

Nationalism in the American Place-Name Cover

WILBUR ZELINSKY

Students of the American scene can document the intensity and exuberance of nationalism in the young United States in a surprising variety of ways. The challenge of inventing of what was indeed the “first new nation” in the modern world and doing so almost instantly within a large, thinly occupied territory created certain opportunities for expressing patriotic fervor that were rare or nonexistent in contemporary Europe or later ventures in nation-state formation.

Among these practices perhaps none raises more intriguing geographic and historical questions than the ways in which nationalistic names were bestowed upon all manner of objects, including people,¹ business firms,² commercial products, social organizations, highways, bridges, schools, military and naval weaponry, and, most especially, places. In fact, it seems safe to claim that in no other nation, past or present, can we find anything like the great number and frequency of nationalistic place-names to be seen in the United States.³ Let us consider where and when this phenomenon developed and what it may signify.

¹Arthur M. Schlesinger, “Patriotism names the baby,” *New England Quarterly* 14, 1941, 611–618; Dixon Wecter, *The Hero in America: a Chronicle of Hero-Worship* (New York: Scribner’s, 1941), pp. 78–79, 157; Peter Karsten, *Patriot-Heroes in England and America* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978), pp. 5–6, 85, 90ff, 207–208; George R. Stewart, *American Given Names* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 22–23. Many a luminary has been christened in this fashion, for example, Benjamin Franklin Butler, George Washington Cable, George Washington Carver, Andrew Jackson Downing, Lincoln Steffens, Alexander Hamilton Stephens, and Thomas Jefferson Wertebaker, not to mention Jefferson Davis, Franklin Pierce, or Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

²The adoption of the nationalistic names by business enterprises has not received the attention it deserves. Boyd C. Shafer does note the high incidence of corporations listed on the New York Stock Exchange whose names begin with American, National, and United States, *Faces of Nationalism: New Realities and Old Myths* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1972), p. 454.

³No one has yet attempted a comprehensive, worldwide analysis of this toponymic genre — an eminently worthy project. I am confident that such an effort would document the uniqueness of the United States in qualitative as well as quantitative terms. The propensity of heads of state to impose

The place-names in question fall into two general categories. The first, and more obvious, group provides the main substance for this paper: places whose names celebrate various patriot-heroes and other national notables and the special ideological aspirations of the American republic. But we dare not ignore another important toponymic practice that is almost uniquely American: the naming of places after the personages and localities of the ancient worlds of Greece and Rome. As many scholars have noted, the widespread belief that the fledgling United States was the latterday realization of the ideals of republican Athens and Rome (as well as being the New Israel) has had profound implications for our political, intellectual, and artistic endeavors.⁴ To recognize classical names in the U.S. as thinly veiled nationalistic names is to come to terms with psychological reality.

their names on imposing places, or diffidently allowing others to do it on their behalf, is a venerable phenomenon, one that may well antedate the rash of Alexandrias, Caesareas, and their ilk. Although there has never been a dearth of such examples as St. Petersburg, Leopoldville, Stalingrad, Ciudad Trujillo, or the various Latin American localities named after Bolivar, Juarez, or Hidalgo, they have accounted for a minuscule fraction of the total place-name cover of any country until the outbreak of a veritable epidemic in the infant United States. Of course, other revolutionary, or quasi-revolutionary, regimes have emulated this country to some degree, most notably perhaps Mexico and the Soviet Union. Twentieth-century Iran has experienced two very different spasms of ideologically inspired place-naming or, rather, renaming, Peter G. Lewis, "The politics of Iranian place-names," *Geographical Review* 72, 1982, 99–102. But in those instances and others the veneration of national heroes via place-names has been inhibited by the multiplicity and rootedness of older names. Moreover, such items are handed down from above. In the case of the USSR, and analogously elsewhere, "this naming is so thoroughly controlled and orchestrated by the Communist Party for political purposes that it lacks true spontaneity and is not a faithful reflection of real hero worship on the part of the people." Chauncy D. Harris, personal communication, August 24, 1981. In the United States, in contrast, the vast majority of name decisions have been local in character, with little or no guidance or coercion from Federal agencies. On the other hand, of course, the names of streets and other items in capital cities bear an especially rich burden of national symbolism, Charles E. Merriam, *The Making of Citizens* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931), p. 150. The District of Columbia is no exception, Alexander B. Hagner, *Street Nomenclature of Washington City*, Address before the Columbia Historical Society delivered May 3, 1897 (Washington: Author, 1897).

⁴Many authors have commented on the deep ideological significance of the classical syndrome in American thought and behavior, including Russel Blaine Nye, *The Cultural Life of the New Nation, 1776–1830* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1960), pp. 270–273, Howard Mumford Jones, *O Strange New World. American Culture: The Formative Years* (New York: Viking, pp. 227–272, Alan Gowans, *Images of American Living: Four Centuries of Architecture and Furniture as Cultural Expression* (Philadelphia: Lippincott), pp. 243–284, Neil Harris, *The Artist in American Society: The Formative Years 1790–1860* (New York: George Braziller, 1966), pp. 17–18, 41–45, Robert N. Bellah, *The Broken Covenant: American Civil Religion in Time of Trial* (New York: Seabury Press, 1975), pp. 22–25, and Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Seale, Willia, *Temples of Democracy: the State Capitols of the USA* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976), pp. 76–77, 265–267, et passim.

In a previous study,⁵ I have traced the historical geography of classical terms in the names of American political jurisdictions and post offices, and have demonstrated how a vogue that first materialized in west-central New York in the immediate post-Revolutionary period diffused vigorously over the next several decades until it was strongly imbedded throughout the Middle West, but most particularly in a region we can label “New England Extended.” Not so incidentally, within this same territory — roughly the northern third of the nation east of the Mississippi — Neoclassical forms of architecture were adopted enthusiastically for the homes of all social classes, not just the mansions of the well-to-do. And probably nowhere else do we find such a profusion of classical motifs in the design of public buildings, banks, shops, colleges, churches, and other edifices. (It would be interesting to find out whether any such regionalization has also existed in terms of personal names and the names of business firms.) In any event, it is important to realize that eventually, though quite belatedly, the classical place-naming impulse did penetrate all sections of the country, including the South and West, and the tally of occurrences for the entire U.S. exceeds 2,700, so that this category of names accounts for a respectable share of the totality for our political units.

In an effort to explore the implications of overtly nationalistic toponymy, I have methodically examined three readily accessible sets of data: various Census reports, from which one can derive the names of all counties and minor civil divisions as well as a number of unincorporated places; a Post Office directory published in 1908 that lists every street in the 1,280 leading municipalities of that period;⁶ and the latest edition of the annually updated Rand McNally *Commercial Atlas & Marketing Guide*, the single most comprehensive listing of American towns and miscellaneous settlement features.⁷ To my regret, I have not yet had the opportunity to study the names of current and discontinued post offices not identified with municipalities, or residential subdivisions and various unincorporated places not included in Census reports, or such physical features as rivers, lakes, hills, mountains, parks, and forests.⁸

As indicated in the accompanying tables, I have recorded every example to be found in the first two sets of source materials, and selected

⁵Wilbur Zelinsky, “Classical town names in the United States; the historical geography of an America Idea,” *Geographical Review* 57, 1967, 463–495.

⁶U.S. Post Office Department, *Street Directory of the Principal Cities of the United States, Embracing Letter-Carrier Offices Established to April 30, 1908* (Washington: 1908).

⁷1982 *Commercial Atlas & Marketing Guide*, 113th ed. (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1982).

⁸But even a casual glance at a good gazetteer or a detailed map of the United States will disclose a good many examples of physical features bearing nationalistic names.

examples in the third, of places named after each of the duly canonized members of the American pantheon, a roster led by Washington, Jackson, Lincoln, Jefferson, and Franklin, but also including scores of other individuals, many of whom were idolized in the past but are now seldom remembered outside the fraternity of professional historians.⁹ I have also admitted a number of eminent persons whose fame and veneration were much more regional than national, for example, Jefferson Davis, Lewis Cass, or DeWitt Clinton, but strictly local celebrities have been omitted. The great majority of the persons in question were native or immigrant Americans, but some alien sojourners, such as Columbus, De Kalb, Humboldt, Kosciuszko, Lafayette, Penn, and Von Steuben, became in a very real sense honorary citizens and bonafide patriot-heroes. I also believe it legitimate to accept some heroic foreigners who were regarded by 19th Century Americans as worthy comrades-in-arms in the sacred cause of liberty: Robert Emmet, Simon Bolivar, Giuseppe Garibaldi, and Louis Kossuth. In addition, the names of such hallowed places and events as Mount Vernon, Monticello, Lexington, Concord, Bunker Hill, Tippecanoe, Buena Vista, Gettysburg, or Ashland¹⁰ radiate such irresistibly patriotic messages that they must not be excluded. Unquestionably, the genre of overtly nationalistic terms must also embrace a number of powerful abstractions, such as Union, Liberty, Independence, Constitution, Eagle, Providence, or Federal.

Admittedly, there are some ambiguities in, and worthy persons missing from, these tabulations. Thus there is no simple way to ascertain whether the adoption of certain exceedingly common surnames memorialize such individuals as John Paul Jones, Andrew or Lyndon Baines Johnson, Woodrow Wilson, or Captain John Smith, Joseph Smith, or other remarkable Smiths.¹¹ What scattered evidence I have suggests that very few

⁹For informative discussions of many of these notables and a various "commendatory" terms that could be characterized as nationalistic, see the alphabetized entries in George R. Stewart, *American Place-Names: a Concise and Selective Dictionary for the Continental United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).

¹⁰"When Chicago real estate promoter S. E. Warner decided to name the main street of his development in honor of his political hero, Henry Clay, he called it Ashland, in reminiscence of the Whig party leader's home, 'The Ashland,' in Kentucky. Warner left still another marking on the land when he planted both sides of his residential avenue with rows of ash," Thomas J. Schlereth, *Artifacts and the American Past* (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1980), p. 155. Can one imagine any real estate developer of the 1980s paying similar toponymic homage to a political idol?

¹¹The most comprehensive of available statistical surveys indicates that as of 1964, Smith, Johnson, Jones, and Wilson were, respectively, the first, second, fifth, and tenth most common surnames used by the American population, U.S. Social Security Administration, *Report of Distribution of Surnames in the Social Security Account Number File* (Washington: 1964). It may be

eponymous places honor these illustrious individuals. Consequently, these popular surnames do not appear in my lists. Moreover, one cannot be sure, without much more local archival research and many more sound, scholarly local place-name studies than are now available, whether a given place-name refers to Abraham or General Benjamin Lincoln or to the English county, or to Andrew or Stonewall Jackson, or to which member of the Lee clan, and so on down a long trail of question marks. Certain terms are also polysemous. Thus Union may refer not only to the political concept but to the junction point for streams, highways, or railroads, or to a social organization. Another source of uncertainty is the fact that certain admissible terms, such as Eden, Excel, Hope, or Joy may pertain to either the concept or a family name.

The identity of the persons whose names are reverently embalmed in the American place-name cover is of more than passing interest. The overwhelming majority of these men (Pocahontas being the solitary token female)¹² won glory and acclaim through exploits in either the political or military realm, and frequently in both. Until the early 20th Century, the attainment of the presidency — a powerfully symbolic office, of course — and, in some instances, merely the vice-presidency was enough to guarantee toponymic immortality, however dubious the personal qualifications of the individual. Few explorers or inventors have made the grade,

interesting to note the rank-order of the more important surnames of patriot-heroes and relevant abstract terms among the 152,757,455 account numbers issued by the agency between 1936 and 1964. The computer program used for these tabulations identified only the first six letters of a surname:

HARRIS(ON)	11	JEFFER(SON)	354
JACKSO(N)	17	WEBSTE(R)	365
CLARK	18	MONROE	525
ADAMS	34	CLAY	650
LEE	37	MADISO(N)	1209
PERRY	85	LINCOL(N)	1906
WASHIN(GTON)	174	HOPE	1950
GRANT	194	CLINTO(N)	2056
FRANKL(IN)	222		

The names Eden, Joy, Lafayette, and Marion do not appear in the table of the 2,183 most frequent items. Although the Harrisons, Jacksons, Clarks, and Adamses are numerous indeed, my calculations suggest a significantly higher incidence of places so named than would be the case where their occurrence to be proportional to the representation of these families among the general population.

¹²Because her appeal is so primordially mythic as to transcend national boundaries, as is also the case with Joan of Arc, it is doubtful whether the Untied States can claim exclusive title to the Indian maiden, Philip Young, “The mother of us all: Pocahontas reconsidered.” *Kenyon Review* 24, 1962, 391–415. Concerning the more general question of the weak standing of females amidst the company of American heroes, despite the goodly number of eligible candidates, see Wecter, pp. 476–477.

while scientists, scholars, and creative writers and artists are conspicuous by their near-absence, unless we so classify the protean Franklin and Jefferson.

The sheer volume of nationalistic American place-names is impressive. Although only two of our 51 state and district names, Washington and the District of Columbia, fall into that category, unless we grant William Penn patriot-hero status, more than 25% of our 3,066 county names are derived from national notables and patriotic terms. It is instructive to compare the Canadian situation with that in this country, since the two nations are so similar in so many other respects, at least superficially.¹³ A mere 17, or 6.5%, of our northern neighbor's 260 counties appear to have been named after Canadian and British notables; and indeed it is difficult to cite even one individual whom the majority of Canadians would accept as a national hero. The international disparity is even sharper when we examine the aggregate number of counties and minor civil divisions bearing patriotic and inspirational terms in their names (Tables 1 and 2).

The chronology of American county names, which we can specify with some assurance,¹⁴ is noteworthy. The patriot-hero syndrome appeared abruptly, in a great surge, during the first years of national independence,¹⁵ then gathered even more strength, reaching a maximum during the years 1810–1830, accounting for nearly half the name adoptions of that period (Table 3). More than coincidentally, this is the same period many historians regard as climactic in terms of spontaneous national sentiment.¹⁶ Then gradually, if irregularly, this mode of naming administrative entities lost favor, and effectively vanished after 1920. The namers of city streets seemed to have enjoyed greater freedom of choice and scope for their imaginations than did those who labeled counties and other localities; but, even so, the incidence of streets associated with inspirational terms or the names of patriot-heroes and other national notables is remarkable. The grand total of 18,089 occurrences listed in Table 4 represent some 8.9% of the approximately 203,000 street names in question.

One might be tempted to argue that the near-disappearance of national-

¹³The most informative general discussion of Canadian place-names is Mark M. Orkin, *Speaking Canadian English* (Toronto: General Publishing, 1970), pp. 159–190. One finds relatively few places named after Canadian or British notables (pp. 167–168).

¹⁴Thanks to Joseph Nathan Kane, *The American Counties* (New York: Scarecrow Press, 1960).

¹⁵George R. Stewart, *Names on the Land*, rev. ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1958), pp. 198–199.

¹⁶The graphing of the relative popularity of Washington as a given personal name during the period 1770–1900 produces a pattern parallel to that generated by place-names, Karsten, p. 91.

istic place-naming in recent decades could be attributed to a dearth of opportunities. But such is not the case; the explanation is weak motivation. Each year provides us with any number of name decisions for urban and suburban streets, residential developments, apartment and office buildings, schools, hospitals, bridges, airports, shopping centers, and military bases. The current choices are no longer concerned predominantly with description, possession, commemoration, or other forms of celebration, but largely, in so far as one can apply a single epithet to a diversified lot, with image-mongering, with projecting comforting, commercially potent messages. There is little doubt that, in social-psychological terms, we are now living in a toponymic era quite alien to that of the first century of national existence.¹⁷

Another question, one for which there is no immediate answer, is the extent to which the names being considered here were the initial choices for their localities or, on the contrary, were second or later generation decisions, supplanting earlier names. In particular, given the republican fervor of earlier years, one might expect to find wholesale displacement of names derived from British royalty and nobility by more appropriate selections. It will take a great amount of laborious research to achieve quantifiable results, or to investigate the related question of how many nationalistic place-names have been supplanted by those of another genre. In the meantime, my impression is that the great majority of names alluding to British sovereignty during the Colonial era have been left intact. In any event, an examination of the counties memorializing the more prominent of our patriot-heroes reveals the fact that few have carried any earlier designation. Thus, out of 31 counties currently named after George Washington, only five have undergone renaming (one, interestingly enough, was previously called Jefferson). Only two of our 26

¹⁷With the possible exception of John F. Kennedy, even the most revered of 20th Century presidents and other relatively ephemeral folk-and patriot-heroes, e.g., Pershing, Byrd, Lindbergh, MacArthur, Ford, or J. Edgar Hoover, have left only the faintest traces on our place-name cover. Concerning the weak toponymic performance of Woodrow Wilson and the two Roosevelts, see Thomas A. Bailey, *Presidential Greatness* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1966), pp. 5–8. The Kennedy legacy may be more conspicuous, James Snow Wolfe, *The Kennedy Myth: American Civil Religion in the Sixties*, doctoral dissertation (Berkeley: Graduate Theological Union, 1975), pp. 395–396, 408–409 and Bailey, p. 8. Robert I. Alotta has developed the notion of sequential street-name typologies over time, “Popularity: the street names of Philadelphia,” Paper presented at the XIVth International Congress of Onomastic Sciences, August 24, 1981, as has John Algeo, “From Classic to Classy: Changing Fashions in Street Names,” *Names* 26, 1978, 80–95. In her study of the names of recent suburban subdivisions in selected American metropolises, Janet Schwartz detected only the quietest echoes of patriotic nostalgia amidst the predominantly pastoral nomenclature, “The Poet and the Pastoral in the Naming of Suburbia.” *Names* 28, 1980, 231–254.

presentday (Thomas) Jefferson counties have experienced name changes; and the count for the 24 (Abraham and Benjamin) Lincolns, 23 (Benjamin) Franklins, an 21 (Andrew) Jacksons is one, zero, and one, respectively.¹⁸

When the locations of six of the most popular of nationalistic names are plotted on maps, we are confronted by a set of surprises and provocative, possibly profound, questions concerning the regionalization of the American psyche. The simplest map to describe and, possibly, explain is that of the occurrence of Franklin — in nearly every instance, obviously, Benjamin Franklin — in the names of counties and minor civil divisions (Figure 1).¹⁹ As might have been expected, the usage has been particularly fashionable in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, i.e., the zone in which our eponym was most active or best known. The map pattern leads one to surmise the diffusion of the name westward into much of the Middle West, either in the form of a free-floating idea or as part of the mental baggage of migrants from the source area. One might also attribute the scarcity of Franklins in the South, West, and Northeast to the friction of distance and time. If such an interpretation is valid, what we have in this case is simply another classic example of an innovation emanating from the Midland culture hearth. At this point I am obliged to insert a technical footnote, namely, that in some Southern states a large percentage of MCDs have received numbers rather than proper names. On the other hand, such lacunae in the verbal place-name cover also occur in some non-Southern states, though not as frequently; but, in any case, this practice is not so extensive as to account for any of the basic patterns displayed on our maps.

The configuration of symbols on the Lincoln map is another one that might have been predicted (Figure 2).²⁰ The thickest clustering is to be found in those tracts of the North Central states occupied and organized from the 1860s through the 1890s when the full force of the Lincoln apotheosis was being felt. Understandably, places named after Abraham Lincoln in the post-bellum period are rare in the South as well as in those parts of the Northeast that were well peopled before 1860.

A large, perhaps disproportionate, share of early American patriot-heroes were Southerners. Their ranks include Washington, Jefferson,

¹⁸This information is derived from Kane, *American Counties*.

¹⁹For the celebration of Benjamin Franklin in American iconography and toponymy, see Wecter, pp. 78–79.

²⁰For a discussion of the impact of the Lincoln legend on the American landscape, see Karsten, pp. 98–100.

Madison, Monroe, Richard Henry Lee, Andrew Jackson, Francis Marion, Henry Clay, Nathanael Greene, Daniel Boone, Patrick Henry, and John Marshall among many others, so that one would feel justified in anticipating a liberal sprinkling of Southern places honoring their memory. But, strangely enough, the actuality defies any such expectation. The maps depicting the location of places named after Washington,²¹ Jefferson,²² and Jackson (Figures 3, 4, and 5) tend to resemble each other in their remarkable concentrations of occurrences in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and the western reaches of the Middle west,²³ but with severe dearths in the South and West, with the interesting exception of the state of Arkansas, and a relatively weak showing in New England. It is startling, for example, to find no Jacksons at all in South Carolina, one of the two states claiming our seventh president as its native son. In a possible bit of historical irony, the South partially redeems itself by having bestowed the term Union on a fair number of places, presumably during the antebellum era (Figure 6); but even here the general distribution pattern closely resembles that in the preceding maps. An intriguing novelty in Figure 6 is the strong showing of the term Union in West Virginia. Can this be the result of the traumatic decision in 1863 to secede from Virginia and adhere to the Federal Union?

A final, summary map (Figure 7) attempts to display the relative popularity of overtly nationalistic place-names throughout the United States by indicating the total number of all such items within the ten counties closest to each county. The rationale of this procedure, a kind of

²¹Several authors have commented on the powerful Washingtonian imprint upon the American place-name cover, Wecter, pp. 136–137, Bailey, pp. 3–4, Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans: the National Experience* (New York: Random House, 1965), pp. 355–356. Marshall Fishwick offers the strongest statement: “On his two-hundredth birthday there were thousands of ‘Washingtons’ on the map. The national capital, a state, 33 counties, 121 cities and towns, 257 townships, 1140 streets, and uncounted lakes, schools, mountains, and forts bore his name — a tribute which had been paid to no other man in any country,” *American Heroes: Myth and Reality* (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1954), p. 14.

²²Jeffersons on the American map are noted in Bailey, p. 4 and Merrill D. Peterson, *the Jefferson Image in the American Mind* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 273–274. I must not fail to mention Lafayette, another of those remarkable heroes whose name and home (Lagrange) are writ large upon the United States scene, especially after his extraordinary 1824–1825 tour, Jane B. MacIntire, *Lafayette, the Guest of the Nation* (Newton, Mass.: Anthony J. Simone, 1967), p. 24.

²³Over much of this territory, the formulaic repetition of a core group of terms — usually Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, and Union, or appropriate variants thereof — in county after county reaches an almost hypnotic regularity. The sheer abundance of nationalistic place-names in portions of Indiana, Ohio, Iowa, and Missouri is impressive. To take one example, in Kosciusko County, Indiana not only is the county name classifiable as nationalistic but the names of twelve of its seventeen townships fall into the same mold: Clay, Franklin, Harrison, Jackson, Jefferson, Monroe, Scott, Seward, Tippecanoe, Van Buren, Washington, and Wayne.

spatial averaging, is that it eliminates much of the “noise” in the phenomenon, including whatever randomness may occur in local patterns, and reduces the deceptive visual impact of counties that vary so greatly in size and shape.

Whatever its virtues, Figure 7 fails to tell us anything definite about the relative strength of nationalistic items within the totality of place-names as the former might vary from one part of the country to another. Table 5 remedies that deficiency to some extent. The percentile values presented therein express the frequency of a dozen leading nationalistic terms within the names of the estimated aggregate number of political entities and agglomerated settlements in each state as of 1982. One may assume similar results were we to tabulate the entire range of nationalistic terms. The two summations of data (Figure 7; Table 5) confirm and fortify some of the inferences drawn from the other maps and permit us to make others:

(1) This particular mode of place-naming has been especially important in the east-central portion of the United States, and, with one notable exception, this area coincides nicely with the territory identified in other studies as being culturally and demographically tributary to the early Midland Culture Hearth of Pennsylvania and the Delaware Valley. Although we cannot be certain without creating a series of maps documenting the date at which the MCDs were named, the map strongly hints at a Pennsylvania origin, then westward diffusion over an everwidening arc. Further support for this notion comes from the modest, but noticeable, cluster of nationalistic items in central North Carolina, an area colonized by significant numbers of migrants from early Pennsylvania and Maryland.

(2) It is doubtful whether we can explain the scarcity of nationalistic place-names in New England Extended, especially in New York State, and in most of the South, excepting the Ozark Region, in terms of the diffusion process. The disparities in levels of frequency between those in the Pennsylvania-Midwest concentration and those in the Northeast and South are simply too great.

(3) The map patterns reflect the fact that nationalistic place-naming was time-specific, i.e., that it was largely concentrated within the first several decades of national independence. Consequently, place-names of this type are rare or nonexistent in areas that have been recently settled or developed, such as southern Florida and many parts of the West.

(4) We lack immediate explanations of the fading away of nationalistic place-name decisions and the later advent of different types of names for towns, suburbs, and other places. Until more facts are available, we might speculate that changing fashions in names signify important shifts in value systems and the ways in which we perceive our nation and the world.

We are left with three mysteries concerning the relative distribution of nationalistic place-names in the U.S., and clear answers for none. The first is so obvious that I have had difficulty not mentioning it up to this point: that strange hiatus in the State of Illinois (Figure 7; Table 5). If there is any validity in the contention that the popularity of nationalistic place-naming worked its way westward from Pennsylvania across the Middle West, then that sharp dropoff between the clusters in Indiana and the equally dense concentrations in Iowa and Missouri makes little sense in historical-geographic terms. Whatever the explanation may be, it is clearly intrinsic to the state itself, since the incidence of nationalistic place-naming continues at a high level in Indiana, Iowa, and Missouri right up to their boundaries with Illinois. The most authoritative compilation of data on Illinois toponymy offers us no clues,²⁴ and it would be foolish indeed to attribute the anomalous situation to any deficiency in patriotic sentiment on the part of the state's residents. The only plausible alternative is some peculiarity in the laws or regulations governing place-naming within the state.²⁵

There may be larger implications in the reluctance of New York and much of the territory historically associated with it to participate vigorously in the toponymic developments immediately to the south. What we are witnessing are two closely related versions of the same cultural phenomenon, i.e., the celebration of American national virtues through the medium of place-names, occurring at precisely the same time and being directed in parallel spatial channels, but with rather little transference of behavior from one source area, or its nearby hinterland, to the other. Is it conceivable that one variant of nationalistic toponymy simply excludes the other, that only so much "psychic space" is available for either one or the other? One way of pursuing an answer would be to analyze the relative frequency in 19th Century Pennsylvania and New York of two types of names conferred on infant lads: such forenames as Franklin, Jefferson, Washington, and Andrew Jackson are compared with the likes of Ulysses, Junius, Marcus, Adrian, Cornelius, or Horatio.

But the most intriguing problem is the poor showing of overtly nation-

²⁴James N. Adams, *Illinois Place Names*, Occasional Publication No. 54 (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Society, 1969).

²⁵The Illinois State Constitution of 1870 specifically prohibits the legislature from changing the names of persons or places, Laurence Seits, personal communication, May 26, 1982. But this stricture came into being after the state had been well settled and nearly all places named. Moreover, as noted above, it is unlikely that more than a small minority of nationalistic place-names supplanted earlier items.

alistic place-names in the South, excepting, once again, the marginal Ozarks. Evidence that cultural or psychological factors may underlie Southern standoffishness may be read from intrastate patterns within Missouri. Although the state as a whole ranks high in total number of occurrences, nationalistic place-names are few and far between in the lower Missouri Valley and the Bootheel, precisely those areas most deeply affected by Southern culture in antebellum times. Similarly, we may read some significance into the observation that Southerners did adopt classical place-names with some frequency, though quite belatedly, and that such items are less transparently nationalistic in character than the names of patriot-heroes.

What are we to make of this form of Southern deviance? It is essential to note that the naming decisions covered in this paper were predominantly local in character. Some, notably the county names, originated or were ratified at the state level; most of the others were arrived at by the officials or ordinary citizens of counties, townships, municipalities, and other small entities, sometimes quite informally. Thus it is not too far-fetched to assume that, during the first 80 years or so of the Republic, the process of place-naming was an unobtrusive measure of political attitudes, perhaps even a subtle kind of "loyalty test." Thus, if this supposition has any merit, the citizens of, say, New York, Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Iowa were subconsciously voting their confidence in the Union, its founders and leaders, and the principles they proclaimed through their selections of place-names, while the good people of such states as Virginia, South Carolina, and Mississippi were expressing through the same mechanism certain hidden feelings and reservations.²⁶ Such an interpretation does not, of course, preclude the possibility that, after the Reconstruction Period, the South began to be as nationalistic as the non-South, if not more so, in keeping with what seems to be our general subjective consensus about the South nowadays. I am quite prepared to admit that this excursion into the regional geography of the American political mind may have been misdirected, but only after we have gathered and sifted

²⁶Perhaps the most promising line of inquiry is that suggested by the recent work of Forrest McDonald, Grady McWhiney, and their associates at the University of Alabama, namely, that basic cultural differences — and perhaps associated political antagonisms — between the Celtic groups of the British Isles (Scots, Welsh, Irish, and Cornish) and the English have persisted in the United States. In a departure from conventional historical interpretations, their research indicates an American South much more Celtic in ethnic origins and behavioral patterns than the North, Forrest McDonald and Grady McWhiney, "The Antebellum Herdsman: a Reinterpretation." *Journal of Southern History* 41, 1975, 147–166 and "The Celtic South," *History Today* 30, 1980, 11–15, Forrest McDonald and Ellen Shapiro McDonald, "The ethnic origins of the American people, 1790." *William and Mary Quarterly* 37, 1980, 179–199.

evidence from other unobtrusive measures of attitudes that could confirm or falsify these speculations.

I have left to last what may be the most fundamental question one can pose about the purposeful naming of things: What psychological impact, if any, do message-bearing names have upon their users? The effects may be considerable for certain types of commercial enterprises and products and perhaps a few other categories of objects. However, when we consider the names of places, there are no clearcut answers. It is quite possible that the current romantic vogue in the naming of streets, subdivisions, and other localities is serving its purpose, especially since the seductive words so exploited remain in more or less daily use. But I suspect that place-names derived from dead or dormant heroes, events, and ideals become lexically opaque in short order and that few of us are any longer aware even subliminally of their import.²⁷ Among many possible examples, consider Madison Avenue, Madison Square Garden, and Madison, Wisconsin. Each of these names casts its special semantic spell, but would any of us immediately think of James Madison on hearing them?²⁸ Or — to carry the argument to its bitter end — even if we did make the connection, how many of us would appreciate Madison's ideological significance?

The conclusion I must draw is that our numerous nationalistic place-names are durable, but archaeological, features of the American scene. They remain now as sensitive, half-mute testimony to the ways in which a powerful tide of patriotic euphoria surged over the land in our earlier years rather than as part of the living language. They are also effects rather than causes. One would be hard put to argue that such names were essential building-blocks in the construction of our novel nation-state, but they do serve admirably as clues to a remarkable mind-set. Tracing patterns of frequency in nationalistic place-names over time and space may suggest original questions or new answers to older questions concerning some of the most fundamental problems in American geography and history, as I hope this paper has demonstrated. Surely much more can be accomplished by applying similar approaches to other types of names and to other classes of material and non-material evidence.

The Pennsylvania State University, University Park

²⁷W. F. H. Nicolaisen deals most thoughtfully with the interrelationships between words and names and with the lexical opacity of place-names in particular in "Words as Names," *Onoma* 20, 1976, 142–163.

²⁸If I may cite my personal experience, it was disturbing to realize that it took all of ten years before I noticed the probable origin of the name Franklin Township in Huntingdon County, Pennsylvania, a locality in which our family acquired some property in 1971.

Table 1. Number of Counties and Minor Civil Divisions
Presumably Named After Selected National Heroes and Notables
(United States, 1970)

WASHINGTON (George)	301	FULTON (Robert)	24
JACKSON (Andrew & Thomas)	250	RANDOLPH (John)	23
LINCOLN (Abraham & Benjamin)	190	JASPER (William)	21
JEFFERSON (Thomas)	179	DECATUR (Stephen)	19
FRANKLIN (Benjamin)	159	KNOX (Henry)	19
GRANT (Ulysses)	150	HAYES (Rutherford B.)	18
MADISON (James)	111	CRAWFORD (William Harris)	17
HARRISON (Wm. H. & Benjamin)	104	DALLAS (George M.)	17
MONROE (James)	99	PULASKI (Casimir)	17
MARION (Francis)	91	SHELBY (Isaac)	17
CLAY (Henry)	80	HENRY (Patrick)	16
WAYNE (Anthony)	79	DAVIS (Jefferson)	15
PERRY (Oliver H.)	73	HANCOCK (John)	15
LAFAYETTE (Marquis de)	68	ROOSEVELT (Theodore)	15
COLUMBUS (Christopher)	67	MERCER (Hugh)	14
SHERMAN (William T.)	63	PIERCE (Franklin)	13
CLINTON (DeWitt)	62	HUMBOLDT (Alexander)	12
GREENE (Nathanael)	62	McKINLEY (William)	12
BENTON (Thomas Hart)	60	ST. CLAIR (Arthur)	12
SCOTT (Winfield)	59	CALHOUN (John C.)	11
SHERIDAN (Philip H.)	59	CUSTER (George A.)	11
WARREN (Joseph)	59	STANTON (Edward M.)	11
ADAMS (John & John Quincy)	57	SULLIVAN (John)	11
GARFIELD (James)	55	DE SOTO (Hernando)	10
CLEVELAND (Grover)	48	HOUSTON (Sam)	10
HAMILTON (Alexander)	45	BUCHANAN (James)	9
CLARK (George Rogers & Wm.)	44	DE KALB (Johann)	9
TAYLOR (Zachary)	43	DEWEY (George)	9
CARROLL (Charles)	40	FILLMORE (Millard)	9
DOUGLAS (Stephen A.)	40	VON STEUBEN (Friedrich)	9
LEWIS (Meriwether)	35	ARTHUR (Chester)	8
POLK (James K.)	35	CARSON (Kit)	8
NEWTON (John)	34	MACON (Nathaniel)	8
PENN (William)	33	TYLER (John)	8
MONTGOMERY (Richard)	32	GREELEY (Horace)	7
WEBSTER (Daniel)	32	JAY (John)	6
FREMONT (John C.)	31	SEWARD (William H.)	5
VAN BUREN (Martin)	31	TAFT (William Howard)	5
BOONE (Daniel)	30	AUDUBON (John J.)	4
MORGAN (Daniel)	30	COOLIDGE (Calvin)	4
LEE (R.E. & R.H.)	29	CROCKETT (Davey)	4
CASS (Lewis)	28	GALLATIN (Albert)	4
LAWRENCE (James)	28	PUTNAM (Israel)	4
MARSHALL (John)	28	PERSHING (John)	3
PIKE (Zebulon)	25	KOSCIUSZKO (Thaddeus)	2

LA SALLE (Robert de)	2	SUMTER (Thomas)	<u>2</u>
POCAHONTAS	2	TOTAL	3,771
SEVIER (John)	2	(10.8% of all MCDs)	

Canada, 1971

AMHERST (Jeffrey)	4	CHAMPLAIN (Samuel de)	1
BROCK (Issac)	3	FRONTENAC (Louis)	1
CARLETON (Guy)	3	D'IBERVILLE (Pierre le Moyne)	1
LORD DURHAM)	3	JOLLIET (Louis)	1
LAURIER (Wilfrid)	3	LA SALLE (René-Robert Cavalier)	1
HUDSON (Henry)	2	BISHOP LAVAL	1
MACDONALD (John A.)	2	NICOLET (Jean)	1
MONTCALM (Louis J. Marquis de)	2	RADISSON (Pierre E.)	1
PAPINEAU (Louis Joseph)	2	ROBERVAL (Jean-François de)	1
THOMPSON (John)	2	LORD SELKIRK	1
BAGOT (Charles)	2	VANCOUVER (George)	<u>1</u>
FRANKLIN (John)	2	TOTAL	43
ABBOTT (John)	1	(0.9% of all MCDs)	
CARTIER (Jacques)	1		

Table 2. Number of Names of Counties and Minor Civil Divisions
Containing Selected Patriotic and Inspirational Terms
United States, 1970

UNION	324	FRIENDSHIP	8
LIBERTY	182	MONTPELIER	6
CONCORD	46	EXCELSIOR	5
EDEN	42	VICTORY	5
INDEPENDENCE	39	HAPPY	4
HOPE	39	JOY	4
FREEDOM	29	TIPPECANOE	4
HARMONY	24	PROGRESS(IVE)	3
MOUNT VERNON	23	PROSPER(ITY)	3
LEXINGTON	21	GETTYSBURG	3
PROVIDENCE	18	INDUSTRY	3
ENTERPRISE	17	ALAMO	2
PARADISE	15	ASHLAND	2
MONTICELLO	14	BUNKER HILL	2
ELDORADO	13	EQUALITY	2
UNITY	13	FORWARD	2
EMMET (Robert)	12	IDEAL	2
AMITY	10	KOSSUTH (Louis)	2
REPUBLIC(AN)	9	LAGRANGE	2
AMERICA(N)	8	LIBERAL	2
BOLIVAR (Simon)	8	WALHALLA	2

BENEVOLENCE	1	HUSTLER	1
BOUNTIFUL	1	LOYAL	1
CONGRESS	1	OPPORTUNITY	1
CONSTITUTION	1	PATRIOT	1
DEMOCRAT	1	PRESIDENT	1
DUTY	1	RELIANCE	1
ENDEAVOR	1	SUBLIMITY	1
EXCEL	1	TEMPERANCE	1
FELICITY	1	TRIUMPH	1
FRIENDSHIP	1	TOTAL	<u>1</u> 1,011

Canada, 1971

HOPE	3	FOREMOST	1
PARADISE	2	PLENTY	1
L'AVENIR	1	PROVIDENCE	1
BON ACCORD	1	RECIPROCITY	1
ENDEAVOUR	1	SUCCESS	1
ENTERPRISE	1	UNITY	1
EXCEL	1	VANGUARD	1
EXCELSIOR	1	VICTORY	<u>1</u>
		TOTAL	19

Table 3. See pp. 20–21.

Table 4. Incidence of Selected National Notables and Inspirational Terms in Street Names of 1280 Principal U.S. Cities, 1908¹

WASHINGTON (George)	1,036	LIBERTY	321
LINCOLN (Abraham & Benjamin)	713	CLARK (George Rogers & William)	314
FRANKLIN (Benjamin)	645	CLEVELAND (Grover)	291
UNION	603	GARFIELD (James)	286
JEFFERSON (Thomas)	557	COLUMBIA	283
MADISON (James)	525	MONROE (James)	277
JACKSON (Andrew & Thomas)	524	HAMILTON (Alexander)	265
HARRISON (W.H. & Benjamin)	453	SHERMAN (William T.)	262
GRANT (Ulysses)	439	WARREN (Joseph)	257
ADAMS (John & John Quincy)	415	TAYLOR (Zachary)	254
CLINTON (DeWitt)	358	HENRY (Patrick)	244
LAFAYETTE & FAYETTE		FULTON (Robert)	233
(Marquis de)	328	WEBSTER (Daniel & Noah)	226

¹Adapted from: U.S. Post Office Department, STREET DIRECTORY OF THE PRINCIPAL CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES, EMBRACING LETTER-CARRIER OFFICES ESTABLISHED TO APRIL 30, 1908, 5th Edition (Washington, 1908).

CLAY (Henry)	215	DECATUR (Stephen)	60
LEWIS (Meriwether)	210	MERCER (Hugh)	59
LEE (R.E. & R.H.)	201	MORSE (Samuel F.B.)	59
SCOTT (Winfield)	195	CASS (Lewis)	57
LAWRENCE (James)	192	KNOX (Henry)	56
MARION (Francis)	183	SULLIVAN (John)	53
LOGAN (John A.)	173	BUENA VISTA	51
SHERIDAN (Philip H.)	170	HUMBOLDT (Alexander)	49
MARSHALL (John)	168	LA SALLE (Robert de)	48
PERRY (Oliver H.)	162	HALE (Nathan)	46
DEWEY (George)	158	WHITTIER (John G.)	43
HANCOCK (John)	154	CUSTER (George A.)	42
MONTGOMERY (Richard)	153	GREENE (Nathanael)	41
MORGAN (Daniel)	150	SEWARD (William H.)	41
McKINLEY (William)	140	INDEPENDENT (CE)	40
ARTHUR (Chester)	138	BOONE (Daniel)	38
DOUGLAS (Stephen A.)	134	EDEN	38
COLUMBUS (Christopher)	130	SHELBY (Isaac)	38
CONGRESS	128	CARSON (Kit)	37
LEXINGTON	128	JASPER (William)	37
VAN BUREN (Martin)	128	EDISON (Thomas A.)	36
PIERCE (Franklin)	127	EUREKA	36
CARROLL (Charles)	119	VON STEUBEN (Friedrich)	35
FREMONT (John C.)	117	MEADE (George)	34
RANDOLPH (John)	117	AMITY	33
WAYNE (Anthony)	117	FARRAGUT (David G.)	33
PENN (William)	116	PROVIDENCE	33
CONCORD (IA)	115	PULASKI (Casimir)	33
ASHLAND	103	NATIONAL	32
BLAINE (James)	100	DALLAS (George M.)	30
CRAWFORD (William Harris)	95	GREELEY (Horace)	30
BENTON (Thomas Hart)	93	McCLELLAN (George B.)	30
PUTNAM (Israel)	92	VICTOR	30
HAYES (Rutherford B.)	90	HARMONY	29
FEDERAL	85	PHOENIX	28
JAY (John)	85	KOSSUTH (Louis)	26
POLK (James K.)	85	DE KALB (Johann)	25
EAGLE	83	LONGFELLOW (Henry W.)	25
TYLER (John)	81	PRESIDENT	23
CALHOUN (John C.)	80	AUDUBON (John J.)	22
MOUNT VERNON	80	REVERE (Paul)	22
ROOSEVELT (Theodore)	79	AMERICA(N)	21
BUCHANAN (James)	75	PARADISE	21
PIKE (Zebulon)	70	PIONEER	21
HOPE	69	ENTERPRISE	20
FILLMORE (Millard)	68	FRIENDSHIP	20
STANTON (Edward M.)	68	JOY	20
HOUSTON (Sam)	67	LAGRANGE	20

TECUMSEH	20	ALAMO	5
CROCKETT (Davey)	19	EAGER	5
BENEFIT	18	JUSTICE	5
GALLATIN (Albert)	18	ACME	4
MACON (Nathaniel)	18	ANTIETAM	4
POE (Edgar Allan)	18	CHOICE	4
UNITY	18	JEFF DAVIS	4
KOSCIUSZKO (Thaddeus)	17	PROSPER	4
STONEWALL (Jackson)	17	FAITH	3
DE SOTO (Hernando)	16	GARIBALDI (Giuseppe)	3
ELDORADO	15	GETTYSBURG	3
FREEDOM	15	ALERT	2
BOLIVAR (Simon)	14	BETTER	2
MONTICELLO	14	BRILLIANT	2
POCAHONTAS	11	CERRO GORDO	2
CONSTITUTION	9	FORWARD	2
FREE	9	IDEAL	2
REPUBLIC(AN)	9	MODERN	2
BEST	7	CONFIDENCE	1
HAPPY	7	EQUALITY	1
LUCKY	7	FELICITY	1
PROGRESS	7	FLAG	1
VICTORY	7	FRATERNAL	1
ELYSIAN	6	FREIHEIT	1
FORTUNE	6	MONTPELIER	1
TIPPECANOE	6	TOTAL	<u>1</u>
			18,089

Table 5. Incidence of Selected Nationalistic Terms¹ in Names of United States Cities, Towns, Counties, and Townships²

<i>State</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Iowa	326	8.5	New Hampshire	17	1.3
Indiana	335	7.3	South Carolina	29	1.2
Missouri	217	5.8	Utah	13	1.2
Nebraska	92	5.3	Colorado	22	1.1
Ohio	345	4.7	Connecticut	19	1.1
Kansas	158	4.5	Delaware	8	1.1
South Dakota	71	3.2	Nevada	6	1.1
Arkansas	117	3.0	New York	91	1.1
Oklahoma	62	3.0	Florida	36	1.0
Alabama	85	2.2	Kentucky	48	1.0
West Virginia	84	2.2	Minnesota	36	1.0
Idaho	27	2.1	Louisiana	27	0.9
New Jersey	68	2.1	Massachusetts	27	0.9
Wisconsin	92	2.1	North Dakota	12	0.9
Pennsylvania	241	2.0	Washington	23	0.9
Oregon	39	1.9	Texas	57	0.8
Rhode Island	12	1.8	Vermont	12	0.8
Tennessee	71	1.8	Mississippi	29	0.7
Montana	25	1.7	California	33	0.6
North Carolina	76	1.7	Arizona	7	0.5
Georgia	59	1.6	Wyoming	3	0.4
Michigan	72	1.5	New Mexico	4	0.3
Maine	36	1.4	Hawaii	1	0.1
Maryland	44	1.4	Alaska	0	0
Virginia	69	1.4			
Illinois	92	1.3			
			UNITED STATES	3,475	2.1

¹Adams, Franklin, Grant, Harrison, Jackson, Jefferson, Liberty, Lincoln, Madison, Monroe, Union, and Washington.

²The estimated total of such names is derived from "Index of Cities, Towns, Counties, Transportation Lines, Banks, Post Offices," 1982 *Commercial Atlas & Marketing Guide*, 113th ed. (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1982) plus the townships in those states for which they are not listed in the Rand McNally atlas.

Table 3. United States and Canada: Sources of county names, by category, 1634-1949

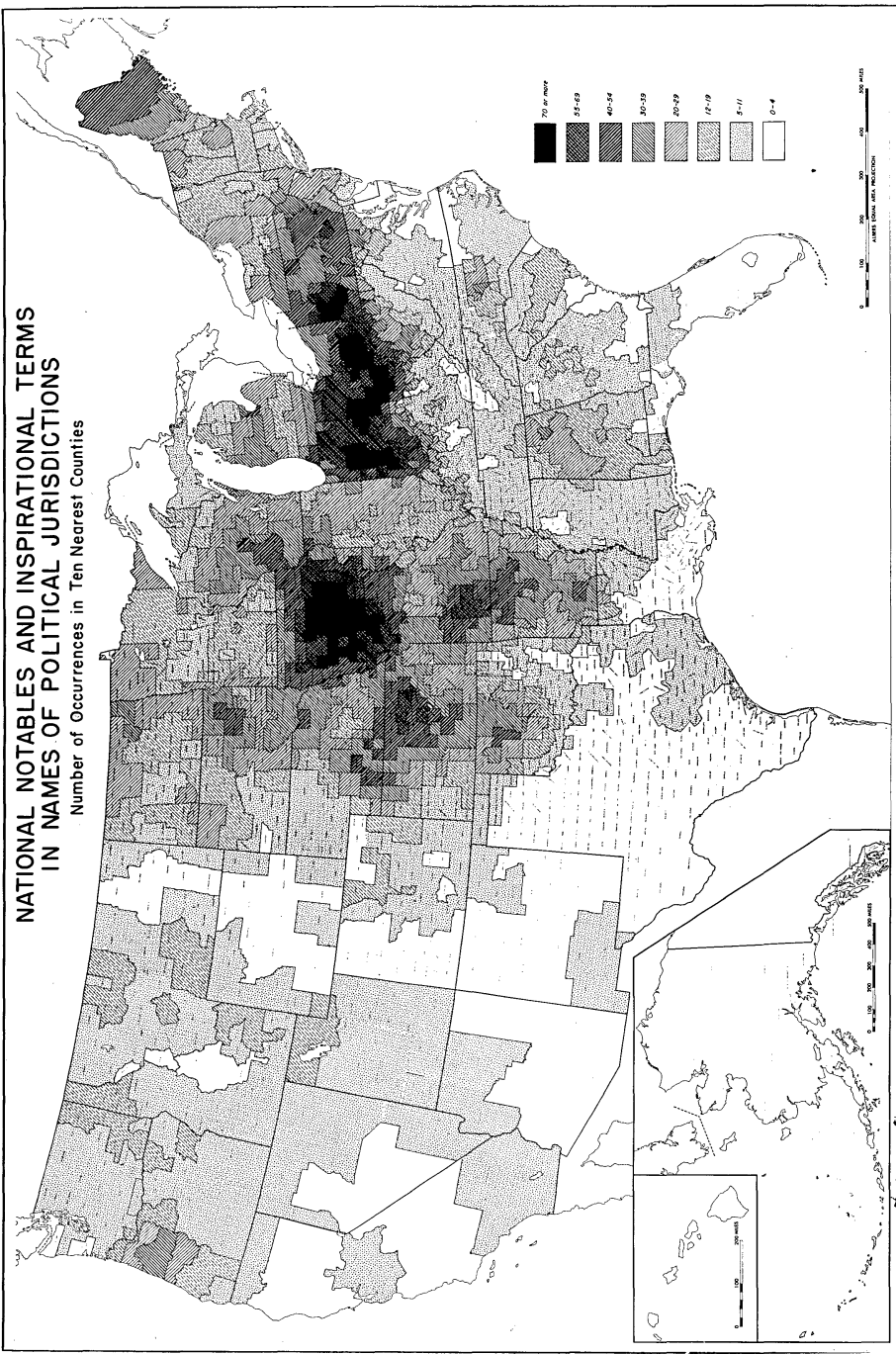
United States	British Notables	British Places	National Notables	Abstract Virtues	Foreign Notables*	Other N.A. Places	Exotic Places*	Aboriginal Terms	Local Landmarks & Attributes	Local Personages	Religious Terms	Numbers	Misc.	Total
1634-1699	37 45.7%	31 38.3%	—	1 1.2%	—	—	2 2.5%	7 8.6%	2 2.5%	—	1 1.2%	—	—	81 100.0%
1700-1749	39 81.2%	5 10.4%	—	—	—	—	1 2.1%	—	1 2.1%	2.1%	2.1%	—	—	48 100.0%
1750-1774	30 63.8%	10 21.3%	1 2.1%	—	—	—	—	2 4.3%	—	3 6.4%	—	—	1	47 100.0%
1775-1789	22 18.0%	6 4.9%	36 29.5%	2 1.6%	3 2.5%	1 0.8%	3 2.5%	7 5.7%	7 5.7%	34 27.9%	—	—	1	122 100.0%
1790-1799	2 1.8%	5 4.5%	42 37.5%	1 0.9%	—	—	1 0.9%	10 8.9%	3 2.7%	48 42.9%	—	—	—	112 100.0%
1800-1809	—	3 1.9%	45 28.7%	2 1.3%	1 0.7%	—	4 2.5%	24 15.3%	17 10.8%	51 32.5%	8 5.1%	—	2	157 100.0%
1810-1819	—	1 0.5%	83 45.6%	2 1.1%	1 0.5%	1 0.5%	4 2.2%	12 6.6%	5 2.7%	66 36.3%	6 3.3%	—	1	182 100.0%
1820-1829	—	—	116 45.5%	5 2.0%	1 0.4%	—	4 1.6%	23 9.0%	9 3.5%	89 34.9%	3 1.2%	—	5	255 100.0%
1830-1839	1 0.3%	—	116 36.7%	3 0.9%	10 3.2%	6 1.9%	1 0.3%	45 14.2%	21 6.6%	107 33.9%	4 1.3%	—	2	316 100.0%
1840-1849	—	5 1.7%	71 24.4%	1 0.3%	8 2.7%	3 1.0%	—	45 15.5%	25 8.6%	118 40.5%	2 0.7%	—	13	291 100.0%
1850-1859	—	1 0.2%	84 17.9%	3 0.6%	18 3.8%	—	3 0.6%	67 14.3%	55 11.7%	205 43.7%	16 3.4%	—	17	469 100%
1860-1869	—	—	47 21.6%	2 0.9%	2 0.9%	4 1.8%	2 0.9%	31 14.2%	29 13.3%	91 41.7%	2 0.9%	—	8	218 100.0%

1870-1879	1 0.4%	—	52 18.6%	1 0.4%	—	5 1.8%	1 0.4%	12 4.3%	23 8.2%	178 63.6%	4 1.4%	—	3 1.1%	280 100.0%
1880-1889	—	—	28 17.4%	—	2 1.2%	—	—	13 8.1%	24 14.9%	90 55.9%	2 1.2%	—	2 1.2%	161 100.0%
1890-1899	1 1.9%	—	5 9.6%	1 1.9%	1 1.9%	2 3.8%	—	9 17.3%	17 32.7%	14 26.9%	1 1.9%	—	1 1.9%	52 100.0%
1900-1909	—	—	27 20.6%	—	2 1.5%	2 1.5%	1 0.8%	23 17.6%	11 8.4%	63 48.1%	1 0.8%	—	1 0.8%	131 100.0%
1910-1919	—	—	18 15.9%	—	1 0.9%	3 2.7%	1 0.9%	11 9.7%	26 23.0%	51 45.1%	—	—	2 1.8%	113 100.0%
1920-1949	—	—	1 3.2%	2 6.5%	—	—	—	4 12.9%	10 32.3%	14 45.2%	—	—	1 3.2%	31 100.0%
Total	133 4.3%	67 2.2%	772 25.2%	26 0.8%	50 1.6%	27 0.9%	28 0.9%	345 11.3%	285 9.3%	1222 39.9%	51 1.7%	—	60 2.0%	3066 100.0%
Canada	73 28.1%	—	17 6.5%	—	1 0.4%	—	4 1.5%	44 16.9%	21 8.1%	20 7.7%	9 3.5%	66 25.4%	5 1.9%	260 100.0%

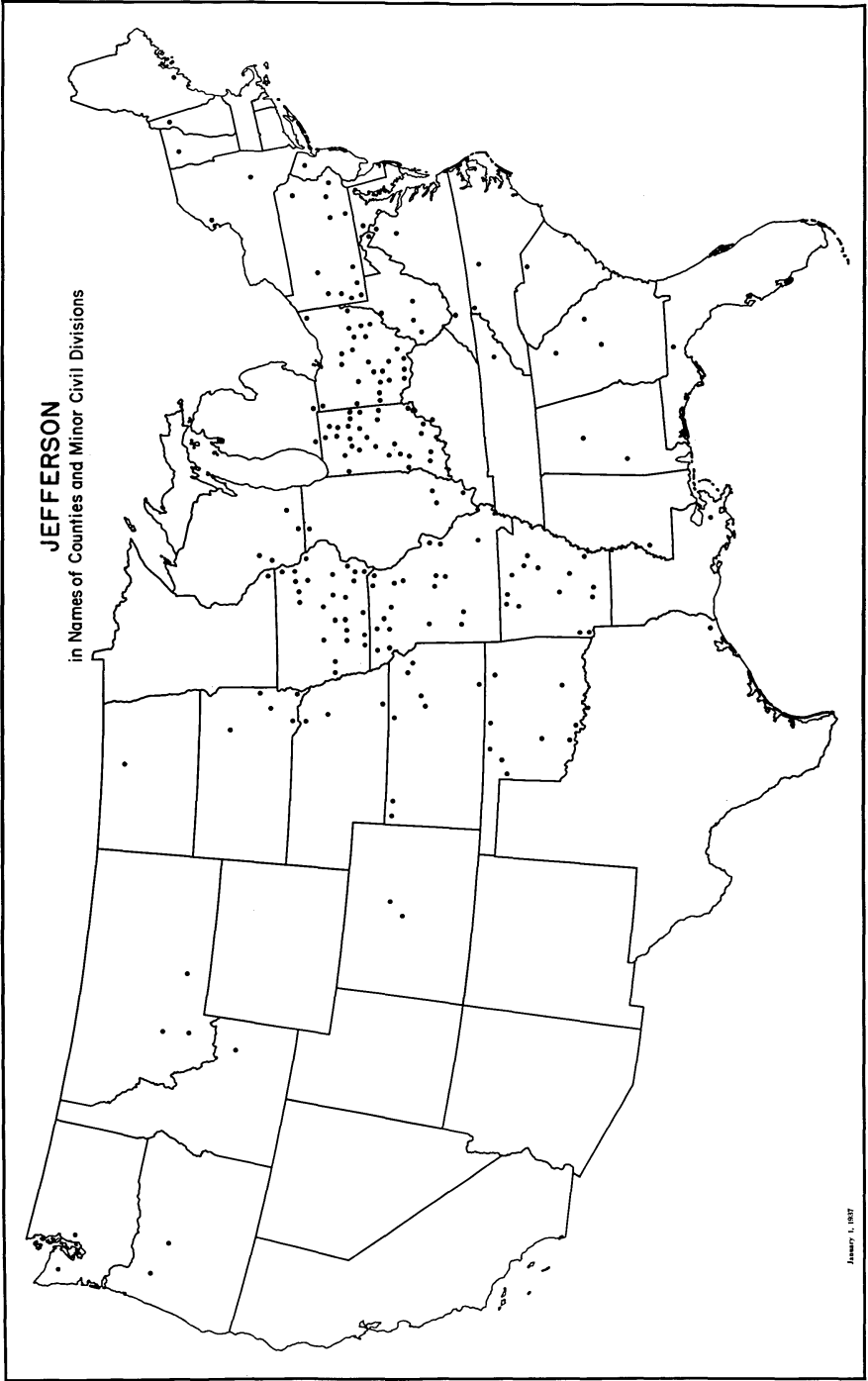
*Other than British and North American

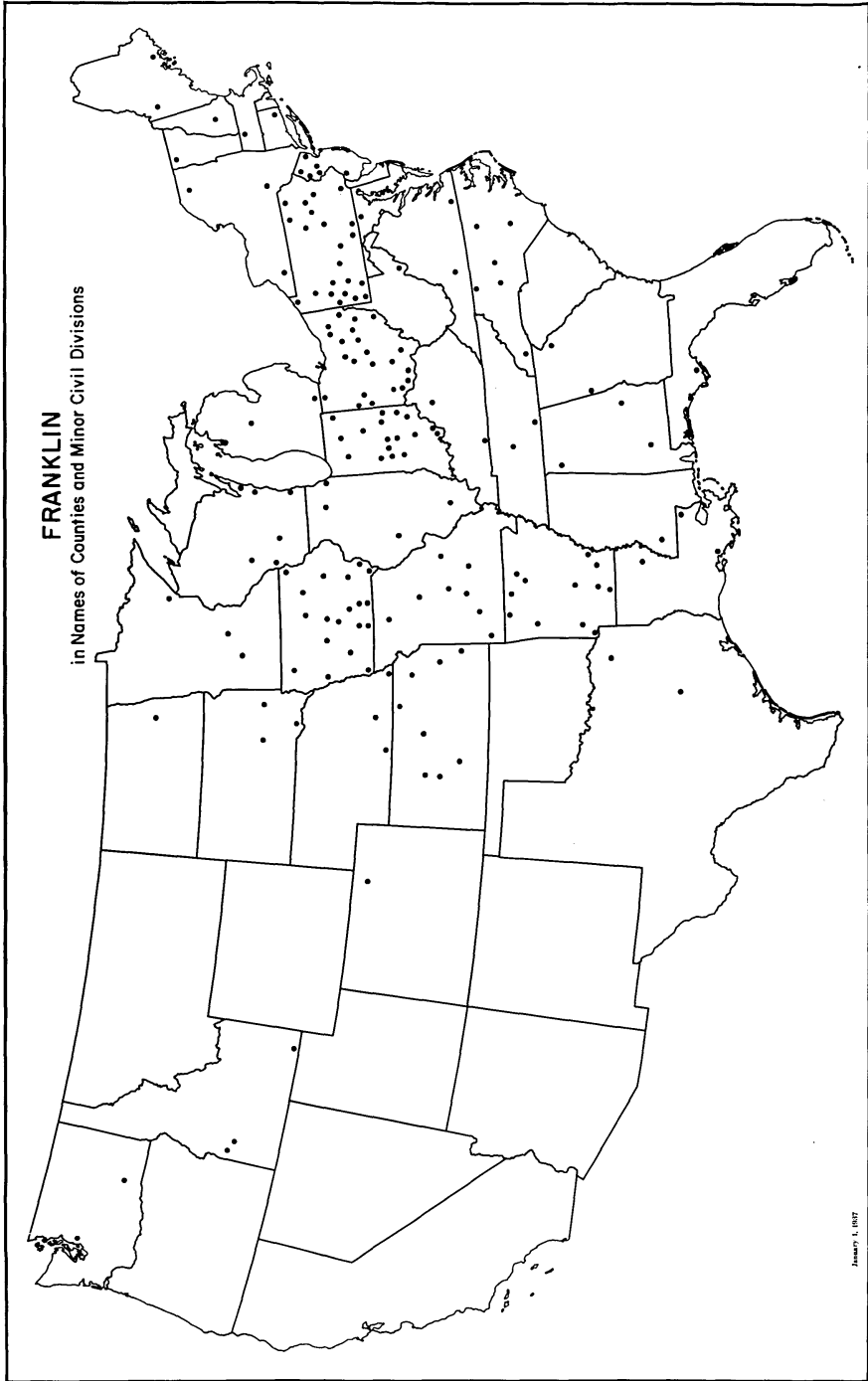
NATIONAL NOTABLES AND INSPIRATIONAL TERMS IN NAMES OF POLITICAL JURISDICTIONS

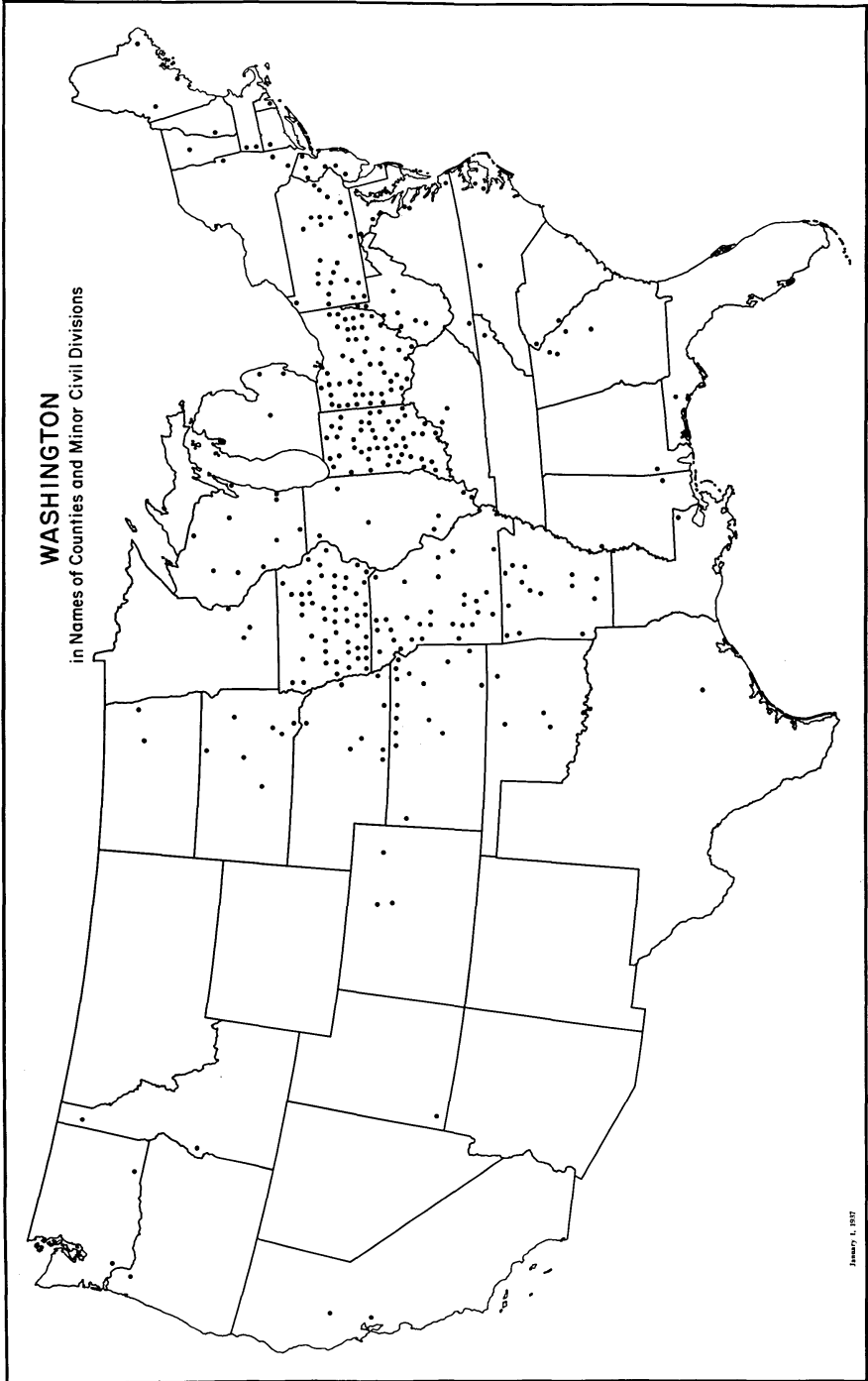
Number of Occurrences in Ten Nearest Countries

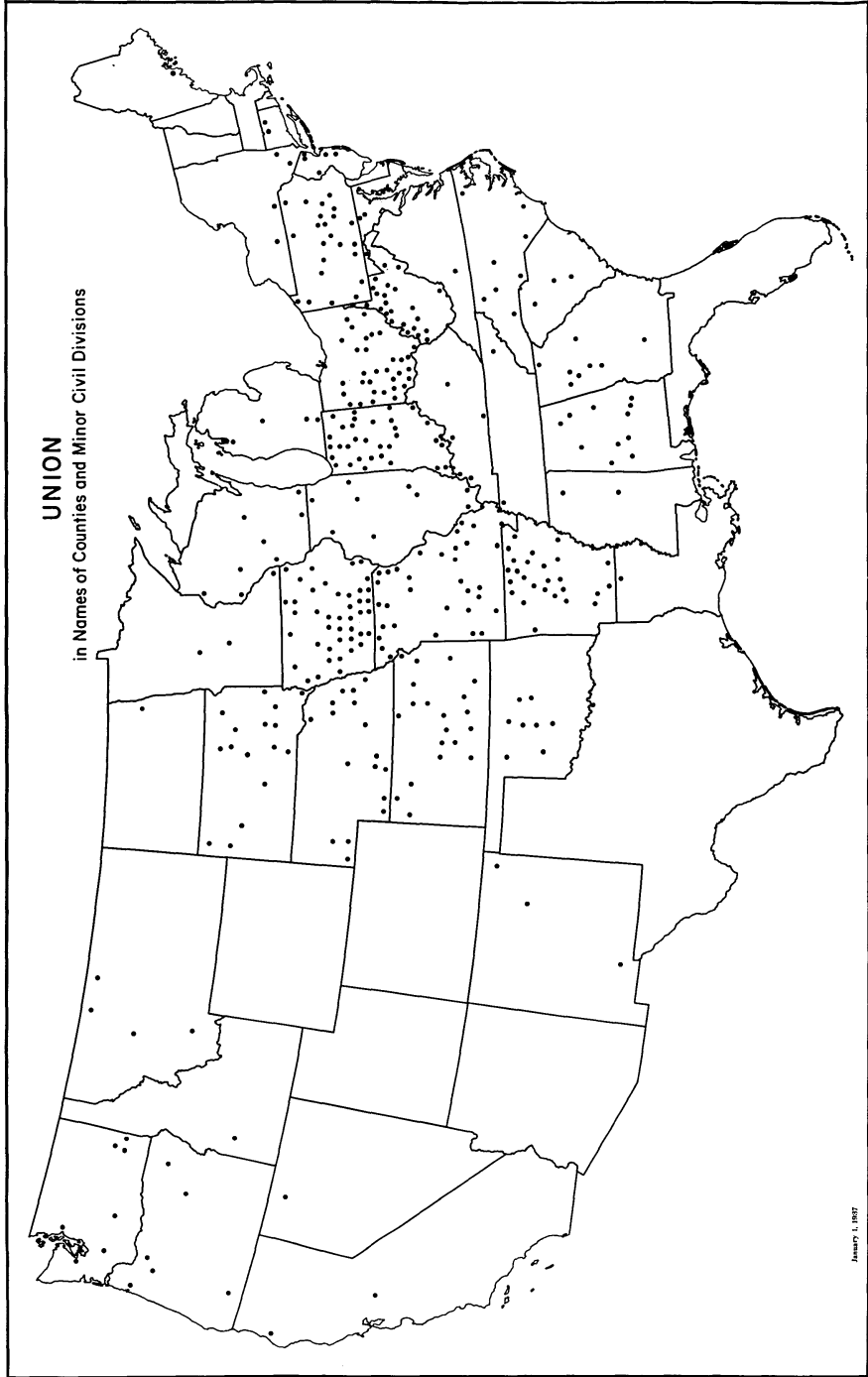


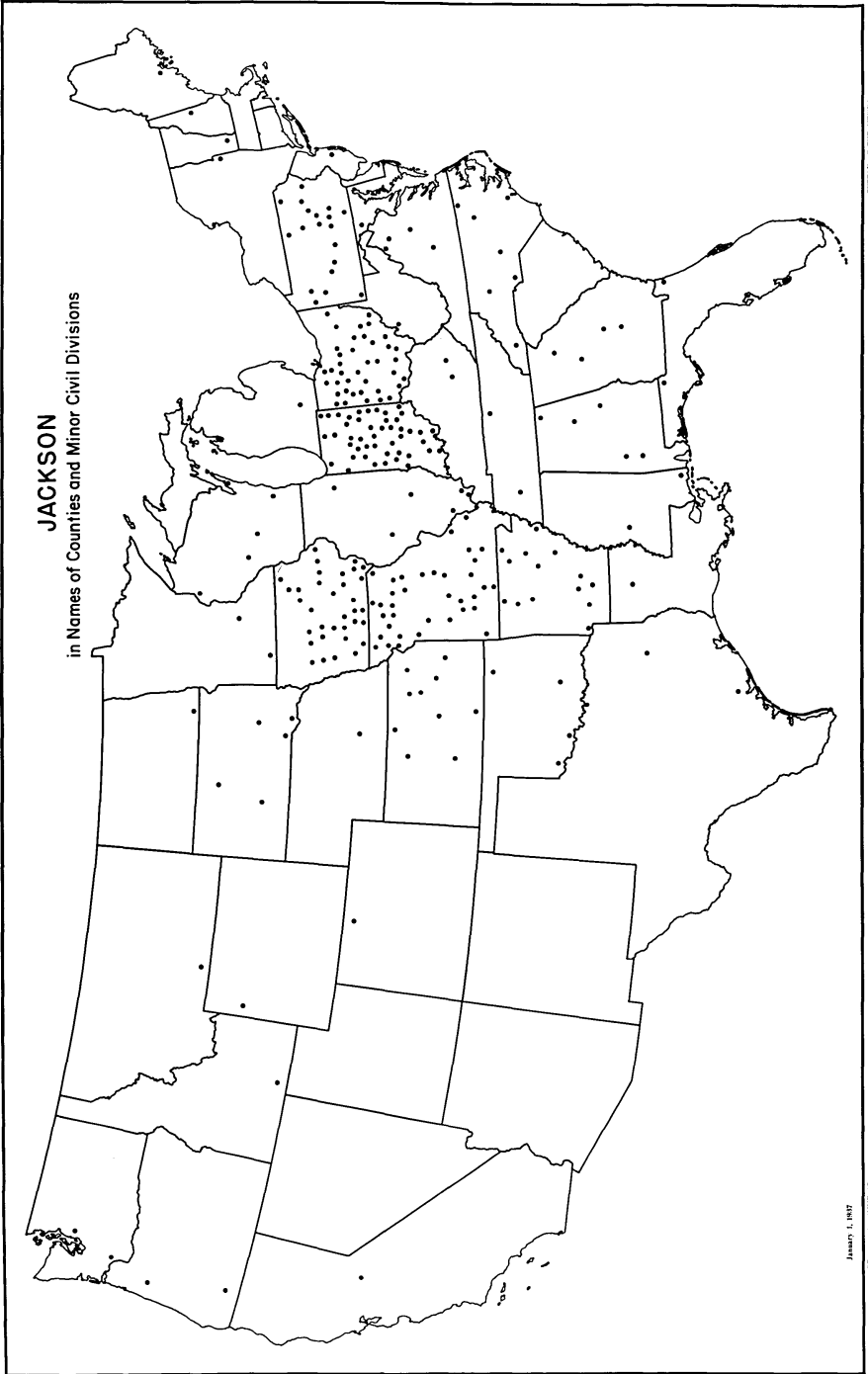
For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, US Government Printing Office, Washington 25 D.C. — Price 25 cents
Stock Number G301-1895

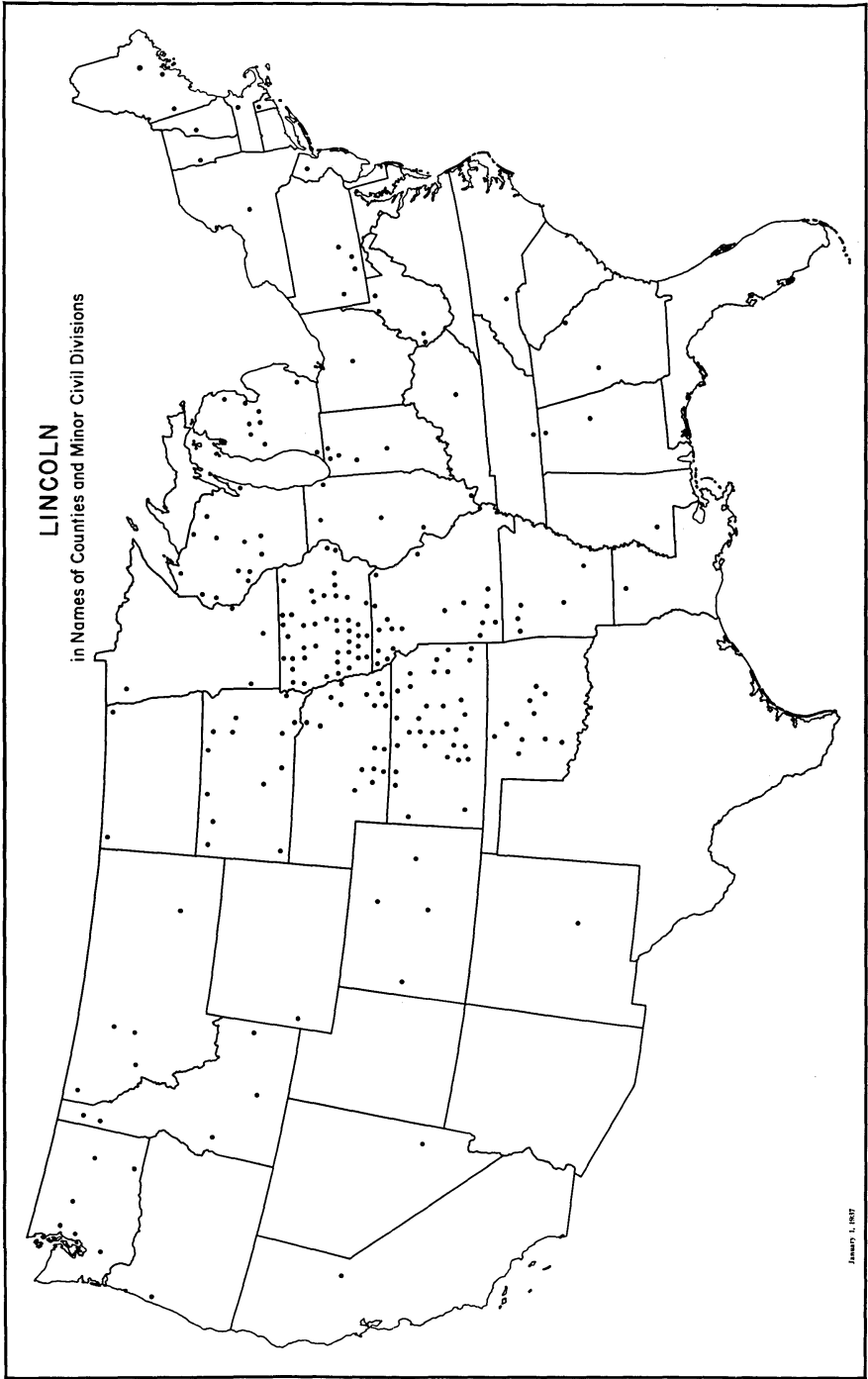












BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

JANUARY 1, 1917
DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE