
Index

- Abbey, Edward, 71, 87
- Abundance
limits to, 275, 291, 292
“natural,” 11, 21, 29–32, 35, 40, 41
- Adams, Brooks, 265, 273, 274
- Adams, Charles Francis, 190, 262, 280
- Adams, Henry, 261–270, 273–282, 292
- Adams, John Quincy, 149, 279
- Adas, Michael, 14
- Adirondack Forest Preserve, 78
- African-Americans, 72, 73
- Agassiz, Louis, 118
- Agrarianism, 60, 101, 102. *See also*
Farming
- Allen, Zachariah, 31, 57, 71, 72, 87, 91, 94, 113, 114, 206
- American Revolution, 1, 21, 22, 33, 34
- American West, 5, 41, 79, 80, 155–160, 165, 166, 172, 173, 182, 183, 205–212. *See also*
California; Irrigation; Plains
- Amoskeag Manufacturing Company, 141–144
- Anderson, Sherwood, 131, 132, 135–139, 292
- Aquinas, Thomas, 32
- Arizona, 206, 266
- Arkansas River, 212, 213
- Army Corps of Engineers, 244, 253, 257, 258
- Assembly line, 282, 292
- Audubon, John James, 119
- Austin, Mary, 223–227, 293
- Automobile, 18, 171, 200, 202, 263, 292
- Axe, 1, 4–6
American, 44, 45
British, 45
frontier and, 43–53
narratives of, 1, 4, 12, 40, 43–90, 144, 261, 287
- Bachelard, Gaston, 58
- Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, 154–156
- Bercovitch, Sacvan, 195
- Bigelow, Jacob, 38
- Birkbeck, Morris, 54, 55
- Black Elk, 16
- Boone, Daniel, 3, 55, 56, 63
- Bunyan, Paul, 84
- Bureau of Reclamation, 237–244, 248, 253–259
- Bush, George W., 300
- Byrd, William, 49, 50
- Calhoun, John C., 100, 147, 148, 199
- Callenbach, Ernest, 87
- Canals, 3, 4, 147–152
construction of, 149–151, 184, 185
Erie, 150–152, 177, 184, 185
narratives about, 1, 148, 149
nostalgia for, 19

- Canals, *continued*
 towns and, 150–152, 184
 Carey Act, 222
 Carey, Henry, 30, 220
 Cash, W. J., 133
 Cather, Willa, 29, 257
 Certeau, Michel de, 36, 37
 Chaffey, George, 221, 228
 Cherokee tribe, 191
 Chevalier, Michael, 26
 Cheyenne, Wyoming, 165, 184, 185
 Chicago, Illinois, 156, 163, 170, 187, 192, 201
 Cohoes, New York, 128
 Cole, Thomas, 62–64, 75
 Colonial period, 1, 4, 32, 46–52,
 Colorado River, 2, 228–231, 234, 244–247, 254, 289
 Columbus, Georgia, 106–109, 133
 Conservation, 294–297. *See also*
 Narratives
 Constitution, US, 149, 150
 Cooper, James Fenimore, 43, 45, 71, 72, 111, 207, 285
 Cosgrove, Denis, 26
 Counter-narratives, 12–16, 20, 26, 41, 292–295
 against axe, 71–90
 against irrigation, 227, 233, 234, 247–258
 against mill, 117–146
 against railroad, 175–203
 Cowley, Malcolm, 135
 Coxe, Tench, 101
 Creek tribe, 109
 Crèveceour, Hector St. John de, 52, 53, 56, 67, 74, 95
 Cronon, William, 258, 301
 Custis, George Washington P., 101
- Dams
 construction of, 15, 92, 233, 237–240, 244–248, 253, 259
 narrative of, 1, 220, 251, 252
 towns and, 91–95, 98, 104–110
- Democracy
 and axe, 69
 irrigation and, 205–207, 239, 240, 253
 and mill, 100, 101, 112–115, 122, 123
 railroad and, 179–181, 195
 and technology, 5, 6, 37, 112, 113, 283, 284
 Department of the Interior, 178, 233.
See also Bureau of Reclamation
 Descartes, René, 38
 Desert Land Act (1877), 211
 Dickens, Charles, 74, 106
 Dorson, Richard, 84
 Drake, Daniel, 60
 Dreiser, Theodore, 196
 Dwight, Timothy, 53, 56, 57
- Eden, America as, 4, 5, 283, 284
 Edison, Thomas, 268, 270, 282
 Electrification, 268
 Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 10, 13, 30, 31, 37, 61, 105, 106, 147, 148, 157, 176
 Energy, 31, 37, 38, 52, 114, 266–282, 291, 292. *See also* Force
 Entropy, 40, 44, 266, 272, 274–277, 282, 292
 Erdrich, Louise, 88, 89, 252, 293
 Etzler, J. A., 16, 17, 123, 270
 Everett, Edward, 58, 59, 112, 113, 131, 153–156, 262, 279, 283, 284
- Factories, 6, 10, 11, 104, 115, 122–146
 Farming, 5, 30
 and axe, 46, 49–55, 62–67, 73–75
 and irrigation, 205–217, 221–223, 237–243
 and mill, 91–97
 and railroad, 170, 178
 Faulkner, William, 117, 120, 121, 293
Federalist Papers, 148
 Firearms, 3, 50, 55, 88
 Fisher, Philip, 26

- Fishing, 15, 117, 118
 Fishlow, Albert, 198
 Fitzgerald, F. Scott, 299
 Fogel, Robert, 198, 199
 Force, 21, 37–41, 43, 53, 263–268,
 274, 287, 288, 291, 292. *See also*
 Energy; Entropy
 Ford, Henry, 145, 282
 Ford Motor Company, 86
 Forest Reserve Act (1891), 78
 Forests, 49–57, 62–67, 71–79, 85, 86,
 119–121, 144–149, 193, 194,
 293, 297–300
 Foundation stories, 1–3, 11–14, 17,
 31, 40, 284–292
 axe and, 43, 44, 58, 67
 canal and, 148, 149, 153
 irrigation and, 206–211, 220, 230,
 237–239, 245–251
 mill and, 91–93, 98, 109–116, 144
 railroad and, 148, 149, 157–160,
 167, 197–199
 rejecting, 293, 294
 sequence of, 1, 5, 6, 40, 144, 205,
 230, 247, 261, 285
 Franklin, Benjamin, 39, 52, 53, 67, 100
 Frontier
 axe and, 43–53, 79
 colonial, 46–53
 mill and, 91–95
 railroad and, 165–172
 irrigation and 205–217
 theories of, 46, 50–53, 79, 80, 172,
 214, 261, 291, 297
 Gallatin, Albert, 148, 279
 Garden City, Kansas, 212, 214
 Gastonia, North Carolina, 135, 136
 Gender, 88, 89, 105, 122, 125, 126,
 130, 226, 252
 Geography, east-to-west perception of,
 5, 96, 97, 154, 155, 158, 160–162,
 183, 205, 206, 227–231, 293
 George, Henry, 177–179, 182, 183,
 243, 293
 Gibbon, Edward, 262
 Gibbs, William, 277, 278
 Gore, Albert, 300
 Grand Canyon, 81
 Grange, 188
 Grant, Ulysses S., 180
 Great Britain, 53, 54, 94, 100–102,
 110, 113–116, 157, 159, 177,
 183, 190, 280, 281
 Great Salt Lake, 218
 Greeley, Horace, 18, 61, 76, 77, 157,
 187, 188, 209, 210
 Gregg, William, 103, 104
 Grid, 21–29, 37, 66, 67, 155,
 162, 171, 240, 247, 254, 285,
 287–292, 298. *See also* National
 Survey; Space
 Gutman, Herbert, 140
 Hall, Basil, 27, 43, 107, 151, 152
 Hall, Edward, 22
 Hall, James, 286
 Hall, William, 220, 221
 Harrison, Benjamin, 88
 Harrison, William Henry, 60
 Harrisville, New Hampshire, 96
 Hart, John Fraser, 24
 Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 152, 176,
 293
 Hemingway, Ernest, 293
 Henry, Joseph, 207
 Hill, James, 236, 288
 Hine, Lewis, 126, 127
 Hinton Report, 208, 209
 Hispanic-Americans, 227, 251, 252
 History, theories of, 14, 15, 42, 79,
 80, 140, 141, 198, 199, 261–263,
 269, 291, 297. *See also*
 Foundation stories
 Holland Purchase, 63–67, 96, 97
 Holt, Michael, 187
 Homesteading, 171, 178–180,
 205–207, 211, 239, 290
 Hoover Dam, 244, 245
 Hopper, Edward, 203

- Hough, Emerson, 44, 46, 85, 171, 175, 195, 196, 261
- Hudson River School, 62–64, 75, 85
- Imperial Valley, 228–230, 255
- Irrigation, 1, 4, 6, 40, 205–259, 290
of California, 215–217, 220–222, 228–230, 235, 242, 243
costs of, 211, 216, 221, 241, 242
federal, 233–258
Native Americans and, 252, 254
private, 205–231
- Jackson, Andrew, 56, 149, 175
- Jackson, J. B., 27
- James, Henry, 173, 196, 197, 293
- Jefferson, Thomas, 23, 35, 101, 102, 122, 138, 201, 214, 230, 238
- Johnson, Samuel, 37, 38
- Just price, theory of, 21, 31–33, 41, 290
- Kansas City, 27, 170, 203
- Kasson, John, 176
- Kelvin, Lord, 264, 272, 290
- Kendall, Edward, 91, 92
- Knott, James P., 182
- Laissez-faire, 21, 31–35, 40, 41, 177–183, 246, 249, 250, 258, 279, 288, 290–294
- Land
granted to railroads, 162–165, 178–183, 188
improvement of, 30, 46, 47, 53 (*see also* Farming)
speculation in, 165, 168, 169, 178, 179, 221, 222, 242, 243, 285, 286
- Landscape, 31
axe and, 43, 50–54, 62–67, 71, 72, 88, 89
irrigation and 206–210, 222, 223, 226, 227, 245, 254–256
mill and, 91–96, 111, 112, 120, 121, 141–146
railroad and, 160–165, 202, 203
- Lange, Dorothea, 249
- Lapham, Allen, 76
- Law
irrigation and, 219, 235–237, 254
mills and 97, 98
railroads and, 179, 188–191
- Lawrence, Massachusetts, 128, 129
- Leopold, Aldo, 293, 295
- Lewis, Sinclair, 135
- Lincoln, Abraham, 32, 33, 45, 46, 82, 284
- Little Falls, New York, 115
- Locke, John, 43
- Log cabin
construction of, 43–48, 54, 83, 84
European origin of, 48
nostalgia for, 79–83
modern, 80, 83
slavery and, 72
as symbol, 43, 55–62, 73, 74, 82, 83, 99, 144, 266
- Logan, George, 100
- Logging, 71–79, 119–121
- Lorentz, Pare, 296
- Los Angeles, California, 188, 215, 245
- Louisville, Kentucky, 150
- Lowell, Massachusetts, 9, 10, 19, 61, 105, 106, 112, 113, 117, 121–124
- Luddism, 87
- Lyell, Charles, 157, 263
- Macherey, Pierre, 21, 25, 41, 262
- Madison, James, 148
- Malthus, Thomas, 30, 220, 287
- Manifest Destiny, 26, 37, 154, 155, 160, 206, 247, 261
- Manufacturing, 98–115, 122–146
- Marsh, George Perkins, 75–78, 85, 118, 291
- Martin, John Frederick, 46
- Martin, Ronald, 281
- Martineau, Harriet, 103
- Mars, 289
- Marx, Leo, 75, 173, 176, 177, 269
- McCarran Amendment, 254

- Mead, Elwood, 244
 Melville, Herman, 117, 124, 125
 Merchant, Carolyn, 301
 Merrimac River, 9, 10, 19, 20
 Mexican-Americans, 227
 Miller, Perry, 4
 Mills, 1, 4, 5
 force and, 40, 266, 267
 grist, 93, 115, 132
 history of, 93–95, 132–136, 139–142
 law and, 97, 98
 narratives of, 91–146
 nostalgia for, 19, 145, 146
 saw, 63, 91–97, 119–121
 towns and, 91–95, 98, 104–110
 Minneapolis, 104, 170
 Mississippi Valley, 78, 104, 154, 155, 285–287, 296
 Monroe, James, 149
 Monopoly, 177–183, 195, 249, 250, 290, 293
 Moon, 288, 289
 Moravians, 96
 Mormons, 211, 216, 223, 224, 257
 Muir, John, 78, 85, 132, 175, 194, 293, 297
 Mumford, Lewis, 144
- Narratives
 of axe, 43–90
 of canal, 148, 149
 of captivity, 3
 of irrigation, 205–259
 of mill, 91–146
 of railroad, 147–203
 of recovery, 7, 294–297, 300
 silences in, 21
 strike, 128–132, 135–139, 249–251
 technological, 1–20, 184
 twentieth-century, 288, 289, 292
 utopian, 16, 17
 visualized, 62–67, 201, 202, 288
 Nason, Frank Lewis, 223–225
 National Consumer's League, 127–130
 National Irrigation League, 234, 237
 National Parks, 78, 81, 295
 National Survey, 22–25, 148, 240, 241. *See also* Grid
 Native Americans
 counter-narratives and, 15, 16, 71, 87–89, 117, 253, 293
 irrigation and, 252–255
 land and, 2, 3, 29, 50, 87–89, 253
 as “other,” 9, 29, 37, 50
 technologies of, 5, 31, 53, 153, 191, 192, 283
 Nature
 assimilation of, 10, 20–29, 62–67, 91, 99, 144–149, 153, 158–160, 205–212, 237, 238, 283–302
 “intentions” of, 10, 11, 88, 110, 114, 151, 153, 206, 222, 226, 227, 281, 289
 technologies and, 117–121, 192, 193, 203, 254–256, 294–300
 Navajo tribe, 2, 253
 New Deal, 245, 296
 New York City, 150, 153, 187, 200, 201, 283
 Newell, Frederick H., 240, 241
 Newton, Isaac, 38, 39, 264
 Niagara Falls, 295
 Norris, Frank, 195, 293
 Nostalgia, technological, 16–19, 79–83, 144–146, 200–203
- O'Brien, Jim, 298
 Ohio River, 78, 150, 154, 285
 Olmsted, Frederick Law, 72, 73, 109, 295
 Omaha, Nebraska, 169, 170
 Outer space, colonizing, 288, 289
- Page, Dorothy Myra, 135, 136
 Parkman, Francis, 78
 Passaic, New Jersey, 130, 131
 Paterson, New Jersey, 129, 130
 Pickering, Timothy, 25
 Pinchot, Gifford, 85, 86, 297
 Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 54, 150, 187

- Plains, 205–215, 287
 Plow, 53, 287
 Pollution
 of air, 192, 193
 of soil, 120, 121, 203, 255
 of water, 77, 118, 254–256
 Powell, John Wesley, 205, 217–220, 291
 Progress, 35, 36, 40–43, 283, 284, 288
 axe and, 50–53, 59–67
 mill and, 91–93, 99, 109–115
 railroad and, 165, 166, 172, 173, 200–203
 rejection of, 262, 266, 268, 270–277, 282
 Providence, divine, 18, 91, 110, 114, 151, 155, 171, 206, 222, 223, 246, 247
 Puritans, 4, 46, 47, 92, 94, 299
 Pursell, Carroll, 44
 Railroads, 26, 147, 152–203
 cities and, 170, 186, 195, 199–201
 construction of, 178–183, 188
 expositions and, 201, 202
 history of, 197–201, 280
 irrigation and, 231, 236, 237
 land grants to, 162–164, 193, 194
 law and, 179, 188–191
 narratives of, 1, 4, 40, 279
 nostalgia for, 18, 19, 201, 202
 town planning by, 162–165, 178
 transcontinental, 158–160, 284
 wood consumption of, 193, 194
 Rajchman, John, 29
 Reagan, Ronald, 86, 299
 Reclamation Act (1902), 237
 Reisner, Marc, 257, 258
 Ricardo, David, 30, 220, 287, 291
 Richardson, Albert D., 166–168, 217
 Richmond, Virginia, 104, 105
 Rivers, 10–12, 15, 78, 91, 96, 104, 105, 117, 118, 212, 213, 228–231, 239–241, 285–287
 Roads, 34, 35, 147, 148, 153
 Rochester, New York, 104, 106, 109, 151, 152
 Roosevelt, Franklin D., 245, 296
 Roosevelt, Theodore, 78, 82, 194, 237
 Root, Elisha K., 59
 Rossiter, Thomas Prichard, 160–162
 Rowlandson, Mary, 3
 Rule of Phase, 269, 277–279, 281
 Rush, Benjamin, 50–55, 67, 75
 Salinger, J. D., 83
 Salt Lake City, Utah, 82, 223
 Salt River Project, 238, 239
 Schumpeter, J. A., 197, 198
 Scranton, Phillip, 141
 Second creation, 1, 10, 40, 285, 290–292, 298
 axe and, 43, 44
 mill and, 109, 110, 114, 118
 canal and, 151, 152
 railroad and, 157, 171–173
 irrigation and, 222, 227, 245, 258, 259
 Self-reliance, 41, 58, 59, 179, 267
 Sheeler, Charles, 142–144
 Sierra Club, 297, 300
 Sioux tribe, 16, 191
 Slater, Samuel, 102, 110
 Slavery, 72, 123, 124
 Slotkin, Richard, 3, 56
 Smith, Adam, 33–36, 41, 44
 Smythe, William, 205, 213, 214, 222, 223, 234, 235, 257
 South
 industrialization and, 99, 100, 103, 132–136
 landscape of, 72, 73, 120, 121
 mills in, 103–109, 120
 railroads in, 159, 160, 183
 Southern Pacific Railroad, 188, 231
 Space, 3, 4
 conquest of, 20–29, 62–67, 91–96, 147–149, 153–162, 205–216, 227–238, 245, 288
 European, 22, 46, 47
 geometrical, 40

- Spencer, Herbert, 264, 265
 Starr, Frederick, 76
 Steamboat, 12, 35, 285–287
 Steam engine, 155, 156
 Steinbeck, John, 249, 250, 293
 Stilgoe, John, 166, 199, 200
 Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 73
 Strikes, 128–131, 134–139, 186
 Strong, Josiah, 165, 166, 261
 Supreme Court, US, 97, 178, 189, 235, 236, 253, 254
 Surveying, 22–28
- Technology
 autonomous, 184
 democracy and, 5, 6, 37, 69, 100, 101, 112–115, 122, 123, 180, 181
 environmental critique of, 117–121, 192, 193, 203, 254–256, 294–300
 Native Americans and, 5, 31, 53, 55, 88, 89, 153, 191, 192, 283
 nostalgia for, 18, 19, 79–83, 144–146
 Republicanism and, 6, 157, 185, 195
 stories and, 1–20
- Tecumseh, 88
 Telegraph, 190
 Tennessee Valley Authority, 244, 296
 Tesla, Nikola, 265, 272, 273, 282
 Thermodynamics, 269
 Thoreau, Henry David, 74, 75, 85, 91, 98, 99, 119, 120, 176, 177, 293, 299
 Thurston, Robert, 270–272, 282
 Tichi, Cecelia, 268, 269
 Tocqueville, Alexis de, 9, 19, 20, 58
 Town planning, 151, 152, 162–165, 168–170, 178, 241. *See also* Grid
 Transportation, 31–36, 48. *See also* Canals; Railroads; Rivers; Roads
 Turner, Frederick Jackson, 46, 79, 80, 172, 214, 261, 291, 297
 Twain, Mark, 12, 180, 287
- Union Pacific Railroad, 165, 180, 191
 Updike, John, 203
- Vorse, Mary Heaton, 130, 135
- Wallace, Anthony F. C., 140
 Washington, George, 23, 154, 200
 Water
 monopoly of, 218, 229, 230, 234–236
 as “Natural Force,” 114
 pollution of, 77, 118, 254–256
 Water power, 91–128, 151
 Waters, Frank, 251, 252, 293
 Wayside Inn (Sudbury, Massachusetts), 145
- Webster, Daniel, 17, 18, 35–39, 61, 62, 172
- Whig Party, 60, 99, 147, 150, 261
 White, George, 110
 White, Hayden, 14, 15, 42
 White, Richard, 3, 116, 258
 Whitman, Walt, 67–70, 84, 160, 172, 210
- Whittier, John Greenleaf, 9, 10, 17–20, 122–124, 167, 168
- Wilderness, 7, 297–300
 Wild West Show, 3
 Williams, Michael, 79
 Windmills, 212–214
 Wordsworth, William, 9
- Workers
 canal, 184, 185
 children as, 126–128
 factory, 122–139
 female, 124–126, 130, 137
 field, 248–251
 railroad, 184–186
- World’s Fairs, 16, 80, 84, 201, 202, 235, 288
- Worster, Donald, 256–258
 Wright, Harold Bell, 224
 Wright Act (1887), 235, 236
- Yellowstone National Park, 81, 295
- Zelinsky, Wilbur, 54