

# Biblical Place-Names in the United States

JOHN LEIGHLY

REVIEWING KELSIE B. HARDER'S *Illustrated Dictionary of Place Names in the United States and Canada*, Eugene B. Vest commented that "[t]he comparatively few biblical names is surprising."<sup>1</sup> Harder's book contains a rather small sample from which to judge the frequency of biblical names, though the impression it gives of their low frequency in relation to the whole number of names in the United States is undoubtedly correct. There is no *a priori* basis, however, for judging the appropriate frequency of such names, or of any other class of names that might be defined. Vest's comment prompted me to investigate the relative frequency and distribution of biblical place-names in the United States.

I have worked from a sample of names in use in the middle of the twentieth century that is conveniently accessible and approximately uniform across the country. It consists of the names of civil divisions in the contiguous states used by the Bureau of the Census, supplemented by a list of post offices; the latter list adds names of unincorporated places to those of the Census Bureau's list of counties, incorporated places, and small civil divisions: townships, electoral districts, precincts, etc.<sup>2</sup> The total number of names—or, rather, of "namings," since many names are replicated—in my sample is 61,742, the number in individual states ranging from 51 in Delaware to 3,361 in Pennsylvania. The number of place-names in official use in a state varies not only with its area and the density of its rural and small-town population, but also with local customs of designating the smallest official districts or precincts. In Texas the administrative divisions of counties are numbered rather than named; as a consequence, my sample includes slightly fewer names from that state than from Kansas or New York. Names of post offices in Texas outnumber names of civil divisions. The same practice obtains in

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<sup>1</sup> *Names*, 24:4 (December, 1976), 316.

<sup>2</sup> I used U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Areas of the United States* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1942), which contains detailed maps showing all names listed; and U.S. Post Office Department, *Directory of Post Offices* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1958). The date of the census list is of little importance, since civil divisions have changed but little in the present century; post offices have declined in number from a maximum attained about 1910.

Mississippi and Tennessee, which in my sample have approximately the same number of namings as Maryland. Pennsylvania owes its large number of namings, far larger than that in Illinois and Ohio, which are closest to it in my sample, to its small townships and numerous chartered boroughs. In my total of nearly 62,000 namings I found only 803 from biblical place-names, 1.3 percent of the total.<sup>3</sup> The number of namings in my sample from some states is small, in view of the rare occurrence of biblical namings. Ten states have fewer than 500: the New England states other than Maine, Delaware, Utah, Wyoming, Arizona, and Nevada. Even among these, however, some differences are significant: that between 4.3 percent in Connecticut and 1.7 in Massachusetts certainly is; Utah, with 2.0 percent, ranks between Tennessee and North Carolina, whereas its neighbors (Idaho with 1.0 percent is nearest) have one percent or less. Its strongly religious original population, which spread into Idaho, is an adequate explanation of its relatively high rank among the western states. I shall proceed as if a sample of 250 namings suffices for my purposes. This limit excludes only Delaware, Nevada, and Rhode Island; my sample from Rhode Island contains no biblical names.

I consider only names used as place-names in the Bible, with the single exception of Paradise, which is not capitalized in the Authorized Version, but which has evidently been perceived as a place-name. Even among these, some should probably be excluded. Names found within the scene of the history of the ancient Hebrews, from Egypt (five occurrences) to Mesopotamia (one occurrence), larger than the proverbial range from Dan (one occurrence) to Beersheba (two occurrences), may be assumed to have become known to name-givers primarily from the Bible.<sup>4</sup> The New Testament extends this range to the north and west by its record of Paul's missionary travels and his eventual journey to Rome. A number of names from that record, as given in the book of Acts, appear as place-names in the United States, but some of them

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<sup>3</sup> Wilbur Zelinsky, "Classical Town Names in the United States," *Geographical Review*, 57 (1967), 463–495, permits a comparison of this percentage with that of a different class of names of infrequent occurrence. Using all namings he could find, disused as well as current, in official use since 1790, Zelinsky found 2.1 percent of them "classical." He counted, however, not only place-names from classical antiquity, but also personal names, modern coinages in classical form (e.g., coined names ending in *-polis*), and names of letters of the Greek alphabet. His list of names contains only 44 place-names proper, 12 of which I have included here as biblical names. Namings from biblical place-names in current use certainly outnumber namings from classical place-names.

<sup>4</sup> One name from this region, Palmyra, which I find 25 times in my list, does not occur in the Bible, and so was evidently known from other literary sources. Its Hebrew name, Tadmor, mentioned once in the Bible (I Kings 9:18), occurs once in my list, as Tadmore, Hill Co., Georgia.

might have been known from other sources. Athens and Rome were certainly widely known, and I have accordingly excluded them from my count. I have also excluded Syracuse, one of the stops made by the ship on which Paul traveled to Rome, and Alexandria, mentioned casually in Acts 18:24. But I have retained names from Greece other than Athens, and all from Anatolia, the “Asia” of the New Testament. The line I have drawn is arbitrary—I have counted Memphis and Smyrna, for example—but I have proceeded from the belief that the ordinary colonist or pioneer was more likely to know of a place in the ancient eastern Mediterranean region from the Bible than from secular literature.

### REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE NAMES

The number of biblical namings in the individual states having 250 or more namings in my sample ranges from 69 in Ohio to none in Arizona. The first ten states in descending order of number of biblical namings are Ohio (69), Pennsylvania (51), Georgia (45), Illinois (44), North Carolina (37), Kentucky (32), Iowa (29), South Carolina (28), Indiana (27), and Missouri (26). These absolute numbers vary not only with the degree of acceptance of biblical place-names as appropriate for use in North America but also, very strongly, with the number of namings from the individual states in my sample. Five of the states just mentioned, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri, are among the first ten in total number of namings; Georgia and Kentucky are eleventh and twelfth, Indiana is fifteenth, but North Carolina twenty-first, and South Carolina, with only 894 namings, well below the median number of namings in the several states, twenty-ninth. At least formally, the influence of total number of namings in a state may be eliminated by expressing the number of biblical namings as a percentage of the total number of namings. Nine of the 45 states have percentages of 2.0 or more: Connecticut 4.3, South Carolina 3.1, Ohio 2.8, Vermont 2.7, Mississippi 2.5, Georgia and North Carolina 2.4, New Hampshire 2.1, and Utah 2.0. Some regularity appears: this list includes, first, three New England states, in two of which, Connecticut and Vermont, settlement was closely related, Vermont having drawn most of its pioneer population from Connecticut; New Hampshire, too, received settlers from Connecticut as well as from Massachusetts and directly from overseas. Next, four southern states; they do not quite form a continuous block, but Mississippi has only 609 namings in my sample, 37 percent of Alabama’s 1,655, in which only 1.5 percent are biblical.

Besides these larger percentages in the East and Southeast, Ohio, with 2.8 percent, and Utah, with 2.0 percent, stand out above their

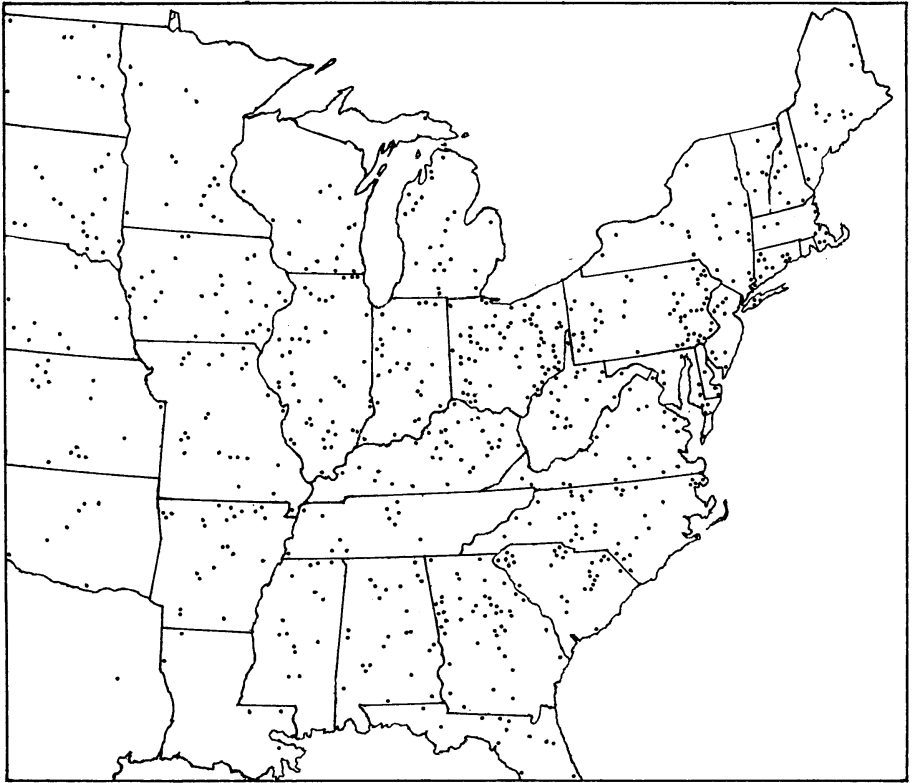


Fig. 1. Biblical place-names in the eastern half of the contiguous United States.

neighbors. Samples from the states bordering Ohio are good; they have the following percentages of biblical namings: Pennsylvania 1.5, West Virginia 1.3, Kentucky 1.7, Indiana 1.5, and Michigan 1.3. I have already discussed Utah; excluding Mississippi, it is the only state west of Ohio and Georgia in which biblical namings account for as many as two percent of the total number; the western state nearest to it is Oregon, with 1.4 percent.

Their great differences in area and internal homogeneity make the states unsatisfactory units for a numerical comparison of density of names. I have devised a better unit by plotting the names as dots on a working map of the United States in which areas are in their true proportions, a map about 70 cm. (28 in.) in its longer dimension. Figure 1, drawn on a greatly reduced scale, shows the distribution of the dots in the eastern half of the country. I then divided the map into arbitrary squares, each of which represents an area of 20,000 square kilometers

(7,722 sq. mi.), about halfway between the areas of New Jersey and Massachusetts, and counted the dots in each square. I drew the lines dividing the squares from an origin near the center of the map; they are thus wholly independent of state boundaries and of the clustering of dots. The number of dots in a square is a measure, uniform across the whole country, of the density of biblical namings, subject to the statistical uncertainty that afflicts the localization of events having a small probability of occurrence.<sup>5</sup> The entire area of the contiguous United States contains approximately 380 of the squares, of which about one-half, in my sample, are devoid of biblical names. Most of the empty squares are in the Great Plains and the mountainous and dry states of the West and Southwest, but there are also some in the thinly-settled country about Lake Superior and in northern Maine, as well as along the Gulf and south Atlantic coasts and in peninsular Florida. Most of the names are east of the Mississippi; the appeal of biblical names evidently diminished with time, as the states west of Ohio acquired their place-names in the nineteenth century.

The square that contains the largest number of biblical names, 20, includes southeastern Pennsylvania and adjoining slivers of Maryland, Delaware, and New Jersey. Some continuity is recognizable between eastern Pennsylvania, by way of northern New Jersey and Long Island, and Connecticut, so that one may speak of a northeastern maximum of biblical names having nuclei in Pennsylvania and Connecticut. In Pennsylvania the names are fairly dense from York County and the Susquehanna River eastward, and in the old Connecticut settlements in the northeastern corner of the state. They are almost wholly absent from central Pennsylvania, but become numerous again in the western part, where settlement was closely related to that in the neighboring part of Ohio.

Density of biblical names decreases southward from Pennsylvania across Maryland and Virginia, and increases again in the Piedmont of the Carolinas and Georgia, where two squares have 11 names each. An apparently distinct cluster of names, which gives a third square 11 dots, straddles the boundary between North and South Carolina on the inner

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<sup>5</sup> A circle having the same area as one of the squares, moved about so as to include the maximum number of dots in various parts of the map, yielded results not greatly different from those to be cited in the text. I cite the following counts of dots within this "floating" unit area for comparison with those obtained from the fixed squares and given later: southeastern Pennsylvania, 20; southeastern Ohio, 19; Carolina Piedmont, 13; inner coastal plain of the Carolinas, 15; north-central Georgia, 15; Connecticut and southeastern New York, 16; southwestern Ohio and adjoining part of Kentucky, 11; northern Arkansas and adjoining part of Missouri, 9; northern Alabama, 7.

coastal plain. From Georgia the density diminishes westward across northern Alabama and Mississippi, with values below five per square, toward the great western region having few or no biblical names. The Gulf coastal plain has few, and the part of peninsular Florida cut off in Figure 1 none in my sample. The Piedmont and inner coastal plain of the southeastern states thus exhibits a second maximum of density of biblical names, containing local clusters as dense as any in Pennsylvania.

The religious character of the original colonists in Pennsylvania and Connecticut adequately accounts for the northeastern maximum of density of biblical names. Settlement of the "Up-Country" of the Carolinas and Georgia was mainly by migration from Pennsylvania by way of the Valley of Virginia and then, east of the Blue Ridge, by old trading trails leading to the country of the Cherokees and Creeks in the southern Piedmont. This migration included "Scotch-Irish" Presbyterians, German Moravians and Baptists, and Quakers. It began in the early eighteenth century and reached a peak after the war for independence, diminishing in the early nineteenth century. Religious groups arriving directly from overseas brought some biblical names: Bethania and Old Salem in North Carolina were founded by Moravians, and Ebenezer, Florence County, South Carolina, by "Salzburgers." The southern maximum of biblical place-names seems to be a transplant from Pennsylvania, separated from its source by Virginia, with its lower density. Inland Virginia east of the Blue Ridge was settled in colonial times by expansion from the Tidewater, where biblical names are few. Even fewer are found on the outer coastal plain of the Carolinas and Georgia, the site of the earliest European settlement in these states. This was the country of great plantations, where the dominant social stratum retained its allegiance to the Anglican church. It would appear that as this plantation society and economy spread westward its bearers continued to give fewer biblical names than were given in the Piedmont: these names fade out across the Mississippi in Louisiana and Arkansas into Texas.

Inland from eastern Pennsylvania and the southeastern Piedmont, the Appalachian mountain belt and parts of the Allegheny and Cumberland plateaus have few biblical names. Where they appear, as in western Pennsylvania, the Kanawha Valley in West Virginia, and in eastern Kentucky, they seem to be associated with coal mining, which gives rise to many small communities, and thus to be later than the original settlement. West of the rougher plateau country the density increases again, especially in Ohio; the square on my working map that contains the second-largest number of names, 19, lies mostly in southeastern

Ohio but includes in addition parts of northern West Virginia and southwestern Pennsylvania. The flow of pioneers into Ohio was approximately contemporaneous with that into the southern Piedmont, but was more massive, including many settlers from the northeastern states as well as from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Kentucky, and persisting well into the nineteenth century. Both the New Englanders and the Pennsylvanians apparently brought a taste for biblical names, giving Ohio more than any other state has. A conspicuous area having almost no biblical names extends northward in the middle of Ohio from the plateau belt of few such names. This country, most of which was in the Virginia Military District, was settled early, largely by Virginians, in contrast with the New Englanders, New Yorkers, and Pennsylvanians who constituted the majority of the pioneers in other parts of Ohio.

The northwestern corner of Ohio was in the possession of Indians until 1812, and contained much wet land in the valley of the Maumee River; it was consequently settled later than the rest of the state. Delayed settlement, here as in the states farther west, effected a progressive dilution of the traditional stock of place-names, including those from the Bible, brought from the East.<sup>6</sup> The indebtedness of Ohio as a whole to New England is indicated by the fact that eight of the ten most numerous biblical names in the state, Salem, Sharon, Eden, Goshen, Lebanon, Canaan, Bethel, and Bethlehem, are also among the ten most numerous ones in New England. Only six are among the leading ten in Pennsylvania.

West of Ohio, only one square on my working map, in southeastern South Dakota, contains as many as nine biblical names. One square in southeastern Minnesota contains seven, one in northern Kansas and an adjoining strip of Nebraska seven, and one in Arkansas eight. In the far west, cut off in Figure 1, only two squares contain as many as four: one in the Utah oasis and one in the Willamette Valley, Oregon.

The statistical uncertainty that afflicts the occurrence of rare events enjoins caution in interpreting the density of dots in Figure 1 west of Ohio. Some differences that appear on the map are, however, probably significant; for example, that between the wet prairies of eastern Illinois, where full settlement awaited drainage works and the building of the Illinois Central railroad, and the valleys of the upper Wabash and the

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<sup>6</sup> Curiously, Connecticut's Western Reserve in northeastern Ohio has few biblical names in comparison with other parts of the state: 2.1 percent in the 12 counties of the Reserve. Only two, Goshen and Sharon, are from colonial Connecticut. Names in these counties are dominated by those derived from personal, mostly family, names, 32 percent, and secular place-names transferred from New England, 30 percent in my sample.

Illinois rivers to the east and the west, settled early in the nineteenth century, probably is. More detailed investigation, based on a fuller sampling of names and due attention to the history of settlement, would be needed to determine whatever significance there may be in the distribution of dots in the left half of Figure 1.

## THE NAMES USED

My 803 namings make use of only 101 names, given with greatly varying frequency. Thirty-three names, almost exactly one-third of the total number, appear only once in my list, and 12 others only twice. At the upper end of the range of frequency, the first 12 names and the number of their occurrences in my sample are Salem 95, Eden 61, Bethel 47, Lebanon 39, Sharon 28, Goshen 33, Jordan 27, Hebron 26, Zion 24, Antioch, Paradise, and Shiloh 19. These 12 account for 466 namings, 58 percent of the total 803. Other names that occur more than ten times in my sample are Beulah 17, Bethlehem and Canaan 16, various names for the Mount of Olives 15, Bethany (with the variant Bethania), Corinth, and Palestine 14, Carmel (including Mount Carmel) and Smyrna 13, Tabor (including Mount Tabor and Taber) 12 times. When the leading 12 names are combined with these ten, the 22 names account for 72 percent of my biblical namings. Two of them, Jordan and Tabor or Taber, are ambiguous, in that they occur as family names and hence as potential place-names.

I have accepted numerous variants of names and counted them with the primary forms. The Old Testament Kidron appears as Cedron in John 18:1; my list includes both forms as well as Kedron, each variant once. The prefixes "New" and names of directions are common: New Canaan was given in Connecticut earlier than simple Canaan; Ohio's 17 Salems include one each of New, South, and West Salem. I have also counted Salemburg (Sampson Co., N.C.) with Salem. In addition to all the simple Edens I find Edena, Edenbower, Edendale, Eden Prairie, Eden Valley, Edenville, Edon, and even Mount Eden. I have not counted Edenton, North Carolina, however, since it was named for a colonial governor, Charles Eden, nor its duplicate in Clermont County, Ohio. Zion appears both as a simplex and as Mount Zion, New Zion, Zion Grove, Zionhill, Zionsville, and Zionville. In addition to three simplexes, Siloam appears twice, in accordance with its original use as the name of one of the pools that supplied water to ancient Jerusalem, as



Siloam Springs, once in Arkansas and once in Missouri. The Mount of Olives appears as Mount Olive six times, as Olivet four times; as Mount Olivet, Olive Hill, and Olivette (St. Louis Co., Mo.) once each. I have, however, excluded Mount Oliver (Allegheny Co., Pa.), though some connection may be suspected. I counted Mount Orab (Brown Co., Ohio) with Mount Horeb (Dane Co., Wis.), and Mariah Hill (Spencer Co., Ind.) with Mount Moriah (Lawrence Co., Ala., and Harrison Co., Mo.); these in addition to two simple Horebs and one simple Moriah. Like Kidron, Zarephath (Somerset Co., N.J.) appears once thus in its Hebrew form from the Old Testament and twice in its Greek form, Sarepta (Calhoun Co., Miss. and Webster Parish, La.) from the New.

There can be little doubt that the primary sources of the custom of giving biblical place-names were colonial New England and Pennsylvania. By the end of the colonial period New England had 21 biblical namings from 12 names, including four Salems and three each of Canaan, Lebanon, and Sharon. The first one given was Salem, Massachusetts, 1630, and the second Rehoboth, also in Massachusetts, 1645. Eight of the 12 names, however, were given first in Connecticut: Lebanon, 1695; Hebron, 1707; New Canaan, 1731; Goshen, 1738; Bethlehem and Sharon, 1739; Bethel, 1759; and Bethany, 1762. I do not have the chronology of Pennsylvania's names, but at the end of the colonial period that colony had all of the New England biblical names except Corinth (Vt., 1764), Jericho (Vt., 1763), and Rehoboth; and in addition Emmaus, Ephrata(h), Nazareth, and Philadelphia. Six of the 12 most numerous biblical names in the whole United States, Salem, Bethel, Lebanon, Sharon, Goshen, and Hebron, were used in colonial New England, and Vermont added Eden in 1781. The remaining five, Jordan, Zion, Antioch, Paradise, and Shiloh, were added later and elsewhere. Colonial New York had Goshen and Salem, colonial New Jersey Bethlehem, Lebanon, Salem, and Sharon. Few were found farther south: both Maryland and Delaware had Rehoboth, North Carolina Bethania and Salem, and South Carolina Ebenezer, the last three given by immigrant religious groups. Both the practice of giving biblical place-names and a selected stock of them that would be replicated all across the continent were best represented in Connecticut and Pennsylvania, but were also well established in Vermont and New Hampshire. Migration from Pennsylvania, seconded by immigration from overseas, apparently transplanted the practice and many names to the upland South.

Westward expansion of settlement, from the late eighteenth century onward, in large part following belts of latitude from the eastern states

but with much mingling between migrants from the upland South and those from the northern and middle states of the Atlantic seaboard, established the familiar zonation of English-speaking population in the middle of the continent: a northern belt predominantly from the northeastern states, a southern belt from the southeastern, and a broad belt of mixing that extends west from Ohio to Kansas and Nebraska.

Something of this zonation is reflected in the biblical place-names given in the respective belts. In order to compare North and South—the zone of mixing cannot be separated by states—I have taken a group of northern states west of Pennsylvania and one of southern states south and west of Virginia, in which the number of biblical names in my sample is very nearly equal. The northern group consists of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and Nebraska, which together contain 225 biblical names; the southern group consists of North and South Carolina, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, and Arkansas, and contains 224 names in my sample. The intermediate zone of mixing lies mostly in my northern group.

All of these states together contain 84 of the 101 biblical names in my whole list: the southern states 71 of them, the northern states only 55. As biblical names were appropriated for places, the upland South was evidently more innovative than the North, adding more names to the colonial list than the North did. Names are less concentrated in the high frequencies in the southern than in the northern group. Taking the seven names used most frequently in North and South, these seven account for 84 namings in the South, but for 117 in the North. The seven that head the list from the northern group of states are the first seven in frequency in the country as a whole, though their numerical order is slightly different. Salem, first in the list in both groups, occurs 37 times in the northern group, 19 times in the southern. Only three, Salem, Bethel, and Goshen, all found in colonial New England and Pennsylvania, are among the highest seven in both groups. In the North the remaining four are, in decreasing order, Eden, Lebanon, Sharon, and Jordan, three of which were found in colonial New England and two in colonial Pennsylvania; in the South, Antioch, Zion, Shiloh, and Olivet (with variants), none of which appears in the colonial list. Of the 33 names that occur only once in the whole country, the group of southern states provides 13: Kentucky five, Arkansas, Georgia, and West Virginia two each, North Carolina and Alabama one each. The states in the northern group have only six: two in each of Ohio, Michigan, and Illinois. Four of these names are, moreover, ambiguous, possibly of

other origin, though they appear in the Bible: Mesopotamia (Ohio), Assyria, Rhodes (Mich.), and Crete (Ill.). Only one of the singular names in the South, Arabia (Ga.), is questionable on the same grounds. One of the two remaining names in the North (but in southern Illinois, which was strongly affected by immigration from south of the Ohio River) is likely to be unfamiliar to the ordinary reader of the Bible: Ruma (Rumah in II Kings 23:36); the other, Zoar (Ohio), appears several times in the Old Testament. Some of the lone names in the South, Dan, Gethsemane (Ky.), Judea, Patmos (Ark.), are familiar, but others are distinctly less so: Amma (W. Va.; Ammah in II Sam. 2:24), Dothan (Ala.), Ekron, Elam(ton), Ezel (Ky.), Tadmor(e) (Ga.), Tirzah (N.C., preceded by a gratuitous "Mount"), and Zela (W. Va.; Zelah in Josh. 18:28). Ammah, Dothan, Ezel, Tadmor, and Zelah are mentioned only once in the Bible, and so would be known only to diligent searchers of the Scriptures. Since none of them is associated with a memorable event, they can scarcely carry any metaphorical connotation, but seem rather to reflect a desire for distinctiveness, even uniqueness. Northerners were apparently more content to repeat the old names familiar from the northeastern states, as they repeated such secular names as Dover and Springfield. Instances of names that occur only once in the Bible and once in my list are found in other states than those just mentioned—Dor (Kans.), Lehi (Utah), Ono (Calif.), Timnath (Colo.)—but they are most numerous in the South.

Even within the zone of mixing of northern and southern immigrants into the Middle West, the contrast between northern and southern practice in the borrowing of biblical place-names can be recognized, though it is not sharp. Taking Indiana and Illinois together, I divided these states into a northern and a southern belt with as nearly equal numbers of biblical names in each belt as is possible: 36 namings in the northern belt, 35 in the southern. In this small sample, in which, moreover, the difference between the belts in composition of their populations is far from distinct, the greater variety of biblical names found in the southern group of states recurs: in the northern belt 18 different names account for 36 namings, in the southern 26 names for 35 namings. Again in accordance with the sectional data, there are eight Salems in the northern belt, only four in the southern. Nine out of 35 different names are found in both belts, all except three, Carmel, Olivet with variants, and Palestine, from the colonial list. In the northern belt, two names more representative of the South than of the North, Antioch and Zion, appear; the southern belt has four such southern-looking names, Macedonia, Nebo, Shiloh, and Smyrna. Thus a difference

between northern and southern Indiana and Illinois, familiar to inhabitants of those states on other grounds, makes a blurred appearance in biblical place-names.

### METAPHORS IN THE BIBLICAL NAMES

As is well known, the colonists of early New England, religious groups settling in Pennsylvania, and their descendants who peopled the western territories often saw in themselves a resemblance to the ancient Hebrews seeking and subduing a promised land. (There is a Promised Land in Lawrence Co., Ark., but I have not counted it, since the expression does not appear as a place-name in the Bible.) This metaphor gave rise to Canaan, Gilead, Goshen, Hebron, Palestine, and Sharon as place-names, as well as to Rehoboth (Gen. 26:22: "For now the Lord hath made room for us, and we shall be fruitful in the land"). I find, however, only six Rehoboths in my sample, three of them colonial. Only later (Vt., 1781, N.Y., 1812) did pioneers equate their land with Eden, a name that became extremely popular in the West: there are eight Edens in Iowa and seven in South Dakota alone. Paradise has a distribution resembling that of Eden. Beulah, of later introduction and with one occurrence more than Canaan, belongs in this list, though its use in the Bible (Isa. 62:4), for the Jerusalem to be rebuilt after the Babylonian captivity, has no such reference. Its metaphorical use is obviously taken from Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, in which Bunyan uses it for the pleasant land in which his pilgrims rested before crossing the River of Death into the Celestial City. The imagery of the popular nineteenth-century religious song "Beulah Land," which must reflect the contemporary perception of the name, is taken directly from Bunyan. I have no doubt that this song was better known to members of rural sectarian congregations than was *Pilgrim's Progress*; it may thus have been in some instances the source of the name. Elim, the name of a welcome oasis found by the Hebrews of the Exodus in the Sinai (Ex. 15:27), appears three times in my list. The metaphor of wanderers finding and settling their promised land accounts for more of our biblical place-names than any other.

The primary metaphor represented by Salem, the first and most widely used biblical name, was the identification of a newly-founded community with the holiest of cities, Jerusalem; the four-syllabled full name was evidently too long for convenient use, and occurs only eight times in my list. The shorter synonym Zion is found three times as often. Closely related is the allusion to a new place of worship. Bethel (Gen.

35:1, 3) is the earliest and by far the most frequent name bearing it, given in Connecticut and Pennsylvania in colonial times and replicated freely afterwards. The next most frequent name of this class is Shiloh (I Sam. 1:3), most examples of which are in the South. Other names bearing a similar allusion are Mizpah (Gen. 31:49, Judg. 11:11) and Ramah (I Sam. 7:17, 8:4 ff.), which occur four and three times respectively.

With the exception of Bethany, Bethlehem, Corinth, and Philadelphia, two from the life of Jesus and two from early Christian missionary activity, the colonial names were all from the Old Testament. In my incomplete chronology, the next addition from the New Testament was Smyrna (N. Y., 1808), like Philadelphia the name of one of the seven churches in Asia to which the book of Revelation was addressed (Rev. 1:11). In later times New Testament names were given more often in the South than in the North; in the groups of northern and southern states I have used as exemplifying the sections I find 68 New Testament namings in the southern, 27 in the northern group. Three associations appear in these names. The largest class consists of names associated with Paul's career, 31 in the southern, 17 in the northern group, the most numerous being Antioch (13 namings in the South, four in the North) and Corinth (six in the South, two in the North). The count of Pauline names includes the two mentioned earlier that occur only once, Crete (Ill.) and Rhodes (Mich.), which may derive from the evanescent fashion of giving classical names. The second most frequent class consists of names associated with the life of Jesus, less numerous than those associated with Paul: 22 in the South, 11 in the North. The two most frequent ones are variants of the name of the Mount of Olives, eight in the South, three in the North, and Bethany, which, though first given in colonial Connecticut, is now most frequent in the South: five occurrences in my southern group of states, two in the northern. The third class of New Testament names consists of the names of three of the seven churches in Asia of the book of Revelation: 13 namings in the South, six in the North. The names are Smyrna (seven and two in the respective groups of states), Sardis (five and one), and Philadelphia, the first biblical name given in Pennsylvania, with three occurrences in each of the two groups.

The associations of these names with the aspirations of those who gave them is not always clear. There can be no doubt, however, that many of the biblical names in the South and some in the North were originally names of sectarian churches founded in rural communities that became known by the names of the churches. While some such churches were given names from the Old Testament (Salem, Shiloh, Zion), and some names associated with the life of Jesus (Bethany, Calvary, Olivet), many

names were taken from places associated with Paul's career: places where he left small bands of the faithful among a population of unbelievers (Antioch, Berea, Corinth, Damascus) and scenes of dramatic incidents (Mars Hill, Philippi). The most striking metaphor of the little isolated band of the faithful is Macedonia; five namings in the southern group of states, three in the northern. It must seldom, if at all, commemorate Philip's kingdom—in my total count I excluded Macedon, Wayne Co., N. Y., which probably does—but rather the appeal made to Paul in a vision (Acts 16:9), "Come over into Macedonia and help us," and Paul's response to that appeal. The Pauline names are not names given by united groups of pioneers founding their Canaans, Goshens, and Hebrons in the wilderness, but by little groups of sectarians—Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, and their many evangelical offshoots—building and struggling to maintain their little Bethels among unbelievers and competing sectarians. These nontraditional names were bestowed in all of the states, but the custom of giving them seems to have been strongest in the upland South, and to have been carried northward and westward by emigrants from that region. Ohio, in addition to its many biblical names transplanted from New England and Pennsylvania, has one each of Antioch, Berea, Bethesda, Beulah, Macedonia, Sardis, and Shiloh.

Once given and accepted as a familiar name, any name might be carried to a new site and given again without reference to its original metaphorical association, as British place-names were carried west from the original colonies. As is true of place-names of secular origin, the biblical names given in colonial New England and Pennsylvania are the ones used most widely and frequently; but new names, most of them emanating from the upland South, were also widely disseminated, and the Bible was always at hand to provide a never-exhausted store of names not previously given.

Berkeley, California