa; 270 up from McAlester; 81 from Wichita Falls south; from Enid north. Edmond, Mcloud, Purcell and 66 out of Oklahoma City; El Reno and Clinton going west. Hydro, Elk City, Texola and the end of Oklahoma.

66 across the Panhandle of Texas. Shamrock and McLean, Conway and Amarillo. Wildorado and Vega and Boise and the end of Texas. Tucumcari, Santa Rosa and New Mexican Mountains to Albuquerque where the road comes down from Santa Fe. Down the gorged Rio Grande to Los Lunas, west on 66 to Gallup, and the border of New Mexico.


California just over the river; pretty town of Needles. Up from Needles and over the burned mountains Route 66 is in the terrible desert. Barstow. More mountains to pass, and the valley below (Bakersfield).

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Police from Los Angeles.

Chapter XIII

The Joads begin their exodus; Grandpa dies; Pa in charge; meet the Wilsons. $154.00 for trip.

FIRST DAY

Sallisaw and turned west to Gore 21 miles, to Warner 13, to Checotah 14, to Henrietta 34, to Castle 19, to Paden 25, and the sun passed its zenith (12 a.m.) The Joads dog, unaccustomed to highways, is killed by a car.

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to Meeker, 13, to Harrah 14, and to Oklahoma City where they reach Route 66.
Oklahoma City to Bethany 14 miles where they camp outside the city; meet Wilsons.

Chapter XIV
Psychology and economics; west frightened of migrants.

Chapter XV
Mae and Joe in hamburger stand.

Chapter XVI
SECOND DAY
On to New Mexico; repair Wilson's car; motor camp.

El Reno, Bridgeport, Clinton. Elk City, Sayre and Texola, crawling westward; Oklahoma behind them. Panhandle of Texas. Shamrock, Alanreed, Groom, Yarnell, Amarillo in the evening, camped at dusk. Description of the rolling grey country with its scars.

THIRD DAY
"The land rolled by like great stationary groundswells."
Wildorado, Vega, Boise, Glenrio. End of Texas. New Mexico and the mountains. Pecos River crossed at Santa Rosa and on they crawled another 20 miles.

Car trouble; return to Santa Rosa as Albuquerque is 75 miles further on. Saturday. Ma takes over.

Car fixed; on to camp ground for night.

Little world created each night, laws set up, ritual established in the camps.

FOURTH DAY
Reach the Arizona border, then California with $40 left. Noah deserts; grandma sickening; Mrs Wilson dying.

Moving westward into mountains of New Mexico past the pinnacles and pyramids of the upland; climbed into the high country of Arizona; looked down on the Painted Desert. Stopped by border guard.

Holbrook, Joseph City, Winslow. Tall trees begin. Flagstaff and the top of it all; down from Flagstaff over great plateaux, driving all night to western wall of mountains of Arizona.
Crawled through. Passed summit in dark, slowly down through Oatman; daylight as they saw Colorado River below them.

FIFTH DAY
On to Topock to border; across bridge into a rock wilderness ... California.
Road runs parallel to the river and in mid morning they reached Needles and drive to the river to bathe. Sleep in the day; look up at the sharp peaks called Needles and white rock mountains of Arizona. They still have the desert ahead of them.

In late afternoon, told to leave. 300 miles; Mrs Wilson dying.

To Needles to check their tires, gas.

Description of Mojave Desert.

FIFTH NIGHT
Truck moved over the hot earth and the hours passed.
Midnight they reach Dagget (now Daggett); inspection station; grandma died on the way. Only 8 miles to Barstow.

All night they drove on and dawn comes up with lights of Mojave ahead; mountains to west and they crawl towards them as dawn arrives.

SIXTH DAY
Through Techachapi near dawn; and suddenly with sun coming up behind them "the great valley" below. They have made it through to the promised land. (p.212)

California

Chapter XIX History of land in California; Mexicans, Spanish Americans; greed and unused land.

Lawrenceville (news despatch).

Chapter XX To Bakersfield with Grandma; Hooverville camp; deputy shot; Casy taken.

Bakersfield

Tulare County, Tulare.
Entered the town, cleared the town, turned south on "99" instead of going north.

Desperation growing among the migrants. Life in the Government camp; showers; committees, dignity.

Drove along looking for Weedpatch Camp; only a "sky glare behind showed the direction of Bakersfield".

Beautiful roads, through beautiful orchards.

Pleasures of the migrants — stories, dancing, sing.

Trouble from outsiders; dance at the camp.

Spring in California.

Full green hills are round and soft.

One month in camp; no work or hope; work up north.

Going to Marysville.

West from Weedpatch till they came to 99; north on the great paved road towards Bakersfield; Going north the sun rose on their right — East. Peach picking: go north to Pixley, 35-36 miles and turn east six miles — Hooper ranch. No real destination any more for Joads.

At the company store, camp — Casy leading a strike.

Strike breakers come from as far as El Centro.

Leave as Tom in trouble; truck turned left and moved towards 101, the great north-south highway.

Where to go? Go north on back roads, 20 miles to cotton country angling along the country roads; paralleled a bushy creek. Line of box-cars for final scene. Impermanent.

Cotton pickers have to buy own bag.

Living in box car; Wainwrights.

Drove to Tulare on Saturday night for supplies.
Cave scene with Tom and mother.

Chapter XXIX

Over the high coast mountains and valleys the grey clouds bring rain and finally floods; miserable conditions for the workers; but also spring grass.

Chapter XXX

Rose of Sharon loses baby; feeds the starving man; they are the survivors; flooded out to old barn; family of man has grown larger.
Notes on the Maps and Illustrations for The Grapes of Wrath

The provision of maps for Steinbeck's The Grapes of Wrath raised no serious problems because the author is very specific about the geography in the novel. The main difficulty was to show on one map the kind of country the Joads had to pass through on their trip to California. Map S-1 shows the main highway on which they traveled, Route 66, and gives the names of the main cities and villages as well as comments on the journey at different stages. A bird's eye view of the route similar to that for Mark Twain's Life on the Mississippi (Map T-1) would present a clearer idea of the varied and rugged terrain the Hudson Supersix had to cross on the epic journey. Patricia Matthews of the Cartographic Section of the Geography Department, University of Canterbury prepared this map from a sketch map and notes by the author of the thesis.

After the Joads arrive in California, a larger scale map is helpful in understanding the setting of the novel. It seems likely that Steinbeck consulted an ordinary, commercially produced road map while writing parts of The Grapes of Wrath and such a map for the southern part of California is included here as Map S-2. This modern map has been compared with a 1939 Shell Oil Company road map of the state and the only significant differences are the increase in the number of roads. The Joads found that "the promised land" did not offer them the
opportunity to work which they sought and by the end of chapter twenty-six they are becoming desperate. The road guards hound them, and at this point in the story Steinbeck has the truck leave the camp in another effort to find work. The Joads turn left "toward 101, the great north-south highway". This road as will be seen on the map parallels the coastal road, Route 1. Thus routes 1, 101 and 99 all run roughly north-south at different distances from the coast. Route 101 goes from Salinas to San Luis Obispo where it crosses Route 1 and then becomes itself the main coast road on to Los Angeles.

The illustrations selected for *The Grapes of Wrath* are a pictorial documentation of the novel and reveal the actuality of the Joad family's condition in the Dust Bowl in Oklahoma and in the Hoovervilles of California. The photographs were taken in the same areas that Steinbeck describes in the novel and from the same period of time. Indeed, the photographs could almost be said to have been intended as illustrations for such a book as *The Grapes of Wrath*. Unfortunately it has been impossible to locate a copy of the original pamphlet that Steinbeck wrote, *Their Blood Is Strong*, which contained a number of illustrations. The Steinbeck scholar Warren French wrote the author of the thesis that he was himself unable to

The Joad farm had not reached this stage at the time of the story, but all the indications were that it would happen with a few more years of drought. This photograph is from the FSA collection in the Library of Congress.

The second plate (S-2) shows what happens after small farms like the Joads are taken over by the banks and consolidated into large acreages. The big tractors plow furrows right into the dooryard of the houses, as they did on the farm Steinbeck describes. The abandoned farm is from the Texas Panhandle and was photographed by Dorothea Lange for the Resettlement Administration. The photograph is from the Library of Congress.
The next illustration, Plate S-3, is of an abandoned farmhouse near Sallisaw, Oklahoma, the setting for *The Grapes of Wrath*. The derelict house is well described in chapter eleven of the novel. The picture is from the National Archives.

In Plate S-4 a farm family is shown in the dust storms which became prevalent in the area where the Joads lived. This photograph was taken in Oklahoma in 1936 and is from the FSA collection in the Library of Congress.

Plate S-5 depicts a typical "Hooverville" near Sacramento, California in 1940. This migrant camp has taken on some of the aspects of permanency as is shown in fences which the families have built. The camps the Joads lived in were of a more temporary nature. The photograph is from the National Archives, Washington, D.C.
PART III

Henry Thoreau: a Case Study
CHAPTER IX

Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862)

"As we thus rested in the shade, or rowed leisurely along, we had recourse, from time to time, to the Gazetteer, which was our Navigator, and from its bald natural facts extracted the pleasure of poetry."

Henry Thoreau

Henry Thoreau's pleasure in geography is evident from the many examples of his map-making that appear in this thesis. Geography along with botany and zoology was one of his lifelong interests; his writings represent the "pleasure of poetry" which geography gave him. The maps in this thesis are some of the "bald natural facts" that provide his raw material. For Thoreau the "objective correlative" for his poetry was a true account of the actual, and much of the power of his writing derives from his often brilliant intermingling of the two. He was an excellent surveyor because of his respect for accuracy and detail, but much of his pleasure in surveying came from the freedom it gave him to arrange his own hours and listen to

1. Henry Thoreau, A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers, Boston, 1906, 92. Unless otherwise noted references to Thoreau's books are from The Complete Writings of Henry David Thoreau published as the "Walden" edition by Houghton Mifflin in 20 volumes in 1906. The Journal comprises volumes VII to XX of this edition. References to the Journal are numbered from I to XIV.
Thoreau found it depressing that the men he worked for misused his skill. The solid Concord farmers saw surveying only as a means of defining their property rights, and failed to understand the true principles of surveying. Thoreau wondered if this materialistic view of the earth might distort his own vision of nature:

I have lately been surveying the Walden woods so extensively and minutely that I now see it mapped in my mind's eye — as indeed, on paper — as so many men's wood-lots.... I fear this particular dry knowledge may affect my imagination and fancy, that it will not be easy to see so much wildness and native vigor there as formerly. No thicket will seem so unexplored now that I know that a stake and stones may be found in it. 1

As with Mark Twain's experience in losing the poetry of the great river when he had to memorize twelve hundred miles of the Mississippi, so Thoreau was concerned about what the practical effects of his surveying might be on his imagination.

His fascination with maps is marked by a somewhat similar ambivalence. He never missed an opportunity to study a map and comment on its accuracy, and his books are full of the names of real places. When he was traveling Thoreau used maps as important guideposts, and in his writing they aided his memory. When he was writing the Cape Cod essays Thoreau

studied early maps of the region and concluded that the French charts were the best. "They went measuring and sounding, and when they got home had something to show for their voyages and explorations."¹ As he wrote during his trip to Canada, a map clarified "what would otherwise have been left in a limbo of unintelligibility".² Nevertheless he saw maps as a poor substitute for the real, for the felt experience, and Thoreau recorded his frustration with maps. This was partly because people did not know how to use them properly and partly because he was afraid they could not do otherwise. In his compilation of "things ill-managed" by society Thoreau included as a major grievance the lack of a decent pocket-size map of Massachusetts.³ Suitable maps were available, but no one had thought to cut them into small sheets which would be handy for a walker to carry. Thoreau thought that the reason was because there were too few who were interested in walking: "Men go by railroad, and State maps hanging in bar-rooms are small enough. The State has been surveyed at great cost and yet Dearborn's Pocket-Map is the best one we have".⁴

¹. Thoreau, Cape Cod, 234.
². Thoreau, Excursions, 60.
³. This reference is to the Dearborn map which is included in this thesis (Map 11a).
According to Thoreau, maps were not just a means to a commercial end but served spiritual purposes as well and in that sense could never be large enough. He noted with disappointment the disparity between his own experiences and what he could learn from a map. The smells of the forest and the sights of seacoast and mountain were not brought back by the maps he consulted, but he felt that part of the trouble was the failure of the conventions of map-making:

How little there is on an ordinary map! How little, I mean, that concerns the walker and the lover of nature. Between those lines indicating roads is a plain blank space in the form of a square or triangle or polygon or segment of a circle, and there is naught to distinguish this from another area of similar size and form.... The waving woods, the dells and glades and green banks and smiling fields, the huge boulders, etc., etc., are not on the map, nor to be inferred from the map. 1

If maps were often inadequate, so too was travel. Although he devoted a good deal of energy and time to the journeys that he made in New England, he frequently questioned the practice and suggested that he could travel much in Concord. For Thoreau, to travel to any real purpose required a seriousness of attitude and the proper spirit. Far from being an escape from the daily routine, travel should be an attempt to grow in experience and therefore it mattered little how far or where the traveler went. Thoreau as a proponent of simplicity

wrote: "But if I travel in a simple, primitive, original manner, standing in a truer relation to man and nature, travel away from the old and commonplace, get some honest experience of life, if only out of my feet and homesickness, then it becomes less important whither I go or how far".¹

Thoreau considered the value of travel when conducted with sincerity and truth to be "as serious as the grave, or any other part of the human journey", and to learn its skills required "... a long probation" of the traveler.² This long probation was necessary because seeing depends upon being; the eyes are not the only part of a man that travels. Thoreau wanted as few material encumbrances as possible. He carried only the food he needed, avoided the main roads, and wore rough clothes so that he could strike out across the fields instead of traveling on the main roads. If in earnest, "... the genuine traveler is going out to work hard, and fare harder, — to eat a crust by the wayside whenever he can get it. Honest traveling is about as dirty work as you can do, and a man needs a pair of overalls for it."³ Thoreau enjoyed making lists of the basic necessities for various kinds of travel and advised that the walker secure the best available pocket map

². Thoreau, Walden, 325.
³. Thoreau, Excursions, 31-32.
or other descriptions of the route to be followed. In his insistence upon the value of walking as a mode of transportation, Thoreau warns of the dangers of an over-urbanized society in terms of both mental and physical health. In his essay "Walking" he shows his concern about the future of the United States and concluded that "in wildness is the preservation of the world".¹

Vicarious travel also delighted Thoreau, and he recorded this comment in his *Journal* after seeing a "panorama" of the Rhine River: "I floated down its historic stream in something more than the imagination.... I floated along through the moonlight of history under the spell of enchantment".² Thoreau kept extracts of his travel reading in notebooks for possible future use in his own writing, a fact apparent to even the casual reader of his books.³ Facts truly and absolutely stated had a mythological and universal significance for Thoreau, and he sought the traveler who was also a poet. To live at home like a traveler does not mean that you are to isolate yourself from the larger world even while concentrating on what is available near at hand and in the present. Thoreau had a life-long passion for "growing", and he knew that living and learning

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are inseparable.

II

One of the surveying jobs which Thoreau must have enjoyed was undertaken for the town of Concord. He was asked to measure and record the various stages of the Concord River and to study its dams and bridges. The Concord Free Public Library has a number of his land surveys and some of his preliminary notes for the study of the river. In 1861 Bronson Alcott became Superintendent of Schools for Concord, and he at once proposed that his friend Henry Thoreau prepare a small text book for use in the schools comprising the geography, history and antiquities of Concord. Alcott wrote in his report that since Thoreau was already "a sort of resident Surveyor-General of the town's farms, farmers, animals and everything else it contains", he would be an ideal person to compile an illustrated "Atlas of Concord". Unfortunately Thoreau was too close to his final illness to make the atlas a reality.

If Concord is seen as a microcosm of the world, then Thoreau certainly provides the names for that world of things seen and felt. He sets forth in satisfying detail the names not only of trees and flowers but also the swamps and ponds, valleys and hills, meadows and woods, rivers and mountains.

His major writings are, in both a literal and a figurative sense, travel books. Even his masterpiece, *Walden*, records his journey to the pond and many excursions from his "center". The journey is, like the best of all journeys, symbolic as well as actual.

His skill in rendering the geography of larger landscapes than the rather limited horizons of Concord is evident in his descriptions in *The Maine Woods*. He places the reader securely in the larger setting before showing him details of the country around him.

We were upon a high table-land between the States and Canada, the northern side of which is drained by the St. John and the Chaudiere, the southern by the Penobscot and the Kennebec. 1

Later, on reaching the crest of Mount Katahdin more than a mile above the level of the sea and brushed by clouds, Thoreau asks the reader to look out:

There it was, the State of Maine, which we had seen on a map but not much like that, — immeasurable forest for the sun to shine on, that eastern stuff we hear of in Massachusetts. No clearing, no house. It did not look as if a solitary traveler had cut so much as a walking-stick there. Countless lakes, — Moosehead in the southwest, forty miles long by ten wide, like a gleaming silver platter at the end of the table.... 2

As his *Journal* is a witness, Thoreau took careful notes of

his own observations during his travels as well as the experiences of others that he felt he could trust. He required the observer to not only be truthful about his facts but also to be the vehicle of some humanity. Towards the end of his life the Journal gives evidence of Thoreau's growing sense of regret that he was increasingly a "recorder" and less often the prophet who looks behind the "objective" thing.

Thoreau's travels beyond his own immediate vicinity of Concord were important. The woods of Maine provided contact with a wilderness environment in sharp contrast to the civilised landscape of Concord. He also made personal contact with the Indian through the guide, Joe Polis, against whom he could test his extensive reading about them. In his trips to Cape Cod it is the expansive quality of the ocean that he seeks and finds; again the contrast with the rather tame hills and woods of Walden is salutary. On his journey to Canada Thoreau discerned something of a foreign culture and what it meant to be an American in 1850. In all of these journeys he remained an "explorer" seeking to learn from his experience and there is ample evidence of this expansive process in his Journal. Throughout his life he depended upon the concrete objectification of the "thing felt" to give his writing strength; to provide the firm foundation in the land itself from which to make his flights of exultation about man's potential capacity for development.
Traveling with Thoreau as a companion is a pleasure. He is sturdy and energetic, seldom complains, full of good humor and outrageous puns, and ready to talk about all that he sees along the way. For those who like to read Thoreau literally, the maps in this thesis provide a convenient way of accompanying him on his travels to Maine, Canada and Cape Cod as well as those nearer his heartland, Concord. Those who read Thoreau figuratively will find the maps providing symbolic mountains and ponds. The "bald natural facts" of Thoreau's journeys are also his poetry. Thoreau continually moves from the familiar, the known, the solid earth, to the unfamiliar, the unknown, the abstract; from the real landscape to the mindscape. He starts with a solid, very real stone dropped in Walden Pond and is delighted to observe the ever-expanding ripples touching unseen shores.

III

The classic American books are best remembered for the unforgettable settings, most of which are out of doors — a raft on a great river, a cabin by a pond, a birch bark canoe on a shimmering lake, a whaling ship on the voyage out. All good literature is tied firmly to a time and place that is warmly remembered and yet is able to transcend both.

James Fenimore Cooper returned a number of times to his boyhood home to look out on the lake made famous by The Deer—
slayer and Pioneers. Both Mark Twain and John Steinbeck in later years recorded the intensity of their recollections in returning to the place where they spent their formative years. Thoreau remained centered in the "Concord Country" throughout his life, and his writing reflects the profound knowledge gained by this life-long experience. All four authors wrote their best books about the geographical region which they knew best as boys, and from their early experience were able to re-create in literature a warm and living sense of place.
Maps and Illustrations for Thoreau's Writings

The maps and illustrations are intended to increase the reader's understanding of the writings of Henry David Thoreau. Ten of the thirty-six maps in this thesis were drawn by Thoreau, and a number of the contemporary maps included were used by him or mentioned in his books; for example, the Dearborn map of Massachusetts and the Greenleaf map of Maine. Thoreau is also given credit for the survey of Walden Pond on the 1852 Walling map of the town of Concord. The study of the early maps showing the "Thoreau Country" will give the reader a "sense of place" as Thoreau knew it and provides insight into the milieu in which he lived.

The modern reconstructions are intended to help the reader follow his journeys or better comprehend Thoreau's world as delineated in his writings. Sources for the modern maps included contemporary maps wherever possible and some of this source material is provided in the thesis.

The maps are presented in the same sequence as the publication of his books for the most part. Thus, the first maps are of the Concord and Merrimack Rivers to accompany A Week which was published in 1849, and the last maps represent

1. Unless otherwise noted, all the modern maps are the work of the author.
the many diverse areas Thoreau wrote about in the Journal which was not published until 1906. Brief explanatory notes for each of the maps provide relevant information about his travels, his interest in particular maps or about the maps themselves. A list of the resource material used in making the modern maps is also included. The chronology of all of Thoreau's journeys outside of the Concord-Boston area suggests the variety and range of his travels. The Index of place names used by Thoreau gives a reference to the appropriate map or maps but is not intended to be comprehensive.

The illustrations include views of a wide variety of scenes which Thoreau knew either in Concord or on his travels and, for the most part, avoid duplicating previously published pictures from books about Thoreau. Of particular interest are the various steamers and riverboats on which he traveled.

In 1970 Princeton University Press published A Thoreau Gazetteer by the author of this thesis, and some of the material from that volume is used here with their permission. The editor of the Gazetteer, Professor William Howarth, carried through the difficult editorial work and made several valuable contributions to the book as well as supervising the preparation of the index. This thesis includes much new material not found in the published work. Thirteen maps have been added, and there has been a general revision of the text.
MAP ONE

New England

This map of New England and parts of the adjoining states of New York and New Jersey serves to locate Concord in the larger setting and also to include places not found on the more local maps. With the exception of the trip to Canada in 1850 and the Minnesota journey near the end of his life, New England was home to Thoreau.

On his trip to Staten Island in 1843 Thoreau traveled by train to New London and then by boat around Long Island to New York. Of this part of the journey he wrote in a letter to his mother that he arrived after "as good a passage as usual, though we ran aground and were detained a couple of hours in the Thames River [New London], till the tide came to our relief. At length we curtseyed up to a wharf just the other side of their Castle Garden." Castle Garden is the extreme southern tip of Manhattan, and from there he went by the South Ferry to Staten Island and Castleton. From the hill near William Emerson's house he had a good view of Brooklyn, Long Island and the Narrows, through which passed ships from many countries.

This map was drawn using sources contemporary to Thoreau's time including Henry S. Tanner "New Hampshire and Vermont", (Map 3a) Philadelphia, 1833, and "New Map of Massachusetts" by Dearborn, (Map 11a) Boston, 1845. The railroads shown are only those which were used by Thoreau. The general course of the steamers is shown. On all the maps distances are in miles, north is at the top of the map unless otherwise shown and parallels of longitude and latitude are omitted except when clearly of value to the reader. The spelling of place names follows that used by Thoreau.
MAP TWO

A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers

This map was drawn by Henry Thoreau and shows the route followed on the journey up the Concord and Merrimack Rivers in the summer of 1839 with his brother John. The map includes the area from Concord, Massachusetts (abbreviated as "Con" on his map) to the White Mountains in New Hampshire which the brothers visited on the same trip but was not included in Thoreau's book about the trip. Of particular interest are the small triangular marks which correspond to the places where the two brothers camped overnight on their trip as mentioned in Thoreau's book, A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers and in his Journal. The map may have been copied from "New Hampshire and Vermont" by Henry S. Tanner, Philadelphia, 1833, Map Three A of this thesis. A copy of the Tanner map in the New York Public Library is inscribed "J. Thoreau". The camping locations were near Billerica, Tyngsborough, Nashville, Bedford, Hooksett, and Concord, New Hampshire. Rowing and sailing from Concord, Mass. to Concord, New Hampshire, took six days from Saturday, August 31 to Thursday, September 5. On the next six days the brothers traveled by stage and on foot, camping overnight at Thornton, Franconia, Crawford Notch, Mt Washington, Conway and back to Concord, New Hampshire. On September 12 they returned to Hooksett and their boat and 'then voyaged' to Concord, Massachusetts. The scale of the map is 1 to 500,000.
original of this map is in the Clifton Waller Barrett Library of American Literature in the Alderman Library at the University of Virginia and is reproduced with their permission.
MAP THREE

A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers

This map is a reconstruction of the river voyage.

Thoreau spent a good deal of his out of doors time in and on the water: skating on the rivers, swimming or wading in the ponds, voyaging on the Concord and Merrimack and boating on Walden Pond; he also made birch bark canoe and batteau trips on the rivers of Maine, and many journeys on the steamers, schooners and riverboats that provided transportation services in his day. That his grandfather had been a sailor pleased him, and his books on navigation made up part of Thoreau's library.

Thoreau's account of the brief journey in a small boat with his brother John provides the narrative thread for his book A Week, although occupying less than one-third of the whole. This part of the book with the sound and smell of the river and the pleasures of rowing and sailing a small boat is far more effective writing than the literary digressions which make up the remainder of A Week. In the evening before a crackling fire the two brothers sat up to read the Gazetteer to learn their latitude and longitude, and write the journal of the voyage.

The map shows the boundaries for many towns not referred to in A Week; these are useful in reading The Journal and other
of his writings. Township lines were important geographical boundaries in New England, more so than in many other parts of the United States.

The canal around the falls in the Merrimack River at Lowell, Massachusetts, was completed in 1797. In 1804 the Middlesex Canal began operations, carrying passengers and cargoes from Lowell to Boston. The canal was thirty-one miles long, twenty-four feet wide, and four feet deep. The canal went out of use in 1851.

Sources for this map include: Phillip Carrigan, Map of the State of New Hampshire, Concord, New Hampshire, 1816; John Farmer and Jacob B. Moore, A Gazetteer of the State of New Hampshire, Concord New Hampshire, 1823 (this was probably one of the gazetteers the Thoreaus carried on their voyage as it is certainly the source of some of the quotations); Nathan Hale, Map of New England, Boston, 1826; John Hayward, The New England Gazetteer, Boston, 1839 (Hayward copied Farmer's material for New Hampshire); J.W. Meader, The Merrimack River, Boston, 1869; United States Geological Survey, topographic sheets for Massachusetts and New Hampshire.
MAP THREE [A]

Tanner's Map of New Hampshire and Vermont

In 1833 this map by H.S. Tanner was published as part of Tanner's Universal Atlas in Philadelphia. There is a copy of this map inscribed "J. Thoreau" in the collection of the New York Public Library, and it was probably carried by the two brothers on their voyage on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers. The map is useful in showing the county boundary lines in New Hampshire and Vermont as well as some of the mountains mentioned by Thoreau such as Killington Peak in Vermont. Also useful are the distances between towns which are marked on the map. The list of atlases compiled by Clara LeGear for the Library of Congress lists Tanner as publishing "A New American Atlas containing maps of the several States of the North American Union" in 1839, the same year as the voyage on the two rivers. Since Tanner also published similar atlases in 1825 and 1826, single maps from his atlases were probably sold although none are listed in P. Lee Phillips A List of Maps of America in the Library of Congress.
In the winter of 1846 Thoreau measured Walden Pond and recorded his survey on this map of the pond. The map is mounted on cardboard and measures $16\frac{1}{2}$ by $20\frac{1}{2}$ inches and contains a scale showing ten rods to the inch. Thoreau indicated on the map several features which are familiar to readers of <i>Walden</i> such as the site of his cabin near the northwest cove, the tracks of the Fitchburg Railroad, and wooded peaks on the north side, one of which is noted as being "about 85 ft. high". North on the map is in the direction of the bottom edge of the map.

The notes below the drawing read as follows:

Soundings on BD, KJ & CM at intervals of ten rods; CN 15 rods; KL 300 & 200 feet on EF, GH, & shorter lines at intervals of 100 & occasionally of 50 and 25 feet measuring from E & G respectively. Distances on EF, BD, GH, and short lines on the middle accurately measured — the others paced.

- s = soft bottom
- h. = hard

1 acre has over 100 feet of water upon it
2 acres over 99 [?] — 7 acres over 80.
Area = 61 acres, 2 roods, 23 perches.
Circumference = 1.7 miles.
Greatest length 175\(\frac{3}{4}\) rods
Greatest breadth 110\(\frac{3}{4}\) rods
Least breadth 49\(\frac{1}{2}\) rods
Greatest unevenness observed on the bottom between 41 & 66 on EF, a descent of 25 feet in 50
Least unevenness between 53\(\frac{1}{2}\) & 54\(\frac{1}{2}\) on JK — one foot in 30 rods
The original of this map is in the Thoreau Collection of the Concord Free Public Library and is used with the permission of the Trustees.
Thoreau produced a "Reduced Plan" of the pond from the earlier map, probably early in 1854 before sending the Walden manuscript to the publisher. This "Reduced Plan" served as the model for the artist who made the plate for the first edition of Walden. This "Reduced Plan" differs from the original survey in the direction of the line showing the greatest width of the pond and the scale is smaller being forty rods to an inch. Thoreau's sister Sophia gave the "Reduced Plan" to Miss E.J. Weir of Concord, and it is now in the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library and is used with their permission.
Comparing this map with the original survey by Thoreau (Map Four), the reader will notice that fewer soundings along the base lines are included in the map printed in the first edition of *Walden*. Only four reference lines appear, and his original EF and AD lines have become AB and CD. The change in the angle of the base lines was probably because Thoreau drew his survey from magnetic north while north on this map is a "True Meridian". The map of the pond is evidence of Thoreau's intention that the reader understand the "geography" of the pond and thus the setting for *Walden*. The map was printed separately from the book by S.W. Chandler and Sons, and was meant to face page 307 of the 1854 edition. In that position in *Walden* it relates to Thoreau's search for the pond's bottom. In making the survey, Thoreau thought that he had made an important discovery:

When I had mapped the pond by the scale of ten rods to an inch, and put down the soundings, more than a hundred in all, I observed this remarkable coincidence. Having noticed that the number indicating the greatest depth was apparently in the centre of the map, I laid a rule on the map lengthwise, and then breadthwise, and found, to my surprise, that the line of greatest length intersected exactly at the point of greatest depth ... and I said to myself, Who knows but this hint would conduct to the deepest part of the ocean as well as of a pond or puddle? 1

The map might seem to contradict Thoreau, since on it the pond's greatest depth, 102 feet, does not appear at the intersection of base lines. The base lines, however, are not the lines of greatest length and breadth; Thoreau obtained those "by measuring into the coves". The accuracy of his survey has been confirmed with modern instruments by Edward S. Deevey, Jr., in "A Re-Examination of Thoreau's Walden", Quarterly Review of Biology, XVII (1942), 1-11.

Many editions of Walden do not include this map, despite the importance Thoreau attached to it. When Walden first appeared some of Thoreau's contemporaries thought the chart of the pond was intended to be taken as a joke. Emerson told Thoreau of a friend who admired Walden, "but relished it merely as a capital satire and joke, and even thought that the survey and map of the pond were not real, but a caricature of the Coast Surveys".¹

MAP SIX

Walling's Map of Concord

In 1852 H.F. Walling, a Boston surveyor, completed his map of Concord with the aid of a local "Civ. Eng." named H.D. Thoreau. Walling freely adapted Thoreau's draftsmanship; a comparison of this map of Walden Pond with the 1846 drawing indicates considerable revision. Thoreau had calculated Walden's area at 61 acres, but Walling makes it 64 acres. Walling also "rounded" the outline of the southern cove, extended the southeast and southwest coves, and made a radical alteration of the western shoreline. North on Walling's map is in the normal position, at the top of the map.

The town of Concord appears as it was during the years Thoreau worked on the Walden manuscript (1849-54). The scale for the map is 610 yards to the inch (approx. 1:22,000), and 200 yards to the inch (approx. 1:7,200) for "inset" plan of the village.

The copy believed to be Thoreau's is in the Abernethy Collection of American Literature at the Library of Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vermont. The map was supplied by the Concord Antiquarian Society.
Thoreau's first trip to "Bangor and the backwoods of Maine" began in August, 1846. On this trip he climbed Mount Katahdin (spelled Ktaddn at that time) and journeyed down the West Branch of the Penobscot in a batteau. The second trip to Maine in 1853 took Thoreau to Moosehead Lake which he crossed by steamer and then canoed down the West Branch of the Penobscot to Chesuncook Lake and back to Bangor. This trip was in a birch-bark canoe, and the account entitled "Chesuncook" was printed in the Atlantic Monthly in June, July and August, 1858.

On his last trip in 1857 his party traveled by canoe around Mount Katahdin by way of Bangor to Moosehead Lake, Northeast Carry, West Branch, Chesuncook Lake, Umbazookskus Stream, Mud Pond Carry, to the Allegash; then Chamberlain and Telos Lakes; Webster Stream and the East Branch of the Penobscot back to Bangor. His story of this trip was published after his death as "The Allegash and East Branch" in The Maine Woods. On these trips to Maine Thoreau studied the Indian as well as the natural scene. He returned from his journeys into the "wilderness" of the Maine woods convinced that his faith in nature as a place of "perpetual youth" was justified. Here was "the raw material of all our civilization" and he wrote that the Indian who lived in woods was a reminder that "intelligence flows in
other channels than I knew.  

In The Maine Woods Thoreau tells how to build a shelter, how to cut cedar twigs to make a comfortable bed for the night, how to start the camp fire and what food to carry. Thoreau prepared a detailed list of what was needed for a twelve day excursion into the Maine woods including the best pocket map, and description of the route as well as his usual spy-glass for watching birds and a pocket microscope. He suggests that in Maine, a state on the eastern seaboard of the United States, are wilderness areas the equal of those a thousand miles to the west. Thoreau could hardly be expected to be a great "woodsman" coming as he did from Concord, but as a writer he is successful in capturing the "quality" of the woods. The book is also a plea for the conservation of forests and wildlife.

In mapping this area the principal problem was the reconstruction of the rivers and lakes as they were before the building of dams and the logging activities in Maine had changed their shapes. A modern map of the Moosehead Lake region in Maine will be very different from a map of the same area drawn in the 1850's.

Sources for this map are: Colton's Railroad Map of the State of Maine, New York, 1855; Eckstorm, Mrs Fanny Hardy, "Thoreau's Maine Woods", The Atlantic Monthly, vol. CL, July

MAP EIGHT
The Maine Woods

For a reliable map on his first trip to Maine Thoreau decided to depend upon Map of Public Lands of Maine and Massachusetts, a section of this map being reproduced here. Thoreau's personal copy of the map is in the collection of the Concord Free Public Library and is used here with their permission. His copy contains a number of pencil notations but unfortunately these are too faint to be shown on this reproduction. Thoreau supplied the names of places that were not identified in the northwest quadrant of the map and made corrections of areas and distance. The map is a cadastral survey showing the boundaries and ownership of land in the area.
A section of the Moses Greenleaf Map of the District of Maine, for the area around Mt Katahdin is included in the thesis. This is the map about which Thoreau wrote on his first trip to Maine in 1846:

The last edition of Greenleaf's Map of Maine hung on the wall here, and, as we had no pocket-map, we resolved to trace a map of the lake country. So, dipping a wad of tow into the lamp, we oiled a sheet of paper on the oiled table-cloth and, in good faith, traced what we afterwards ascertained to be a labyrinth of errors, carefully following the outlines of the imaginary lakes which the map contains. The Map of the Public Lands of Maine and Massachusetts is the only one I have seen that at all deserves the name.

This map is from the Map Division of the Library of Congress and is used with their permission.

In 1853 on his second trip Thoreau made use of Colton's Map of Maine, a portion of which is reproduced here. The map is not completely accurate as Thoreau noted. It was published in 1852 by J.H. Colton, New York. This copy is used in this thesis with the permission of the Map Division of the Library of Congress.
This map was published in 1880 as Farrar's Map of Northern Maine, Moosehead Lake and Vicinity, Sebec Lake and the Headwaters of the Kennebec, Penobscot and St John Rivers. The surveys were made by M.M. Tidd. The small inset at the top right hand corner of the map is of the lake steamer that operated on Moosehead, and the lower left corner contains a drawing of Mount Kineo which Thoreau described in *The Maine Woods*. The map was supplied by the Map Division of the Library of Congress.
Lucius L. Hubbard published Map of Moosehead Lake and Northern Maine in 1883 at Cambridge, Massachusetts. It is interesting to compare the Farrar map with that of Hubbard; although published within three years of one another, it is obvious that Moosehead Lake is very different in the two versions. Hubbard's map is valuable because it shows along with the roads and farms the "carries" or canoe portages. This map and the Farrar map indicate the difficulty in mapping this portion of the State of Maine for Thoreau's book. Later maps show marked changes in the shape of streams and lakes due to dams built in connection with lumbering activities in the region.
The journal of the Appalachian Mountain Club, Appalachia, volume II, 1881 published this map drawn by J.W. and J. Sewall, Old Town Maine. The map accompanies an article in the magazine about the climbing of Mount Katahdn (sic) and journeys in the area nearby. The map is used with the permission of the Map Division of the Library of Congress.
Thoreau made four trips to Cape Cod, the first with Channing in 1849. They traveled by train from Bridgewater to Sandwich, then by stage to Orleans, and on foot to Provincetown. Their walking trip took them to Eastham, Wellfleet, and Highland Light. Thoreau returned alone in 1850 and walked as far south as Chatham, returning to Boston by steamer from Provincetown. In 1855 he again visited Cape Cod with Channing; most of their time was spent on the northern end of the peninsula. His last visit was in 1857 when he took a train from Plymouth to Sandwich and then walked to Harwich before going north to Provincetown.

He carried maps and a gazetteer with him on these journeys and learned what he could about the topography of the "bare and bended arm of Massachusetts". A good compass and map proved better as "guides" than the local people who knew little about the terrain beyond the main roads. Thoreau seems to have been dissatisfied with existing maps because he drew his own on at least three occasions. He wrote of his experience:

It was not as on the map, or seen from the stage coach; but there I found it all out of doors, huge and real, Cape Cod! as it cannot be represented on a map, color it as you will; the thing itself, than which there is nothing more like it, no truer picture or account; which you cannot go farther and see. 1

1. Thoreau, Cape Cod, 65.
The Walling map, part of which is included in this thesis, was "huge and real", measuring 62 by 58 inches in the original. F.H. Walling compiled maps of each county of Massachusetts, starting in 1854, and this section from the counties of Barnstable, Dukes and Nantucket was published in 1858. The scale is one mile to an inch (1:63,360) and includes a vast amount of information about both natural and artificial features.

Information about this map was supplied by Mr Walter W. Ristow, Chief of the Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress.
This map of Cape Cod is a copy Thoreau made from a contemporary source; it was discovered by the author while examining a folder of land surveys and other maps given to the Concord Free Public Library by his sister Sophia. It is used with the permission of the trustees of the library. The original map is in pencil and was probably drawn after one of Thoreau's visits to Cape Cod for it contains such comments as "200 acres good land as any in Concord". Thoreau did not show the complex pattern of roads on portions of the map, simply writing in the cryptic message "Roads". This is certainly consistent with his views on the value of walking and not being dependent upon highways. The dots for houses, triangles for hills and O for churches probably appeared on the original map.

On a wintry visit to Nantucket in December, 1854, Thoreau recorded in his Journal that he had copied certain details about the island's acreage, the ponds, the swamps and the soil from "William Coffin's Map of the town (1834)".¹

¹ Thoreau, Journal, VII, 92.
This map of Massachusetts by Nathaniel Dearborn was published in 1845. It is this Dearborn map that Thoreau suggests should be cut into sections convenient for the walker to carry in his pockets. The Dearborn map is of particular value in following Thoreau's journeys down to Cape Cod for it shows the Cape in relation to the rest of Massachusetts. The map is also useful in locating journeys of Thoreau on the South Shore, his exploration of Fairhaven and Middleborough during visits to Daniel Ricketson in New Bedford, and his trip to Nantucket. It also provides interesting details of the roads, canals and railroads as they were in 1845, the year that Thoreau began his sojourn at Walden Pond. The county boundaries are outlined in color on the original map and do not reproduce successfully. The map is from the collection of the Map Division of the Library of Congress and is used with their permission.
In July, 1851 Thoreau made a visit to the area around Plymouth Harbor which he recorded in his *Journal*. On this trip he went by mackerel schooner from Duxbury across to Clark's Island where he stayed with "Uncle Ed Watson". Thoreau spent several days studying the natural history of the beach and visiting the Gurnet with its lighthouse and old fort. In June, 1857 Thoreau attempted to walk across the tidal flats to call on Uncle Ed, but the advancing tide caught him and he was fortunate to be picked up and delivered to the island by a local fisherman. The topography of the area shown on this map explains the predicament Thoreau found himself in on this adventure. This chart is part of a United States Coastal Survey of the area made in 1857, and the smaller map shows the general outlines of the area around Plymouth Harbor.
Another original drawing by Thoreau depicts the outer tip of Cape Cod which Thoreau knew best. On walking trips he often followed the beach, the "thin line between man and nature". He provides the reader with a solid sense of the geography of the area. On this map Thoreau has added his personal impressions such as "Camping Ground" near Eastham and was careful to make a correct cartographic projection. The map is from the Huntington Library and Art Gallery collection of Thoreau manuscripts and is used with the permission of the Trustees.
MAP THIRTEEN

Cape Cod

This last map of Cape Cod is also by Thoreau, and represents a fairly complicated example of cartography. He has included about the same area as that in Map Twelve although the scale is larger. More physical details have been incorporated in such features as Nauset Harbor and Wellfleet Bay. The radiating lines from near the center of the drawing were a device to help Thoreau maintain the correct outline of the peninsula. This map is also from the Huntington Library collection and used with their permission.
In 1850 Thoreau made his only journey outside the United States, and he found considerable difficulty in locating suitable maps of Canada for his trip. This explains why he copied maps during his trip as well as asking the local people for details. On his return from Canada he read a number of books on the country and examined maps in the Harvard Library. From his Canada experience he produced a manuscript published as *A Yankee in Canada* in 1866, four years after his death.

In preparing this modern reconstruction of his journey some ambiguity about his means of transportation became apparent. Thoreau writes that he and Channing and the other excursion passengers left Burlington, Vermont on a steamboat about six at night but too late to see the lake on September 25th, 1850. He wrote that they got their first view of the lake at dawn, just before reaching Plattsburg, and saw blue ranges of mountains on either hand, in New York and in Vermont, the former especially grand. As the distance from Burlington to Plattsburg across Lake Champlain is only twenty-five miles, it is difficult to understand how the voyage could have taken all night unless the steamboat went to several other places before arriving at Plattsburg.

Thoreau then states that he and Channing, along with many new French speaking passengers, were whirled towards a foreign
vortex, and after leaving Rouses Point, entered the Sorel River, and passed the invisible barrier between the States and Canada. He notes that the shores of the Sorel, Richelieu, or St John's River are flat and reedy, where he had expected something more rough and mountainous for a natural boundary between two nations. Both Walter Harding in *The Days of Henry Thoreau* and John Christie in *Thoreau as World Traveler* have assumed that Thoreau traveled by train from Plattsburg north to St John's and then on to Montreal. It is far more likely that the lake steamer went all the way from Plattsburg to St John's. According to the Vermont Historical Society, the Champlain and St Lawrence Railroad was not extended from St John's to Rouses Point until 1851, and therefore no railroad existed north from Plattsburg to Rouses Point until after Thoreau's journey. Steamboats did make the voyage from Whitehall, New York to St John's according to a poster included in this thesis from that period. The steamers stopped running after 1851 when the railroad connection between Rouses Point and St John's was completed.

Thoreau wrote that he spent $12.75 on the trip to Canada including the purchase of "two guide books and a map". He read Peter Kalm's *Travels Into North America* which appeared in two volumes in London in 1772, translated by John R. Foster. He also enjoyed Benjamin Silliman's *Remarks Made on a Short Tour Between Hartford and Quebec in the Autumn of 1819*, New Haven, 1820, and he refers to Joseph Bouchette's *A Topographical*
Description of the Province of Lower Canada published in London in 1815.

Information on Thoreau's mode of travel was obtained with the generous assistance of Charles T. Morrissey, Director of the Vermont Historical Society; Paul Z. Dubois, Librarian of the New York State Historical Association; John Buechler and T.D. Seymour Basset, both of the Bailey Library, University of Vermont.
Thoreau found that he had some time to spare before leaving Quebec on his last day:

... remembering that large map of Canada which I had seen in the parlor of the restaurant in my search after pudding, and realizing that I might never see the like out of the country, I returned thither, asked liberty to look at the map, rolled up the mahogany table, put my handkerchief on it, stood on it, and copied all I wanted before the maid came in and said to me standing on the table, "Some gentlemen want the room, sir;" and I retreated without having broken the neck of a single bottle, or my own, very thankful and willing to pay for all the solid food I had got. 1

Map fifteen may possibly be the same one that he copied although it does contain a great deal of detail, probably more than he could copy in a short time. Perhaps some of the place names were added later from "Nelson's New Map of British Provinces in North America" (1840). Thoreau's copy and the Nelson map have identical lettering and scales, but Thoreau has omitted some towns and added symbols for mountains.

The originals of Maps fifteen and sixteen are in the Thoreau Collection at the Concord Free Public Library; they are used here by permission of the Trustees.

1. Thoreau, Excursions, 95.
MAP SIXTEEN

A Yankee in Canada

Another tracing or drawing by Thoreau, this map includes the same general area as Map Fifteen but on a much smaller scale. This map concentrates attention on the area south of the Gaspé peninsula and includes some of the headwaters of rivers in northern Maine. The map may have been drawn to accompany his study of the American Indian as it records more natural features bearing Indian names than it does French villages. Thoreau filled eleven notebooks about the Indian and these contain tracings of early American maps similar to this one. Lawrence Willson has described his interest in the early cartography of Canada and the eastern United States in "Thoreau's Canadian Notebook", Huntington Library Quarterly, XXII, 1959, 179-200. The Indian and Canadian notebooks are in the J. Pierpont Morgan Library in New York.
In the same year that Walling's Map of Concord was published, 1852, J.H. Colton brought out a large wall map of New England. It was published in three sheets. The section included in this thesis is the northern and western portion of the map including northern New York, Vermont, New Hampshire and the areas of Canada which Thoreau visited in 1850. This section adjoins the area included in Map Nine for The Maine Woods.
MAP SEVENTEEN

A Yankee in Canada

The map of the city of Quebec is from a map published in 1851 by P. Sinclair. Thoreau describes his tour of the city in considerable detail, mentioning most of the obvious attractions such as the Plains of Abraham, the Citadel, and the gardens. On his walk in the Upper Town Thoreau began at Castle Garden, continued to King's Woodyard, and then proceeded by way of Mountain Street and Prescott Gate. The map is used in this thesis with the permission of the New York Public Library.
This map by Herbert W. Gleason (1855-1937) has become the "standard" map of the area around Concord, Massachusetts as represented in Thoreau's life and writings. Gleason was a naturalist and a photographer from Boston who had studied Thoreau and knew the "Concord Country" from personal experience. He also interviewed residents of the town to secure information and used Thoreau's own surveys where possible. The map was drawn for the 1906 "Walden" edition of the complete works of Thoreau, and Gleason also contributed the excellent photographs found in this edition as well as several in this thesis. The place names which Thoreau used for various parts of the township are employed by Gleason. Mrs Caleb Wheeler noted two errors in the map in the Thoreau Society Bulletin, April, 1945: the Kettel Place (E-10) was opposite Emerson's house (F-7) and not Thoreau's birthplace, and Davis Hill (C-9) was on the other side of the river. Interesting comparisons can be made between Gleason's map and those of Hales and Walling.
NOTE TO MAP OF CONCORD
by H.W. Gleason

The material used in this Map of Concord has been derived from a variety of sources. The town bounds, streets, and residences have been taken from a township map of Middlesex County made by H.F. Walling in 1856, reference also being had to a local map of Concord by the same engineer, dated 1852, on which credit for the surveys of White Pond and Walden Pond is given to "H.D. Thoreau, Civ. Engr.". The course of the Concord River is drawn from an elaborate manuscript plan of Thoreau's, based on earlier surveys, showing the river from East Sudbury to Billerica Dam. This plan, on which Thoreau has entered the results of his investigation of the river in the summer of 1859, is now in the Concord Public Library. The outlines of Walden and White Ponds have also been taken from Thoreau's original surveys, now in the Concord Library. Loring's and Bateman's Ponds are according to surveys by Mr Albert E. Wood of Concord, and Flint's Pond is from a survey for the Concord Water Works by Mr William Wheeler, also of Concord.

All names of places are those used by Thoreau, no attention being given to other names perhaps more current either in his own time or at present. Only such names of residents are given as are mentioned in the Journal.

A few old wood roads, pasture lanes, etc. (Thoreau's preferred highways), are indicated, as to their general direction,
The irregularity of the northeastern boundary of Concord arose from the fact that when Carlisle was set off from Concord in 1780, the farmers living on the border were given the option of remaining within the bounds of Concord or of being included in the new town. In 1903 the Massachusetts Legislature abolished this old division and continued the straight line forming the western half of the boundary directly to the river.

The identification of localities which were named by Thoreau apparently for his personal use alone has been accomplished, so far as it has proceeded, by a careful study of all the Journal references to each locality, an examination of a large number of Thoreau's manuscript surveys, and an extended personal investigation on the ground. Many of these localities are given more than one name in the Journal, and in a few cases the same name is given to different localities. Where doubt exists as to any particular location, the name is omitted from the map.

Hon. F.B. Sanborn, Judge John S. Keyes, Dr Edward W. Emerson, the Misses Hosmer, and other among the older residents of Concord have been consulted in the preparation of the map, and have kindly supplied helpful information from their personal acquaintance with Thoreau.

December, 1906.
MAP EIGHTEEN [A]
Concord in 1830

This map was surveyed by John G. Hales and issued by Lemuel Shattuck of Boston in 1830. The shop of Mr M. and J. Thoreau is shown on the map across from the Courthouse. Published when Henry Thoreau was thirteen, it gives a picture of the terrain around Concord through the use of hachures to indicate the hills in considerably more detail than Walling's 1852 map. An inspection of the area near Walden Pond on the two maps makes this apparent. The Hales map also differentiates between meadow land and woodland as well as showing the extensive areas of swamp in the township. Worth noting is that Bateman's Pond does not flow into Spencer Brook on the Walling map whereas it does in both the Hales and Gleason maps. The railroad had not been built when the 1830 map was drawn. Loring's Pond near the "Lead Pipe Mill" on Harvard Road does not appear on either the 1830 or the 1852 map but occupies a prominent place in the 1906 map by Gleason. Undoubtedly the pond developed behind the dam at the site of the mill, and Thoreau noted in his Journal for December 16, 1850 that he had walked on the ice to one of the islands; finding a shrub there which interested him, he named the island Myrica. Nevertheless the pond does not appear on the 1852 map. A number of differences in spelling are also noticeable in the Hales and Walling maps. No references to the Hales map are found in Thoreau's Journal.
No single map of the countryside around Concord can effectively combine the topography with the great attention to detail in naming places that is found in Thoreau's writing. This relief map is intended to "complement" the other maps in this volume, especially that by Gleason. It is an attempt to portray some idea of the natural features of the landscape as Thoreau knew it when he was the unofficial inspector of snow storms.

The map is based on the 1950 and 1958 topographic sheets of the United States Geologic Survey for the Maynard and Concord quadrangles of Massachusetts. The only earlier contour map available was a reconnaissance survey of 1886 which used a twenty foot contour interval instead of the modern survey's ten foot interval. The Walling map of Concord and the Gleason map were also consulted; a comparison of the four maps (of 1852, 1886, 1906 and 1958) indicates that many changes have occurred or earlier mapping techniques were lacking in accuracy. The shape of the rivers and some of the ponds, (for example Fair Haven Bay) were different. This new "reconstruction" is an attempt to utilize information from maps drawn at four different times. Because relief is the most important feature to be shown, only the more important roads have been included to aid the reader in locating references in Thoreau's books. Thoreau's
limnological studies were a "warning" of what would happen as a consequence of thoughtless human exploitation of his natural environment. Special thanks is given to Mr Theo Baumann of the Geography Department at the University of Canterbury, Christchurch, for his work on this map.
The Easterbrooks Country lies in the region north of the village of Concord in the area near Bateman's Pond and east to Yellow Birch Swamp. Thoreau is responsible for naming this "wild and rich domain" in his Journal entry for June 10, 1853. This map shows some curious differences in the countryside as compared with Gleason's 1906 map. Mary Gail Fenn who has studied the Thoreau country and walked over much of Concord in recent years made the map, which is used here with the permission of the Thoreau Society which published it in 1970. A few additions have been made to the map for this thesis.
This map provides a vast amount of detail for the area around the township of Concord, and even Walden Pond and Punkatasset Hill are shown. The map of the county has particular value in placing Concord in relationship to the nearby towns of Lincoln, Bedford, Acton, Carlisle and Sudbury which Thoreau often mentions in his writing. The map is from Walling and Gray's *Official Topographic Atlas of Massachusetts* and was printed in Boston in 1871. The scale is 1:158,400. This map is from the Map Division of the Library of Congress.
In 1858 Thoreau returned to the same area he had visited with his brother John nearly twenty years earlier; Edward Hoar was his companion, a young man who was also interested in botany. Unusual for Thoreau, they hired a horse and wagon for the journey and left Concord on July 2. Two days later they were in Center Harbor, New Hampshire on Lake Winnipiseogee. The two men climbed Red Hill and went on to Mount Chocura and Mount Washington. On the summit of Washington Thoreau found that the map he was using was inaccurate, and he guided the party to Tuckerman's Ravine by compass reckoning. After a few days in the area they went on to Franconia Notch, returning south on July 15.

The map shows the route followed by commercial excursions to the White Mountains, a route closely followed by Thoreau and Hoar on their journey. The map was apparently printed shortly before Thoreau's visit because the text refers to the unopened "White Mountain Railroad". Thoreau's copy of the map is used with the permission of the Concord Free Public Library. The Tanner map of Vermont and New Hampshire is also useful in following this trip.

1. This second extended visit to the White Mountains occupies nearly sixty pages of Thoreau's Journal, Volume XI, 3-62. Thoreau's attitude to traveling by horse was that he sacrificed too much, and he envied the independence of the walker.
MAP TWENTY [A]
Mount Monadnock

This map was drawn by Thoreau on his trip to Mt Monadnock with Channing in August, 1860, and appears in a reduced version in the Journal for August 9. The map demonstrates again Thoreau's interest in maps as well as his skill in constructing a map in the field with only the simplest equipment.

The J. Pierpont Morgan Library in New York City supplied the full size copy of the map of Monadnock from their manuscript collection of Thoreau's Journal, and it is used with their permission.
Sources for this reconstruction include: John T. Flanagan, "Thoreau in Minnesota", *Minnesota History* XVI (March, 1935); Robert Straker, "Thoreau's Journey to Minnesota", *New England Quarterly* XIV (September, 1941), and E.B. Swanson, "The Manuscript Journal of Thoreau's Last Journey", *Minnesota History* XX (June, 1939).
The trip to Minnesota by which Thoreau hoped to regain his health began on May 11, 1861 when he and Horace Mann, Jr. left Concord by train for the west. They stopped for a few days at Niagara Falls and botanized on Goat Island. After another stop in Chicago they went on to Dunleith (East Dubuque) where the river boat Itasca carried them up the Mississippi River to St Paul. On June 17 they boarded the Frank Steele for the three hundred mile voyage on the Minnesota River to Redwood. It was a shallow draft river steamer 160 feet long and carried one hundred passengers plus cargo. Back in St Paul they spent several days exploring the natural life around Lake Harriet and Lake Calhoun, and visited Fort Snelling and Minnehaha Falls. Returning to Concord they traveled by the War Eagle as far as Prairie du Chien, then by train to Milwaukee where they boarded the lake steamer Edith to Mackinaw City. They stayed a few days on Mackinaw Island before another lake boat, the Sun, carried them to Goderich in Ontario, Canada. From there they traveled east by train spending a day in Toronto on Lake Ontario and crossing back into the United States at Ogdensburg, then through northern New York State, and across Vermont and New Hampshire. They arrived back in Concord on July 9. Probably because of his failing health Thoreau left less complete notes than usual about the journey, but his enthusiasm for geography is undiminished.
St Paul and Minneapolis were small but thriving centers of industry and commerce when Thoreau visited them in 1861. The Falls of St Anthony prevent further navigation of the Upper Mississippi at this point and provided water power for local industry. No map of the period when Thoreau was in the area is available, and the present map is from the late nineteenth century, published by Rand, McNally and Company. The map was supplied by the Map Division of the Library of Congress.
Dated 1855, this map by J.H. Colton and Company depicts the territory Thoreau visited on his journey up the Minnesota River to Redwood. He was particularly interested in visiting the Indians at the Lower Sioux Agency near Ft Ridgely which is shown on the map. Through the kindness of Mr Richard Sykes this map was supplied by the Geography Department of the University of Minnesota.
Notes on the Illustrations for Thoreau

The illustrations concentrate on scenes from Thoreau's writings which have not been widely published previously and photographs or pictures of the means of transportation which Thoreau used on his journeys as recorded in his books. Many of the New England settings are from the camera of Herbert Gleason, the best known photographer of the "Thoreau country". Gleason worked in the late nineteenth century; his photographs seem closer to Thoreau's writings than modern attempts to capture the countryside.

Plate 1 is called "Leaning Hemlocks on the Assabet River" and gives the atmosphere of the small stream much as it must have been when Thoreau and his brother John went boating on the river. This Gleason photograph is from the Concord Free Public Library.

Plates 2 and 3 show the main street and central portion of the village of Concord in about 1860. The scene is on the "Mill-Dam" on which the business section was built. The photographs are used with the permission of the Concord Antiquarian Society.

Plate 4 is a Gleason view from Fairhaven Hill, looking north toward Concord with the river in the middle ground. It is from the collection in the Concord Free Public Library.

Plate 5 is a photograph of a typical New England fisher-
man's dory as used on the coast. The style of the dory was copied by Thoreau and his brother in building the Musketaquid in which they made the journey recorded in The Week. The photograph is through the courtesy of The Christian Science Monitor.

Plate 6 portrays the Concord River at Hunt's Bridge, looking north, and shows the shallow, pasture-like portions of the river which Thoreau enjoyed. This Gleason photograph is from the Concord Free Public Library.

Plate 7 is "Walden Pond in May" by Gleason, and shows one of the coves on a perfectly still day. The photo is from the Firestone Library, Princeton University.

Plate 8 is of the steamer Naushon on which Thoreau returned from Provincetown to Boston after his first trip to Cape Cod in 1849. The photograph is used with the permission of The Mariner's Museum, Newport News, Virginia.

Plate 9 is a painting of the Eagle's Wing on which Thoreau traveled from New Bedford to the island of Naushon in the Elizabeth Islands in 1856 with Daniel Ricketson. The photograph is courtesy of the New York Historical Society.

Plate 10 is a view of Hubbard's Bridge over the Concord River, photographed by Gleason. It is from the collection of the Concord Free Public Library as is the next photograph, Plate 11, a view from Nawashawtuct Hill looking over the Concord River.

Plate 12 is a photograph of Brister's Spring near which a
freed slave, Scipio Brister, lived. The photograph is used through the courtesy of the Concord Antiquarian Society.

Thoreau traveled by coastal steamer Boston, Plate 13, from Bangor, Maine at the end of his visit to the state in 1853. The Mariner's Museum in Newport News, Virginia provided this print.

The sand dune bluffs of Cape Cod is the subject of Plate 14; this photograph by Gleason shows the topography of the shore at Wellfleet and is from the collection of Mr Roland Robbins.

Plate 15 is a detail of Provincetown on the outermost tip of Cape Cod. It is from Map Ten of this thesis, and was provided by the Map Division of the Library of Congress.

Thoreau traveled in a batteau, Plate 16, from Oldtown to Indian Island during his trip to Maine in 1853. The photograph is by George H. Hallowell, and is used with the permission of Mr and Mrs Lore Rogers of the Lumbermen's Museum, Patten, Maine.

Plate 17 is a newspaper advertisement for the Steamer Saranac which operated on Lake Champlain. The times of arrival and departure indicate that Thoreau and Channing made the trip to St Johns, Canada by boat from Burlington. The photograph is furnished by the University of Vermont Library, Burlington, Vermont. Plate 20 shows the lake steamer Burlington which operated on Lake Champlain from 1837 to 1854; this print is also from the Library of the University of Vermont.
Plate 18 is a view of the city of Quebec in 1850, the year Thoreau visited Canada. The drawing is by Captain B. Beaufoy and is used with permission from the Public Archives, Canada.

On the same trip to Canada Thoreau traveled by train in Vermont; Plate 19 is the "Chester", which began operating on the Rutland to Burlington section of the Vermont railroad in 1850. The photograph is from the collection of the Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier, Vermont.

On his trip to Minnesota in 1861 Thoreau and Horace Mann, Jr. traveled from East Dubuque, Illinois up the Mississippi River on the Itasca, Plate 21. The Minnesota Historical Society furnished the photograph. Plate 22 shows Dubuque in 1858 from an engraving by J. Cameron after a drawing by L. Farnham. It is from the collection of the Chicago Historical Society.

Plate 23 is a bird's eye view of Minneapolis and St Paul as it appeared a few years after Thoreau's visit. It is from the Minnesota Historical Society collection.

Plate 24 is an advertisement for excursions to the White Mountains on the "Boston, Concord and Montreal Rail Road". It is from the collection of Thoreau material in the Concord Free Public Library.

Thoreau returned down the Mississippi River from St Paul on the steamer War Eagle, Plate 25. This photograph is from the Illinois Historical Society, Springfield.
Plate 26 depicts St Paul as it appeared to the artist in 1856. The print is from the Chicago Historical Society.

Plates 27 and 28 are advertisements for the excursion up the Minnesota River which Thoreau went on in 1861; newspaper accounts of the visit to the Sioux Agency mention that Thoreau was among the passengers on the Frank Steele (Plate 29). The Frank Steele is the second steamboat from the left. The levee at St Paul in 1859 is shown in the foreground. Plates 27, 28, and 29 are through the courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society.

Plate 30 shows the Sun on which Thoreau traveled from Mackinaw City to Goderich on his homeward journey. The ship that appears in the picture was converted to carrying cargo some time after Thoreau was a passenger on board her. The picture is from the Mariner's Museum, Newport News, Virginia.

Plate 31 is a copy of a postcard in the author's collection said to have been drawn by a Mrs Baker who visited Thoreau's cabin at Walden Pond. Plate 32 is another view of the cabin by W.H.N. Bicknell. It is from the Alderman Library, University of Virginia.
A CHRONOLOGY OF THOREAU'S TRAVELS

This chronology includes all trips made outside the immediate vicinity of Concord and Boston. The listing is based on The Complete Writings of Henry David Thoreau (Boston, 1906) and Walter Harding's The Days of Henry Thoreau (New York, 1965).

1836 January and February
Canton, Mass.; teaches school and lives with Rev. Orestes A. Brownson.

1836 Summer
New York City with his father; family pencil business.

1839 May
Boston to Portland, Maine, by boat; to Bath, Brunswick, Augusta, Gardiner, Oldtown, Belfast, Castine, Thomaston, and Bangor in search of a teaching job.

1839 August and September
Trip on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers with brother John; also to Crawford Notch and the summit of Mt Washington.

1841 July
Walks to Mt Wachusett with Richard Fuller.

1843 May to December
Staten Island; by boat from New London, Conn., to New York City; tutors William Emerson's sons; a second trip to secure his belongings.

1844 July and August
Walks alone to Mt Monadnock and Mt Greylock; with William Ellery Channing, Jr., visits the Catskill Mts via a Hudson River boat.

1846 August and September
First trip to Maine woods; by rail and boat to Bangor; climbs Mt Katahdin; returns to Boston by boat.

1848 Summer
With Channing, a walking tour through southern New Hampshire; Mt Uncanunnuc, Goffstown, Hookset, Hampstead, and Plaistow.
1848  November and December  Lectures in Salem and Gloucester, Mass.
1849  October  First trip to Cape Cod; with Channing, via Cohasset and Sandwich; return from Provincetown to Boston on steamer Naushon.
1850  Spring  Surveying in Haverhill, Mass.
1850  June  Alone to Cape Cod; steamer from Boston to Provincetown and return.
1850  July  Fire Island, New York, to aid the search for Margaret Fuller's manuscripts and belongings.
1850  September  Railway excursion to Canada; train to Burlington, Vermont; steamer on Lake Champlain; steamer John Munn from Montreal to Quebec and return.
1850  December  Lecture at Newburyport, Mass.
1851  January  Lectures at Clinton and Medford, Mass.
1851  May  Lecture at Worcester, Mass.
1851  July and August  Walking trip on the South Shore of Mass.; Hull to Plymouth and Clark's Island; return via Boston.
1852  February  Lecture at Plymouth, Mass.
1852  May  Lecture at Plymouth; explores nearby ponds.
1852  September  With Channing to Peterboro, Mass. and Mt Monadnock; return by train from Troy, New Hampshire.
1853  April  Surveying for 17 days in Haverhill, Mass.
1853  September  Second trip to Maine; steamer Penobscot to Bangor; Moosehead Lake and Penobscot River; return by steamer Boston from Bangor.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Event</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>October</td>
<td>Surveying in Plymouth, Mass.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>November</td>
<td>Littleton, Mass., to bring Bulkeley Emerson home for his mother's funeral.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>October</td>
<td>Train to Westminister, Mass. with H.G.O. Blake and Thomas Chomondley; walk to Mt. Massachusetts. Lecture in Plymouth.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>November</td>
<td>Train to Philadelphia to lecture; return via New York City.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>December</td>
<td>Lecture in Providence, Rhode Island. New Bedford to lecture and to visit Daniel Ricketson; steamer from Hyannis to Nantucket Island.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>July</td>
<td>With Channing to Cape Cod; schooner Melrose from Boston to Provincetown; return from Provincetown on Clats.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>September</td>
<td>New Bedford to visit Ricketson; explores Middleborough and Fairhaven; return by train from Plymouth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>June</td>
<td>One week in Worcester visiting friends. New Bedford to visit Ricketson; carriage to Freetown and Fairhaven; steamer Eagle Wing to Naushon in the Elizabeth Islands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>September</td>
<td>Train to Fitchburg; walks to Westminister; train to Brattleboro, Vermont; explores Connecticut River and Mt. Tantasticu; train to Bellows Falls; climbs Fall Mountain; wagon to Walpole, New Hampshire for a visit with Bronson Alcott.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>October and November</td>
<td>Train and boat to New York City, via Worcester; then to Perth Amboy, New Jersey for surveying job at &quot;Eagleswood&quot;; train to Horace Greeley's farm in Westchester, New York; return to Brooklyn for a visit with &quot;Alt Whitman.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>December</td>
<td>Lecture in Amherst, New Hampshire.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Month</td>
<td>Event</td>
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<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>April</td>
<td>New Bedford to visit Ricketson.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>June</td>
<td>Last trip to Cape Cod; train to Plymouth; visits Clark's Island, Manomet Point, Salt Pond, and Scusset; train to Sandwich; walks to Highland Light and Provincetown; steamer Acorn to Boston.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>July and August</td>
<td>Last trip to Maine woods; train to Portland, steamer to Bangor; Allegash and East Branch; train to Portland and night boat to Boston.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>January</td>
<td>Lecture at Lynn; visits Nahant and Danvers.</td>
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<td>1858</td>
<td>May</td>
<td>Via Worcester, to New York City on family business; visits Staten Island.</td>
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<td>1858</td>
<td>June</td>
<td>Train to Troy, New Hampshire; walks with Blake to Mt Monadnock.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>July</td>
<td>With Edward Hoar, by carriage to the White Mts; climbs Mt Washington.</td>
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<td>1858</td>
<td>September</td>
<td>Walking trip on the North Shore of Mass.; Salem, Marblehead, Beverly, Gloucester, Cape Ann.</td>
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<td>1859</td>
<td>February</td>
<td>Lecture at Worcester.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>April</td>
<td>Lecture at Lynn; walks on the North Shore.</td>
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<td>1859</td>
<td>November</td>
<td>Lecture at Worcester.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>August</td>
<td>Train to Troy, New Hampshire; walks to Mt Monadnock with Channing.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>October</td>
<td>Boxboro, Mass. to inspect &quot;Inches &quot; goods&quot;.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>December</td>
<td>Lecture at Waterbury, Conn.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
1861 May
Minnesota journey; train to Dunleith; steamer Itasca up the Mississippi River to St Paul; steamer Frank Steele up the Minnesota River to Redwood; return by riverboat War Eagle to Prairie du Chien; train to Milwaukee; steamer Edith to Mackinaw City; Sun to Goderich, Ontario; train via Ogdensburg, New York, to Concord.

1861 August
New Bedford to visit Ricketson.
References in Thoreau's Journal to the Easterbrooks Country

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bateman's Pond</td>
<td>November 2, 1857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Birch Cellar</td>
<td>April 26, 1855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boaz Cellar</td>
<td>November 11, 1857</td>
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<tr>
<td>Botrychium Swamp</td>
<td>May 18 and September 2, 1857</td>
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<tr>
<td>Boulder Field</td>
<td>April 21, 1852; November 3, 1857</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brooks Clark</td>
<td>October 20, 1857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calla Swamp</td>
<td>May 18 and June 9, 1857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chestnut Woods</td>
<td>October 29, 1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cornel Rock</td>
<td>September 4, 1857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cornus Florida Ravine</td>
<td>September 4, 1857; April 21, 1858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curley-Pate</td>
<td>October 5, 1851 and November 2, 1857</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dodge Brook</td>
<td>May 31, 1853</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ebby Hubhard Hill</td>
<td>February 28, 1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easterbrook Cellar</td>
<td>October 29, 1857</td>
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<tr>
<td>Easterbrook Country</td>
<td>June 10, 1853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easterbrook Moraine</td>
<td>November 3, 1857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer's Cliff</td>
<td>August 6, 1853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fox Castle Swamp</td>
<td>October 27, 1857</td>
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<tr>
<td>Great Pasture Oaks</td>
<td>May 29, 1860</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hog Pasture</td>
<td>June 10, 1853</td>
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<tr>
<td>Isaiah Green</td>
<td>September 19, 1851</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kibbe</td>
<td>September 19, 1851; September 21, 1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lime Kiln</td>
<td>November 6, 1857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lime Quarries</td>
<td>November 14, 1857</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mill Pond</td>
<td>April 21, 1852</td>
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<tr>
<td>Old Carlisle Road</td>
<td>September 24, 1859</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paul Adams</td>
<td>June 10, 1853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peach Orchard</td>
<td>June 27, 1860</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pond Hole</td>
<td>October 20, 1857</td>
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</table>
References to Thoreau's *Journal* to the Easterbrooks' Country

(continued)

- **Spencer Brook Valley**
  - October 3, 1859

- **Spruce Swamp**
  - December 22, 1853

- **Sted. Buttrick Swamp**
  - October 20 and November 18, 1857

- **Yellow Birch Cellar**
  - May 18 and November 6, 1857

- **Yellow Birch Swamp**
  - January 4, 1853
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Wheeler, Ruth H. *Concord Climate for Freedom*. Concord, Massachusetts: Concord Antiquarian Society, 1967. This is a local history of the town by a very old resident. It contains good maps and photographs. Brief notes on the town's famous sons.
INDEX

This index helps readers to locate most of the place names in Thoreau's writing on the maps prepared for this thesis. Only the names of places Thoreau actually visited are included. Grid coordinates are provided for some of the maps. The number in parenthesis corresponds to the number on Gleason's map of Concord. The staff of the Princeton University Press helped prepare the index for A Thoreau Gazetteer. The index for this thesis has been expanded by the addition of references to ten additional maps, some of which were not available for the Gazetteer or were too large to be included.

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