Misreading Maps: Maps and the British Novel in the Age of the Ordnance Survey

by

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ABSTRACT

Misreading Maps: Maps and the British Novel in the Age of the Ordnance Survey contributes to a new account of what happened to the British novel in the years spanning from the inspiration of Britain's first comprehensive national mapping project in 1747, to the production of the "First Series" maps between 1791 and 1870, to its immediate aftermath in the late nineteenth century. The project unsettles and recalibrates claims for the similarities between novels and maps that emerged during the spatial turn in the humanities and the critical cartography movement in map studies, uncovering instead how maps and novels were both in dialogue and trending in different directions.

Part One examines two approaches to topography by nineteenth-century British mapmakers and novelists. Chapter One turns away from the achievements of the much-celebrated Trigonometrical Survey and toward the downstream consequences that trigonometry produced in the latter stages of the mapmaking process; it argues that mapmakers considered topographical work to be more difficult, and less important, than trigonometrical work. Chapter Two shifts from map production by the Ordnance Survey to map consumption by literary characters who treat maps as inadequate for representing place. Characters in Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*, Tobias Smollett's *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park*, Charles Dickens's *David Copperfield*, Elizabeth Gaskell's *North and South*, and George Eliot's *Middlemarch* do not understand maps as systems because they are preoccupied with the presence of individual bodies. Though they are ridiculed and underestimated for their inability to read maps, these characters tap into an affective sense of place that grasps locality without relying on borders, abstractions, or data points.

Part Two turns to the treatment of islands on maps and in novels. Chapter Three theorizes islands as terraqueous spaces, combining land and sea, where the water at an island's edge is part of the island's identity. Drawing upon Ordnance Survey practices, William Wordsworth's poetry, and Daniel Defoe's map of *Robinson Crusoe*, it shows that terraqueous space is an obstacle to mapmaking. In contrast, the island's geology shapes the novel's sociality, allowing

the novel to deftly navigate the porous boundary between being alone and being social. Chapter Four transitions from the fictional islands of Robinson Crusoe's female successors to representations of the Isle of Wight produced by mapmakers like Isaac Dalby (1744-1824), homeowners like Queen Victoria (1819-1901) and Poet Laureate Alfred Tennyson (1809-1892), and novelists like Fanny Burney (1752-1840) and Elizabeth Gaskell (1810-1865). Whereas mapmakers and homeowners erase some of the messiness of lived experience, novels representing the Isle of Wight capture the feeling of being out of place that is the antithesis of mapping but also, and paradoxically, the way that we experience place when reading novels.

Part Three, which contains Chapter Five, turns to the late nineteenth-century maps made by Anthony Trollope (1815-1882), Robert Louis Stevenson (1850-1894), and Thomas Hardy (1840-1928). The chapter focuses on co-construction and collaboration between readers and authors, readers and characters, and characters with other characters. When embedded in a social context instead of a vacuum, map misreading becomes a valuable way of knowing and an avenue toward building social connection. Focusing on the ways that maps circulate in and around novels, this chapter offers a guide to readers for negotiating the insides and outsides of books.

INTRODUCTION.
An (Un)interesting Story:
Critical Cartography, the Spatial Turn, and What's Next

Figure 1. *James Tissot, An Uninteresting Story, 1878.*[1]

In December 2021, Deidre Lynch, a scholar of eighteenth-century British literature, responded to a post on Twitter of an image of James Tissot's *An Uninteresting Story* (1878) (See **Figure 1**). Lynch wrote: "An illustration to Tristram Shandy maybe? That could be my uncle Toby telling the widow Wadman where he got his wound."[2] Engaging offhandedly in the

[1] James Tissot, *An Uninteresting Story*, 1878, Etching and drypoint, 31.5 × 20.3 cm, 1878, Private Collection, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/825542.
[2] Deidre Shauna Lynch, Tweet, *Twitter*, December 21, 2021, https://twitter.com/DrBibliomane/status/1472230241066225668.

informal medium of social media, Lynch frames her response as a casual guess, hedging three times in her language and punctuation by including the word "maybe," the question mark, and phrase "could be." As it turns out, Lynch is not wrong, either in her hypothesis or in her identification of the statement as a hypothesis. Scholars of James Tissot (1836-1902) agree that this image is probably, but not certainly, a reference to a scene in Laurence Sterne's novel, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman* (1767).

Scholarship on the relationship between Tissot's image and Sterne's novel is very limited, coming from just two sources, and characterized by the same hedging that Lynch uses in her tweet. Nancy Rose Marshall and Malcom Warner, writing in *James Tissot: Victorian Life / Modern Love*, note that "the pontificating gentleman may be related, in type if not in literal reference, to Uncle Toby in Laurence Sterne's comic novel *Tristram Shandy*."[3] For this claim, they footnote a reference to the preeminent Tissot scholar, Michael Justin Wentworth. In *James Tissot: Catalogue Raisonné of His Prints*, Wentworth notes that the image is "like a scene from an eighteenth-century novel or play," explaining further that, "with unerring instinct, he [Tissot] hit upon the comic tradition of English literature and theater, exchanging the *opéra bouffe* of the Second Empire for the robust humor and situation comedy of Goldsmith, Sheridan, and Sterne." In the main body of his text, Wentworth is unwilling to specify Sterne specifically among the three authors, let alone to name *Tristram Shandy* as the novel in question. However, to this sentence, Wentworth adds his own footnote, noting that "there is a tradition that has not been documented that Tissot makes reference to Sterne's Tristram Shandy in *Histoire ennuyeuse*."[4] Lynch's tweet may have been a guess, but it quite perceptively mirrors the shifting sands of scholarly certainty on this topic. Each of these scholars makes a claim, only to destabilize it with a phrase like "in type if not in literal reference" or a crumbling footnote like "a tradition that has not been documented." So, is Tissot's image a literal or typological reference to Sterne's novel? There are several visual clues that suggest it is, including the depiction of the town fortifications on the map, which are done in the style of seventeenth-century French or Dutch military engineering and thus might match maps of the siege of Namur, as well as the costumes and furniture in the room, which date to the late eighteenth century.[5] Nothing in the image forecloses

[3] Nancy Rose Marshall and Malcolm Warner, *James Tissot: Victorian Life / Modern Love* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1999), 32.
[4] Michael Justin Wentworth, *James Tissot: Catalogue Raisonné of His Prints* (Minneapolis: Minneapolis Institute of Art, 1978), 146.
[5] Marshall and Warner, *James Tissot: Victorian Life / Modern Love*, 32.

the possibility of a connection to Sterne's novel. However, we might never have a definitive answer, and I contend that we are asking the wrong question.

Rather than focusing on whether the "story" depicted is from *Tristram Shandy*, I argue that the more "interesting" question is whether the "story" is meant to refer to the one being told about the map or to the relationship between the two figures. The comedy and the intrigue of Tissot's image come from a basic confusion about what is "interesting" and what is the "story." This confusion is underscored by the image's title and provenance. The 1878 etching, after an oil painting of the same title, is "closely related to"[6] and "repeats the subject of"[7] an 1872 oil painting that Tissot exhibited at the Royal Academy shortly after he moved to London. The original oil painting was called "An Interesting Story."[8] What is at stake in this renaming from "An Interesting Story" (1872) to "An Uninteresting Story" (1878)?[9] If we assume for a moment that the map is the "story" in question, the original 1872 title would seem to take an ironic stance, tracing a deliberate and humorous contrast between male figure's perception of the map as "interesting" and the female figure's disparagement of it as "uninteresting." In contrast, the updated 1878 title would seem more straightforward, a direct rebuke of Toby's preoccupation with the map at the expense of his female companion. However, I do not think we can assume that the map is necessarily the "story" referred to by either title. Furthermore, rather than interpreting the titles in isolation, I suggest that it is more "interesting" to consider them in dialogue. By renaming the image with an opposing adjective and shifting from "interesting" to "uninteresting," Tissot introduces confusion and instability. He forces us to re-examine the purported subject. Rather than assuming that the "story" is the one told by the map, we can ask: what is the "story" here and is it "interesting"?

The male figure pointing to the map, who we will call Uncle Toby, clearly thinks that the map is the interesting story. His left-hand points to a spot on the map and his right-hand covers his mouth in a sign of concentration and attention. He is so happily absorbed in the map that he barely notices his female companion. She, who we will call Widow Wadman, does not share his

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[6] Marshall and Warner, 32.
[7] Wentworth, *James Tissot: Catalogue Raisonné of His Prints*, 146.
[8] James Tissot, *An Interesting Story*, 1872, Oil on canvas, 22.75 x 29.5 inches, 1872, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne.
[9] According to an article in *The Illustrated London News* from May 25, 1872, the 1872 painting was exhibited at the Royal Academy with the title already in English: An Interesting Story. The 1878 etching is sometimes referred to in English as An Uninteresting Story (by Marshall and Warner) but sometimes referred to in French as *Histoire ennuyeuse* (by Wentworth). It is not clear who translated *Histoire ennuyeuse* to "An Uninteresting Story" instead of a "A Boring Story" but presumably the translation was done that way to call attention to the similar treatment and subject matter of the two images. "The Royal Academy Exhibition," *The Illustrated London News* 60, no. 1707 (May 25, 1872): 502.

preoccupation with the map. She gazes off into the distance, seeming not to hear Toby's musings. The visual elements of the etching would suggest that the relationship, not the map, is the "story." The viewer's eyes are drawn upward by the verticality of the ship's masts in the background and drawn toward the widow's enormous, show-stopping, oversized mobcap. We look at her first, not the map. We wonder what she is thinking more than we speculate about what Toby is saying. Toby's story (to which we do not have access as viewers) might very well be boring, but the interpersonal dynamic between the two figures (to which we do have access) is certainly not. These visual cues make sense in the context of Tissot's oeuvre. As Marshall and Warner argue, "Above all, Tissot deals with the manners and customs of modern love: the drama of attraction and flirtation, body language and eye contact, the signs of availability…"[10] This opens up a new understanding of the widow's attitude. Rather than simply being bored and passive, she may be demurely and even strategically looking away in an attempt to flirt with Toby, to wrest his attention from the absorbing map and re-engage him in the battle of their courtship. From this perspective, the more interesting map user is not Uncle Toby; it is the Widow Wadman.

My project calls attention to atypical, idiosyncratic map users, especially those who have been overlooked and underestimated like the Widow Wadman. She displays a number of behaviors that are repeated by other literary characters in British novels of the long nineteenth century. These characters misread maps or make geographical errors but are nonetheless not "wrong" in their use of maps, displaying instead an alternative, astute, and perceptive understanding of place that is oriented toward locality. In the Tissot image, Uncle Toby is attempting to pin down where an event happened on the map, holding it in place with his right elbow and pointing to a precise area with his left fingertips. The widow, in contrast, knows that the kind of closure provided by pinning something down on the map with precision would be a failure, bringing to a disappointing and premature end their ongoing flirtation over the map. Instead of the two-dimensionality of the map's surface, she attends to the three-dimensionality of their bodies in space. Her perspective, and ours, is blocked by Toby's protruding arm. The presence of Toby's body, and the resulting smudging from his fingertips, makes it challenging to understand the map as a system and much easier to focus on the individual in the room beside her. As we will see in other examples, the most efficient and direct route (which, in this case,

[10] Marshall and Warner, *James Tissot: Victorian Life / Modern Love*, 9.

would be to attend to Toby's story immediately and end it quickly) is not always the best route. The more circuitous and unexpected path, feigning boredom to prolong flirtation, may be the more productive and protective journey, especially for marginalized characters like the many women and children that we will see reading and using maps in this project.[11]

Project Introduction & Chapter Descriptions

Though it is more conventional to include chapter descriptions at the end of the introduction rather than the beginning, I am engaging here in some early rule-breaking, taking inspiration from Henry Fielding (1707-1754) who, as I will show in Chapter Two, demonstrates that rules are made to be broken and boundaries drawn to be crossed. Starting with a concrete sense of the direction of my chapters, rather than the more abstract and theoretical sections on key terms and critical debates that follow, will offer a better orientation to my arguments about novels and maps. My project contributes to a new account of what happened to the British novel in the formative years of the Ordnance Survey, Britain's first comprehensive national mapping project, from its inspiration in 1747 to the production of the "First Series" maps between 1791 and 1870 to its immediate aftermath in the late nineteenth century. I make an intervention in criticism emerging in the wake of the "spatial turn" in the humanities, in which scholars have articulated a shared preoccupation with space in a wide range of disciplines. In the arena of literature and maps, this has meant seeing novelistic representation and mapping practices as contiguous with each other and using "mapping" as a metaphor for what literature can do. These claims have been generative, but they have also been overstated and a course correction is in order. My project attempts to unsettle and recalibrate claims for the similarities between novels and maps. In doing so, the point is not simply that novels are different from maps, but that claims for the contiguity between the two tend to obscure salient nineteenth-century discourse about topography.

[11] It might seem strange to begin a dissertation about British novels and maps with an etching by a French artist, but Tissot straddled the border between England and France in a way that will resonate with some of the themes of this project. Born in Nantes in 1836, Tissot moved to London in 1871, living first as a guest of Thomas Gibson Bowles (publisher of *Vanity Fair*) before moving into a semi-detached villa in St. John's Wood and then finally purchasing a freestanding home in the same neighborhood (61). Viewing British society through the lens of a French transplant offered certain advantages. As Nancy Rose Marshall and Malcolm Warner argue, "It remains one of the delights of Tissot's art to see the Victorians through the eyes of a foreigner. He gives us the outsider's take on life and love in this most modern of modern societies, noticing what the British themselves took for granted" (15). Especially with the recognizably English background of the Thames in east London near Rotherhithe or Wapping, *An Uninteresting Story* would have been one of Tissot's many "identifiably English genre scenes for an English audience" (32). Marshall and Warner, *James Tissot: Victorian Life / Modern Love*.

Part I. Mapmakers and Map(mis)readers: Two Approaches to Topography

Chapter One, entitled "'A Proper Survey of the Country': Triangulation, Tools, and Topography" examines the formative years of the British Ordnance Survey, beginning with William Roy's preliminary military survey of Scotland in 1747 and ending with the completion of the First Series county-by-county maps in 1870. It is the most historical and least literary of my chapters, focusing almost entirely on maps rather than novels. Tracing a brief history of British mapping, I argue that the long nineteenth century was a watershed moment for the nation's mapmakers because the scientific advances of the Trigonometrical Survey promised new standards of heretofore unrealized precision. The Trigonometrical Survey, which produced a network of triangles undergirding the maps, was the first stage of the Ordnance Survey's mapmaking process and the one that has gotten the most attention and admiration from contemporary audiences and modern scholars alike. However, I suggest that we should turn our attention away from the achievements of the Trigonometrical Survey and turn instead toward the consequences that it produced down the line in the latter stages of the mapmaking process. These downstream consequences enable us to put maps and novels into conversation. On the one hand, maps and novels produced in this era share similarities on the level of form, at least insofar as they are grand objects divided into segments by multiple meridians and serialization, sheet lines and chapter breaks, competing scales and innumerable characters. On the other hand, maps and novels trend in radically different directions on the level of content, particularly in their treatment of topography. For mapmakers, topographic practices were messy and full of errors, much harder to get right than trigonometrical practices and simultaneously considered less important to get right anyway.

Chapter Two, "'The Marks of a Snuffy Finger and Thumb': A Topographical Reading of Maps and Bodies," shifts focus from map production by the Ordnance Survey to map consumption by literary characters. Whereas the mapmakers of Chapter One clearly considered place not only to be mappable but to be mapped with newfound precision and accuracy, the characters of Chapter Two find maps to be inadequate for representing place because place is not mappable. Chapter Two rehabilitates several of the concepts undervalued by Ordnance Survey mapmakers, including error, topography, and ordinary map use. If the Ordnance Survey was oriented away from the topographical practices of mapmakers, the novel is oriented toward topographical practices of map users. What are these topographical practices? When presented

with a map, characters in *Tristram Shandy*, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, *Mansfield Park*, *David Copperfield*, *North and South*, and *Middlemarch* do not see or understand that map as a system because they are preoccupied with the presence of the individual bodies of themselves and their loved ones. Though they are often ridiculed and underestimated for their inability to read maps, their shortcomings should not be mistaken for an inability to understand place. On the contrary, by focusing on the individual rather than the system, these characters are tapped into an affective sense of place that grasps locality without relying on borders, abstractions, data points, or nodes.

Part II. The Terraqueous Spectacle and Terrestrial Refraction of Islands

Whereas Chapter Two illustrates how bodies can impede characters' use of maps but also enhance their understanding of place, Chapter Three turns to a phenomenon that can impede the map's representational capacities while simultaneously enhancing the novel's. Chapter Three, entitled "'She traced the different countries on the sand': Female Robinson Crusoes in the Nineteenth-Century Novel," theorizes islands as terraqueous spaces, combining land and sea. That is, the water at an island's edge is part of, not separate from, the island's identity. My theorization of islands draws on Margaret Cohen's "chronotopes of the sea"[12] and Penny Fielding's use of the term "terraqueous."[13] In these theorizations, an island is not just a place of isolation; it is also porous to the sea and connected to other lands. Drawing upon Ordnance Survey practices, William Wordsworth's poetry, and Daniel Defoe's map of *Robinson Crusoe*, I show that terraqueousness is an obstacle to mapmaking. For the novel, on the other hand, terraqueous space is critical. Though Ian Watt has argued that *Robinson Crusoe* is influential because of the way that Defoe narrativizes the titular character's capitalism and Protestantism, my revisionary claim focuses instead on different work the island setting is doing. I suggest that the geological, material reality of the island shapes the novel's sense of sociality, allowing the novel to deftly navigate the porous boundary between being alone and being social. The more alone a character is on an island, the stronger the hope is for togetherness with others. As in Chapter Two, the experiences of literary characters are once again discordant with the practices and purposes of the map.

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[12] Margaret Cohen, "The Chronotopes of the Sea," in *The Novel*, ed. Franco Moretti, vol. II, II vols. (Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006), 647–66.

[13] Penny Fielding, "Eels, Words and Water: Shetland's Coastal Geographies and Amphibious Writing," *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*, 2021, https://doi.org/10.1080/08905495.2021.1928865.

Chapter Four, "'To dance up and down in a very extraordinary manner': Out of Place on the Isle of Wight" transitions from the multiple fictional islands of Robinson Crusoe's female successors to one real island just off the southern coast of England. The chapter examines three representations of the Isle of Wight produced by mapmakers, by homeowners, and by novelists. In 1793, Ordnance Survey mapmakers on the Isle of Wight encountered "terrestrial refraction," which occurs when moisture in the air forms a prism that can distort a mapmaker's vision and measurements. Faced with this messy disorientation, they remeasured and recalculated, trying to erase their lived experience to produce disciplined and efficient maps that would be useful for military defense against a possible Napoleonic invasion. Like the mapmakers, two famous Isle of Wight homeowners, Queen Victoria (1819-1901) and Alfred, Lord Tennyson (1809-1892), also experienced the island as sometimes bewildering, dreamy, and unknowable. Whereas both the mapmakers and the homeowners try to erase some of the messiness of lived experience, novels representing and referencing the Isle of Wight capture the feeling of being out of place that is the antithesis of mapping but also the way that we experience place when reading novels.

Part III. Misreading More Maps Together

Chapter Five, "'Either my reader or I must be a bad hand at topography': Maps of Barchester, Treasure Island, and Wessex" bridges two worlds: instead of the real, historical maps of the Ordnance Survey in Chapter One or the fully intradiegetic maps misread by literary characters in the novels of Chapter Two, the final chapter turns to the late nineteenth-century maps made by Anthony Trollope (1815-1882), Robert Louis Stevenson (1850-1894), and Thomas Hardy (1840-1928) that are accessible in some material, paratextual form to readers. The chapter focuses on co-mingling, co-construction, and collaboration between readers and authors, readers and characters, and characters with other characters. Even in an era characterized by the proliferation of maps, and the increasing availability of maps for individual use, what matters most is paying attention to how other people use maps and being empathetic about other people's errors. When embedded in a social context instead of a vacuum, map misreading becomes a valuable way of knowing and an avenue toward building social connection. Focusing on the ways that maps circulate in and around novels, this chapter offers a guide to readers for negotiating the insides and outsides of books.

As these brief chapter descriptions illustrate, my project's range is slightly unconventional in two key dimensions. First, its temporal sweep is unusually long. The project

begins in Chapter One with the inspiration for the Ordnance Survey: William Roy's military survey of Scotland in 1747. It concludes in Chapter Five with Thomas Hardy's novel *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, published in 1891. During this period of nearly 150 years, I observe both consistency (within Chapter Two) and change (between Chapter Two and Chapter Five). In Chapter Two, my project focuses on what novels published in the era of the Ordnance Survey's First Series maps share in common: an orientation toward a topographical understanding of the world. I draw out a throughline that exists despite many other changes over time (which have been well documented by other scholars). In making the shift from Chapter Two to Chapter Five, however, I observe a change between the novels of Chapter Two (from *Joseph Andrews* in 1742 to *Middlemarch* in 1871) and late nineteenth-century novels of Chapter Five (from *Barchester Towers* in 1857 to *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* in 1891). Unlike in Chapter Two, characters in Chapter Five get lost. Unlike in Chapter Two, characters in Chapter Five can access a bird's eye view. Finally, unlike in Chapter Two, the novels of Chapter Five include paratextual maps that allow for newfound collaboration between readers, authors, and characters.

In addition to the project's long temporal expanse, I also engage in close readings of a relatively large number of fictional works. Even without including fleeting references, like the mention of Wilkie Collins's *The Moonstone* (1868) in Chapter Three or Jane Austen's *Persuasion* (1817) in Chapter Four, the full list of close readings comes to twenty-eight texts.[14] Though I only include texts in that list that receive what I consider to be substantive close readings, I am conscious that "substantive" is a relative term. This dissertation project does not include any chapters that focus entirely on a single novel. The closest I come is Chapter Three, which examines *Robinson Crusoe*, but even that chapter also includes extensive readings of seven other novels: Douglas Jerrold's *Miss Robinson Crusoe* (1846), Charles Dibdin the Elder's *Hannah Hewit, or The Female Crusoe* (1796), Ann Fraser Tytler's *Leila, or The Island* (1839), Maria Edgeworth's *Belinda* (1801), Jacques-Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's *Paul and Virginia*

[14] These are the literary texts discussed in the order they appear: Henry Fielding, *Joseph Andrews* (1742); Laurence Sterne, *Tristram Shandy* (1767); Tobias Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (1771); Jane Austen, *Mansfield Park* (1813); Charles Dickens, *David Copperfield* (1849); Elizabeth Gaskell, *North and South* (1854); George Eliot, *Middlemarch* (1871); Douglas Jerrold, *Miss Robinson Crusoe* (1846); Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe* (1719); Charles Dibdin the Elder, *Hannah Hewit, or The Female Crusoe* (1796); Ann Fraser Tytler, *Leila, or The Island* (1839); Maria Edgeworth, *Belinda* (1801); Jacques-Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, *Paul and Virginia* (1788); Fanny Burney, *The Wanderer* (1814); Anthony Trollope, *The Way We Live Now* (1875); Fanny Burney, *Camilla* (1796); Fanny Burney, *The Wanderer* (1814); Elizabeth Gaskell, *Mary Barton* (1849); Elizabeth Gaskell, *North and South* (1855); Charles Dickens, *Our Mutual Friend* (1864); Robert Louis Stevenson, *Treasure Island* (1882); Anthony Trollope, *Barchester Towers* (1857); Anthony Trollope, *Framley Parsonage* (1860); Thomas Hardy, *Far From the Madding Crowd* (1874); Thomas Hardy, *Wessex Tales* (1888); Thomas Hardy, *The Return of the Native* (1878); Thomas Hardy, *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* (1891); Thomas Hardy, *The Mayor of Casterbridge* (1886).

(1788), Fanny Burney's *The Wanderer* (1814), and Charles Dickens's *David Copperfield* (1849). My multi-text approach in this project mirrors J. Hillis Miller's methodology in *Thomas Hardy: Distance and Desire* (1970). In his preface, Miller acknowledges that "constantly moving back and forth from one work to another in order to demonstrate the similarities among them" has two consequences: first, "this has meant necessarily having to forego full interpretation of the richness and complexity of any single work."[15] As Miller points out in a footnote, however, plenty of such full readings of individual works already exist. Though Miller refers only to "full readings" of Hardy novels, the same sentiment applies to most of the novels featured in my project. The second consequence of discussing a large number of passages from many different texts is that one must sometimes detach a passage from "its most immediate context." This consequence produces a concomitant advantage, however. Miller writes, "By detaching a passage from its contiguous web of language, I have hoped to be able to show its deeper affinities to passages in other works. By following out such connections I have attempted to identify the structuring principles common to all the works."[16] Similarly, my project attempts to show affinities, connections, and common structuring principles between a wide range of British novels written in the formative years of the Ordnance Survey.

Key Terms

Most people probably feel comfortable identifying a map as a map in most cases, even if they are less confident in their use of that map, preferring to rely on Google's directions rather than their own navigational skills to take them anywhere unfamiliar. But closer inspection reveals that maps, as well as my other key terms like topographic maps, topography, and cartography, have definitions that might seem to be self-evident, but which prove to be unstable under pressure and scrutiny. They are layered with complications and misunderstandings that can only be unraveled through historical analysis. This is part of the purpose of my project: rather than comparing maps and novels categorically or ahistorically, I examine the ways that these two genres were intimately engaged in the specific context of nineteenth-century Britain, which allows me to uncover how maps and novels were both in dialogue and trending in different directions.

[15] J. Hillis Miller, *Thomas Hardy: Distance and Desire* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1970), x.
[16] Miller, xi.

Let's begin with a map, what might seem to be the easiest term. What is a map? In *Cartography: The Ideal and Its History* (2019), geographer Matthew Edney discourages scholars from asking that question. He advocates studying "mapping" rather than "maps," a processual approach that focuses on how and why mapping practices have changed over time rather than seeking stable generic categorizations, which he says do not exist.[17] Edney is not alone in his attention to practices rather than products. Geographer John Pickles and historian D. Graham Burnett have also called for us to "focus more directly on the practices of mapping"[18] and "pay close attention to cartographic practices, not merely to cartographic objects."[19] My first chapter, which discusses the historical practices of the nineteenth-century British Ordnance Survey, heeds this advice. It is not simply concerned with the Ordnance Survey's final product, namely, the county-by-county maps commercially available for sale. It is also intimately concerned with the procedures and practices of the mapmakers. To that extent, I am aligned with Edney, Pickles, and Burnett in focusing more on mapping than on maps. However, whereas Chapter One focuses on map production and thus mapmaking practices, Chapters Two through Five are far more concerned with map consumption by literary characters and novel readers. For that reason, it is helpful to have a working definition of the term "map" as an object that is not so much being produced as it is being used.

The Oxford English Dictionary (OED) offers two alternatives for the origins of the word "map." On the one hand, it may derive from the late Latin word *mappa*, meaning a cloth.[20] In that case, the term's etymology tells us only about the material medium (a cloth) on which post-classical maps typically appeared in the fourth century but says nothing about what a map is or might depict. The second possible etymological origin is "formed within English, by clipping or shortening" from the French *mappemonde* or the Latin *mappa mundi*, meaning a cloth painted with a representation of the world or cosmos. In medieval Europe, the best-known maps were called *mappaemundi*. Scholars estimate that there were 1,100 of these *mappaemundi*, taking the form of either a codex for textual illustration, a single or double folio for wall display, or a great

[17] Matthew Edney, *Cartography: The Ideal and Its History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019).
[18] John Pickles, *A History of Spaces: Cartographic Reason, Mapping, and the Geo-Coded World* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 68.
[19] D. Graham Burnett, "Hydrographic Discipline among the Navigators: Charting an 'Empire of Commerce and Science' in the Nineteenth-Century Pacific," in *The Imperial Map: Cartography and the Mastery of Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 246.
[20] "Map," in *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

wall creation.[21] *Mappaemundi* reached their apogee in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, however. By the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the word "map" had acquired the broader semantic meaning that we associate with it today. Despite encouraging us to examine mapping rather than maps, Matthew Edney offers a useful definition: "maps delineate regions or the whole world beyond the ability of one individual to observe and survey directly."[22]

My project focuses on the subcategory of topographical maps. In *The History of Topographical Maps: Symbols, Pictures, and Surveys* (1980), historian P.D.A. Harvey offers his definition: "By a topographical map we mean a large-scale map, one that sets out to convey the shape and pattern of landscape, showing a tiny portion of the earth's surface."[23] In that single sentence, Harvey makes three claims about topographical maps that are worth examining in detail: "large-scale," "the shape and pattern of landscape," and "tiny portion." Beginning at the top, "large-scale" is a surprisingly unstable and confusing phrase. The main problem is that its colloquial meaning (extensive and widespread) directly contradicts its technical meaning (small, regional maps). As a result, commentators and scholars "have frequently miscategorized small-scale regional maps as being large-scale because they cover extensive areas, and vice versa."[24] In this dissertation, "large scale" refers to a small area of land shown in great detail, like the Ordnance Survey's topographical maps. Harvey's second claim, that topographical maps "convey the shape and pattern of landscape," is a source of additional confusion. The phrase "shape and pattern" refers, at least in part, to elevation and there is some question about whether elevation, shown by way of contour lines or shaded hachure lines, is simply one among many features of topographical maps or whether it is of defining importance. The idea of elevation has been imposed upon the idea of topographical maps such that some scholars, as well as many hikers and ordinary map users, think of topographical maps not as place maps but as maps that show elevation. For example, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA)'s Ocean Exploration and Research Office defines topographic maps as those that "show elevations of landforms above sea level."[25] A more scholarly example of this same conflation comes from

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[21] Peter Barber and Catherine Delano-Smith, "Image and Imagination: Maps in Medieval Europe," in *The Routledge Handbook of Mapping and Cartography*, ed. Alexander J. Kent and Peter Vuyakovic (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), 117–21.
[22] Edney, *Cartography: The Ideal and Its History*, 3.
[23] P.D.A. Harvey, *The History of Topographical Maps: Symbols, Pictures, and Surveys* (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1980), 9.
[24] Edney, *Cartography: The Ideal and Its History*, 174.
[25] "What Is the Difference between a Topographic Map and a Bathymetric Map?," NOAA Ocean Exploration and Research, accessed September 19, 2020, https://oceanexplorer.noaa.gov/facts/maps.html#:~:text=A%20map%20is%20a%20flat,drawn%20to%20a%20specific%20scale.

Céline Sabiron's essay on Walter Scott. She writes, "In Scott's texts, geography is composed not only like a two-dimensional geometrically accurate picture or painting but also like a three-dimensional topographic map in which height is taken into account."[26] A topographical map *does* frequently depict three dimensions by taking height into account but that is not part of what it fundamentally *is*, according to its definition. Elevation is one part, but not the whole story, of topographical maps. Finally, the third part of Harvey's definition, "showing a tiny portion of the earth's surface," leaves room for interpretation. What is the scope of a "tiny portion"? How far might that range extend? To answer those questions, we can turn from topographical maps to topography.

Though this project will examine the topographic maps produced by the nineteenth-century Ordnance Survey, it will also deal with "topography" more broadly. It is concerned with the way that topography was a practice and a perspective not only of mapmakers (Chapter One) but also of novelists, novel readers, and literary characters (Chapters Two through Five). Topography combines the Greek word *topos*, meaning place, with the Greek word *graphein,* meaning to write. Etymologically, it means "the writing of a place." The Oxford English Dictionary (OED) defines topography as "the detailed delineation or description of any locality"[27] where locality is a "region or district of undefined extent."[28] The phrase "undefined extent" will prove to be a critical one. The literary characters in this project do not define place by drawing borders around it that would "define" the place's "extent." In other words, they do not map place, nor do they consider place to be mappable. Instead, they offer up an alternative understanding of place. For these characters, place is resistant to being mapped because of the presence of individual bodies (Chapter Two), the terraqueous conditions of islands (Chapter Three), or the paradox of experiencing place by feeling out of place (Chapter Four).

Part of what makes topography such an interesting term for a discussion of both maps and novels stems from its historical affiliation with both "geography" and "chorography."[29] This connection traces back to second century geographer Claudius Ptolemaeus, better known as

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&text=Topographic%20maps%20show%20elevation%20of%20landforms%20above%20sea%20level.,on%20maps%20with%20contour%20lines.

[26] Céline Sabiron, "Walter Scott and the Geographical Novel," in *Literature and Geography: The Writing of Space Throughout History*, ed. Emmanuelle Peraldo (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016), 210.

[27] "Topography," in *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

[28] "Locality," in *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

[29] See Richard Helgerson for the definitive account of chorography as a genre fundamentally concerned with description of place or region. Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 131–33.

Ptolemy. He distinguishes between "geographic maps" of the whole world, which show features by lines and dots, and "chorographic maps" of smaller areas, which made use of some pictorial elements.[30] As philosopher Edward Casey explains, this means that Ptolemy "linked the pursuit of geography with science and chorography with art." Such a distinction puts topography in an intriguing position. According to Casey, "as affine with both geography and chorography, topography has predictably suffered from an identity crisis."[31] Topography's identity crisis as a term affiliated with both science and art is precisely why it is a term deployed in the context of nineteenth-century mapping and nineteenth-century novels. As we will see in Chapters One and Two, mapmakers tended to overlook and undervalue topographic practices whereas novels of the same era tended to orient themselves toward their characters' topographical perspectives. For example, in Jane Austen's novel *Mansfield Park* (1813), Maria and Julia Bertram cruelly mock their cousin Fanny Price for thinking that the best way to get to Ireland from Northamptonshire is via the Isle of Wight. Because this route would not form a straight line in their geography books, the cousins call Fanny strange, stupid, and ignorant. As we will see in Chapter Two, however, the novel shows that Fanny's topographical perspective on place, however unconventional, is not wrong. On the contrary, Fanny is the novel's moral compass because she orients herself not toward maps as systems of abstract nodes but instead toward places that are populated with people she loves and bodies she wants to protect.

This discussion of terms would be incomplete without acknowledging that, unlike the other terms defined here, which are complex and unstable but nonetheless productive, the term "cartography" is not an especially useful term for this project. Cartography is defined by the OED as the "drawing of charts and maps."[32] Despite the obvious existence of the term in the dictionary and its widespread use by other scholars, Matthew Edney has written an entire book arguing polemically that "there is no such thing as cartography." According to Edney, the acts of producing, circulating, and consuming maps are just "mapping" while "the idealized behavior, what people think they do, is cartography."[33] The larger problem, according to Edney, is that we tend to assume that cartography is universal, common to all cultures, and consistent across time; in reality, cartography "is a creation of the modern West and permeated by many of the myths

[30] Harvey, *The History of Topographical Maps: Symbols, Pictures, and Surveys*, 9.
[31] Edward Casey, *Representing Place: Landscape Painting & Maps* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 158.
[32] "Cartography," in *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).
[33] Edney, *Cartography: The Ideal and Its History*, 1.

that Westerners tell themselves about their rationality and superiority."[34] Though I agree with Edney's orientation toward mapping instead of cartography, I am less invested than Edney in categorically banning cartography and more focused on its limitations from a historical perspective.

Whereas the word "topography" emerged in the fifteenth century as a mode of mapping, the word "cartography" was not coined until sometime in the nineteenth century to refer to the scientific discipline of mapping. Most early references to the word were in French, not English. The first usage is disputed. Edney cites an early reference to "cartography" in a French manuscript, written sometime between 1787-1791, by Nicholas-Antoine Quexdame (1746-1821), known as Tessier, who was inventorying Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville's huge map collection.[35] J.B. Harley and David Woodward credit the first usage to the Viscount de Santarém (1790-1856), also in French, in 1839.[36] The OED indicates that the first recorded use of the word in English was as late as 1859. Denis Wood explains that cartography "is the comparatively recent professionalization of mapmaking dating to the first third of the nineteenth century."[37] Alexander Kent and Peter Vujakovic, who define cartography as "the art, science, and technology of map-mapmaking," argue that cartography was formalized as "an independent scientific discipline" only in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They credit Austrian Karl Peucker (1859-1940), who invented new ways to show elevation using color, and Max Eckert (1868-1938), who published his two-volume *Die Kartenwissenschaft* (map science) in 1921 and 1925 to promote cartography as a branch of science separate from geography.[38] From a historical perspective, the term "cartography," at least in English, would have been anachronistic for at least several decades of the time period my project discusses.

Critical Debates & Interlocutors

My project builds upon the foundations of two intellectual movements: "critical cartography" in the field of map studies and the "spatial turn" in the humanities. Though both movements had their roots in the 1960s and 1970s, they each coalesced in 1989. As we will see,

[34] Edney, 8.
[35] Edney, 116.
[36] J.B. Harley and David Woodward, eds., *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, vol. I, The History of Cartography (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), xvii.
[37] Denis Wood, *Rethinking the Power of Maps* (New York & London: The Guilford Press, 2010), 121.
[38] Alexander J. Kent and Peter Vujakovic, "Introduction," in *The Routledge Handbook of Mapping and Cartography*, ed. Alexander J. Kent and Peter Vujakovic (New York: Routledge, 2018), 1.

these movements paved the way for critics to make comparisons between novels and maps. By challenging the alleged objectivity of the map, critical cartographers point to the way that maps, like novels, are fictions; meanwhile, spatial turn humanists observe that novels, like maps, grapple with issues of place and space.

Critical cartography was led by Brian Harley along with Mark Monmonier, Denis Wood, and John Pickles. In his seminal article, "Deconstructing the Map" (1989), Harley challenged the so-called scientific objectivity of the map, recasting the map as a power tool of the elite.[39] Shifting away from the older term "blank spaces," Harley preferred the term cartographic "silence" to describe how mapmakers, often guided by hidden ideologies, might actively exclude or excise information. Mark Monmonier's classic text, *How to Lie With Maps*, first published in 1991 and now in its third edition, builds upon Harley's work by showing how the choices of mapmakers, whether intentional or not, mean that maps can only ever tell part of the whole story and thus routinely mislead us.[40] Denis Wood's most famous books, *The Power of Maps* (1992) and *Rethinking the Power of Maps* (2010), offer a slightly more sinister perspective than Monmonier's by shifting to the realm of force and violence. Wood writes that "the work of maps is to apply social forces to people."[41] The forces he references are the courts, the police, and the military. The power of the map is "such that this display of force is rarely called for because the map operates as a replacement for the application of armed force."[42] John Pickles, though acknowledging that Wood's readings of maps are "rich and provocative," nonetheless finds Wood to be "too focused on the shaper of the message and the power *behind* the map." In contrast, Pickles prefers to focus more directly on the practices of mapping.[43] My project is indebted to all of this scholarship, particularly in Chapter One about the Ordnance Survey. I examine the power of the mapmakers generally and more specifically focus on mapping practices in a methodology most aligned with that of John Pickles.

Whereas critical cartography focuses on the connection between maps and power for map producers, Bruno Latour offers an intriguing alternative angle: he focuses on the power of map users, rather than map producers. In "Visualization and Cognition: Drawing Things Together" (1986), he offers a list of nine advantages to users of what he calls "paperwork," or two-

[39] J.B. Harley, "Deconstructing the Map," *Cartographica* 26, no. 2 (1989): 1–20.
[40] Mark Monmonier, *How to Lie with Maps*, 3rd ed. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2018).
[41] Wood, *Rethinking the Power of Maps*, 1.
[42] Wood, 2.
[43] Pickles, *A History of Spaces: Cartographic Reason, Mapping, and the Geo-Coded World*, 68.

dimensional inscriptions like maps. Because paperwork can "present absent things," having access to paperwork makes it "possible to dominate all things and all people."[44] In *Pandora's Hope: Essays on the Reality of Science Studies* (1999), he expands upon his argument by offering a lengthy example of a scientist pointing uncertainly to something in the Brazilian forest, as compared to that same scientist confidently identifying something on a map in the lab. The map offers the scientist confidence and power, allowing her to "talk about the forest with assurance, as if she had it under her hand."[45] Whereas the critical cartographers showed that maps can reveal the power of their producers, Latour shows how maps can confer power on users. However, the literary characters and readers who use maps in Chapters Two through Five of my project are not at all like Latour's scientist—quite the opposite. They are among the least powerful of their acquaintances, hardly capable of, and furthermore not interested in, using maps to wield power. The map users in my project will find themselves ridiculed and underappreciated (Chapter Two), bewildered and out of place (Chapter Four), and seeking connection with others far more than they are seeking power (Chapters Three and Five).

In addition to foundational claims about the relationship between maps and power, my project is also engaged with historians of mapping generally and of the British Ordnance Survey in particular. Among these include P.D.A. Harvey's history of topographical maps,[46] Catherine Delano-Smith and Roger J.P. Kain's history of English maps,[47] and Edwin Danson's wide-ranging account of eighteenth-century attempts to measure the earth.[48] There have been three prominent histories of the OS published in the last fifty years. The first, J.B. Harley's *Ordnance Survey Maps: A Descriptive Manual* (1975), is a publication officially sponsored by the Ordnance Survey to detail its policies in 1975. Though its focus is on the twentieth century survey, it discusses at length how the OS has changed since the nineteenth century.[49] The second, W.A. Seymour's *A History of the Ordnance Survey* (1980), makes a bold case for itself in the preface: "no comprehensive history of the Ordnance Survey has hitherto existed." Seymour admits that short accounts were produced by Captain H.S. Palmer (1838-1893) in 1873 and Lieutenant-Colonel Pilkington White (1857-1914) in 1886 but notes that "both books dealt only

[44] Bruno Latour, "Visualization and Cognition: Drawing Things Together," in *Knowledge and Society Studies in the Sociology of Culture Past and Present*, ed. Henrika Kuklick, vol. 6 (Greenwich: Jai Press, 1986), 8, 30.
[45] Bruno Latour, *Pandora's Hope: Essays on the Reality of Science Studies* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 30.
[46] Harvey, *The History of Topographical Maps: Symbols, Pictures, and Surveys*.
[47] Catherine Delano-Smith and Roger J.P. Kain, *English Maps: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999).
[48] Edwin Danson, *Weighing the World: The Quest to Measure the Earth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).
[49] J.B. Harley, *Ordnance Survey Maps: A Descriptive Manual* (Oxford: The University Press, 1975).

superficially and briefly with the earlier history." Similarly, Sir Charles Close's *Early Years of the Ordnance Survey* (1926), covering the period 1784-1846, "is of great historical value as he quotes from important documents since lost, but the subject matter is incomplete and the treatment of it uneven."[50] Finally, Rachel Hewitt's *Map of a Nation: A Biography of the Ordnance Survey* (2010) is perhaps the least biased of the recent histories, given that it was neither sponsored nor published by the OS itself. Hewitt, a literary historian, has also written about William Wordsworth and the Ordnance Survey,[51] as has literary scholar Julia S. Carlson.[52] It is worth noting that scholarship about literature and the Ordnance Survey is almost always focused on Romantic poets. My project addresses a gap in the field by articulating why the relationship between the Ordnance Survey and the long nineteenth-century novel, rather than only poetry, deserves more critical attention.

Turning toward literature, the second foundational movement to which my project responds is the "spatial turn" in the humanities, a movement coined by Edward Soja in *Postmodern Geographies* (1989) and influenced by scholars like Michel Foucault, Gilles Deleuze, Félix Guattari, Henri Lefebvre, and Michel de Certeau. Until the mid-twentieth century, philosophers generally took what Edward Casey calls "a temporocentrist perspective," wherein time took precedence over space in the traditions of Immanuel Kant, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, Wilhelm Dilthey, Søren Kierkegaard, and Martin Heidegger.[53] Foucault was one of the earliest to forecast the shift from time to space in "Of Other Spaces," published in French in 1967. He wrote, "The present epoch will perhaps be above all the epoch of space."[54] Two years later, in *The Archeology of Knowledge* (1969), he articulated his archeological method, later revised as genealogy, wherein he cast disciplines, discursive practices, and historical formations as layers of strata that could be excavated and mapped out.[55] Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari took this a step further, building upon Foucault's concept of "genealogy" (layered time) and transforming it into "geology" (layered space). Their theory of "geophilosophy" treats geography

[50] W.A. Seymour, ed., *A History of the Ordnance Survey* (Folkestone, Kent, England: Wm Dawson & Sons Ltd., 1980).
[51] Rachel Hewitt, "Wordsworth and the Ordnance Survey in Ireland: Dreaming O'er the Map of Things," *Wordsworth Circle* 37, no. 2 (Spring 2006): 80–85.
[52] Julia S. Carlson, *Romantic Marks and Measures: Wordsworth's Poetry in Fields of Print* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).
[53] *Getting Back Into Place: Toward a Renewed Understanding of the Place-World*, 2nd ed. (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2009), xxii.
[54] Michel Foucault, "Des Escapes Autres," in *Dits et Écrits*, vol. 2 (Paris: Gallimard, 2001), 1571.
[55] Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. M.A. Sheridan Smith (London: Tavistock, 1972).

as active and strategic.[56] It directly critiques Kant's separation between history as active "becoming" and geography as passive "being."[57] The growing attention to space over time opened up new avenues of research on space, including Henri Lefebvre's Marxist critique of the production of space in which he argues that capitalism is built upon the creation of instrumentalized, abstract, planned spaces which increasingly impinge upon the representational spaces of everyday life to crush lived experience.[58] Whereas Lefebvre worries about the silence and passivity of people who use space, Michel de Certeau is more optimistic about the resistance capacities of tactical walkers to oppose the controlling strategies of institutions and corporations.[59]

Edward Soja was the first to use the phrase "spatial turn" in *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (1989).[60] Soja's book aims "to spatialize the historical narrative" because studying "the making of geography," more than the "making of history," will provide the most revealing insights into social and political life.[61] Soja's methodology adheres as much in form as in content. His book begins with a combined "preface and postscript" and he urges readers to approach the chapters of his book in any order. He suggests that side-tracking the normative sequential flow allows readers to take advantage of "*lateral mappings* that make it possible to enter the narration at almost any point [emphasis mine]."[62] Soja takes this argument a step further when he insists not only on comparing his own text to a non-sequential map but also suggests that—if we resist the pull to think sequentially and historically—it becomes possible to read *any* text as a map. He writes that "the discipline imprinted in a sequentially unfolding narrative predisposes the reader to think historically, *making it difficult to see the text as map* [emphasis mine]."[63] Soja considers not only his book in particular to be a series of "lateral mappings" but also suggests that "the text" in general is a map, if only we can discern it.

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[56] Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *What Is Philosophy?*, trans. H. Tomlinson and G. Burchell (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994).
[57] Immanuel Kant, "Introduction to 'Physische Geographie,'" in *Kant's Concept of Geography and Its Relation to Recent Geographical Thought*, by J.A. May (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 258.
[58] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1992), 38–39.
[59] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University California Press, 1984).
[60] Edward W. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London and New York: Verso, 1989), 16. For Frederic Jameson's comments on the "spatial turn" and Soja's book, see Frederic Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991), 154, 418.
[61] Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*, 1.
[62] Soja, 2.
[63] Soja, 1.

Soja's comparison of text to map has been thought-provoking, creative, and generative. Along with these others, Soja has helped to inspire a wave of "spatial turn" thinking that has re-valued space, geography, and mapping. In the 1970s, this shift toward space may have been limited to the "tiny disciplinary cocoon" of Marxist geography but, by the 1980s, it had expanded into "the realms of art, architecture, literature, film, popular culture, and contemporary politics and drawn into the discussion a range of critical participants who no longer fit comfortably within the conventional labels of either 'geographer' or "Marxist.'"[64] My project, especially in the conclusion to Chapter Two, engages with several of these applications of the spatial turn, including Doreen Massey's links between space, gender, labor, and wealth[65] and Evan Gottlieb and Juliet Shields' examination of place and space in British culture of the long eighteenth century.[66]

In the case of literature in particular, the "spatial turn" has spawned a cluster of criticism putting novels and maps in conversation. Unsurprisingly, some of this criticism has been more sophisticated and nuanced than others. I particularly like, for example, Josephine McDonagh's use of Lefebvre to critique Franco Moretti, arguing that Lefebvre's space "has a complexity that exceeds the rather two-dimensional model that Moretti derives."[67] I also admire the way that Adela Pinch uses the mapping strategies of railroad surveyors (triangulation, geometry, abstraction) in Elizabeth Gaskell's novella *Cousin Phillis* (1863) to discuss the experience of reading realist fiction. While engineers must cope with bogs, myrtle, moss, and shaking ground, readers of the realist novel must similarly perform their own "acts of triangulation" with the "limited or minimal cues on the page" to extrapolate fictional worlds. The difference between "triangulation in reality and in fiction" is "a matter of degree rather than kind" and might be thought of as "existing on a continuum rather than being categorically different."[68] What I appreciate about McDonagh's and Pinch's arguments is that they avoid unnecessary reduction and simplification. They are aligned with Anders Engberg-Pedersen's characterization of the relationship between novels and maps in *Literature and Cartography* (2017). He writes, "The value of the field of literature and cartography lies not in charting their mimetic relations, but in

[64] Soja, 44.
[65] Doreen Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994).
[66] Evan Gottlieb and Juliet Shields, "Introduction," in *Representing Place in British Literature and Culture, 1660-1830: From Local to Global*, ed. Evan Gottlieb and Juliet Shields (Burlington: Ashgate, 2013), 1–14.
[67] Josephine McDonagh, "Space, Mobility, and the Novel: 'The Spirit of Place Is a Great Reality,'" ed. Matthew Beaumont (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2007), 63.
[68] Adela Pinch, "Reality Sensing in Elizabeth Gaskell: Or, Half-Mended Stockings," *ELH* 83, no. 3 (Fall 2016): 828.

the exploration of the various forms of their disjunctive overlaps and productive tensions."[69] This exploration of "disjunctive overlaps and productive tensions" is the goal of my project, too.

Not all deployments of the theories of the "spatial turn" have shared this goal, however, and some applications of the movement have been less thoughtful, sophisticated, and provocative. Certain critiques have been fixated on comparing, as Soja does himself, the text to the map. This practice has been widespread, as Andrew Thacker first acknowledged in a key positional essay in 2005,[70] so I will include just a sampling. J. Hillis Miller, in an otherwise fascinating reading of the way that characters rise out of and sink back into the personified landscape of the heath in Thomas Hardy's *The Return of the Native* (to which I will return in Chapter Five), writes that "a novel is a figurative mapping."[71] Elaine Freedgood, who writes compellingly about the formal problems, messiness, and oddities of the Victorian novel, also makes a case for the "cartographic birds-eye view the novel offers" and "the cartographical fine-tuning that only fictional representation can provide."[72] Peter Turchi argues that "a story or novel is a kind of map."[73] Robert Tally Jr. argues that "the novel is a form of literary cartography—a sort of map that enables readers to orient themselves to its world."[74] Patrick Bradbury writes that the novel "has remained, to this day, one of the best maps we have of the life, manners, society and topography of its times."[75] Chu-Chueh Cheng compares Victorian literature to imperial cartography, arguing that both convey a wish for the glory of an invincible empire but also the anguish of a vulnerable island besieged by foreign threats. He writes that there is an "ideological correlation between literature and cartography" and that both employ shared rhetorical strategies.[76] I disagree with Cheng's "ideological correlation." Though I show the ways that nineteenth-century British novels and maps were both coping with the problems attendant on imagining something on a grand scale, whether measured in chapters and fictional characters or square miles and place names, the two technologies were nonetheless trending in different

[69] Anders Engberg-Pedersen, "Introduction—Estranging the Map: On Literature and Cartography," in *Literature and Cartography*, ed. Anders Engberg-Pedersen (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2017), 23.
[70] Andrew Thacker, "The Idea of a Critical Literary Geography," *New Formations*, 2006 2005, 56–73.
[71] J. Hillis Miller, *Topographies* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 19.
[72] Elaine Freedgood, *Worlds Enough: The Invention of Realism in the Victorian Novel* (Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2019), 80, 93.
[73] Peter Turchi, *Maps of the Imagination: The Writer as Cartographer* (San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 2004), 166.
[74] Robert Tally, *Topophrenia: Place, Narrative, and the Spatial Imagination* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018), 95.
[75] Patrick Bradbury, *The Atlas of Literature* (London: De Agostini Editions, 1996), 45.
[76] Chu-Chueh Cheng, "Imperial Cartography and Victorian Literature: Charting the Wishes and Anguish of an Island-Empire," *Culture, Theory & Critique* 43, no. 1 (2002): 5.

directions. To say that novels are "like maps" or "kinds of maps" is an oversimplification that my project aims to question and challenge.

Taken together, my engagement with both critical cartography in map studies and the spatial turn in the humanities positions me to intervene in other debates about power and place, especially conversations centered on locality, nation, and empire. To some extent, nation has centrality in my project in a way that reflects the importance accorded to nationhood in Benedict Anderson's influential *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983).[77] This is because of the historical era and the subject matter of my project. Anderson argues that nationalism emerged at the end of the eighteenth century when novels and newspapers allowed people to imagine themselves as part of a group. Even largely unaware of and separate from each other, people form community because they know that they are performing acts and, "meanwhile," other people are also performing acts in the same clocked, calendrical time.[78] My project engages most strongly with nation and the national in Chapter One, which focuses on the Ordnance Survey as the first comprehensive "national" mapping project, and Chapter Three, which considers the Isle of Wight's status as both part of England but also beyond it. However, in addition to this engagement with nation, I also re-value locality in Chapter Two as meaningful on its own, without reference to nation. In doing so, I push back against Ruth Livesey's idea of locality as a building block toward nation[79] and draw upon instead Doreen Massey's work on locality[80] as well as Evan Gottlieb and Juliet Shield's work on place, which aims to "displace the nation-state from its privileged status as the imaginative community par excellence."[81]

If nation can be displaced (at least slightly) in importance to accord more attention to locality, empire cannot. It would be nearly impossible to write about British novels and maps in this era without reference to empire. I say "nearly" because Edward Said has famously critiqued the "major critical practitioners" of the British novel, earlier scholars like Lionel Trilling, Ian Watt, Lennard David, John Richetti, and Michael McKeon, of ignoring imperialism. Said's methodology of "contrapuntal reading" takes account of both imperialism and resistance to it,

[77] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York: Verso, 1983).
[78] Anderson, 25–26.
[79] Ruth Livesey, *Writing the Stage Coach Nation: Locality on the Move in Nineteenth-Century British Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).
[80] Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender*.
[81] Gottlieb and Shields, "Introduction."

noting that "without empire, there is no European novel as we know it."[82] Following Said, my project acknowledges the inextricability of empire and the novel. At the same time, it also examines the relationship between empire and maps. For example, my discussion of the Ordnance Survey in Ireland draws on scholarship from J.H. Andrews,[83] Sara Maurer,[84] Siofán Ó Cadhla,[85] and Cólín Parsons[86] and my discussion of the East India Company's mapping of India engages with Matthew Edney[87] and Barry Crosbie.[88] More generally, the project is also indebted to foundational texts on empire and mapping like Paul Carter's *The Road to Botany Bay: An Essay in Spatial History* (1987) which pushes back against the "imperial history" of administrators in London to foreground the perspectives of explorers leaving "footprints, trails of dust" on the ground, writing letters home, and drawing unfinished maps.[89] Drawing on Carter's influential text, Graham D. Burnett's *Masters of All They Surveyed: Exploration, Geography, and a British El Dorado* (2000), the story of the mapping of British Guiana, articulates the shift from one view of a place (from a pitching ship or prow of a canoe) to another (the top-down image provided by a map).[90] Most of the literary characters in my project, aside from the castaways in Chapter Three, do not literally experience "the view from a pitching ship or prow of a canoe" but nonetheless share that embodied, phenomenological perspective on the world, one that is antithetical to that provided by the map.

These debates about locality, nation, and empire do not take place in isolation. Ian Baucom's *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire, and the Locations of Identity* (2002) is a good example: Baucom examines six spaces— Gothic architecture, the Victoria Terminus in Bombay, the Anglo-Indian Mutiny pilgrimage, the cricket field, the country house, and the zone of urban riot—each of which is a space of both imperialism and imperial destabilization, mastery and loss, exertion of control and loss of command. He examines how Britishness and Englishness are

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[82] Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 62–69.
[83] J.H. Andrews, *A Paper Landscape: The Ordnance Survey in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002).
[84] Sarah L. Maurer, "National and Regional Literatures," in *The Cambridge History of Victorian Literature*, ed. Kate Flint (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 598–621.
[85] Stiofán Ó Cadhla, *Civilizing Ireland: Ordnance Survey 1824-1842, Ethnography, Cartography, Translation* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2007).
[86] Cóilín Parsons, *The Ordnance Survey and Modern Irish Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).
[87] Matthew Edney, *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India 1765-1843* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).
[88] Barry Crosbie, "Ireland, Colonial Science, and the Geographical Construction of British Rule in India, c. 1820-1870," *The Historical Journal* 52, no. 4 (December 2009): 963–87.
[89] Paul Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay: An Essay in Spatial History* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), xxi–xxii.
[90] D. Graham Burnett, *Masters of All They Surveyed: Exploration, Geography, and a British El Dorado* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), xii.

interwoven: the spaces of the British empire allow England to "simultaneously avow and disavow" empire.[91] Toggling up from locality to nation to empire and back down, as Baucom does, requires a keen understanding of scale. Scale is a key factor in conversations that range from making maps to understanding the British empire to theorizing the capaciousness of the nineteenth-century novel. Helpful interlocutors on the topic of scale include Matthew Edney on the history of scale in mapping,[92] Melinda Rabb's work on the relationship between small-scale miniatures and large-scale events in the long eighteenth century,[93] Linda Colley on the impact of Britain's small size on British empire and identity,[94] Benjamin Morgan on scalar shifts in Thomas Hardy's novels,[95] and Joanna Taylor and Ian Gregory on a methodology they call "multiscalar analysis" that toggles back and forth between distant and close reading.[96]

Whereas conversations about locality, nation, and empire are a natural corollary to engaging with critical cartography and the spatial turn, there are other debates that are less clearly connected, two of which I want to address. One of these is the history of the novel. Whereas scholars like Alex Woloch,[97] Andrew Franta,[98] Franco Moretti,[99] Jonathan Grossman,[100] and Ruth Livesey[101] have suggested that the novel is attuned to systems, webs, and social relationships, other scholars like Ian Watt[102] and Michael McKeon[103] have maintained that the novel focuses on the individual and interiority. My project reconciles these two alternatives. On the one hand, in the novels I study, literary characters presented with maps are not adept systems thinkers and thus unable to interpret the map's abstractions and data points in a traditionally logical or rational way. Rather than seeing the forest (map as system), they see only

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[91] Ian Baucom, *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire, and the Locations of Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 5–6.
[92] Edney, *Cartography: The Ideal and Its History*, 167–226.
[93] Melinda Rabb, *Miniature and the English Imagination: Literature, Cognition, and Small-Scale Culture, 1650-1765* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).
[94] Linda Colley, *Captives: Britain, Empire, and the World, 1600-1850* (New York: Anchor Books, 2002).
[95] Benjamin Morgan, "Scale in Tess in Scale," *Novel: A Forum on Fiction* 52, no. 1 (2019): 44–63, https://doi.org/10.1215/00295132-7330092.
[96] Joanna E. Taylor and Ian N. Gregory, *Deep Mapping the Literary Lake District: A Geographical Textual Analysis* (Lewisburg, Pennsylvania: Bucknell University Press, 2022).
[97] Alex Woloch, *The One vs. The Many: Minor Characters and the Space of the Protagonist in the Novel* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).
[98] Andrew Franta, *Systems Failure: The Uses of Disorder in English Literature* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2019).
[99] Franco Moretti, *Atlas of the European Novel, 1800-1900* (London: Verso, 1997).
[100] Jonathan H. Grossman, "Living the Global Transport Network in Great Expectations," *Victorian Studies* 57, no. 2 (Winter 2015): 225–50.
[101] Livesey, *Writing the Stage Coach Nation: Locality on the Move in Nineteenth-Century British Literature*.
[102] Ian Watt, *The Rise of the Novel*, Second American Edition (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001).
[103] Michael McKeon, *The Origins of the English Novel, 1600-1740* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987).

the trees (the individual bodies of themselves, their friends, and their families that block a fuller understanding of the map). In Chapter Two, scenes of map misreading reify the novel's commitment to the individual and the particular in a way that aligns with Watt and McKeon. However, Chapter Five complicates that alignment by showing literary characters misreading maps in a social context. Despite the multiplication of maps and the increasing availability of maps to individuals, map reading is shown to be a community endeavor shared among literary characters, novel readers, and authors alike. Map misreading is an avenue toward building social relationships more than it is about individual knowledge. Map misreaders are both focused on the individual and on the community of social relationships.

The second topic that has mostly been unaddressed by spatial turn thinkers pertains to "paratexts," which Gérard Genette defines as elements in a published work that accompany the main text as a kind of "threshold" or "vestibule," including the title page, preface, introduction, epigraphs, footnotes, and illustrations.[104] In an essay about the print formats of British didactic geography books in the era 1500-1900, Robert Mayhew notes that "much of spatial turn criticism has ignored material contexts."[105] He aims to tie together textuality and space in a more historical way. My project follows his lead, especially in Chapter Five, which considers whether and how maps function as paratextual elements in late nineteenth-century novels. Excellent scholarship on paratexts has included Elaine Freedgood's chapter on the epigraphs and footnotes in George Eliot's *Middlemarch* (1871)[106] and Daniel Hack's chapter on the materiality of writing, including footnotes and other graphic features like old-fashioned typeface, in William Makepeace Thackeray's *History of Henry Esmond* (1852).[107] However, the maps I examine in Chapter Five are not as clearly paratextual as Freedgood's and Hack's examples. Here I turn to Sally Bushell, who has suggested that labeling fictional maps as paratextual treats the maps as subordinate to the text. In contrast, she "aims to restore value to the fictional map by viewing it as a dynamic element of meaning."[108] Rather than a paratext, she suggests that we treat fictional maps as

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[104] Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
[105] Robert J. Mayhew, "Materialist Hermeneutics, Textuality and the History of Geography: Print Spaces in British Geography, c. 1500-1900," *Journal of Historical Geography*, no. 33 (2007): 466.
[106] Freedgood, *Worlds Enough: The Invention of Realism in the Victorian Novel*, 77–96.
[107] Daniel Hack, *The Material Interests of the Victorian Novel* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2005), 11–36.
[108] Sally Bushell, "Paratext or Imagetext? Interpreting the Fictional Map," *Word & Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry* 32, no. 2 (2016): 182, https://doi.org/10.1080/02666286.2016.1146513.

"imagetext," in art historian W.J.T. Mitchell's terms.[109] She acknowledges that paratext is a helpful context for a discrete material object (such as a particular edition) but contends that it is "less suited to the full ongoing history of a literary work." As an example, she offers Thomas Hardy who produced a map for first and second editions of *The Return of the Native* but then removed and replaced it with a larger-scale map of Wessex in 1895.[110] Like Bushell, Raphael Zähringer also challenges the notion that maps printed in novels are straightforwardly paratextual. He argues that pirate treasure maps in young adult and children's literature are both intertextual ("they tend to be printed on endpapers" and "treated as paratexts in Genette's sense") and intratextual ("within the story world" they are "used by characters on their hunt" for treasure).[111] Zähringer includes Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (1882) among the novels with a treasure map that holds this dual place and function. Chapter Five treats the maps of Barchester, Treasure Island, and Wessex in this nuanced way as both paratextual and intratextual, extradiegetic and intradiegetic, outside and inside the story, held in the hands of readers but also embedded in the content of the story.

In closing, I want to say a word about method. If I am going to treat mapping as a practice rather than a product, it is only fair for me to examine my own epistemological practices. What constitutes evidence in the discipline of English literature? Is my method, which is primarily close reading, enough to constitute evidence on its own? Do I make too much fuss over very small (sometimes one sentence) moments? Are these fleeting mentions substantial enough to hold up the weight of my claims or bear the weight of the exemplarity they are asked to support? To this, I propose a "yes-and" rather than an "either-or" endeavor. Though I would not go so far as to label it "multi-scalar analysis," my project does scale down and up by including both close readings and quantitative data. For example, I discuss the volume of Robinson Crusoe imitations in the nineteenth century (Chapter Three) and the range of novelistic references to the Isle of Wight (Chapter Four). This kind of quantitative data supports and extends the analysis provided by my close readings and hopefully makes my case more compelling to disciplinary outsiders.

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[109] W.J.T. Mitchell, *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1987).
[110] Bushell, "Paratext or Imagetext? Interpreting the Fictional Map," 192.
[111] Raphael Zähringer, "X Marks the Spot—Not: Pirate Treasure Maps in Treasure Island and Käpt'n Sharky Und Das Geheimnis Der Schatzinsel," *Children's Literature in Education* 48 (2017): 7, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10583-016-9308-0.

At the same time, I do contend that close reading is enough to constitute evidence on its own. I do not have to prove that something happens in lots of novels or happens many times in a single novel for it to qualify as evidence. Jonathan Kramnick's "Criticism and Truth" (2021) makes a case for close reading not as an especially intense kind of ordinary reading but as a practice of writing, finesse, dexterity, comingling one's own words and ideas with the text so to produce a third space or new object. Truth comes in part from the skilled work of weaving together two worlds (the original text's and the critic's).[112] Kramnick's article is a beautiful reflection on this discipline, the skill required, and how it can produce truth in the world. The idea that "skilled close reading is enough to count as evidence/truth" appeals to me because of the overarching claims of my project. Part of my overall point is that the moments that I study are seemingly small, apparently insignificant, and often overlooked by critics. I suggest that these moments are worthy of our attention and that they can be re-valued as avenues into the novel's anti-map stance. Reading these moments closely reveals that literary characters are not ignorant map users; instead, they reveal the map's inability to adequately represent place in the very era in which mapmaking is so celebrated, popularized, and legitimized.

[112] Jonathan Kramnick, "Criticism and Truth," *Critical Inquiry* 47 (Winter 2021): 218–40.

PART I.
Mapmakers and Map(mis)readers: Two Approaches to Topography

CHAPTER I.
"A proper Survey of the Country": Triangulation, Tools, and Topography

In July 1745, while Britain was engaged in the War of Austrian Succession, the displaced Jacobite Prince Charles Edward Stuart (1720-1788), otherwise known as "Bonnie Prince Charlie" or "the Young Pretender," saw an opportunity to advance his claim to the throne. He landed in Scotland, raised an armed force of 5,000 men, and defeated the royal army in the Battle of Prestopans.[113] Though the rebellion was short lived and would be brutally extinguished in 1746 by the royal forces of the Duke of Cumberland (1721-1765) at Culloden, not all of the rebels would go quietly. An 80-year-old Scottish Jacobite supporter named Lord Lovat (1667-1747) was able to elude the King's army for a full two weeks. This embarrassing evasion was possible because Lord Lovat knew the landscape of the Scottish Highlands intimately whereas the King's troops were hampered by inadequate or nonexistent maps.[114] As a result of the blunder with Lord Lovat, General David Watson (1704-1761), who had been at the Battle of Culloden with the Duke of Cumberland, wrote that the British "found themselves greatly embarrassed for want a proper Survey of the Country." In July 1747, the British government approved General Watson's proposal for a survey of Scotland.[115]

The Scottish survey would be headed by a 21-year-old named William Roy (1726-1790) who would spend the next eight years producing a map of Scotland at a scale of 1,000 yards to the inch, comprised of 84 manuscript rolls.[116] Roy was accompanied in the field by a young artist named Paul Sandby (1731-1809), who had been appointed as "Chief Draftsman of the fair Plan."[117] Sandby captured their experience in a watercolor image, *View Near Loch Rannoch* (1749) (See **Figure 2**). It shows a surveying party on the north side of the River Tummel in

[113] Danson, *Weighing the World: The Quest to Measure the Earth*, 60.
[114] Shannon Gilstrap, "Charting Culture: Cartography and National Identity in Matthew Arnold's 'Ordnance Maps,'" *Victorian Review* 39, no. 1 (Spring 2013): 93.
[115] Danson, *Weighing the World: The Quest to Measure the Earth*, 62.
[116] Danson, 64.
[117] John Bonehill, Stephen Daniels, and Nicholas Alfrey, "Paul Sandby: Picturing Britain," in *Paul Sandby: Picturing Britain*, ed. John Bonehill and Stephen Daniels (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2009), 14.

Scotland. The man in blue bent over the theodolite (the tripod-shaped tool) is most likely William Roy. At the conclusion of his work, Roy humbly declared that his map was "rather to be considered as a magnificent military sketch, than an accurate map of a country."[118] Roy's modesty belies the significant impact of his "magnificent military sketch." Even if it was not itself "an accurate map of a country," Roy's effort would inspire one. It would become the germ of Britain's first comprehensive national mapping project, known as the Ordnance Survey (OS).

***Figure 2**. Paul Sandby, View Near Loch Rannoch, 1749.*[119]

After several preliminary operations in the mid- to late-eighteenth century—including Roy's military sketch in Scotland, the measurement of a trigonometric baseline on Hounslow Heath, and cross-channel observations between Dover and Calais—the project officially began in June 1791 with the purchase of a theodolite surveying instrument and the hiring of three

[118] Danson, *Weighing the World: The Quest to Measure the Earth*, 66.
[119] Paul Sandby, *View Near Loch Rannoch*, 1749, Watercolor, 1749, British Library Gallery Online, http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/kinggeorge/v/003ktop0000.

employees.[120] Over the course of 79 years of painstaking triangulation, survey, measurement, computation, sketching, engraving, and printing across England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, the Ordnance Survey produced a series of county-by-county maps at a scale of one-inch to one-mile printed on 108 sheets, each of which was sub-divided into quarter-sheets measuring approximately 30 inches wide by 20 inches tall.[121] Originally conceived as a military defense during the Jacobite Rebellion and carried out for that purpose during the Napoleonic Wars, the maps eventually gained widespread popularity for a broad range of administrative, navigational, cadastral, pedestrian, and recreational purposes. From its inspiration in 1747 to the production of the "First Series" maps between 1791and 1870, the Ordnance Survey was the most significant mapping project in Britain's history.

The period during which the OS was conducted coincides with a seemingly quite different cultural phenomenon, the rise to prominence of the British novel. Given that the two technologies were developing at the same time, they might be said to have shared circumstances and shared discourses, even possibly shared ideologies and shared goals. Certainly, both genres were coping with the problem of scale. Both the map of the nation and the novel of that era were objects on a massive scale—one measured in square miles and land features, the other in words and fictional characters. Each genre wielded its own tools for managing that scale: the sheet lines and multiple meridians of the OS maps might be compared to the chapter breaks and serialization of the novels. These comparisons between maps and novels have been tempting to scholars, especially in the era of the "spatial turn" in the humanities. As a result, one prevalent critical view sees novelistic representation and mapping practices as contiguous with each other, over-emphasizing the similarities between novels and maps and often using "mapping" as a metaphor for what literature can do. The ubiquity and prominence of these claims suggest that they have been compelling, generative, and illuminating. However, they have also been overstated and a course correction is in order. My project attempts to unsettle and recalibrate these claims for the similarities between novels and maps. Novels are, of course, different from maps, and hardly anyone would dispute that. My point is that overemphasizing the contiguity between the two tends to obscure salient nineteenth-century discourse about topography.

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[120] On June 21, 1791, the Expense Ledger of the Board of Ordnance records that 373 pounds and 14 shillings were paid to London instrument maker Jesse Ramsden for his theodolite. The next day, Isaac Dalby became the national survey's earliest recorded employee. On July 12, Colonel Edward Williams and Lieutenant William Mudge were appointed Director and Deputy Director, respectively. Dalby was their assistant. Seymour, *A History of the Ordnance Survey*, 22–23.

[121] Rachel Hewitt, *Map of a Nation: A Biography of the Ordnance Survey* (London: Granta Publications, 2010), 163.

This chapter will proceed in three sections. First, situating the OS in the historical trajectory of British mapping will show that the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century was a watershed moment. For the first time, British maps would be undergirded by a network of triangles called the trigonometrical framework, which ensured that the map's features were accurately placed in a grid of longitude and latitude, thus promising unparalleled scientific precision. As impressive as it was, however, attending only to the triumphs of the Trigonometrical Survey would obscure the important challenges wrought by the rest of the mapmaking process. Though the Trigonometrical Survey is what made the Ordnance Survey different from its predecessors and celebrated by its contemporaries, it is the rest of the process that more productively puts nineteenth-century maps and novels into conversation.

The second section of the chapter does just that, considering how OS maps and nineteenth-century novels are similar on the level of form. The British map and novel both rose to prominence in the same era in all their full complexity, scale, and ambition. In both cases, aspiring to imagine something on a grand scale created certain formal difficulties. As Elaine Freedgood has shown in *Worlds Enough: The Invention of Realism in the Victorian Novel* (2019), some of the novel's coping mechanisms for these difficulties include chapter breaks, serialization, multiple plots, omniscient narrators, and a lack of unity.[122] These strategies are not unlike the map's multiple meridians, sheet lines, and changes in scale. These formal resemblances have tempted many critics to oversimplify their comparisons between maps and novels.

Though maps and novels of this era are integrally engaged, turning from form to content in the third section and examining the OS's treatment of topography will challenge that narrative and show how the map and novel are trending in different directions. The processes of topography, which involved filling in the details of the trigonometrical framework, were neglected, underfunded, and disparaged in mapping projects in Great Britain, Ireland, and India. The devaluation and constriction of topography in this chapter will be absent from the novelistic examples in Chapter Two, in which the novel emerges as the anti-map by articulating an alternative understanding of place.

"With so much care and accuracy": The Trigonometrical Survey

[122] Freedgood, *Worlds Enough: The Invention of Realism in the Victorian Novel*.

If William Roy's preliminary survey in Scotland in 1747 was "rather to be considered as a magnificent military sketch, than an accurate map of a country," the nineteenth-century Ordnance Survey would come to hold the latter title, thanks in large part to the scientific advancements of triangulation. The process of triangulation, which formed the basis of the Trigonometrical Survey, enhanced the quality and increased the quantity of British maps. To contextualize the significance of the Ordnance Survey's use of triangulation, this section will begin by tracing a brief history of British topographical mapping.

Scholars have identified no more than thirty-five domestic maps produced in England before 1500.[123] The two most famous, Matthew Paris's maps and the Gough Map, were necessarily limited in their accuracy. Matthew Paris (1200-1259), well-known at the court of Henry III (1207-1272), was medieval England's "most prolific map-maker."[124] Paris drew his maps of Britain (four of which survive) between 1255 and 1259 in three stages: first, he traced the island's outline from a world map; second, he used an itinerary to construct a sequence of places and rivers between Dover on the English Channel and the Scottish border at Berwick; finally, he filled in the additional town names, regions, mountains, and other features.[125] His sequenced, itinerary-based style meant that places and features were placed on the map relative to each other, and especially to what came before them on the route, rather than being determined independently by their own locations. If the location of a single point was inaccurate, it would have a cascading impact on every other point along the route. After the Paris maps, there are no surviving maps for the next one hundred years until the Gough Map of 1360, named not after the mapmaker (who is unknown) but after a former owner, the eighteenth-century antiquary Richard Gough (1735-1809). The Gough Map is more advanced than the Paris maps in two ways. First, it is based on a network of roads, rather than a single road.[126] Unlike the Paris maps, it could have been useful to a traveler wishing to stray or explore beyond a singular route. The second advancement of the Gough map is that the locations of several towns were based on astronomically calculated coordinates.[127] These two innovations meant that the Gough Map was much more comprehensive and accurate than the Paris maps. However, its static astronomical basis, with each location separately calculated rather than linked together in a trigonometrical

[123] Wood, *Rethinking the Power of Maps*, 29.
[124] Delano-Smith and Kain, *English Maps: A History*, 44.
[125] Delano-Smith and Kain, 45–46.
[126] Harvey, *The History of Topographical Maps: Symbols, Pictures, and Surveys*, 142.
[127] Delano-Smith and Kain, *English Maps: A History*, 48.

framework, meant that it was still disconnected from the kind of systematic framework that would not emerge until the late eighteenth-century cross-channel observations made by England and France in the lead-up to the OS.

After the medieval period, there emerged what Catherine Delano-Smith and J.P. Kain call the three stages of topographical mapping in English history. The first phase was the "small-scale county map" produced in the second half of the sixteenth century and the early decades of the seventeenth century by mapmakers like Christopher Saxton (1540-1610), John Norden (1547-1625), and John Speed (1552-1629).[128] Edwin Danson argues that Christopher Saxton's map, published in 1579, was "unsurpassed in accuracy and quality" for nearly two centuries.[129] This is high praise, but the map had some serious drawbacks. Saxton's map showed bridges but did not show either routes or roads. To calculate distances, map users had to turn to John Norden's "pocket-sized ready-reckoner" with pages upon pages of matrices displaying the computed distances between any two pairs of twenty-five towns in the county.[130] As with the Gough Map, the route calculator allowed for more available choices than the singular road of the Paris maps, but it was still a laborious process that limited a traveler to extensive preliminary calculations, the selection of certain towns, and limited flexibility on the go. Because it required a companion "ready-reckoner" to function with any kind of quantitative accuracy, Saxton's map was far from achieving the systematic cohesiveness of the Ordnance Survey.

After this first phase in topographical map history, Delano-Smith and Kain explain that the seventeenth century brought "little or no advancement to county mapping."[131] This gap in mapping innovation reflected a number of disruptive factors, including the Civil War, the creation of the Commonwealth, and the Restoration. When these hostilities generated a need for maps, that need was met by the reissuing of old material from Christopher Saxton and John

[128] Delano-Smith and Kain, 51.
[129] Danson, *Weighing the World: The Quest to Measure the Earth*, 13.
[130] Delano-Smith and Kain, *English Maps: A History*, 161.
[131] The most famous new map of seventeenth century England was John Ogilby's *Britannia Depicta* (1675), which was not a county map so does not feature in Delano-Smith and Kain's three stages of topographical mapping. It is widely considered the first "road atlas" of England, composed of 100 strip maps or traverse surveys made by pushing a perambulator or circumferentor tool along a road and delineating the distances between places (Hewitt, 147). Though Ogilby's map is not a topographical county map, it shares certain features in common with Matthew Paris's medieval map in its sequential, itinerary style. His preface explains how he intended users to interface with his map: "We have projected [the roads] upon imaginary scrolls, the initial city or town being always at the bottom of the outmost scroll on the left hand, whence your road ascends to the top of the said scroll; then from the bottom of the next scroll ascends again, thus constantly ascending till it terminates at the top of the outmost scroll on the right hand" (Turchi, 106). Ogilby's maps—like Paris maps, the Gough map, and Saxton's maps before them—were oriented to the local user's forward progress along a route, not to the comprehensive view of a county or nation.

Speed rather than the production of new maps.[132] After these disruptions settled down, the second phase of topographical mapping introduced new county surveys and the production of large-scale county maps in the eighteenth century,[133] beginning with Joel Gascoyne's surveyed map of Cornwall in 1700.[134] Between 1765 and 1780, approximately 25 large-scale county maps were published, covering an impressive 65% of England.[135] These maps were commissioned, surveyed, engraved, and published privately, usually at the instigation of the local gentry.

Given the ubiquity of privately produced and financed mapping in this second phase, W.A. Seymour suggests that there are two ways to understand the state of mapping in eighteenth-century England.[136] First, as Delano-Smith and Kain argue, the range and volume of this private map production "was an impressive achievement on all counts," especially "given that their entire responsibility rested on private individuals—their finances, their organizational, surveying, and cartographical skills, and their business acumen."[137] According to this argument, most map users were satisfied with the surveys and maps available to them by private means. A second way to understand eighteenth-century mapping is that, despite the range and volume of privately produced maps, the quality was still sub-par. For example, in 1734, map-maker John Cowley (1719-1787) superimposed six existing maps of Scotland on top of each other to illustrate their embarrassingly radical divergence.[138] According to this second school of thought, the OS came to fruition in the nineteenth century not by riding a promising wave of technical improvement instantiated by extensive privatized map production, but out of a sense of desperate necessity stemming from inconsistent, haphazard, and sub-par mapping.

The second school of thought is persuasive, especially in an international context in which the state of British mapping compared unfavorably to mapping in other countries. British mapping had fallen behind other European countries—namely, Austria, Denmark, France—as well as some colonial possessions like India and North America.[139] As early as 1745, Jacques Cassini (1677-1756) produced his draft of a map of France constructed from over 800 individual

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[132] Delano-Smith and Kain, *English Maps: A History*, 76.
[133] Delano-Smith and Kain, 51.
[134] Matthew H. Edney, "Chapter Twelve- The Rise of Systematic, Territorial Surveys," in *The Routledge Handbook of Mapping and Cartopgraphy*, ed. Alexander J. Kent and Peter Vujakovic (New York: Routledge, 2018), 161.
[135] Delano-Smith and Kain, *English Maps: A History*, 109.
[136] Seymour, *A History of the Ordnance Survey*, 1.
[137] Delano-Smith and Kain, *English Maps: A History*, 109.
[138] Hewitt, *Map of a Nation: A Biography of the Ordnance Survey*, xxii.
[139] Delano-Smith and Kain note that England's "engagement with topographical mapping materialized over half a century later than on the continent." They explain the delay by looking to English protectionist policies, English politics in the wake of the Reformation, and the idiosyncrasies of England's rulers. Delano-Smith and Kain, *English Maps: A History*, 52.

triangles.[140] The first of the eventual 181 sheets of the national map would be published in 1756.[141] Seven years later, in November 1763, Charles Mason (1728-1786) and Jeremiah Dixon (1733-1779) landed in Philadelphia and spent the next five years "setting out the longest and most precise boundary lines ever drawn" by combining astronomy with land surveying.[142] In August 1781, during the American Revolution, George Washington appointed Simeon DeWitt (1756-1834) as surveyor-general to the Continental Army. British generals were uncomfortably aware that the Americans—as well as France, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Norway—had maps and they did not.[143] The British government's embarrassing lack of maps was an especially acute problem because of what Matthew Edney considers a "dramatic shift in the practice of war." [144] A pre-eighteenth-century emphasis on stationary fortresses and sieges shifted to a strategic focus on territorial control and dynamic open battles. Larger and more mobile armies needed detailed knowledge of the terrain. Even in peacetime, maps were necessary because an increasingly permanent army corps of military engineers needed productive employment.[145]

Aside from the potentially fatal consequences of having inadequate maps during wartime, the state of mapping in other countries mattered to Britain as a point of pride. Because it was behind in the race to produce an accurate national topographical map, Britain had a lot to prove to itself and the world. Though mapping is often interpreted as an expression of power, control, glory, and imperialism, Shannon Gilstrap argues that the OS had its origins in anxiety—namely, "anxieties over how England represents itself through its cultural products."[146] The early OS operated under a cloud of anxiety, weighed down by the embarrassing stigma of being behind but also buoyed up by a concomitant determination to prove something to a watchful international audience. OS maps, the third and final stage in Delano-Smith and Kain's three-stage history of English topographical mapping, would come to fill that void. Unlike the static astronomical observations from a single location which had been the height of sophistication at the time of the Gough Map in 1360, the success of OS mapping was predicated on a framework

[140] Danson, *Weighing the World: The Quest to Measure the Earth*, 61.
[141] Hewitt, *Map of a Nation: A Biography of the Ordnance Survey*, 70.
[142] Danson, *Weighing the World: The Quest to Measure the Earth*, 81.
[143] Danson, 174.
[144] Edney, "Chapter Twelve- The Rise of Systematic, Territorial Surveys," 161.
[145] One need look no further than Jane Austen's novel *Pride and Prejudice* (1813) to see the dire consequences attendant from an idle militia. Things may have turned out differently for the Bennett family if George Wickham could have been making maps instead of seducing sixteen-year-old Lydia.
[146] Gilstrap, "Charting Culture: Cartography and National Identity in Matthew Arnold's 'Ordnance Maps,'" 89.

of triangles, otherwise known as the Trigonometrical Survey, that would undergird and legitimize the maps.

Though triangulation was first introduced in 1533 by Gemma Frisius (1508-1555), a Dutch mathematician and cosmographer,[147] and first used in Britain in 1681 by mapmaker John Adams (1643-1690), who measured a twelve-mile baseline on King's Sedgemore in Somerset, the first national, systematic triangulation was the one begun by William Roy on behalf of the Ordnance Survey in the 1780s.[148] In the summer of 1784, William Roy and his team spent seventy-five consecutive days painstakingly measuring a five-mile baseline on the ground at Hounslow Heath. In June, they began the process using a one-hundred-foot steel chain but switched in July to twenty-foot wooden rods and switched again in August to glass rods after the wooden rods warped and expanded in the wet weather. Despite the decidedly unglamorous nature of their task—coping with detailed measurements and calculations amidst relentless rain while navigating around inconvenient brambles and soggy pools of water—their work was a matter of national interest and celebration. On August 21, King George III and his entourage paid a visit to Hounslow Heath. When the work was completed on August 30, a smattering of other celebrities flocked to the finish line, including art collector Sir William Hamilton (1730-1803) and President of the Royal Society Joseph Banks (1743-1820). Roy declared proudly that "there has never been so great a proportion of the surface of the Earth measured with so much care and accuracy."[149] Roy earned the Royal Society's Copley Medal for Science on November 30, 1785 for "the accurate and satisfactory manner in which he has measured a base, for operations of Trigonometry, upon Hounslow Heath."[150]

After measuring a baseline, the process of triangulation continued with the use of a theodolite, a tool that many British surveyors proudly considered to be their "national instrument," in part because of its invention in England by Kentish mathematician Leonard Digges (1515-1559).[151] Surveyors measured the angle from both ends of the baseline to a common "trig point" like a church steeple or other protruding landmark. Then, using the base length and the two angle measurements, they could calculate the lengths of the other two sides of

[147] Edney, *Cartography: The Ideal and Its History*, 196.
[148] Hewitt, *Map of a Nation: A Biography of the Ordnance Survey*, 69.
[149] Hewitt, 76–78.
[150] Yolande O'Donoghue, *William Roy, 1726-1790: Pioneer of the Ordnance Survey* (London: British Museum Publications Limited, 1977), 46.
[151] Hewitt, *Map of a Nation: A Biography of the Ordnance Survey*, 21.

the triangle. From there, they could repeat the process, using each side of the first triangle as the base for a new triangle extending to a new trig point. In this way, the Trigonometrical Survey proceeded by building triangles upon triangles. The great advantage was that, because the longitudinal and latitudinal positions of the baseline ends could be calculated using astronomical observations, triangulation could form an accurate skeleton for a large map. It also eliminated the distortions caused by imperfect conditions on the ground (*e.g.,* inaccurate tools, bogs, fences, human interference). In theory, triangulation promised to achieve the Enlightenment ideal of a perfect map.[152]

Figure 3. *Henry James, Diagram shewing [sic] the principal triangulation for the Ordnance Trigonometrical Survey of Great Britain and Ireland, 1858.*[153]

The importance of triangulation continued long after the hubbub over the Hounslow Heath baseline measurement had died down, and even after William Roy himself died in July

[152] Hewitt, 68–69.
[153] *Diagram Shewing the Principal Triangulation for the Ordnance Trigonometrical Survey of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1858, 1858, Image shown in Henry James's Ordnance Trigonometrical Survey of Great Britain and Ireland, Volume 2.

1790. In 1811, when new Director of the OS, William Mudge (1762-1820), was questioned by the Commissioners of Military Enquiry about the original goals of the Survey, he replied that it was "to ascertain by a *correct trigonometrical operation*, the situation of all Head-lands upon the Channel, Eminences, and the remarkable objects throughout the Country, thereby preparing correct Materials for a *geographical description* of it" [emphasis mine]. Nearly three decades after the original baseline measurement, trigonometrical activities were still regarded as of supreme importance. Indeed, as Mudge saw it, the purpose of trigonometry was to prepare for a "geographical" description of the land, suggesting that Mudge was interested in the large-scope results of geography (the writing of the earth), not the small-scope details of topography (the writing of a place). As W.A. Seymour notes, "To some observers they [the trigonometrical activities] were an end in themselves; the triangulation, their argument ran, required neither the topographical survey nor the published maps to justify their existence."[154] As one measure of the importance of the Trigonometrical Survey, many of the angles, distances between stations, and tables of latitude and longitude were printed in the prestigious journal *Philosophical Transactions*.[155] In 1814, Scottish philosopher Dugald Stewart (1753-1828) wrote in the second volume of his *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind* that the Trigonometrical Survey was "probably without any other example" in demonstrating in practice the kind of perfect logic that would ordinarily be the preserve of only pure math and abstract geometry.[156] Later, the Principal Triangulation, a process by which all triangulation observations done before 1824 would be repeated to correct any minor errors, would be considered "a fine scientific achievement which brought the Ordnance Survey great international credit" (See **Figure 3**).[157]

"Square the map": Tools for Managing Size and Scale

Though the Trigonometrical Survey was the innovation that differentiated the Ordnance Survey from previous phases of British mapping, and though it was the stage of the process most celebrated by contemporaries at home and abroad, there are other aspects of the nineteenth-century Ordnance Survey that more suggestively put maps and novels into conversation. The Trigonometrical Survey made it newly possible for mapmakers to systematically depict the

[154] Seymour, *A History of the Ordnance Survey*, 29.
[155] William Roy, "An Account of the Trigonometrical Operation, Whereby the Distance Between the Meridians of the Observatories of Greenwich and Paris Has Been Determined," *Philosophical Transactions* 80 (1790): 111–614.
[156] Dugald Stewart, *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind*, vol. II (Boston: Wells and Lilly, 1821), 118.
[157] Seymour, *A History of the Ordnance Survey*, 143.

nation on a vast scale with a heretofore unrealized level of accuracy. This ambition of size and scale produced practical and formal difficulties. This section will explore three solutions to those difficulties: multiple meridians, sheet lines, and the Battle of the Scales. These three divisions are not unlike the chapter breaks, serialization, and multiple plots that characterize the nineteenth-century British novel. On a formal level, the maps and novels of this era employed comparable tools for managing the scale of the imagination.

The first tool for managing size and scale was the use of multiple meridians rather than one central meridian for the entire country. In practice, using multiple meridians meant selecting a point near the center of a particular county and projecting the county map from the meridian line running through that central point. For example, the map of northern England was projected from the meridian of Delamere whereas maps of southern England were projected from two different meridians at Butterton Hill and Greenwich. This meant that the maps of any one county, or small group of counties, were plotted independently. The advantage of this system was that maps of small districts would then be complete in themselves, without reference to a single, central meridian.[158] The problem with multiple meridians, however, is that this caused significant discontinuities between the maps.[159] The type of projection most used by the OS was the Cassini-Soldner projection. In a Cassini-Soldner projection (a simple, non-perspective cylindrical projection), the scale along the central meridian, and everything at right angles to that meridian, is true and accurate. However, elsewhere on the map, the projection distorts the scale in a north-to-south direction. The further a feature is from the central meridian, the more distorted its scale will be.[160] Though distortions are unavoidable in any projection, the discontinuities in OS maps are directly related to the use of multiple meridians. Had there been a single meridian, there would have been *distortions* in a north-to-south direction along Britain's coasts, furthest from the central meridian line—but not *discontinuities*. In the case of multiple

[158] Harley, *Ordnance Survey Maps: A Descriptive Manual*, 17–18.
[159] The use of the term "discontinuities" is not to be confused with "distortions." Almost all maps have distortions because of the "orange peel problem." As Peter Turchi explains, the problem is this: "If you were to remove the entire peel from an orange in a single piece—or, by analogy remove the surface of Earth—there would be no way to lay it flat without cutting it in several pieces and/or pressing and pulling it." Thus, every flattened map of the earth, called a projection, includes at least some kind of distortion. A projection is a solution to the "orange peel problem" that works by prioritizing which parts of the map need to be more accurate and which parts can afford to be distorted. One of the most famous projections comes from cosmographer Gerard de Cramer, better known as Gerardus Mercator, who introduced a new projection in 1569 intended primarily for sailors which allowed them "to lay a ruler on a map and plan a straight-line course for their destination." Because the most important sailing routes of the sixteenth century were near the equator, the distortion on Mercator's map increased as one moved further from the equator. Turchi, *Maps of the Imagination: The Writer as Cartographer*, 74–75.
[160] Harley, *Ordnance Survey Maps: A Descriptive Manual*, 17.

meridians, the distortions were most heavily concentrated not at the seaside but along county borders, which meant that there were *discontinuities* where the borders of one county met the borders of another. On the national level, these discontinuities caused a larger problem: the OS's overall claim for itself, the production of the first cohesive national map in 108 sheets, comes to seem a bit disingenuous in light of the multiple meridians. As Seymour writes, "South of the Hull-Preston line, there were no less than ten local meridians so *there could have been no way to produce a continuous topographical map"* [emphasis mine].[161] Recognizing these issues, the OS made attempts to correct the situation. In 1863, Middlesex and Hertfordshire were combined on the meridian of St. Paul's. Later, fifteen counties were combined on the Dunnose meridian. Despite these corrections, J.B. Harley reports that "the legacy of multiple meridians loomed large."[162] It was not until 1884 that the universal prime meridian was established at Greenwich.[163] By 1938, the Davidson Committee reported that the First Series maps were still projected on thirty-nine different meridians.[164]

In addition to multiple meridians, a second tool for managing size and scale was the use of sheet lines. Collectively, Britain and Ireland occupy more than 120,000 square miles. Given that the map could not be engraved on a single enormous sheet, the map of the nation needed to be divided such that it would be portable and affordable but still seem to produce a coherent and connected national product. Initially, the plan was to produce separate maps of each county. The first published maps of Kent (1801) and Essex (1805) followed this scheme.[165] The 1801 map of Kent is illustrative of this initial plan (See **Figure 4**). Kent was divided into four sheets, one of which is shown below. Taken together, the four sheets show the whole of Kent plus parts of its neighboring counties. While the map of Kent is thus complete as a standalone object, it somewhat marred the overall goal of producing a coherent map of the nation. When placed alongside the map of a neighboring county, like Essex to the north, there would be significant overlaps. To reduce the overlaps, the engravers adopted a new practice for the remaining

[161] Seymour, *A History of the Ordnance Survey*, 57.
[162] Harley, *Ordnance Survey Maps: A Descriptive Manual*, 17.
[163] Denis Cosgrove, *Apollo's Eye: A Cartographic Genealogy of the Earth in the Western Imagination* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 186.
[164] Harley, *Ordnance Survey Maps: A Descriptive Manual*, 18.
[165] It is strange that Catherine Delano-Smith and Roger J.P. Kain get this doubly wrong. They write that profound change came to topographical mapping "through the Ordnance Survey's use of sheet lines rather than county boundaries (the latter being used only for Kent, 1801; Essex, 1803; Devon, 1809)." Their first mistake is that Essex was actually completed in 1805 (not 1803). Their second mistake is that Devon was done using sheet lines (not county boundaries), according to W.A. Seymour and Julia S. Carlson. See Delano-Smith and Kain, *English Maps: A History*, 51. See Seymour, *A History of the Ordnance Survey*, 49. See Carlson, *Romantic Marks and Measures: Wordsworth's Poetry in Fields of Print*, 87.

counties, mapping the land "according to the straight lines of rectangular sheets."[166] Engravers included as much land as they could fit within the rectangular borders of the map sheets, a process that would, in the words of the Lieutenant-General of the Board of Ordnance, "square the map."[167] It was not that the maps of Kent and Essex did not appear "square": they were rectangle-shaped like all of the later maps. It was just that the practice of "squaring the map" produced adjoining, rather than overlapping, sheets. Using sheet borders instead of county boundaries achieved the end goal of neatly fitting those sheet borders together into a cohesive depiction of the entire country.

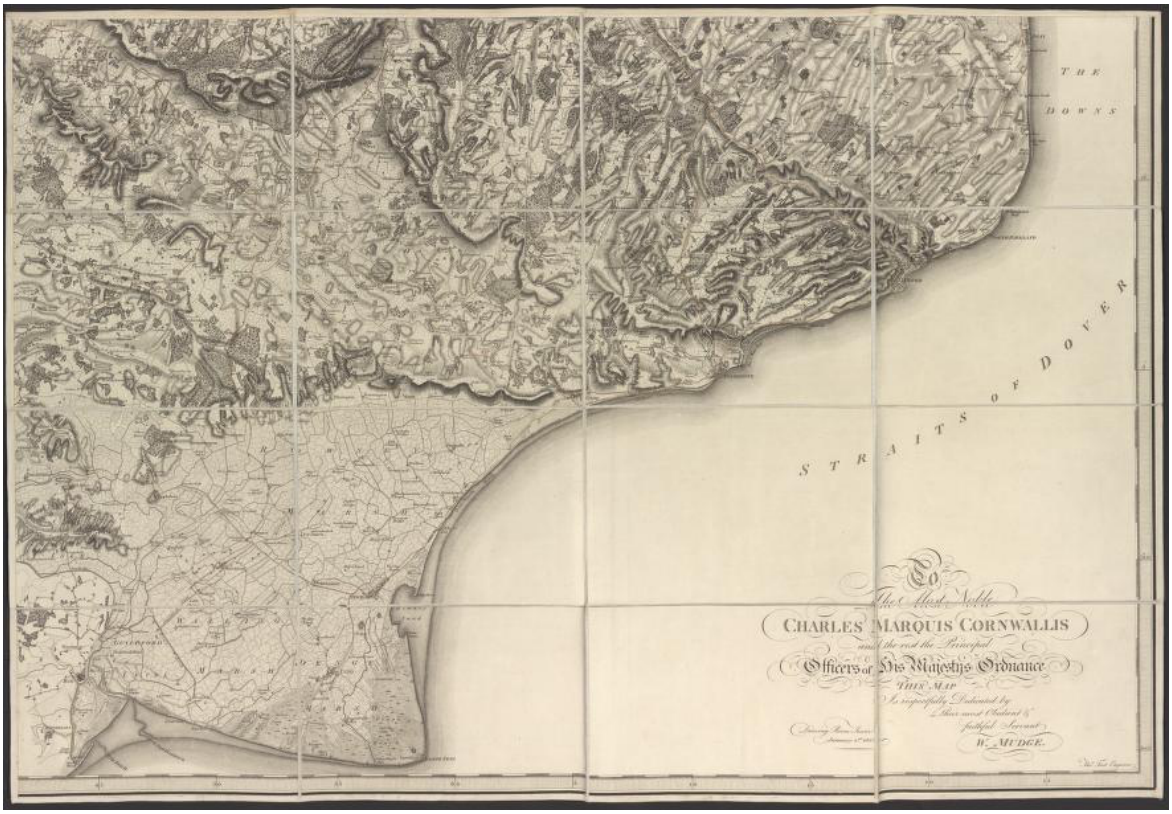

***Figure 4**. William Mudge, Entirely New and Accurate Survey of the County of Kent, 1801.*[168]

[166] Delano-Smith and Kain, *English Maps: A History*, 82.
[167] Squaring the map had actually been the goal all along. Indeed, it had been set into motion even before the first map of Kent was printed in 1801. In February 1800, Lieutenant-General of the Board of Ordnance wrote to William Mudge that he approved of the proposition "to Survey the County of Devon with as much of Somersetshire and Cornwall as will square the map." Seymour, *A History of the Ordnance Survey*, 49.
[168] William Mudge, *Entirely New and Accurate Survey of the County of Kent*, Dissected and mounted on linen, 1:63,360, First Series (London: William Faden, 1801), Steven S. Clark Library at the University of Michigan, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/c/clark1ic/x-005286202/39015060933671?lasttype=boolean;lastview=reslist;resnum=2;size=50;start=1;subview=detail;view=entry;rgn1=ic_all;select1=all;q1=clark1ic;op2=And;rgn2=ic_all;select2=all;q2=ordnance+survey.

However, though the sheet borders might have been an improvement upon county borders, they were nonetheless indisputably internal divisions that were marked by unevenness and inconsistency. First, the paper on which the maps were engraved was not perfectly rectangular, meaning that the sheet lines were irregular. The bottom could be wider than the top, or vice versa, causing visible gaps or overlaps when two sections were laid side-by-side.[169] Second, even if the paper was even, the actual process of engraving had built-in inconsistency because of the OS's own procedures: Director Thomas Colby (1784-1852) would not permit surveyors to compare the edges of the field sheets. One field sheet was treated separately from the next, even if they depicted adjacent land. A perfectionist and over-achiever with impossibly high standards, Colby believed that if the work of surveying itself was done correctly, there would be no discontinuities between the field sheets. This may have been a laudable goal, but it was an unrealistic and problematic standard in practice. The result was that field sheets with allegedly "perfect" surveys were handed to engravers in the drawing office who were not permitted to reconcile the very real imperfections at the sheet edges.[170] In addition to these sources of material and human error in the production process, the sheets created further division because of the way that they were sold. Map users could buy a full sheet (one of 108) or they could buy a quarter sheet (one of 432).[171] Taken together, each sheet's material irregularity, the disjunctions in surveying details at the edges, and the commercial necessity of division into quarter sheets meant that divisions were triply conspicuous. Even without the use of county borders as the organizing principle, the image of the nation produced by OS maps was not one of unity and cohesion; rather, it was a nation segmented into a series of discrete bounded units whose divisions were starkly pronounced.

A third source of division arose from the question of what scale to map the nation, which was a matter of Parliamentary debate. The original scale, one-inch to one-mile, was used for the general maps, but there were several other options. The OS in Ireland introduced a new scale in 1824: one-inch to six-miles. In 1840, that same scale was authorized for the surveying of northern England and Scotland, even though the maps of that area were reduced for the sake of consistency to match the one-inch to one-mile scale of southern England. Shortly after that authorization, an extended controversy, known as "The Battle of the Scales," began in 1842 and

[169] Seymour, *A History of the Ordnance Survey*, 58.
[170] Seymour, 105.
[171] Seymour, 161.

lasted for about twenty years. The battle, which became a matter of Parliamentary debate between 1851-1859, was over not just *which* scale to use but also *how* to express that scale. The old way was to express "natural scale" as a verbal expression such as "six inches to the mile" but the new way was to express "rational scale" with a neatly rounded denominator inspired by the metric system, as in 1:2,500.[172] The advantage of the new rational way of expressing scale was that it "permitted members of one nation to use and compare the maps of other nations when different units of measurement were involved."[173] The rational system was officially adopted in 1858 when it was decided that the 1:2500 scale would be used for cultivated areas, the 1:10560 scale for uncultivated areas, and the 1:500 scale for towns with a population over 4,000.[174] Ironically, in the name of making the OS maps systematic on an international scale—that is, legible to an international audience and smoothly integrated with non-British units of measurement—the Survey's maps were split and fractured internally by new distinctions between "cultivated areas," "uncultivated areas," and "towns with populations over 4,000."

Multiple meridians, sheet lines, and an increasingly fractured scale meant that the OS maps were not nearly as cohesive and coherent as the Directors desired, or as they have come to seem in British mapping lore. Elaine Freedgood makes a similar argument about the nineteenth century novel. In *Worlds Enough: The Invention of Realism in the Victorian Novel* (2019), she argues that any ideas we have now about the Victorian novel "as formally coherent or as realistic in a good way" come from structuralist and poststructuralist critics, who attempted to rehabilitate the form by smoothing away its problems and formal failures. Her book restores the novel's inherent messiness like "its lack of unity, the intrusive omniscient author, and multiple plots."[175] In part because of these shared problems of scale and formal messiness, it is tempting to make comparisons between the representational strategies of maps and novels. Freedgood does so herself when she discusses the "cartographic birds-eye view the novel offers"[176] and the "cartographical fine-tuning that only fictional representation can provide."[177] Freedgood is not the only critic to make these kinds of comparisons between novels and maps. Two intellectual movements, the spatial turn in the humanities and critical cartography in mapping, have given

[172] Edney, *Cartography: The Ideal and Its History*, 209.
[173] Edney, 223.
[174] Harley, *Ordnance Survey Maps: A Descriptive Manual*, 3.
[175] Freedgood, *Worlds Enough: The Invention of Realism in the Victorian Novel*, xi.
[176] Freedgood, 80.
[177] Freedgood, 93.

rise to this line of thinking, as we saw in the Introduction. For example, Chu-Chueh Cheng suggests that there is an "ideological correlation between literature and cartography"[178]; Catherine Delano-Smith and Roger J.P. Kain write, "Like a literary text, a map is an act of construction"[179]; Max Byrd argues, "Like novels, maps have their own point of view… A map is a fiction"[180]; Peter Turchi says, "a story or novel is a kind of map"[181]; and Robert Tally Jr. makes the case that "all good geocriticism approaches texts as literary maps that help us to understand our world"[182] and "the novel is a form of literary cartography—a sort of map that enables readers to orient themselves to its world."[183] The ubiquity of these claims suggests that they have been compelling and generative. And, as we have seen in this section, there is a reasonable case to be made for the formal similarities between nineteenth-century British novels and maps. Multiple meridians and multiple plots, sheet lines and chapter breaks, fractured scales and lack of unity are all tools for managing the representation of something ambitious and grand.

"Done in a most slovenly inaccurate manner": The Topographical Survey

If the nineteenth-century novel and map have reasonable grounds for comparison on the level of form (both are massive objects divided into more easily digestible and consumable chunks), there are nonetheless key differences on the level of content in their treatment of place. Whereas the Trigonometrical Survey was celebrated as a national triumph of scientific accuracy, this section will examine how another phase of the mapmaking process, the Topographical Survey, was contrastingly plagued by the challenges of underfunding, cultural fingerprints, careless errors, and local particularities.

After the Trigonometrical Survey had been completed for a given area, the second stage—variously known as the Topographical Survey, Interior Survey, Internal Survey, or Local Survey—could begin.[184] This stage did not receive nearly the same levels of attention and celebration. To underscore this point, one need only examine the use of the name "Ordnance Survey," which did not appear until 1810. For the first nineteen years, the organization was

[178] Cheng, "Imperial Cartography and Victorian Literature: Charting the Wishes and Anguish of an Island-Empire," 5.
[179] Delano-Smith and Kain, *English Maps: A History*, 32.
[180] Max Byrd, "This Is Not a Map," *The Wilson Quarterly* 33, no. 3 (Summer 2009): 29.
[181] Turchi, *Maps of the Imagination: The Writer as Cartographer*, 166.
[182] Tally, *Topophrenia: Place, Narrative, and the Spatial Imagination*, 47.
[183] Tally, 95.
[184] Seymour, *A History of the Ordnance Survey*, 44.

better known as the 'Ordnance Map Office' or the 'Ordnance Trigonometrical Survey'"[185] The organization's *de facto* name prioritized the last stage (map) or the first stage (trigonometry) while ignoring the middle stage (topography).

In 1795, the Duke of Richmond (1735-1806), then Master-General of the Ordnance Survey, ordered that the Trigonometrical Survey should be complemented by a "distinct Local Survey of the Country" to be headed by William Gardner (1739-1800). In April 1799, Gardner wrote a synopsis of the techniques of the Topographical Survey. He proposed that a topographical surveyor should "plot his measurements, etc., represent the Towns, Villages, Woods, Rivers, Hills, omitting only the true forms of the Fields."[186] Gardner's synopsis makes two things clear: first, the Topographical Survey had a massive task to complete. Representing every town, village, wood, river, and hill spanning 120,000 square miles would be no small feat. At the same time, by proposing to sacrifice the accurate representation of field boundaries, Gardner made it clear that economizing was a priority of the Topographical Survey from the beginning. As a result, problems with the Topographical Survey included a lack of supervision for individual surveyors, the absence of standard specifications, and wide variations in attention to detail and style of drawing. It is no surprise, then, that "the early topographical survey fell short of the high standards achieved in the trigonometrical field."[187]

One example that sheds light on the shortcomings of the Topographical Survey is the case of Lundy Island, a two-square-mile island off the coast of North Devon near Woolacombe and Croyde. Thomas Compton, working for the Corps of Military Surveyors and Draftsmen for the Ordnance Map of Great Britain, produced the original "Plan of Lundy Island" in 1804 (See **Figure 5**).

[185] Delano-Smith and Kain, *English Maps: A History*, 219.
[186] Seymour, *A History of the Ordnance Survey*, 47.
[187] Seymour, 53.

***Figure 5**. Thomas Compton, Plan of Lundy Island, 1804.*[188]

Compton's map shows the island to be tilted in a northwest to southeast direction in the Bristol Channel. William Mudge, discovering the direction of the island to be inaccurate, directed Lieutenant Alexander W. Robe of the Royal Engineers to re-survey the island in October 1820 (See **Figure 6**).[189]

[188] Thomas Compton, *Plan of Lundy Island*, 1804, Pen and ink on paper, 1: 10560, 1804, British Library Gallery Online, http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/ordsurvdraw/l/002osd00000027bu00448000.html?_ga=2.126321033.582872998.1609001138-847032473.1606591830.
[189] Seymour, *A History of the Ordnance Survey*, 101.

***Figure 6**. Alexander W. Robe, Re-Surveyed Plan of Lundy Island, 1820.*[190]

As Robe noted on the new map, his survey was "the correction of a survey, made in 1804 by Mr. Thomas Compton." Robe's updated map shows Lundy Island to be oriented nearly perfectly in a north-to-south direction along the meridian of St. Ann's Chapel. It also shows significantly more pronounced undulations of land and sea at the island's edge. Note, for example, the harbor on the southern edge of the island, labeled as "The Rattles," which barely appears on Compton's map. Though there were notable improvements between Compton's survey and Robe's survey, there were still further errors to fix. In 1834, Robe added text (in red) to the bottom left corner of the map, observing:

[190] Alexander W. Robe, *Plan of Lundy Island*, 1820, Pen and ink on paper, 1: 10560, 1820, British Library Gallery Online, http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/ordsurvdraw/other/002osd00000027bu00449000.html?_ga=2.150906162.582872998.1609001138-847032473.1606591830.

> The alterations and additions in red on this plan are adopted from Lieutenant Denham's Survey. They relate to a small portion of the west coast of the island of which I had not time to complete the Survey. I requested Lieutenant Denham to examine the part carefully as I suspected I had not sketched it correctly from memory. I have therefore no doubt that his alteration is correct. A.W. Robe. 28 April 1834.

This history of the Ordnance Survey's three versions of Lundy Island reveals two salient points about the processes of the Topographical Survey. First, Robe was conscious that his process was rushed. He did not have time "to complete the Survey" of a portion of the west coast of the island. Having run out of time, he was forced to sketch that section "from memory," which must have been a nearly impossible task. He already "suspected," even as he was producing the map, that he had not done so "correctly." Ordnance Surveyors like Robe knowingly included inaccuracies in the Topographical Survey because of the pressures and exigencies of time. And yet, despite the rush, the whole saga played out against an agonizingly slow timeline. It took thirty years between 1804 and 1834 for Denham's results to finally replace Compton's.

Fixing the errors was time-consuming because Lundy Island was by no means the only source of error in the Topographical Survey. Recognizing that error was a widespread problem, Director William Mudge sent a circular to all members of the Royal Military Surveyors and Draftsmen in 1816 with ten points identifying several abuses including "the incorporation of plans made by cadets or unqualified civilian assistants, the uncritical acceptance of local plans of varying provenance, and the claiming of unjustified expenses by surveyors."[191] Despite Mudge's intervention, errors would continue to plague Thomas Colby, the next Director of the OS.[192] In September 1820, Colby traveled to Norfolk and Lincolnshire, taking unpublished plans of those regions with him. He wrote to William Mudge that the Topographical Survey of the area was "done in a most slovenly inaccurate manner; one wood fully double its real size and more than twice its breadth out of its place."[193] By 1834, the correction of 18,000 square miles had been completed but a further 6,000 square miles still remained to be done. When Colby reported these revisions to the Board of Ordnance, he was reproved for doing so without authority and notified that no financial provision should be made for future revision.[194] As with William Gardner's

[191] Seymour, *A History of the Ordnance Survey*, 54.
[192] Seymour, 55.
[193] Seymour, 101.
[194] Seymour, 103.

original proposal to omit the field boundaries for the Topographical Survey of Essex in 1799, this reproval underscores that corners were cut and finances restricted as much as possible on the Topographical Branch.

These practical results, that the Topographical Branch remained error-ridden and underfunded, were the results of two conceptual realities. First, the problem of standardizing the detailed topographical surveys presented a much bigger challenge than did the celebrated scientific work connected with triangulation. It was simply harder to eliminate errors. Second, as Matthew Edney argues, because the primary triangulation had supposedly eliminated any major errors, "detailed topographical surveys could be undertaken with simpler instruments and less skilled personnel, in the firm knowledge that their work would be rigorously controlled by the primary survey."[195] Not only was it harder to eliminate errors, it was also less important. This distinction between the important skilled science of trigonometry and the de-prioritized unskilled labor of topography was notable in the mapping of England but it was more pronounced, and more sinister, elsewhere in the British empire, as we will see in the cases of Ireland and India.

The Ordnance Survey, which had been focused on England, Wales, and Scotland since 1791, initially had no plans for the mapping of Ireland. In his seminal book, *A Paper Landscape: The Ordnance Survey in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (2001), J.H. Andrews traces the origins of the Survey in Ireland. An archaic and inequitable system of local taxation called the county cess tax became even more problematic as the Irish population multiplied. The Irish Parliament held debates about the tax in 1815, 1816, 1822, and 1824, ultimately deciding that they wanted a central body, for the purposes of fairness, to re-survey the Irish townlands.[196] They asked the Ordnance Survey to fill that role. From the beginning, there were problems and prejudices. Marquess Wellesley (1760-1842), an Englishman who had been appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1821, wrote that the proposed survey "cannot be executed by Irish engineers and Irish agents of any description. Neither science, nor skills, nor diligence, nor discipline, nor integrity, sufficient for such work can be found in Ireland."[197] Wellesley's comments characterize the attitude of many Englishmen working on the Survey in Ireland. In particular, the Topographical Branch of the Survey in Ireland was responsible for policing and erasing the fingerprints of Irish

[195] Edney, *Cartography: The Ideal and Its History*, 109.
[196] Andrews, *A Paper Landscape: The Ordnance Survey in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, 14–15.
[197] Andrews, 21.

participants and perspectives to standardize (by which they meant Anglicize) the Irish place names on the map.

My discussion of the Survey in Ireland engages two key interlocutors: Stiofán Ó Cadhla in *Civilizing Ireland: Ordnance Survey 1824-1842, Ethnography, Cartography, Translation* (2007) and Cóilín Parsons in *The Ordnance Survey and Modern Irish Literature* (2016). Ó Cadhla, who calls his book "the first sustained critique of the survey," examines the ethnographic content of the survey's archive, primarily memoirs and letters. He asks: Who or what is represented by these materials?[198] He concludes that the Survey in Ireland tells us more "about the surveyor than the surveyed."[199] Whereas Ó Cadhla argues that the Survey in Ireland tells us about nineteenth-century English surveyors, Parsons argues that it tells us about twentieth century modern Irish literature. Like Ó Cadhla, Parsons is interested in archive, but he focuses on the "literary afterlives of archives," showing that some of the most abiding concerns of Irish literary modernism, specifically questions of archive and scale, are informed by issues raised by the Survey. What Ó Cadhla and Parsons share is a joint sense that the subjects of the nineteenth-century Survey in Ireland—namely, Irish people and places—were silenced and erased by the Survey's processes of archive and translation. I echo that concern while simultaneously drawing out the ways in which the processes of topography in particular were instrumental in the expunging of ordinary people and culturally specific detail.

In some ways, Ireland occupied a singular role in the empire, while in other ways, it was emblematic of larger imperial pressures and trends that were not specific to Ireland at all. Ireland's singularity was rooted in its status as quasi-colony, its physical proximity to Great Britain, and its ethnic makeup. Though the Acts of Union (1800) united Great Britain and Ireland under one Crown and one Parliament, many scholars have shown that "Ireland was administered much like a British colony and not a partner nation."[200] Ireland sat uncomfortably between these two alternatives as legally instantiated equal but practically treated inferior. Moreover, even aside from the complexities of the Acts of Union, Sarah Maurer writes that nineteenth-century Ireland "constituted the single largest challenge to Great Britain's conception of itself" because its Catholicism challenged British Protestant identity, its famine challenged Britain's sense of itself as modern, and its threat of the Irish Home Rule Bill challenged Britain's unity and

[198] Ó Cadhla, *Civilizing Ireland: Ordnance Survey 1824-1842, Ethnography, Cartography, Translation*, 6–10.
[199] Ó Cadhla, 5.
[200] Maurer, "National and Regional Literatures," 602.

control.[201] These challenges were especially complicated because of Ireland's whiteness. Luke Gibbons argues that Ireland was a colony whose population was both "native" and "white" at the same time. As with its status as quasi-colony and quasi-partner, the ethnic otherness of the Irish was disconcerting because it did not lend itself to straightforward racial divisions.[202] But, if Ireland was a unique case in some ways, it was also emblematic of larger imperial trends. Ó Cadhla argues that Britain, having lost its American colonies, was "motivated by a vindictive patriotism" and determined to extend its economic control.[203] According to Ó Cadhla, the 1800 Act of Union with Ireland, like the India Act of 1784 and the Canada Act of 1791 before it, was part of an empire-wide process of consolidation and rationalization whereby violent colonization was replaced by "the mediated instrumentality of information."[204] In this post-Acts of Union imperial context, the OS in Ireland can be seen not as an isolated and unique project but as part of a larger phenomenon. Alongside the establishment of the Irish Constabulary (1822) and the National Education System (1831), the OS in Ireland (1825-1841) was established to reform, improve, progress, or punish.[205] After working on the OS in Ireland, Thomas Aiskew Larcom (1801-1879) would go on to supervise the Irish Census, suggesting that both projects, the Survey and the Census, were linked in their joint attempt to use statistics as a means of social control.[206] Ó Cadhla argues that the OS "domesticated, sanitized, and stratified Irish culture in order to streamline British administration and governance."[207]

The branch of the OS responsible for these goals of domestication, sanitization, and stratification was called the Topographical Department. There is an important distinction to be made between the Topographical Survey operating in England, Wales, and Scotland and the Topographical Department in Ireland (note that the latter was variously referred to as the Orthographical, Historical, Antiquarian, or Topographical Department).[208] Both were underfunded and error-ridden, but the Topographical Department in Ireland had an additional responsibility: collecting, organizing, and Anglicizing the place names of Irish townlands. This would turn out to be a massive job. The department's leader, twenty-four-year-old John

[201] Maurer, 602.
[202] Luke Gibbons, *Transformations in Irish Culture* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1996), 149.
[203] Ó Cadhla, *Civilizing Ireland: Ordnance Survey 1824-1842, Ethnography, Cartography, Translation*, 85.
[204] Ó Cadhla, 89.
[205] Ó Cadhla, 94.
[206] Hewitt, *Map of a Nation: A Biography of the Ordnance Survey*, 284.
[207] Ó Cadhla, *Civilizing Ireland: Ordnance Survey 1824-1842, Ethnography, Cartography, Translation*, 28.
[208] Ó Cadhla, 21.

O'Donovan (1806-1861), was hired in July 1830 as the OS's full-time orthographer and etymologist. In the beginning, he primarily consulted historical documents to determine the most ancient or most common names for topographical features, but it soon became clear that this would not be enough. Beginning in 1834 and continuing for seven years, O'Donovan spent March to November of every year living a peripatetic life of Survey fieldwork.[209] Thomas Colby's *Instructions for the Interior Survey of Ireland* (1825) indicated the following procedure for O'Donovan and his colleagues to follow: the most common spelling for a place name was given in one column, any variants were given in a second column, and the authority for the name was given in a third column.[210] Whereas the Topographical Survey was plagued by visible inconsistencies and noticeable errors, the Topographical Department in Ireland was responsible not as much for error as for erasure. Their three-column process entailed a double erasure of local voices and local places. First, O'Donovan often complained that the local peasants were unhelpful[211] which meant that the authorities he entered in the third column were usually names of the elite, like ministers, doctors, respectable farmers, gentry, magistrates, officers of the British army, teachers, and heads of councils.[212] More often than not, these so-called authorities had some facility with the English language. That excluded a large proportion of the Irish population since, during the life of the Survey, four out of five million people in Ireland were Irish speaking.[213] Second and relatedly, the place names entered in the first and second columns were Anglicized to avoid unnecessary confusion or any legal ambiguity. As Cóilín Parsons argues, even though the work of Survey employees involved preservation, it was also "responsible for a great deal of forgetfulness. Inventing a new, Anglicized orthography meant stripping place names from the local history embedded in them."[214]

Ó Cadhla and Parsons explain that the erasures of the Topographical Department stem from the processes of archive and translation. Parsons relates the processes of the Topographical Department to Derrida's work on "archive" in *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression* (1995). He writes:

[209] Parsons, *The Ordnance Survey and Modern Irish Literature*, 44–45.
[210] Ó Cadhla, *Civilizing Ireland: Ordnance Survey 1824-1842, Ethnography, Cartography, Translation*, 218–19.
[211] Parsons, *The Ordnance Survey and Modern Irish Literature*, 51.
[212] Ó Cadhla, *Civilizing Ireland: Ordnance Survey 1824-1842, Ethnography, Cartography, Translation*, 219.
[213] Ó Cadhla, 90.
[214] Parsons, *The Ordnance Survey and Modern Irish Literature*, 50.

> Even as the archivist scrambles to assemble, codify, classify, and make reproducible the materials under her stewardship, she authorizes and effects its destruction… Derrida's formulation captures the sense of what is lost when knowledge about a particular locality, event, or people is externalized, transferred from an oral medium to paper, or extracted from its place of origin in order to be saved elsewhere.[215]

Ó Cadhla makes a parallel argument about translation, rather than archive. He writes that "translation, in the service of a hegemonic language and culture allied to colonist discourse, is highly ambivalent. It creates as it destroys, erases as it writes, praises as it condemns, and ignores as it notices."[216] Whether they see it primarily as an agent of archive or of translation, both Parsons and Ó Cadhla consider the Topographical Department of the OS in Ireland to be responsible for the processes of forgetting, stripping, extracting, destroying, condemning, and ignoring.

It is a great irony that the so-called Topographical Department of the OS in Ireland was charged with, and carried out, the erasure of its own namesake (topography) by restricting who counted as a local authority and what got counted as an acceptably Anglicized place name. The Topographical Department was seen as a problem because topography was a problem. Topography was simultaneously the building block of the highly sought-after topographical maps that would be the finished product, but also a source of great difficulty, obstacle, and embarrassment. Ó Cadhla argues:

> Place names posed problems for mapmakers because they were the only culturally specific aspect of the increasingly proficient and universal practice of nineteenth-century cartography. One of the essential qualities of the modern map is that it can be interpreted by anyone trained in reading the genre without recourse to the local language. The place names were cultural fingerprints on the otherwise pristine paper landscape of science. They signaled previous use, authorship, authority.[217]

Place names were a problem because, as much as topography seems part-and-parcel of "cartography," "modern maps," and the "pristine paper landscape of science," topography is actually "culturally specific" and "local." It is smudged with the "fingerprints" and "previous use" of the very peasants that John O'Donovan found to be "unhelpful."

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[215] Parsons, 77–78.
[216] Ó Cadhla, *Civilizing Ireland: Ordnance Survey 1824-1842, Ethnography, Cartography, Translation*, 229.
[217] Ó Cadhla, 218.

As with the economic restrictions of the Topographical Survey, one way to solve the "problem" of the "cultural fingerprints" of topography in Ireland was to cut funding for the projects of the Topographical Department. In 1833, the Treasury authorized the "memoir" project as part of the Topographical Department. The memoirs would be a series of parish-by-parish volumes with information about natural features, topography, social economy, geology, natural history, productive economy, place names, and historical material. After the production of a single volume in 1835, focused on the parish of Templemore in County Londonderry, the memoir project was considered an "expensive distraction" and "ordered to a halt in 1840."[218]

If the Topographical Survey and the Topographical Department were treated as necessary building blocks but also intractably problematic because of their various errors and erasures, the topographical elements of the East India Company's surveys of British India were likewise undervalued, disparaged, and underfunded but also othered and racialized in a new way. Though the nineteenth-century mapping of India was conducted by the East India Company, rather than the Ordnance Survey directly, it was heavily influenced by the practices of the Ordnance Survey in Ireland, as Barry Crosbie has convincingly argued. Crosbie shows that Ireland supplied key personnel, scientific knowledge around surveying and geological research, and intellectual capital, all of which shaped the organization and practices of the East India Company's mapping of India.[219] My discussion of mapping in India engages with Matthew Edney's book *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765-1843* (1997). Edney argues that there was a persistent discrepancy between the "perfect panopticist survey" the British thought they had achieved and the hybrid reality they actually constructed.[220] I put Edney's argument, which focuses on India, in conversation with the treatment of topography already discussed in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. In case of India, we see a similar devaluation of topography but with a more pronounced process of othering and racialization.

In India, the celebrated triangulation phase of mapping was represented by the Great Trigonometrical Survey (GTS) of India (1802-1871). From the very beginning, the GTS was introduced as a more worthy, more scientific, more prestigious alternative to "mere topography."[221] The contrast between the prestige of trigonometry and the ignominy of

[218] Seymour, *A History of the Ordnance Survey*, 93.
[219] Crosbie, "Ireland, Colonial Science, and the Geographical Construction of British Rule in India, c. 1820-1870," 965.
[220] Edney, *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India 1765-1843*, xiii.
[221] Though "mere topography" is a repeated phrase in the realm of art historical discourse, it also appears in the context of the Indian sub-continent. Sir Emerson Tennent—the Colonial Secretary of Ceylon from 1845-50 as well as a friend of Charles

topography in India is best illustrated by the fate of Colin Mackenzie's topographical survey as compared to William Lambton's trigonometrical survey. In September 1799, Colin Mackenzie (1754-1821), who would later become the first surveyor general of India, was instructed to "undertake a topographic survey of the state of Mysore." This proved to be a difficult task because he was repeatedly told to stop the survey, his funds and his own salary were cut, and his assistants were not replaced after they departed in poor health or returned to their regiments.[222] At the same time that this topographical survey was set up for failure, William Lambton (1753-1823), who would become superintendent of the GTS, persuaded the Madras council to allow him to start a trigonometrical survey in emulation of William Roy's recent geodetic survey linking the royal observatories of Greenwich and Paris.[223] Whereas Mackenzie's topographic survey was hampered at every turn, Lambton's proposal for the GTS flourished.

Given the political and financial context, the success of the GTS was by no means guaranteed. As a private commercial entity, the East India Company lacked the political authority of a government and, despite its mercantile foundations and ambitions, it was constantly plagued by financial woes. As Matthew Edney argues, "The forces of inertia, expediency, and financial strain worked to preserve the almost anarchic conditions of mapmaking in India."[224] Furthermore, under uncertain political conditions and tight financial constraints, a triangulation project would have been an unlikely pursuit: "A triangulation might be simple in concept, but its implementation has always been difficult, time consuming, and costly."[225] Given the political and financial context, as well as the specific challenges of triangulation, Edney asks: "Why was the GTS prosecuted with fervor when other scientific and more immediately necessary activities (such as the detailed topographic surveys) were cut back in the name of economy?"[226] Edney's answer to his own question is one that encompasses class, race, and empire. William Lambton, George Everest (1790-1866), and other officials of the East

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Dickens's, to whom Dickens dedicated the novel *Our Mutual Friend*—wrote a book called *Ceylon: Physical, Historical, Topographical* (1860). In a review of Tennent's book, published in the *London Review* that year, the reviewers write that "he has not produced a mere topography, satisfactory as a minute and accurate description of a province of the British empire, useful for administrative purposes, and as a guide to the colonial population in prosecuting farther research… but a work which throws a new and unexpected light on the primeval times of India, on the origin and growth of the widespread Buddhist faith, and on the early history and character of that great stream of commercial activity between Europe and India which in every age has been so closely associated with the general progress of civilization and the destinies of the human race." See "Ceylon," *The London Review and Weekly Journal of Politics, Literature, Art, and Society*, July 21, 1860, 67.

[222] Edney, *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India 1765-1843*, 175–76.

[223] Edney, 179.

[224] Edney, 32.

[225] Edney, 26.

[226] Edney, 300.

India Company were all "from class backgrounds in which they would have been exposed to maps as part of their education."[227] Their work on the GTS would have "reaffirmed their superior place in their own society and in their empire."[228] On the other hand, the detailed work of the topographic surveys was delegated to Eurasians and Indians. Lambton, Everest, and their ilk determined that, with proper training, Indians could "manage the basic, repetitive, and laborious tasks of the detailed topographic" survey. The British kept the "higher-level science" out of reach.[229] In this way, "the trigonometrical surveys were privileged because they represented a European science beyond the scope of the Indians themselves." Trigonometry "reinforced and justified the superiority of British knowledge, of British reason, of British rule."[230] In the hierarchy of maps, trigonometry was at the top because "it allowed the British to 'know' India without having to worry about particularities."[231]

Edney's argument, that Europeans engaged with the higher-level science of trigonometry and relegated what they considered the basic and laborious tasks of topography to Indians and Eurasians, aligns with this chapter's claims that processes of trigonometry were celebrated by mapmakers while processes of topography were sidelined because of high cost and low prestige. However, though the treatment of trigonometry was different than the treatment of topography, the actual practices themselves were not all that different. The European surveyors were wrong about topography: it was not "basic, repetitive, and laborious" but instead nuanced, complex, and nearly impossible to perfect. The sharp racial and epistemological distinction that Lambton, Everest, and others tried to carve out between trigonometry and topography was a social construct. The two practices are more similar than they are different—two sides of the same coin rather than opposites—in terms of their level of difficulty (high for both) and their mode of knowing (both are forms of surveying designed to acquire information for making maps). Rather than examine the minor and mostly fabricated differences between trigonometry and topography, it is more interesting to explore the relationship between mapping and other ways of knowing. To do so, I want to briefly examine a literary representation of the Survey in India, Rudyard Kipling's novel *Kim* (1901). The novel is set in nineteenth-century India, following the playful and resourceful orphan Kim through his schooling at St. Xavier's in Lucknow, his quest to find

[227] Edney, 124.
[228] Edney, 302.
[229] Edney, 319.
[230] Edney, 318.
[231] Edney, 324.

the River of the Arrow with his patron the lama, and his adventures as a "chain-man" in the Survey of India. Kim, who has paperwork proving himself to be the white son of Irish soldier Kimball O'Hara, nonetheless frequently passes as non-white. As Ian Baucom puts it, Kim's "hybrid identity resists closure."[232] The representation of Kim complicates the neat binary between white and non-white, trigonometry and topography, British knowledge and local particularities. Far from showing that the British come to "know" India by virtue of their scientific maps, the novel demonstrates again and again the relative impotence of mapping, especially as compared with the vitality and dynamism of other forms of knowledge.

In Chapter One, as Kim eavesdrops undetected, a European curator shows the Tibetan lama a "mighty map." We learn that Kim is so bored that he "had fallen asleep."[233] Later, after Kim has been trained to "enter the Survey of India as a chain-man,"[234] the novel continues to represent maps and the knowledge that they produce to be as flimsy, abstract, and bureaucratic as the paper on which they are drawn. The narrator notes about Kim's progress at St. Xavier's:

> It is further recorded in the same books that he showed a great aptitude for mathematical studies as well as map-making, and carried away a prize ('The Life of Lord Lawrenc,' tree-calf, two vols., nine rupees, eight annas) for proficiency therein…. Kim seems to have passed an examination in elementary surveying 'with great credit,' his age being fifteen years and eight months. From this date the record is silent.[235]

Using the passive construction "it is further recorded," the knowledge about Kim's prowess as a surveyor is displaced onto the record book, his prize book, and his examination papers. Even this begins to crumble with the evasive language "seems to have passed" and the note about the record's silence beyond that date, when Kim's name no longer appears. His skills as a chain-man, never shown in action, are recorded only on paper and eventually disappear entirely. However, Kim's school examinations are not the only opportunity for him to practice his skills. While on school holidays, Kim engages in his own explorations that are far livelier and more transgressive. The narrator observes wryly: "Could the little Survey paintbox that he used for map-tinting in term-time have found a tongue to tell of holiday doings, he might have been expelled."[236] The sentence is phrased counterfactually to highlight that his Survey paintbox does

[232] Baucom, *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire, and the Locations of Identity*, 95.
[233] Rudyard Kipling, *Kim* (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran, 1901), 13.
[234] Kipling, 153.
[235] Kipling, 213–14.
[236] Kipling, 219.

not have a tongue and is *not* animate. His holiday activities cannot be captured or conveyed by the map. His non-mapping adventures flourish beyond the surveillance mechanisms of the mapping apparatus. Mapping, in other words, does not fully capture a place and even less so a period of time like a school holiday. Different ways of knowing—such as "a little news of what the people say in the villages there"[237]—have value and thrive beyond the limits of St. Xavier's and the Survey paintbox.

Ian Baucom offers a compelling explanation for the failure of the maps in *Kim*. He writes:

> Maps imply the absence of movement. Maps represent roads, but not travelers; railways, but not passengers. The promise of the survey is to fix India not only as a governed territory in space but as a permanent possession in time. The wanderings and spatial uncertainties of nomadism are a surplus the map cannot represent but must repress.[238]

Among the forms of knowledge that cannot be represented on the map include most of the characters, contents, and concerns of the novel: travelers and passengers, wandering and nomadism, uncertainty and surplus. The map's inability to contain such movement is underscored by one of Kim's final encounters with maps. Near the end of the novel, Kim throws a collection of maps and mapping instruments off a cliff:

> The wheeling basket vomited its contents as it dropped. The theodolite hit a jutting cliff-ledge and exploded like a shell; the books, inkstand, paint-boxes, compasses, and rulers showed for a few seconds like a swarm of bees. Then they vanished; and, though Kim, hanging half out of a window, strained his young ears, never a sound came up from the gulf.[239]

In the moment just before explosion, the mapping instruments suddenly come to life: vomiting their contents and swarming like bees. This is an animation that they did not have when they were represented by inanimate record books and examination papers. It is as if the instruments of mapping, unable to contain the nomadic movements of Kim and the lama across India or the speed of the precipitous drop from the cliff, explode with the strain and vanish into silence with "never a sound" coming "up from the gulf."

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[237] Kipling, 154.
[238] Baucom, *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire, and the Locations of Identity*, 94.
[239] Kipling, *Kim*, 330–31.

Chapter One has examined the phases of nineteenth-century map production from the celebrated Trigonometrical Survey to the mapmakers' formal tools for managing size and scale to the de-prioritizing of the labor of the Topographical Survey. Turning from map production to map consumption, the chapter will close by briefly considering the experiences of the real, ordinary people who consumed the Ordnance Survey's products and byproducts.

In 1862, Matthew Arnold (1822-1888) wrote an essay in the *London Review* about the deteriorating quality of OS maps. He was writing in response to a recent exchange published in *The Times* between an anonymous letter-writer calling himself "Surveyor" and Henry James, Director-General of the OS. On September 17, the "Surveyor" had written to convey his disappointment that Ordnance maps did not accurately show railways or towns that had newly emerged or doubled in size during the Industrial Revolution. Five days later, Henry James published his response. Though he admitted that "old Ordnance maps do require a very extensive revision to bring them up to what they ought to be," he also noted dryly that "half a loaf of bread is better than no bread."[240] In his essay, Matthew Arnold acknowledged the recent national concern about the obsolescence of nomenclature and inaccuracy of new infrastructure. He wrote, "There is much truth in this charge, but it is not the charge which a real lover of maps would be disposed to press most warmly."[241] Arnold was far more concerned with the "effaced shading" of the Ordnance maps, which he blamed on the economizing practice of reusing worn-out map plates.[242] Because the Survey had reduced the price of their maps—to "2s. for a full sheet, and to 6d. for a quarter sheet"—even "the general public were willing to get good maps when they were to be given away at this rate; and the demand which followed wore out the plates… the old plates were spoilt."[243] According to Arnold, the resulting impressions were faint. He accused the OS of producing "cheap" maps rather than the "good" maps that it was their "indispensable duty" to provide the country and the world.[244] For Arnold, cheap maps had serious political ramifications

[240] Hewitt, *Map of a Nation: A Biography of the Ordnance Survey*, 302.
[241] Matthew Arnold, "Ordnance Maps," in *The Complete Prose Works of Matthew Arnold*, ed. R.H. Super, vol. II (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962), 252.
[242] Engraving was a laborious process. Mapmakers working in the Tower of London would mark the positions of the triangulation's trig points with fine dots onto a sheet of hammered and finely polished copper. Then, they would heat the plate, cover it with wax, and leave it to set. Next, tracings taken from the Topographical Survey would be cut in reverse into the waxen plates with a tool called an "graver" or "burin." They would also engrave place names, ornamental symbols, and hachures (the most time-consuming part of the process and the one earning the highest pay). After the engraving was finished, they would spread printing ink over the waxen plate and clean the plate with a cloth to make sure the ink was removed from everywhere except the indented lines. They would lay a sheet of paper over the plate and pass both the plate and the sheet of paper through a roller press that exerted forty tons of pressure, thus engraving the map. See Hewitt, 160.
[243] Arnold, "Ordnance Maps," 255.
[244] Arnold, 255.

because they misrepresented England to the world. He argued that the OS should not be offering "to a foreigner, who asks for our Government map of Kent or Devonshire, a production discreditable to the English nation and Government."[245] Arnold clearly felt that a "foreign purchaser" seeking a high-quality map, rather than an ordinary Briton seeking an affordable map, should be the OS's target consumer.

Whatever Arnold may have wished, the ordinary people of the "general public" were clearly buying these good and cheap maps, leading to the worn-out plates. Ordinary people encountered not only the OS's products but also their byproducts. The maps themselves were not the only way that Britons encountered the Survey. Indeed, the Survey's most visible legacy is its system of "benchmarks" on the land. A "benchmark" is a physical mark that records the relative elevations of various places above the Ordnance Datum, which is usually mean sea level.[246] Keith Lilley argues that the benchmarks are a neglected and under-studied aspect of OS history. He writes, "The study of landscape history and the study of cartography are rarely brought together. Map historians focus on what is *on* the map but less so what is *in* the landscape."[247] His paper brings the two fields together in what he calls a "landscape history of the Ordnance Survey" to show that the legacy of the survey "comprises more than just the many maps of this cherished and revered national enterprise."[248] According to Lilley, the OS benchmark is "perhaps the most widespread vestige of the work of the OS… there is hardly a street or road anywhere in the country without one."[249] Ultimately, these benchmarks "represent a visible sign of the panoptic process of 'mapping the nation,' a tangible and constant reminder of the OS maps' otherwise hidden geodetic underpinnings."[250] These benchmarks are a reminder that the OS had an attentive local audience. Even people who could not afford maps, who did not travel, or who were not able to read maps or literature, could not have missed the bands of surveyors crossing the land and leaving behind visible, legible, lasting signs of their presence and their maps. Local people experienced the OS differently in different places. These local particularities were part of

[245] Arnold, 256.
[246] Examples include fundamental benchmarks on bedrock, metal flush brackets cemented into the faces of buildings, projecting brackets on the abutments of railway and canal bridges, bolt benchmarks set in horizontal surfaces, cut benchmarks (the commonest type) which consist of a horizontal bar cut into brickwork with an arrow cut below, and pivot benchmarks that have a small brass rivet inserted. Harley, *Ordnance Survey Maps: A Descriptive Manual*, 35–36.
[247] Keith D. Lilley, "Mapping the Nation: Landscapes of Survey and the Material Cultures of the Early Ordnance Survey in Britain and Ireland," *Landscapes* 18, no. 2 (2017): 179.
[248] Lilley, 180.
[249] Lilley, 193.
[250] Lilley, 195.

what made the Survey into a contested, divided, bounded project in spite of its ambitions for national and even international cohesion.

Chapter Two will shift from an examination of map production to an examination of map consumption, not by real Britons but by fictional characters in nineteenth-century novels. It will consider literary characters who misread maps or make geographical errors. This chapter has shown that trigonometry was celebrated and glorified in mapping projects in England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and India, whereas topography was considered relatively unskilled work, available to anyone, easily underfunded, and best relegated to the non-elite, non-English, and non-white. The novel treats topography in an entirely different manner. As we will see, the topography celebrated by the novel is the purview of "the lowest and last," as Fanny Price is famously labeled by her Aunt Norris in Jane Austen's novel, *Mansfield Park*.[251] Though Fanny may be disparaged as unskilled and ignorant by her aunt and cousins, the novel upholds Fanny's alternative, phenomenological understanding of place as one that is porous, unbounded, and even unmappable.

[251] Jane Austen, *Mansfield Park*, ed. Claudia Johnson (New York & London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1998), 151–52.

CHAPTER II.
"The marks of a snuffy finger and thumb": A Topographical Reading of Maps and Bodies

In the opening salvo to Book III of his novel *Joseph Andrews* (1742), Henry Fielding (1707-1754) makes a distinction between Topographers, Biographers, and Novelists.[252] The chief business of Topographers is to "describe Countries and Cities, which, with the Assistance of Maps, they do pretty justly, and may be depended upon" to determine "where the Person… lived." This is not a flattering description of Topographers. Doing their jobs "pretty justly" such that they "may be depended upon" to ascertain a single piece of information is the faintest possible praise. Compared to the real problem with Topographers, however, low production quality is a minor quibble. The real issue is getting along with other Topographers. Though two Topographers might agree on the place where an action happened, they usually cannot agree on the "Narrative of Facts." For example, one Topographer will characterize the leading personage in a narrative as a "Rogue" while another Topographer considers him to be an "honest Man." Though this might seem to be a simple disagreement between two Topographers, it is the key to Fielding's ultimate assessment of topography, to which we will return.

Moving to his second category—Biographers—Fielding writes that, in contrast to the "eternal Contradictions" of topographical narratives, Biographers are more consistent. He writes, "the Facts *we* deliver may be relied on, tho' *we* often mistake the Age and Country wherein they happened" [emphasis mine]. As indicated by his use of the first-person pronoun, Fielding seems to include himself in the category of what he later calls "*us* Biographers" [emphasis mine]. This personal identification with Biographers is called into question, however, when Fielding introduces a third and final category: Novelists. Novelists are "those Persons of surprising Genius" who "without assistance from Nature or History, record Persons who never were, or will be, and Facts which never did, nor possibly can happen: Whose Heroes are of their own Creation, and their Brains the Chaos whence all their Materials are collected." This last category

[252] Henry Fielding, *The History of the Adventures of Joseph Andrews* (New York: Pearson Longman, 2008), 177–79. I capitalize these three terms because Fielding does.

of Novelists merits "the highest" honor "for what can be nobler than to be as an Example of the wonderful Extent of human Genius!" Even though Fielding claims to be a Biographer, and the chapter is entitled "Matter prefatory in Praise of Biography," it quickly becomes clear that the chapter is actually "in Praise of Novelists" and that Fielding includes himself in this exalted group. The chapter seems to articulate a three-tiered hierarchy with Topographers on the bottom, Biographers in the middle, and Novelists at the top.

In Fielding's hierarchy, topography and the novel are at opposite ends of a spectrum. One might argue that Fielding attempts to differentiate and distinguish himself from topography in every way. Whether he is a Biographer as he outwardly claims, or a Novelist as he insinuates, one thing remains clear: he is in no way a Topographer. And yet, there are more intriguing ways to read the passage that take into account Fielding's propensities for irony, humor, and rule-breaking. Though Fielding pretends to disparage Topographers the most, locating topography at the bottom of his hierarchy, he is actually most critical of Biographers. He spends at least twice as long cataloging the mistakes of Biographers as he does those of Topographers. That distorted ratio of purported praise to functional criticism gets magnified in a larger pattern: though Fielding seems to carefully articulate his definitions of each of these three categories, he immediately begins to undermine and destabilize his own definitions. For example, after defining topography, he offers several examples of Topographers—Lord Clarendon (1609-1674), Mr. Whitlock (1605-1675), Mr. Echard (1670-1730), and Rapin (1661-1725). These are all historians of the English Civil Wars and the Stuart Restoration. In other words, he offers a definition of topography that is about space and place, but his examples are historians who study a particular time period. Similarly, after defining biography, his examples of the mistakes of Biographers come from *Don Quixote*, *Gil Blas*, *Scarron*, *The Arabian Nights*, *The History of Marianne*, and *Le Payson Parvenu*. These are all novels. Just as he had conflated Topographers and Historians, he also conflates Biographers with Novelists. As this disjunction between definition and associated examples suggests, Fielding's seemingly stable categories turn out to be blurry, porous, permeable.

Given that he immediately undermines and destabilizes his own categories, one might wonder why Fielding bothers to make these distinctions in the first place. Why set up these (clearly false and problematic) rules and conventions that allegedly define and delimit the genres of Topographers, Biographers, and Novelists? One answer is that doing so allows Fielding to

establish the novel as a literary institution that has no real respect for boundaries, that refuses to be constrained by rules. Fielding demonstrates the novel's rule-breaking capacities not only in his essayistic salvo here at the beginning of Book III but also throughout the plot and structure of *Joseph Andrews.* His eponymous main character Joseph attempts to demonstrate to his peers what perfect chastity would look like, but no one ever copies his example. The novel insists that exemplarity has the power to improve others, but the narrative itself reveals that nothing changes. Just as Fielding's definitions of Topographers, Biographers, and Novelists are undone, the novel itself keeps undoing its own meta-narrative claim about the power of example. In the larger genre and in its example case, rules are made to be broken and boundaries drawn to be crossed.

Establishing the novel as a genre and *Joseph Andrews* in particular as rule-breaking and boundary-crossing also allows Fielding to counter-intuitively link the novel to topography. Initially, it seemed that topography and the novel lay on opposite ends of Fielding's hierarchical ladder. A closer look at the circumstances around Fielding's inspiration for *Joseph Andrews* calls that initial assumption into question. The reason that topography is not "quite so authentic" as biography is that some Topographers represent "the same Man as a Rogue, to whom the others give a great and honest Character." This topographical conundrum is exactly the project of *Joseph Andrews*. Fielding takes a set of characters from Samuel Richardson's novel *Pamela* (1740) and interprets those characters and circumstances in an entirely new way. Like the Topographers in his own definition, he and Richardson "widely differ in the Narrative of Facts." Akin to substituting roguery for honesty, Fielding replaces the virtuousness and piety of the original siblings, Pamela and her brother Joseph, for a farcical mockery of those qualities. Though he purports to disparage Topographers, to identify with Biographers, and to celebrate Novelists, the circumstances of Fielding's novel project reveal him to be a Topographer.

Taking Fielding's alignment of the novel with topography as a starting point, this chapter introduces my project's methodology by way of six novelistic case studies. My method entails locating moments of "map misreading" practiced by novelistic characters and revaluing them as avenues into the novel's anti-map stance. Before proceeding, it will be helpful to clarify what is—and, just as importantly, what is not—meant by the term map misreading. Whereas Chapter One focused on the *producers* of maps, Chapter Two shifts to map *consumers*. Reflecting the transition from makers to users, the term map misreading refers to strategic errors around map

use, including reading maps unconventionally and more general geographical ignorance.[253] As we will see, it does not refer to the most obvious, immediate, urgent, literal way to misread a map, which would be to read the map wrongly while you are in the place the map represents and, as a result, to take a wrong turn or get lost. That is not how the characters represented in this chapter misread maps. Instead, they misread maps of other places, usually other places that are quite far from the places they are in while reading the map. What is the consequence of map misreading, given that it is seemingly less immediate than taking a wrong turn or getting lost? As we will see, the consequence of this kind of map misreading is not to reveal the ignorance of the map users, but instead to reveal the inadequacy of the map for representing place. In these novels, maps fail because, rather than informing their users about the place on the map, they remind their users of the place that they are in while reading the map. Map users look at maps to understand another place but end up cyclically back in the place they already are.

Studying map misreading offers a number of contributions to studies of the history and form of the novel. First, the expansive chronological sweep of this chapter, which ranges from *Tristram Shandy* (1767) to *Middlemarch* (1871), has often been characterized by a value-laden teleology of the "rise" of the novel or segmented into smaller categories like eighteenth-century novels and nineteenth-century novels, Romantic novels and Victorian novels, sensation novels and realist novels. Rather than observing a change over time, or demonstrating the differences between novels of different time periods or genres (of which there are many, as has been well documented), this project focuses on what these novels share in common: an orientation toward a local understanding of the world. I am drawing out a throughline or continuity that exists despite other changes. In novels as early as *Tristram Shandy* (1767) and as late as *Middlemarch* (1871), my method examines how the novel engages with the topographical discourse inspired by the formative years of the Ordnance Survey's national mapping project.

Second, this project engages with two different explanations for the history of the novel. On the one hand, foundational readings like Ian Watt's and Michael McKeon's suggest that the novel reflects the rise of the individual, renders an increasingly rich picture of interiority, and displays an understanding of the fullness of the human experience. On the other hand, scholars like Alex Woloch, Andrew Franta, Franco Moretti, Jonathan Grossman, and Ruth Livesey

[253] It does *not* refer to Harold Bloom's seminal text, *A Map of Misreading* (1975), which is about poetic influence. Bloom's "map" is a map of the relationships between texts produced by the various "misreading[s] that one poet performs upon another." Harold Bloom, *A Map of Misreading* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 3.

suggest that the novel is more attuned to social relationships, webs, and systems. My reading rejects the latter while reaffirming, extending, and nuancing the former: I emphasize the novel's commitment to the empirical over the theoretical, the concrete over the abstract, the particular over the general. The individual characters in this section are presented with systems—in this case, maps or geographical texts—that they are apparently unable to read or interpret in a logical, rational, or epistemological way. They are blocked from understanding systems by the presence of individual bodies. By re-populating maps with people, these characters humanize and individualize the system such that they cannot see abstractions, data points, or nodes. Their inability to do so comes at a cost, however: they are ridiculed for their inability to see the forest for the trees. Nevertheless, an inability to read maps should not be mistaken for an inability to understand place. Their focus on the individual allows for an affective conception of place that is closer to the ground and able to grasp locality without drawing borders.

This focus on locality without borders reveals a third advantage of this chapter's methodology: a revaluation of locality as valuable on its own, without reference to the nation. The treatment of locality in this chapter differs from Ruth Livesey's understanding of locality. Livesey argues that many Victorian novels are set in the recent past of the stage-coach era, rather than in the steam-powered railway present, because travel by stage offers something that travel by rail cannot—a strong sense of locality. For Livesey, locality is "a tension between belonging and homelessness that happens in the pauses, halts, interruptions, and accidents of narrative journey."[254] Creating a sense of nation, or even empire, does not happen by erasing locality or swallowing up local places with speed. Instead, stage-coach travel weaves and strings together the nation precisely by preserving portable, strongly rendered, disjointed, contiguous places called localities.[255] Livesey considers localities as a means to an end—as the building blocks of nationhood. The centrality of nation in Livesey's understanding of locality is not surprising, especially given the prominence of Benedict Anderson's claims in *Imagined Communities* about the relationship between texts (specifically, novels and newspapers) and nation formation.[256] My use of the term "locality" is not as dependent as Livesey's upon the nation-state, however. Instead, it considers "locality" as valuable in and of itself. Quite simply, locality is a way of valuing the local and communal without drawing borders and without reference to the nation. As

[254] Livesey, *Writing the Stage Coach Nation: Locality on the Move in Nineteenth-Century British Literature*, 8.
[255] Livesey, 11–20.
[256] Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 25.

such, the treatment of locality in this chapter is aligned with social scientist and geographer Doreen Massey's sense of locality as anti-essentialist, porous, permeable, and communal.[257] It also borrows from Evan Gottlieb and Juliet Shields in *Representing Place in British Literature and Culture: 1660-1830*.[258] They challenge the traditional focus of literary critics and historians on the "rise of the nation-state" and remind us that "considering place as phenomenological as much as geographical allows us to displace the nation-state from its privileged status as the imaginative community par excellence" and to open up our examination to other forms of communities.[259] I suggest that the kind of phenomenological thinking about place that these characters offer is highly valued by the novel as a form. Instead of a larger system, these characters see the affective topography of their own locality.

A final advantage of this method is that it uncovers and unpacks some overlooked and undervalued moments in these novels. Moments of supposed map misreading are usually displaced onto naïve and uneducated characters, often women and children. Within the novel, more sophisticated characters ridicule these so-called errors; beyond it, most critics tend to ignore or skim over these moments because they seem minor, isolated, or irrelevant. Rather than seeing these ridiculed and inept map-readers as wrong, naïve, irrelevant, or failing, this method showcases the value of an alternative perspective. It offers a space to understand and expand

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[257] Despite the inclusion of "undefined extent" in the OED definition, the extent to which "locality" is considered to be bounded or undefined—which is tied to larger questions about the value of locality and locality studies—has been a matter of debate and contention. Doreen Massey explains that those "dubious about the value of locality studies" have identified three major issues with the field. First, the term locality suggests particularism, exclusivity, essentialism, and a selfish refusal to consider the greater good. This line of argument has been used to paint causes like anti-racism, feminism, and environmentalism as "only local" issues. Second, locality is associated with memory, stasis, nostalgia, and an aesthetic mode (119). Third, in a global world in which local communities seem to be increasingly broken up and broken down, locality can be seen a refuge from the chaos and hubbub. That notion of locality is reactionary, evasive, a kind of romanticized escapism, a retreat from the dynamism and change of real life (151). All three of these issues are tied to a conception of locality as bounded to some extent rather than "undefined." Massey, who sees localities as undefined rather than bounded, articulates a three-tiered response to these criticisms of locality studies. First, localities are not exclusive because they are "not about physical buildings or even capital momentarily imprisoned" (136). They are about social interactions that are necessarily dynamic and extraverted. Second, localities cannot be painted by one homogenous, nostalgic, aesthetic, sepia-toned brush because they are internally contradictory. Just as the identity of an individual human being is constructed out of her place, class, race, and gender, so too are localities constructed out of the juxtaposition and intersection of multiple social relations. Conflict, fragmentation, contradiction, and diversity are all necessary conditions in a locality (137). Third and finally, Massey rejects the reactionary sense of locality and seeks instead an "adequately progressive" sense of locality not as an internally bounded unity but as spaces of interaction "constructed through sets of social relations which bind them inextricably to wider arenas and other places (151, 142)." Like mine, Massey's defense of the value of locality and locality studies is predicated on a sense of locality that is "of an undefined extent." Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender*.

[258] My use of the term "locality" also has much in common with Gayatri Gopinath's term "region" in *Unruly Visions: The Aesthetic Practices of Queer Diaspora*. Gopinath's "aesthetic practices of queer diaspora" are "ingrained in small acts and everyday gestures that play out not on the stage of the nation but in the space of the region." Gopinath offers a "new" and "alternative cartography" that "rejects dominant cartographies" of the nation-state in favor of "tracing lines of connection and commonality between seemingly discrete regional spaces that in fact bypass the nation." Gayatri Gopinath, *Unruly Visions: The Aesthetic Practices of Queer Diaspora* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018), 5–8.

[259] Gottlieb and Shields, "Introduction," 3.

upon the significance of a topographical perspective, which might seem to be denigrated but which, in fact, is aligned with the values of the novel. Importantly, this chapter will not focus on the touchstone novels most commonly associated with maps, like Thomas Hardy's Wessex novels (1871-1898) or Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (1882). Though those texts will be discussed in Chapter Five, this chapter instead celebrates less examined instances of map misreading that emerge across a wide variety of generic categories and a long temporal range of novels.

This chapter examines six case studies of supposedly inept map readers—Widow Wadman in *Tristram Shandy* (1767), Tabitha Bramble in *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (1771), Fanny Price in *Mansfield Park* (1813), David Copperfield in the eponymous novel (1849), Margaret Hale in *North and South* (1854), and Dorothea Brooke in *Middlemarch* (1871). Each of these characters misreads maps or makes geographical errors—mistakes for which they are ridiculed, ignored, or devalued. When presented with the system of a map, atlas, or geography book, they are unable to comprehend Elaine Freedgood's "cartographical bird's eye view"[260] because they are focused on the individuals that people and connect places. Rather than seeing the system, they see Uncle Toby's groin, hungry travelers in the Bramble family, relatives in Portsmouth, Peggotty's body and the bodies of Yarmouth sailors, Margaret Hale's finger and her mother's frailty, and Dorothea's hands. These characters are not systems thinkers or geographers, but they are nonetheless able to use their embodied lens on the world to make links and connections.

Given that these characters are relentlessly oriented toward an embodiment, what might that mean for the novel and its readers? What, in other words, is the relationship between map misreading and novel reading? In *Nobody's Story: The Vanishing Acts of Women Writers in the Marketplace, 1670-1820* (1994), Catherine Gallagher argues that bodies (or, the lack thereof) are key to the definition of novels. If pre-novelistic narratives are about somebody, novelistic narratives are about nobody.[261] Because another person's body is a barrier in the process of feeling sympathy, fiction removes this barrier and thus facilitates the process of sympathy.[262] According to Gallagher, "it is easier to identify with nobody's story" than with someone else's

[260] Freedgood, *Worlds Enough: The Invention of Realism in the Victorian Novel*, 80.
[261] Catherine Gallagher, *Nobody's Story: The Vanishing Acts of Women Writers in the Marketplace, 1670-1820* (Berkeley & Los Angeles & Oxford: University of California Press, 1994), 165.
[262] Gallagher, 171.

story.[263] Gallagher adds in "The Rise of Fictionality" that "the founding claim of the form" was a non-referentiality (proper names do not refer to anyone in particular) that produces a greater referentiality (it can refer to a whole class of people in general).[264] Gallagher's argument would seem to suggest that map misreading characters are different from, even the opposite of, novel readers. Presented with the system of the novel, readers consider it to be nobody's story in particular. In contrast, presented with the system of a map, the characters examined here do the opposite: they repopulate maps with particular bodies. Their relentless referentiality resists the "non-referentiality" that is the "founding claim of the form." And yet, despite these seemingly stark differences, map misreading characters are also a model for readers of the experience of reading novels. That is, *misreading* maps is somewhat like the experience of *reading* novels. Consider that it would be deeply isolating to be unable to read maps as others read them and, indeed, to be mocked or ignored for your inability to do so. You would feel deeply alone. But, on the other hand, if you saw bodies in maps, you would also be less alone because you would have your person-embedded-in-map with you. As a map misreader, you would be right on the cusp of being alone and being social; it is this liminal, teetering, precarious existence that novels offer to their map misreading characters and to their readers alike.

The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman

In Lawrence Sterne's *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman* (1767), Tristram begins a second volume of his nine-volume history to tell the tale of his Uncle Toby, a map-enthusiast extraordinaire. Toby, who has been wounded in the groin at the siege of Namur, struggles to explain "where" the injury occurred. Though Toby wants to pin down where he was *in Namur* when the injury happened, the running joke is that his audience wants to know where *on his body* the injury happened. To better answer the first question, Toby acquires a map of Namur, and then maps of nearly every town and fortification in Italy and Flanders. He spends a year studying treatises on fortification and another year studying ballistics before his servant, Corporal Trim, suggests that they relocate from London to the countryside so they can progress from two-dimensional representations of Namur and its environs to a three-dimensional model—supervised by Toby and built by Trim on the bowling green lawn outside the kitchen window.

[263] Gallagher, 172.
[264] Catherine Gallagher, "The Rise of Fictionality," in *The Novel: Volume I, History, Geography, and Culture*, ed. Franco Moretti (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 342.

For Toby, this extended map play becomes a distraction from the pain of his injury. He can think about the map instead of his own body.

Though Toby seems to be the primary map reader in the novel, it is actually Widow Wadman, Toby's countryside next-door neighbor and aspiring love interest, whose attitude toward maps most closely adheres to the novel's stance on mapping. Unlike Toby's, the Widow's approach to maps is fully embodied. The Widow, who does not care at all about "where" the injury occurred on the map, understands the body to be a map (in this case, a map for determining if Toby's injury has made him impotent) and the map to be a body (one that she smudges with the fingerprints of her own body and which ages and regenerates like a living being). For her, the kind of closure, certainty, control, or "pinning down" offered by a map would be a failure, not a success, because it would end the flirtatious battle of bodies and prematurely bring to a close the bodily pleasures of being disorderly and out of control.

Uncle Toby first evinces an interest in maps while recovering from the injury to his groin:

> He was one morning lying upon his back in his bed, the anguish and nature of the wound upon his groin suffering him to lie in no other position, when a thought came into his head, that if he could purchase such a thing, and have it pasted down upon a board, as a large map of the fortification of the town and citadel of Namur, with its environs, it might be a means of giving him ease.—I take notice of his desire to have the environs along with the town and citadel, for this reason,—because my uncle Toby's wound was got in one of the traverses, about thirty toises from the returning angle of the trench, opposite to the salient angle of the demi-bastion of St. Roch:—so that he was pretty confident he could stick a pin upon the identical spot of ground where he was standing on when the stone struck him.[265]

There are three phases of being "pinned down" at play in this passage—past, present, and future. In the past, Toby was pinned down by a rock falling from a parapet at Namur, sustaining an injury to his groin. In the present, Toby is pinned down "upon his back in his bed" by the "anguish and nature of the wound," allowing him "to lie in no other position." Whereas the first pinning resulted from the rock's momentum, the second pinning is an immobilization. In the

[265] Laurence Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, ed. Ian Campbell Ross (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 68.

future, Toby aspires to a third kind of pinning: he will acquire a map of Namur, paste it down upon a board, and "stick a pin upon the identical spot of ground where he was standing when the stone struck him." Toby's goal is to convert the bodily pinning of the momentous original injury and current immobilizing pain into a map pinning. He wants to do to the map what the stone did to him. In doing so, Toby seeks to convert a personal, private, bodily experience into something disembodied.

In some ways, Toby is successful at converting bodily pinning into map pinning; his obsession with mapping makes him forget about his own body. He reads his maps "with that intense application and delight, that he would forget himself, his wound, his confinement, his dinner."[266] When his servant Trim proposes a new mapping scheme and then tries to get Toby to eat supper, it is to no avail: "Trim's plan of operation ran so in my uncle Toby's head, he could not taste it."[267] Mapping allows Toby to escape from the confines and pains of his own body. However, in other ways, the novel shows that Toby's aspiration for a third disembodied pinning is confused and ultimately impossible. First of all, Toby is confused about the distinction between map and place. He claims he could "stick a pin upon the identical spot of ground" but, being pinned to his bed in London and far from Namur, the best he can hope for is to stick a pin on the representation of that spot (the map) rather than the spot itself. Second, there is a confusion about the double meaning of "ease" in the passage. Toby is doubly ill at ease—first, he is physically uncomfortable, and second, he cannot verbally explain to his family where in Namur the injury occurred, since the details of the battle are so complex. He has "almost insurmountable difficulties" in "telling his story intelligibly."[268] The first version of bodily unease is of little consequence to Toby; he is focused on the verbal unease instead. And yet, even the two-dimensional map and later the three-dimensional model never really offer any "ease" to Toby or anyone else. This novel is characterized by frantic energy, endless digressions, confusing chaos, and lack of resolution. Any efforts to zoom in or pin something down only result in more random tangents. Nothing is ever "pinned down"; one might even say that the purpose of the novel is to avoid being "pinned down."

It is the besotted neighbor Widow Wadman, not Uncle Toby, who understands the novel's stance on "pinning down" as an act that would not bring ease or success but would

[266] Sterne, 72.
[267] Sterne, 78–79.
[268] Sterne, 67.

instead represent futility and failure. Examining the widow, rather than Toby, forces a re-examination of the novel's stance on order. In *Systems Failure* (2019), Andrew Franta opens his chapter on Sterne with the first line from another Sterne novel, *A Sentimental Journey* (1768): "They order, said I, this matter better in France."[269] Franta argues that "order is at the center of the novel's examination of the social world… the drive to discover or create order, as well as its inevitable unraveling, are inescapable in Sterne… the drive for order is both a matter of course (you can't not do it) and an impossible project (it can't be done)."[270] Melina Rabb makes a similar argument about the role of miniature maps and models in the novel. She writes that "the miniature can stimulate feelings of possession, comprehension, and control."[271] According to Rabb, the battles that take place in Toby's back garden combine the principles of war and the principles of gardening books, which are paradoxically aligned. Rather than "war versus peace, violence versus tranquility, destruction versus productivity," wars and gardens are both about "the diagramming of space as one might design a garden, forgetting the interiority of the subject and the permeability of the human body."[272] For both Franta and Rabb, the novel is about an inevitable drive for order and diagramming which, even if they fail, are more important than individuals, interiority, and bodies.

The Widow Wadman would disagree. For her, bodies are much more important than order. In contrast with Toby, who uses the map to forget about his body, the widow uses the map to remind him of his body, as well as hers:

> My uncle Toby always took care, on the inside of his sentry-box, which was towards his left hand, to have a plan of the place, fasten'd up with two or three pins at the top, but loose at the bottom, for the conveniency of holding it up to the eye, &c...as occasions required; so that when an attack was resolved upon, Mrs. Wadman had nothing more to do, when she had got advanced to the door of the sentry-box, but to extend her right hand; and edging in her left foot at the same movement, to take hold of the map or plan, or upright, or whatever it was, and with out-stretched neck meeting it half way, — to advance it towards her; on which my uncle Toby's passions were sure to catch fire.[273]

[269] Laurence Sterne, *A Sentimental Journey*, ed. Paul Goring (London: Penguin Books, 2005), 5.
[270] Franta, *Systems Failure: The Uses of Disorder in English Literature*, 41–43.
[271] Rabb, *Miniature and the English Imagination: Literature, Cognition, and Small-Scale Culture, 1650-1765*, 21.
[272] Rabb, 159.
[273] Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, 447–48.

When Toby tries to point to something on the map with his tobacco pipe, the widow takes it out of his hand, obliging Toby to use his finger to point instead. Unlike the tobacco pipe, which has "no arterial or vital heat" and no "pulsation," the finger opens "a communication, large enough for any sentiment to pass or-repass."[274] In addition to seducing Toby with careful bodily choreography, the widow has a secondary mission:

> —And whereabouts, dear sir, quoth Mrs. Wadman, a little categorically, did you receive this sad blow? —In asking this question, Mrs. Wadman gave a slight glance towards the waistband of my uncle Toby's red plush breeches, expecting naturally, as the shortest reply to it, that my uncle Toby would lay his fore-finger upon the place—It fell out otherwise…Unhappy Mrs. Wadman![275]

Though Toby gets the most attention as the primary map reader and maker in the novel, the widow is the novel's best model for an embodied reader of maps. She, unlike Toby, understands that the question about "where" the injury happened refers to a spot on Toby's body, not a spot on the map. Whereas Toby wants to use maps to escape his own body and to create order from a situation (the original battle) that felt disordered and frightening, the widow wants both of them to feel disordered and out of control in their own bodies.

If Widow Wadman suggests that bodies are maps, the novel also suggests that maps are bodies. Tristram tells his reader:

> There is a plan of Bouchain in perfect preservation (and shall be kept so, whilst I have power to preserve anything), upon the lower corner of which, on the right hand side, there is still remaining the marks of a snuffy finger and thumb, which there is all the reason in the world to imagine, were Mrs. Wadman's; for the opposite side of the margin, which I suppose to have been my uncle Toby's, is absolutely clean: This seems an authenticated record of one of these attacks; for there are vestigia of the two punctures partly grown up, but still visible on the opposite corner of the map, which are unquestionably the very holes, through which it has been pricked up in the sentry-box.[276]

Despite Tristram's protestations, clearly the map is not in "perfect preservation" since it has "the marks of a snuffy finger and thumb" from Widow Wadman as well as the "vestigia of two punctures partly grown up." What Tristram means is not that the map is in "perfect preservation"

[274] Sterne, 447–48.
[275] Sterne, 529.
[276] Sterne, 448–49.

since its original creation, but in "perfect preservation" since the seductive attacks of the widow upon Uncle Toby. The map preserves the really important story here, which is not the story of the siege of Namur but the story of the flirtation between Toby and the widow. The most engaging storytelling stems not from a pristine map but from a map scuffed and marked up by "snuffy" bodies.

Not only is the map marked by their bodies—or, at least, the widow's body, since Toby has been disembodied by his fixation on maps and leaves no fingerprints—but it is also a body itself. The punctures are "partly grown up" as if they were once holes in a human ear lobe and are now growing in. This, of course, is not how paper normally functions. If anything, a hole in a piece of paper gradually widens over time. Here, the hole closes up as if the paper is alive and capable of regenerating like a human body. Notice, too, that the map has only "two punctures," not three. There has been a double pinning, but the novel has successfully avoided the third "pinning down"—choosing embodiment over disembodiment, life over maps, uncertainty over closure, chaos over order.

This choice, a rejection of the map, is instantiated by the novel's exclusion of its own promised map of itself. Tristram articulates this promise in the first volume:

> But I must here, once for all, inform you, that all this will be more exactly delineated and explain'd in a map, now in the hands of the engraver, which, with many other pieces and developments to this work, will be added to the end of the twentieth volume,--not to swell the work, —I detest the thought of such a thing; —but by way of commentary, scholium, illustration, and key.[277]

There is no twentieth volume and there is no map. Like Toby, who thinks the map of Namur will "ease" his explanatory struggles and clarify his "insurmountable difficulties" in articulating where his injury occurred, Tristram pretends that the map to the novel will offer "commentary, scholium, illustration, and key" to the text. However, as we have seen, the purpose of the novel is to avoid being "pinned down" in this way, to dangle the fantasy of closure but never to seize it, to prolong the confusion and the fun. Instead of getting a map in a textual format appended to the end of the novel, the map remains embodied "in the hands of the engraver."

The Expedition of Humphry Clinker

[277] Sterne, 31–32.

Tobias Smollett's *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (1771) is an epistolary novel that contains the reflections of gouty Welsh squire Matthew Bramble and his family as they travel through Bath, London, Harrogate, Scarborough, Durham, and Edinburgh. The purpose of the trip is to cure Matthew's gout, but each family member—Matthew, his sister Tabitha, their nephew Jeremy, and their niece Lydia—uses the trip for his or her own purposes. Matthew writes to his physician to complain about the local conditions and people; Tabitha writes instructions to the housekeeper at Brambleton-hall; Jeremy writes to his school friend Watkin Phillips; and Lydia writes to her school friend Letty about her love interest. As they travel around the nation, their reflections on the same places are quite different.

In *Systems Failure*, Andrew Franta writes about the role of map and network in *Humphry Clinker*. He suggests that "the relevance of the map to *Humphry Clinker* is obvious enough… the narrative develops on the map."[278] Many scholarly and teaching editions of the novel contain a map which traces the family's journey around the island. The question is: how exactly is that map drawn? According to Franta, there are two possible versions of the map. On the one hand, the novel articulates a divided nation whereby "Wales represents a healthy ideal, England the depraved product of modernization, and Scotland an uneven mixture of virtues and vices (it is primitive and backward, but sometimes admirably so)." If we conceive of the nation as divided in this way, the map is one of Wales, England, and Scotland with distinct and important boundary lines. On the other hand, however, Matthew Bramble's "twin anxieties about contagion and the indiscriminate mixing of social classes" cross national boundaries to offer a generalized critique of modern social life that is uncontained by border lines.[279] In this case, the map of the novel is a more holistic map of Great Britain.

After offering these two different possibilities for the novel's map, Franta ultimately rejects both of them and abandons the map altogether as his tool of choice. He writes:

> While mapping is clearly important to the novel, I want to suggest that the map is the wrong rubric with which to understand travel in *Humphry Clinker*. At the very least, it tells only part of the story. It is true, of course, that the development of the narrative can be plotted on a map. But this map must be understood also in terms of movements that it does not record—not only the expedition of Bramble and his extended family but also the

[278] Franta, *Systems Failure: The Uses of Disorder in English Literature*, 71.
[279] Franta, 70.

> lines traced by their letters. This is to say that the novel's plot must be understood alongside its epistolary form. The novel does not merely track characters as they move around on the map of Great Britain. Instead, their forward movement is shadowed by the recursive trajectories of their letters, describing a communication network composed of a branching web of nodes and links.[280]

Franta replaces the map with the network of letters. This fits in with his larger argument that eighteenth-century novels are about the failure of systems. For Franta, the epistolary form of Smollett's novel prevents the map from "amalgamating the characters it encounters."[281] If maps can amalgamate by showing contiguous places, letters force characters to keep their distance from one another. The network of letters is a "means of comprehending the whole of society without organizing it."[282] Situating his argument relative to other claims about the history of the novel, Franta suggests that the novel has a counter-history to the one articulated by Ian Watt and Michael McKeon, which focuses on the rise of the individual, an increasingly rich rendering of interiority, and an understanding of the fullness of the human experience. In Franta's counter-tradition, the novel is all about social connections, relationships, webs, systems. Paying attention to systematization means understanding reality in terms of organizing schemes, not individual experience.[283]

Franta's argument that the novel depicts a failed system hinges on his sense that the novel treats individuals in a certain way. He writes, "In *Humphry Clinker*, individuals are often treated as abstractions, as if they were data points or connecting nodes rather than real people."[284] And yet, Franta's argument only works if he, too, ignores individuals. In his reading of the novel, he writes Tabitha Bramble into near invisibility. Franta mentions Tabitha glancingly only three times—once as someone who complains and is complained about,[285] once to denigrate her marriage to Lieutenant Lismahago,[286] and once, unnamed, as the "disappointed, ridiculous spinster."[287] Franta accords Tabitha the same respect that her nephew and her brother grudgingly give her—basically, no respect at all. In a chapter entitled "From Map to Network in *Humphry*

[280] Franta, 72–73.
[281] Franta, 83.
[282] Franta, 85.
[283] Franta, 69.
[284] Franta, 68.
[285] Franta, 73.
[286] Franta, 81.
[287] Franta, 83.

Clinker," Franta misses the opportunity to discuss Tabitha's misunderstanding of geography. A reading of the novel that incorporates and even foregrounds Tabitha's geographical error upends Franta's hierarchy of systems over individuals. Rather than articulating a systems failure, this argument will show how characters like Tabitha fail to read and comprehend systems because they *do see* individuals and not simply as abstractions, data points, or connecting nodes.

We learn about Tabitha's understanding (or lack thereof) of geography in a letter from her nephew Jeremy when the family travels north to Scotland. Jeremy writes:

> At Newcastle, the servants had been informed by some wag, that there was nothing to eat in Scotland, but oat-meal and sheep 's-heads; and lieutenant Lismahago being consulted, what he said served rather to confirm than to refute the report. Our aunt being apprised of this circumstance, very gravely advised her brother to provide a sumpter horse with store of hams, tongues, bread, biscuit, and other articles for our subsistence, in the course of our peregrination, and Mr Bramble as gravely replied, that he would take the hint into consideration: but, finding no such provision was made, she now revived the proposal, observing that there was a tolerable market at Berwick, where we might be supplied; and that my man 's horse would serve as a beast of burthen—The squire, shrugging his shoulders, eyed her askance with a look of ineffable contempt: and, after some pause, 'Sister (said he), I can hardly persuade myself you are serious.' *She was so little acquainted with the geography of the island, that she imagined we could not go to Scotland but by sea*; and, after we had passed through the town of Berwick, when he told her we were upon Scottish ground, she could hardly believe the assertion—If the truth must be told, the South Britons in general are woefully ignorant in this particular. What, between want of curiosity, and traditional sarcasms, the effect of ancient animosity, the people at the other end of the island know as little of Scotland as of Japan [emphasis mine].[288]

Tabitha is mocked and disparaged for not understanding that the family can travel by land from England to Scotland. They need not load up their sumpter horse with a massive "store of hams, tongues, bread, biscuit" for a long water-crossing journey. Because of this misunderstanding, her brother looks at her "askance" and treats her with "ineffable contempt." Her nephew, who has

[288] Tobias Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (New York: The Modern Library, 1929), 257–58.

had the privilege of an education denied to Tabitha herself, assumes that she is "woefully ignorant," lacks "curiosity," and avoids new knowledge because of an "ancient animosity."

Tabitha, however uneducated, is not woefully ignorant, lacking in curiosity, or biased by ancient animosity. Instead, she offers an embodied understanding of geography that is in direct contrast to Franta's. Franta suggests that "Smollett's approach to the novel does not ground its representation of social reality in the *embodiment* of individual experience but instead understands the social in terms of the system and schemes that organize it [emphasis mine]."[289] Contrary to Franta, Tabitha's geographical confusion is fully embodied. This embodiment operates on two levels. First, Tabitha is embedded in an in-person network of information. It is true that the information *about* Tabitha appears in a disembodied correspondence between Jeremy and his school friend who are never in the same place and never interact in person. However, Tabitha herself is paying much more attention to the actual people who are with them on their journey. She is connected by a network from "some wag" who starts the rumor about food available in Scotland, to "the servants" who spread the rumor, to Lismahago who confirms the rumor, to her brother who disabuses her of her error. Tabitha has her finger on the pulse of a close and embodied network of information.

In a second sense, Tabitha's geographical knowledge is embodied because she is thinking about food and survival. Having been told there is nothing to eat in Scotland but "oatmeal and sheep's head," she wants to make sure that her family has enough food. To use Franta's terms, she certainly does not see people as "abstractions" or "data points" or "connecting nodes." She sees them as her own flesh-and-blood, as bodies that need nourishment, as family members she must protect by finding sustenance. It is true that her zoomed-in focus on bodies comes at a private cost when she is mocked by her own family members, but this is a minor cost. No one is harmed by Tabitha's inability to see the larger network or system. No one is harmed by her failure to read the map in a traditional way. Tabitha—who is, as we will see, like Fanny Price, David Copperfield, Margaret Hale, and Dorothea Brooke—conceives of systems and organizations differently; all of these characters look at a system and do not see abstractions, data points, or nodes. They see real people. They humanize and individualize maps. In maps they read the opposite of "nobody's story"—they read a story that is richly peopled with life and bodies.

[289] Franta, *Systems Failure: The Uses of Disorder in English Literature*, 116.

Mansfield Park

Just as Tabitha Bramble is overlooked and undervalued, the heroine Fanny Price in Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park* (1813) is also overlooked and undervalued by her aunts, uncles, and cousins. Aunt Norris reminds Fanny to her face: "Remember, wherever you are, you must be the lowest and last."[290] Shortly after her arrival at Mansfield from her home in Portsmouth, Fanny is ridiculed by her cousins for her lack of geographical knowledge. As we will see, Fanny is not "wrong" about geography, per se; in fact, her phenomenological thinking about place—focused on individual bodies rather than categories, systems, or abstractions—might actually be "right."

Soon after Fanny's arrival at Mansfield, her cousins Maria and Julia Bertram discover that Fanny can read, write, and do needlework but has not been educated as they have. They report to their elders in the drawing room:

> 'Dear Mamma, only think, my cousin cannot put the map of Europe together—or my cousin cannot tell the principal rivers in Russia—or she never heard of Asia Minor—or she does not know the difference between water-colors and crayons!—How strange!—Did you ever hear anything so stupid?'
>
> 'My dear,' their considerate aunt would reply; 'it is very bad, but you must not expect every body to be as forward and quick at learning as yourself.'
>
> 'But, aunt, she is really so very ignorant!—Do you know, we asked her last night, which way she would go to get to Ireland; and she said, she should cross to the Isle of Wight. She thinks of nothing but the Isle of Wight, and she calls it the Island, as if there were no other island in the world. I am sure I should have been ashamed of myself if I had not known better long before I was so old as she is.'[291]

Because Fanny cannot put the map of Europe together in a jigsaw puzzle,[292] tell the principal rivers in Russia, identify Asia Minor, or—the capstone mistake—determine the best way to travel to Ireland, she is considered "strange," "stupid," "bad," and "ignorant." It is clear from this passage that, to use Aunt Norris's language, being "forward and quick" is highly valued both in learning facts and in taking journeys. Her cousins think that the quickest way to travel to Ireland will necessarily be the best way. If answering the same question themselves, they would

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[290] Austen, *Mansfield Park*, 151–52.
[291] Austen, 15.
[292] Jigsaw puzzles were invented in Britain in the 1760s by a London map-maker named John Spilsbury. Early jigsaws took the form of maps and were used as educational aids for geographical memorization. Hewitt, *Map of a Nation: A Biography of the Ordnance Survey*, 95.

presumably propose traveling from Northamptonshire directly west by land and then sailing across the Irish Sea. Fanny's indirect route from Northamptonshire south to Portsmouth, across to the Isle of Wight, and then by sea to Ireland, strikes them as laughably inefficient and ignorant.

Before considering which method of traveling to Ireland, directly west or indirectly south via the Isle of Wight, might make more sense, it is worth pausing to consider the outlier in Maria and Julia's critique of Fanny. After giving three consecutive examples of Fanny's geographical mistakes, they mention that "she does not know the difference between water-colors and crayons." This would seem to be an odd and misplaced insertion that does not belong with the others. For one thing, it is the only useful skill of the bunch. Fanny has no need to put a map of Europe together. Even if she could, doing so would probably be futile since the map of Europe was being jumbled by the Napoleonic Wars anyway. Furthermore, she certainly does not need to memorize the principal rivers in Russia or to know anything about Asia Minor. These are all arbitrary geographical facts that Maria and Julia may have memorized from their globes or geography books, but which do not help either of them succeed in society, avoid disastrous marriages, or acquire basic human sympathy. Out of all of these, knowing the difference between water-colors and crayons is the only skill that might be useful for the kinds of daily activities these women engage in. The fact that Fanny cannot tell the difference, however, does not suggest that she is ignorant or stupid. On the contrary, it indicates what kind of thinker Fanny is: Fanny, who cannot tell the difference between categories of things, is not a systems-oriented thinker. As we will see, she focuses on the individual, rather than the system, and this both explains her inability to read maps and her unique ability to understand a fully embodied, local sense of place.

Returning again to Fanny's proposed route to Ireland, I want to suggest that Fanny's individualized rather than systematic approach is not strange, stupid, bad, ignorant or even wrong. Mark Canuel makes the opposite claim. He suggests that Fanny *is* wrong, but that this is a good thing for her. He writes, "The highest privilege in the novel is being exposed as publicly, conspicuously wrong. Errors in knowledge and conduct are to be cherished rather than avoided because they serve as the means through which a person might attain narrative distinction."[293] This economy of error ultimately elevates Fanny above the Crawford siblings and her female Bertram cousins because they try to "hide, deny, circumvent, overcome, and correct their errors"

[293] Mark Canuel, "Jane Austen and the Importance of Being Wrong," *Studies in Romanticism* 44, no. 2 (Summer 2005): 125.

whereas Fanny "embrace[s] and advocate[s] error and mistakenness as signs of virtue and superiority."[294] This means that "the morality of the novel depends on the idea that error contributes rather than detracts from personal worth."[295] Fanny may be too embarrassed to act in *Lovers' Vows* but she is seemingly very willing to be wrong, and to be publicly exposed for being wrong. In Canuel's view, this embrace of error constitutes Fanny's moral worth in the novel.

Susan Fraiman comes to a very different conclusion about Fanny's moral worth in her interpretation of the same Isle of Wight scene. Fraiman articulates a response to Edward Said's argument in *Culture and Imperialism* (1993) about *Mansfield Park.* According to Fraiman, Said's suggestion that Austen is "culpably indifferent to slavery" is not strong enough, because "his treatment of Austen needs more nuance on the issue of gender."[296] For Fraiman, Austen critiques power relations, and especially gender relations, much more "than Said is prepared to acknowledge."[297] To prove her point, Fraiman turns to the Isle of Wight moment to suggest that Fanny is almost as much an imperialist as her cousins. She writes:

> Fanny's navigational mode as described in this passage is itself a rather imperialist one, for it begins and ends by fetishizing a single island. This island not only happens to resemble Britain in its ability to eclipse others such as Ireland and Antigua, leaving it the exclusive point of reference, but bears a name suggesting the pseudo racial basis for its priority. Austen's major point here is clearly to satirize Maria and Julia's class condescension to their simple cousin, but I believe she also likens all three girls to one another and ridicules them for their lordly outlook on the world.[298]

If Mark Canuel suggests that Fanny's error about the Isle of Wight makes her wrong (and nobly so), Fraiman suggests, to the contrary, that Fanny's nobility is a form of imperialism that aligns Fanny with her cousins because all three have a "lordly outlook on the world."

I disagree with both Canuel and Fraiman. Understanding Fanny as an inept reader of maps and systems but an astute reader of place and individual is a way of suggesting that Fanny is neither wrong nor lordly. She is not lordly because traveling via the Isle of Wight is not

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[294] Canuel, 145.
[295] Canuel, 134.
[296] Susan Fraiman, "Jane Austen and Edward Said: Gender, Culture, and Imperialism," *Critical Inquiry* 21, no. 4 (Summer 1995): 809.
[297] Fraiman, 815.
[298] Fraiman, 815.

actually about the Isle of Wight at all. It is certainly not about the "fetishization of a single island" with a "pseudoracial basis for its priority." Traveling via the Isle of Wight says nothing about "the Island" and everything about Portsmouth, where Fanny's family lives and which she would have to travel through to get to the Isle of Wight. That is also why Fanny is not wrong. Fanny might be wrong only if all places were equal, abstract nodes on a map. If Portsmouth and some other seaside city directly west of Northamptonshire were the same—nothing more than a dot on a map with no individualized characteristics, no individual inhabitants, no familiar scenes—then Fanny's route might be wrong. In that case, one might argue that traveling directly west to the Irish Sea would be "right" and traveling south to Portsmouth would be "wrong." Even then, there is still room for interpretation. In the era of travel as arduous "travail" in the French sense meaning "work,"[299] spending a larger proportion of the journey on the smoother water, as opposed to traveling uncomfortably in a bouncing and jarring carriage, might actually have been the "right" way to go. It was not until 1816 that John Loudon McAdam (1756-1836) introduced macadamized roads, the forerunner of twentieth-century tarmac, allowing stagecoaches to double their speed.[300] Fanny's journey to Portsmouth and then by sea to Ireland may have been a longer distance overall but an easier and more comfortable journey for a fatiguing, traveling, vulnerable human body.

David Copperfield

Like Fanny Price, David Copperfield is also attuned to the vulnerability of the human body. One of the early titles for Charles Dickens's novel *David Copperfield* (1849) was "The Copperfield Survey of the World as it Rolled."[301] This title suggests a number of things about the novel's relationship to mapping. First, the world is moving—namely, by rolling—and cannot be "pinned down" on a map in the way that Uncle Toby would have wished in *Tristram Shandy*. Second, foregrounding what makes that rolling possible—that is, the roundness of the world—is a reminder of the "orange peel problem": a flat map is inadequate for capturing the fullness of the earth's rotundity. Any map projection will inevitably have distortions. Third, and most importantly, this title captures David's misunderstanding about the world when he arrives at

[299] Grossman, "Living the Global Transport Network in Great Expectations," 235.
[300] Grossman, 232.
[301] Audrey Jaffe, *Vanishing Points: Dickens, Narrative, and The Subject of Omniscience* (Berkeley & Los Angeles & Oxford: University of California Press, 1991), 126.

Yarmouth with his nurse Peggotty: if the earth is round, how can Yarmouth possibly be so flat? As we will see, David's solution to that question reveals him to be a topographer rather than a geographer. Rather than traveling the world, like the other explorer-geographers in the novel, David prefers to shrink down the world to the small, medallion-size sphere depicted on the novel's original frontispiece (See **Figure 7**). Shrinking the world down, rather than expanding the range of one's experiences by traveling, is a way of fleshing out the local topography until it becomes richly embodied enough to constitute one's own world.

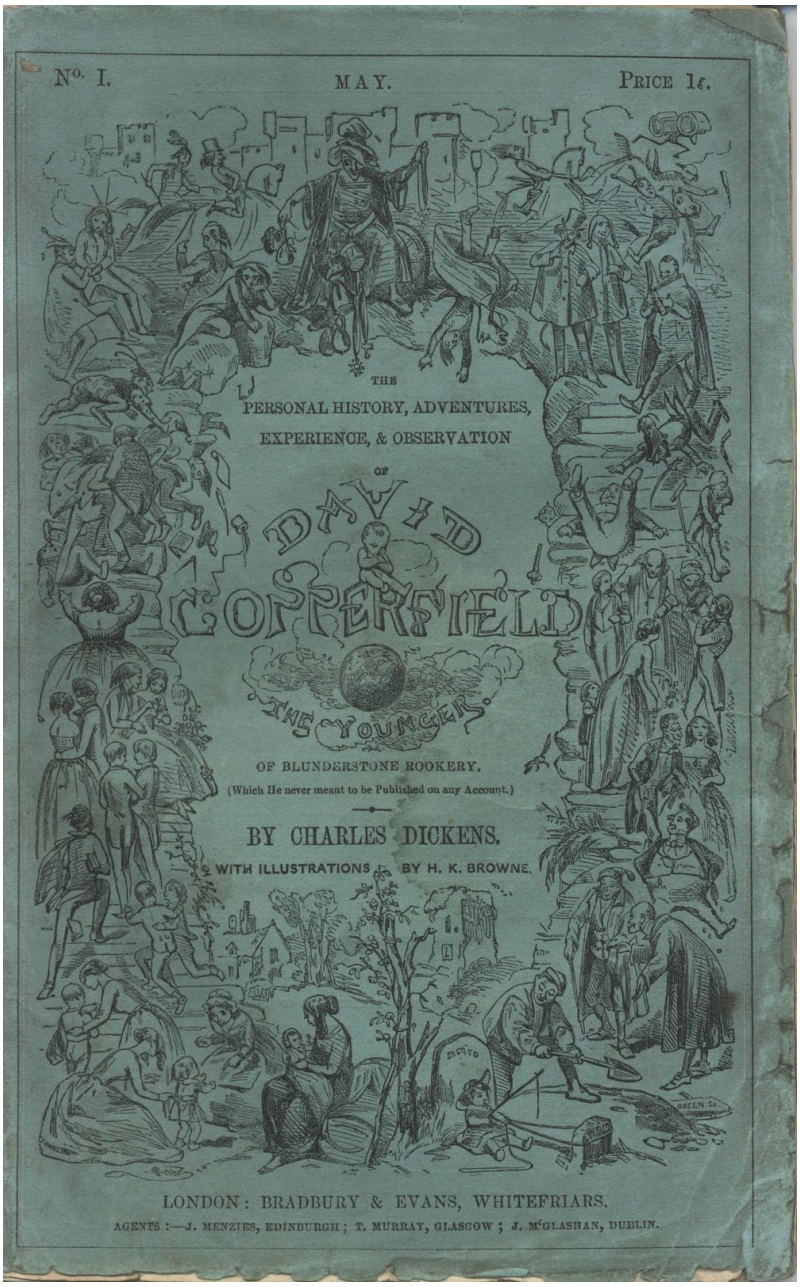

Figure 7*. H.K. Browne, Frontispiece Illustration to* David Copperfield*, 1849.*[302]

In the third chapter, "I Have a Change," David travels to Yarmouth for a fortnight's visit at his nurse Peggotty's brother's home. Their journey and arrival are described as such:

> We made so many deviations up and down lanes, and were such a long time delivering a bedstead at a public-house, and calling at other places, that I was quite tired, and very

[302] H.K. Browne, *The Personal History, Adventures, Experience, & Observations of David Copperfield The Younger of Blunderstone Rookery*, 1849, Frontispiece, 1849, https://vault.library.uvic.ca/concern/generic_works/b94268a6-6348-4fa1-a3ed-b0ee5e30bfa4.

> glad, when we saw Yarmouth. It looked rather spongy and soppy, I thought, as I carried my eye over the great dull waste that lay across the river; and I could not help wondering, if the world were really as round as my geography book said, how any part of it came to be so flat. But I reflected that Yarmouth might be situated at one of the poles; which would account for it.[303]

Though David is viewing the world through the lens of his geography book, David's trip would not meet the direct or efficient standards dictated by the logic of a geography book. Sticklers like Maria and Julia Bertram of *Mansfield Park* would certainly not approve of the haphazard trajectory of David's journey. David and Peggotty make "many deviations," travel "up and down lanes," deliver "a bedstead at a public house," and call "at other places." This is a journey like the one Fanny Price proposes between Northamptonshire and Ireland by way of the Isle of Wight—indirect but peopled with human bodies.

When he arrives in Yarmouth, David is shocked to find it "so flat" since his geography book indicates that the world is "round." On the one hand, it seems that David is a bad and confused reader of his geography book. He assumes that, because the world is round, each of its component parts must also be round. This is a basic confusion about scale. If the earth was the tiny sphere pictured in his geography book (or on the original frontispiece of the novel), the curvature of the earth would be visible from any position on its surface, including Yarmouth. However, because the earth is huge, Yarmouth appears flat from a human perspective. Rather than understanding and correcting his error, David tries to fit his new conception of flat Yarmouth into his old framework of a round earth. He does this topographically rather than geographically. That is, if Yarmouth is flat, it cannot be because the *earth* is huge and round. If Yarmouth is flat, it must be because *Yarmouth* is at a pole. Rather than a correction that is geographical (globe-focused), his correction is topographical (place-focused). He does not revise his understanding of the globe by scaling it up in size; instead, he revises his understanding of the place by relocating it at a pole.

David's understanding of Yarmouth as a pole, though technically and geographically wrong, is an astute affective foreshadowing of the bad things to come for Em'ly, Ham, and the Peggotty family. Understanding this polar connection requires a bit of historical background. *David Copperfield* was written in 1849, just four years after the disastrous Erebus and Terror

[303] Charles Dickens, *David Copperfield*, ed. Jeremy Tambling (London: Penguin Books, 2004), 40.

polar expedition in 1845. Two British Royal Navy ships, the HMS Erebus and HMS Terror, sailed from Kent in May 1845 on a three-year mission to gather magnetic data in the Arctic and complete the first crossing of the Northwest Passage. They were last seen in the Baffin Bay, just off the west coast of Greenland in August of that year and never heard from again, though oral evidence from local Inuits indicates that the men on board the ship turned to cannibalism. Siobhan Carroll argues that the mysterious disappearance of this expedition "inspired Charles Dickens's 1857 play *The Frozen Deep*, which was performed by Wilkie Collins and Dickens himself."[304] According to Carroll, "The play enacted an alliance between literary speculation and polar exploration, positioning fictional representations of polar space as the most appropriate forum in which to speculate about polar politics, asserting the importance of literature to Britain's imperial destiny."[305] Carroll shows that Dickens was able to recuperate and re-value the poles by 1857. This was not the case in 1849 when *David Copperfield* was published. Only four years after the expedition, when the horror would have been fresher, the poles would have been a fraught place in British culture, suggestive of danger, threat, and menace.[306]

Intuiting the menace of the poles, David immediately tries to make Yarmouth seem less like a pole (that is, less flat) by suggesting some additional dimensionality:

> As we drew a little nearer, and saw the whole adjacent prospect lying a straight low line under the sky, I hinted to Peggotty that a mound or so might have improved it; and also that if the land had been a little more separated from the sea, and the town and the tide had not been quite so much mixed up, like toast and water, it would have been nicer. But Peggotty said, with greater emphasis than usual, that we must take things as we found them, and that, for her part, she was proud to call herself a Yarmouth Bloater.[307]

David suggests that Yarmouth would be improved with "a mound or so" and more separation from the sea. He seems to want Yarmouth to be less flat and more like Peggotty's body which is not flat at all. We already know that, while David's mother has a "youthful shape," Peggotty is large enough to have "no shape at all"[308] and, when he is sleepy, David imagines that Peggotty's

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[304] Siobhan Carroll, *An Empire of Air and Water: Uncolonizable Space in the British Imagination, 1750-1850* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 66.
[305] Carroll, 70.
[306] It is significant that the character most associated with the poles is the villain Steerforth. Steerforth describes his partner-in-crime, Littimer, as "distant and quiet as the North Pole" (332) and his hairdresser, Miss Mowcher, says, of Steerforth's own head, "Come, Steerforth, let's explore the polar regions, and have it over" (339). By suggesting that Yarmouth might be a pole of the earth, David quite insightfully foreshadows Steerforth's impending menace to the Yarmouth-based Peggotty family.
[307] Dickens, *David Copperfield*, 40.
[308] Dickens, 24.

body seems "to swell and grow immensely large."[309] In David's eyes, Yarmouth would be nicer if it was more like a swelled-up version of Peggotty's body.

In fact, what David comes to appreciate most about Yarmouth are the bodies. He observes:

> When we got into the street (which was strange enough to me) and smelt the fish, and pitch, and oakum, and tar, and saw the sailors walking about, and the carts jingling up and down over the stones, I felt that I had done so busy a place an injustice; and said as much to Peggotty, who heard my expressions of delight with great complacency, and told me it was well known (I suppose to those who had the good fortune to be born Bloaters) that Yarmouth was, upon the whole, the finest place in the universe."[310]

David comes to reject his initial lukewarm impression of Yarmouth—spongy, soppy, dull waste, flat, watery toast—when he experiences the city as a body on the ground, delighted with the smell of fish, the sight of sailors, and the sound of jingling carts. The phrase "Yarmouth Bloater" comes from a bloated herring, a specialty of the Yarmouth area, which has been cured by light salting and smoked for three to four hours.[311] The local people like Peggotty proudly refer to themselves as bloated herrings. Like Tabitha Bramble, whose geography of Scotland is food-oriented and therefore body-oriented rather than map-oriented, Peggotty's sense of place is also focused on food and the body. David, delighted with the busy bodies of Yarmouth, comes to embrace this perspective.

Indeed, the embodied sense of place that David embraces as an impressionable young man in Yarmouth comes to inform his identity elsewhere in the novel as a topographer rather than a geographer or polar explorer. Dominic Rainsford writes, "Though David travels eventually—when he spends three years wandering the Continent after Dora's death—this has to do with processing what has happened at home rather than discovering the possibilities of the foreign. Had all Englishmen been like young David, there would not have been much of an Empire."[312] Other people in the novel—Miss Mills, Em'ly and her father, the Micawber family, the random unnamed mariner at his wedding—go abroad but David mostly stays at home. If David has a counterfactual identity as a young woman in his aunt's eyes (as the Betsy Trotwood

[309] Dickens, 28.
[310] Dickens, 40.
[311] "Bloater," in *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).
[312] Dominic Rainsford, "Out of Place: David Copperfield's Irresolvable Geographies," *Essay and Studies* 65 (2012): 198.

she wished him to be), he also has a counterfactual identity as a traveler, explorer, and geographer that never gets fulfilled. Instead, he says things like: "as I were a mariner myself."[313] David is neither a polar explorer nor a geographer; he is a local topographer who foregrounds the embodiment of places.

North and South

Like David Copperfield, the heroine Margaret Hale in Elizabeth Gaskell's novel *North and South* (1854) also foregrounds the embodiment of places. The novel seems to set up a dichotomy between the sleepy, rural, southern village of Helstone and the smoky, hard-working, industrial, northern city of Milton. Margaret, who moves from south to north with her parents, plans and coordinates their move by consulting an atlas. Though Margaret and her father are both wary of maps, she has a better sense than he does of the ways in which places are linked, rather than separated, by the force of human connection.

Thinking about their upcoming move, Margaret devises a plan: "Suddenly she took a candle and went into her father's study for a great atlas, and lugging it back into the drawing-room, she began to pore over the map of England. She was ready to look up brightly when her father came down stairs." When her father arrives in the drawing-room, Margaret tells him:

> I have hit upon such a beautiful plan. Look here—in Darkshire, hardly the breadth of my finger from Milton, is Heston, which I have often heard of from people living in the north as such a pleasant little bathing-place. Now, don't you think we could get mamma there with Dixon, while you and I go and look at houses, and get one all ready for her in Milton? She would get a breath of sea air to set her up for winter, and be spared all the fatigue, and Dixon would enjoy taking care of her.

Mr. Hale, after expressing "helpless dismay" that their servant Dixon will be accompanying them at all, since Dixon sometimes "gives herself airs" because she has gotten accustomed to a life they can no longer provide her, finally gives in. He responds: "Very well, my dear. Go on. I am resigned. How far is Heston from Milton? The breadth of one of your fingers does not give me a very clear idea of distance." Margaret answers, "Well, then, I suppose it is thirty miles; that is not much!" Mr. Hale says, "Not in distance, but in—. Never mind! If you really think it will

[313] Dickens, *David Copperfield*, 205.

do your mother good, let it be fixed so."[314] Mr. Hale has a healthy skepticism about maps. When he says, "not in distance, but in—", his unsaid phrase implies that the scale of the map cannot account for the scale of human pain. He anticipates that traveling back and forth between Heston and Milton will be exhausting, straining, and difficult—easier contemplated on the map than done in person. Whereas Margaret seems to trust the map, her father seems to be the savvier map user, a figure for the anti-map.

And yet, Margaret is also anti-map. Her seeming trust in the map is a conscious manipulation of the map as a tool. When she looks up "brightly" and describes Heston as "pleasant," Margaret is performing optimism with the help of the map, but she is thinking about different forms of pain—dislocation, hassle, winter, displacement, lack of belonging, fatigue—that she wants to avoid for the sake of both of her parents. Margaret uses the map as a tool not to find a seaside location like Heston but to start a conversation with her father. Because the map is a kind of system, as well as part of a greater system (the atlas), it helps Margaret to make it seem like her plan is thought-out, comprehensive, rational. Margaret pretends to believe that the map will solve their problem and help the family to secure a future that is pleasant rather than painful. Though she shows it differently, with performed brightness rather than morose dejection, Margaret is just as wary as her father about the map and about the kind of future it can guarantee.

Like Margaret, Elizabeth Gaskell (1810-1865) was a savvy and skeptical user of maps for her idiosyncratic purposes, though scholars have mistaken her idiosyncrasies for ignorance. Lindsay Wilhelm argues that Gaskell constructs the geography around northern and southern Europe "without much precision."[315] Wilhelm's evidence for this claim comes partly from one of Gaskell's letters to her daughter Polly, written on October 19, 1858. Gaskell writes:

> In the evening just as I was beginning to read Boswell aloud, & they to work M. Plarr came in. Oh he is so tiresome & egotistical. We did nothing but talk about his plan for the 'Triangulization [sic] of the Holy Land,' whatever that may mean,--and staid till past 10, talking of nothing but that, & the geography of the Bible; *to me too who knew nothing about geography* [emphasis mine].[316]

[314] Elizabeth Gaskell, *North and South*, ed. Alan Shelston (New York & London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2005), 48.
[315] Lindsay Wilhelm, "'Looking South': Envisioning The European South in North and South," *Studies in the Novel* 46, no. 4 (Winter 2014): 419.
[316] Elizabeth Gaskell, *The Letters of Mrs. Gaskell*, ed. J.A.V. Chapple and Arthur Pollard (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1966), 518–19.

It is true that Gaskell evinces no interest in triangulation and admits that she knows nothing of geography in this letter. Yet Wilhelm ignores Gaskell's very different comments about geography from another letter, written just a few months later to Edward Thurston Holland (1836-1884) on January 19, 1859. In that second letter, Gaskell asks Holland, who has just returned from America, to visit: "I wish you would come and be questioned before your American freshness goes off. Could you not find out that Manchester is half way between Dumbleton and London? *It IS, if you look at geography in the right way*" [emphasis mine].[317] Gaskell is clearly trying to persuade Holland to stop in Manchester on his way home to Dumbleton from London. From the standpoint of logic, rationality, and efficiency, it is a strange and unwieldy proposition. By almost any traditional geographical accounting, Manchester is decidedly not halfway between Dumbleton and London. Traveling directly from London to Dumbleton, which is in the county of Gloucestershire, would be approximately 100 miles whereas adding a stop in Manchester would triple the length of the journey to nearly 300 miles. When Gaskell writes, "if you look at geography in the right way," she might mean that the literal distance from Dumbleton to Manchester is approximately the same (about 100 miles) as the distance from Dumbleton to London. It seems more likely, however, that Gaskell's "right way" to look at geography is more affective than literal. The triple-length detour she proposes would only be worthwhile for someone who saw places not as nodes or abstractions, but who connected people with places. If a close friend lived in Manchester, it might be worthwhile to travel there, perhaps persuading yourself that it was on the way to Dumbleton but knowing ultimately that you were choosing the less direct, less traditional, less rational, less efficient route. To "look at geography in the right way" for Gaskell is to mistrust the map and rely on human connection instead.

Like Gaskell herself, Margaret Hale is wary of the kind of knowledge a map can provide. Though she shares that wariness with her father, albeit displayed differently, they each draw a different understanding of place from the map. For Mr. Hale, places are fundamentally separate whereas for Margaret, places are fundamentally connected. In addition to the novel's titular distinction between north and south, Mr. Hale adds an east-west dimension—Heston being to the west on the seaside and Milton being inland. For Mr. Hale, these places may look deceptively close on the map, but they are actually much farther apart than they seem, both physically and

[317] Gaskell, 524.

constitutionally. Physically, the commute back and forth between Heston and Milton will be exhausting and draining. Constitutionally, the Hale family will find upon arrival that Heston is "as different from the little bathing-places in the south of England as they again from those of the continent."[318] Instead of seeming similar to other bathing-places by virtue of a shared seaside identity, Heston reinforces its own differences from other bathing-places. It serves as a reminder of the separation between northern and southern England but also between England and other nations. The people are busier, the colors are greyer, and the shopkeepers have less time for leisure.

If Mr. Hale sees places as fundamentally separate, and the experience of visiting Heston seems to bear out his hypothesis, Margaret sees places as fundamentally connected. She argues that the distance between Heston and Milton is "not much." Placing one of her fingers on the map, she tries to make Heston and Milton seem close together. Her logic is: How far apart could they possibly be if they can be linked by a single human finger? When her father is skeptical of the finger strategy, Margaret takes a step further, trying to defer a precise answer in mileage with an unnecessary verbal prelude of "well, then, I suppose it is" rather than simply answering "thirty miles." Margaret's sense that places are connected is not wrong. Though Heston may be different from other seaside towns, it is not very different from Milton. Ideologically, they share the same "northern" mentality characterized by utilitarianism, hard work, grey colors, and iron skies. Even more importantly, Heston and Milton are connected emotionally for the Hale family. Mrs. Hale will wait in Heston while her husband and daughter toggle back and forth, trying to find a house to rent in Milton. The husband and daughter will always be thinking of and acting for Mrs. Hale. A human link of feeling (and not just a human finger) will connect the two places. For Margaret, Heston and Milton can never be abstract nodes. They are places with affective ties of communication between one another. Margaret looks at the system of the map and sees an individual: her own mother.

As Margaret intuits, but her father does not, the connection between Milton and Heston is fluid rather than static. When Mr. Hale says he is "resigned," he refers to his resignation that Dixon will stay with the family, not his resignation about the trip to Heston, but those two different topics get conflated. The family must do both, keep Dixon and travel to Heston. This is part of a whole series of resignations that Mr. Hale has lately made: he has resigned his job, his

[318] Gaskell, *North and South*, 54.

way of life, his location, his home. Because of his willingness to resign, it is Mr. Hale who wants their trip to be "fixed so." Margaret's response to his finality is: "This was a great step. Now Margaret could work, and act, and plan in good earnest." Whereas her father seeks fixity and finality, Margaret knows that their journey is only "a great step." She knows that places are connected and that those connections are fluid and evolving rather than fixed and resigned.

Like other supposedly inept map-reading characters, Margaret's use of the map is unconventional, but her sense of place is astute and insightful. She uses the system of the map to her advantage to spark a conversation with her father and make it seem like she has a comprehensive plan for the family's relocation, but she is never really looking at the system as a system. Instead, she is always thinking of her mother and that focus on the individual offers her a sense of place that emphasizes connection rather than separation and fluidity rather than fixity.

Middlemarch

Margaret Hale's sense of human connection between places also emerges vividly in George Eliot's *Middlemarch* (1871). Though the novel is a "study of provincial life" set in a fictitious Midland town, the only map that appears in any kind of descriptive detail is not a map of the novel's English setting: it is an ancient map of Asia Minor. It is a map that clearly came from the late Mr. Casaubon's scholarly collection and that his widow Dorothea examines ostensibly to brush up on her geographical knowledge while actually trying to do something mindless to distract herself from her growing realization and denial of her love for Ladislaw. It is a futile pursuit: the map is boring for Dorothea and for the reader, both of whom are blocked by bodies from focusing on the map and pulled instead to the embodied world of human connections.

After Dorothea visits Rosamond Vincy and learns that there is no romantic relationship between Rosamond and Ladislaw, she is at a loss for what to do and focus on. Nobody in the cottages on her estate needs anything from her. She tries to read essays on political economy but finds herself "reading the same sentences twice over," so she turns to "a mere task" and something "to which she must go doggedly." She thinks to herself:

> Was there not the geography of Asia Minor, in which her slackness had often been rebuked by Mr. Casaubon? *She went to the cabinet of maps and unrolled one*: this morning she might make herself finally sure that Paphlagonia was not the Levantine

> coast, and fix her total darkness about the Chalybes firmly on the shores of the Euxine. A map was a fine thing to study when you were disposed to think of something else, being made up of names that would turn into a chime if you went back upon them. *Dorothea set earnestly to work, bending close to her map, and uttering the names in an audible, subdued tone, which often got into a chime. She looked amusingly girlish after all her deep experience—nodding her head and marking the names off on her fingers, with a little pursing of her lip, and now and then breaking off to put her hands on each side of her face and say, 'Oh dear! Oh dear!*' [emphasis mine][319]

In this passage, Dorothea examines an ancient map of Asia Minor. Her outward purpose is to clarify for herself some areas of geographical uncertainty that Casaubon would have expected her to know and rebuked her for not knowing. At the same time, her shadow purpose is to focus intensely on Casaubon's map to avoid thinking about Ladislaw. As a reader, it is easy to skim over the specific details of the map (somewhat as one is tempted to do when Miss Bates speaks in Jane Austen's novel *Emma*). As we will see, the reader's eager readiness to ignore the map is part of the point of including the map at all. Still, for purposes of this examination, it is useful to explain what Dorothea is looking at here. "Paphlagonia" is on the south shore of the Black Sea and the "Levantine coast" is on the eastern portion of the Mediterranean. Since they are on entirely different bodies of water, Dorothea is correct "that Paphlagonia was not on the Levantine coast." In fact, the issue here is not her accuracy but her confidence. She needs to "make herself finally sure." To use language from *Tristram Shandy*, she wants to "pin it down" in her mind. Similarly, the Chalybes were a group of people living in northern Anatolia (modern-day Turkey) and the Euxine is a Greek name for the Black Sea. Dorothea's goal in locating the Chalybes on the shores of the Euxine is also fixity and confidence rather than accuracy. She wants to "fix her total darkness" about them "firmly" in the area of the Black Sea.

The problem with Dorothea's approach to the map is that her end goal, sure finality and firm fixity, is at odds with her methodology. Dorothea, who knows nothing about these places, repeats the names to herself rhythmically "like a chime." Rather than actual knowledge of the places as an aid to memory, she relies upon her sing-song rhythmical muscle memory. The idea is that, if she repeats the names to herself "like a chime" over and over again, she will be able to return to the same map later and the names will come back to her like the echoes of that same

[319] George Eliot, *Middlemarch*, ed. Rosemary Ashton (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 806.

chime. This means that her methodology relies on both an auditory and a temporal dimension. She has to repeat the names aloud now, and in the future, for this memorization strategy to work. She notes that a map is a fine thing to study "when" she is feeling a certain way. This ongoing repetition, available to her only "when" she is in the mood, precludes sure finality and firm fixity. She will never achieve her goal if her methodology is only available to her in particular moods and if her strategy requires ongoing chime-like repetition.

If Dorothea's methodology prevents her from achieving her ostensible goal of firmly fixing these locations on the map, it also prevents her from achieving her shadow goal—namely, avoiding thinking about Ladislaw. Her methodology requires full embodiment—bending closer, nodding her head, marking the names off on her fingers, pursing her lips, putting her hands on her face. To avoid thinking about Ladislaw's body, she has to slip into being a body rather than a mind: she practices a fully embodied memorization technique that reminds her of her own body and ultimately leads her back to Ladislaw. Immediately after Dorothea puts her hands on her face, Mrs. Nobel comes into the room to discuss Ladislaw. This is a cycle that begins and ends with Ladislaw, not with Casaubon's map.

As readers of this passage, we follow a similar trajectory as we slip in and out of free indirect discourse. At the beginning of the passage (in the unitalicized sentences above) we are inside Dorothea's head, hearing her justifications for looking at the map. In the second half of the passage (the italicized sentences), however, we are outside of Dorothea's head and watching her look at the map. The reader's view of Dorothea shifts from mind to body. As Dorothea morphs into a body before our eyes, her body blocks our view of the map. We, like other supposedly inept map readers in this section, see an individual rather than a system. This is why it is so easy to ignore and skim over the specific details of the map. We do not care about this ancient map at all. Seeing an image of Dorothea's hands on her face, we cannot help but recall Dorothea's hands on Rosamond's hands, that famous moment of sympathy which occurred just two chapters previously. The map, Dorothea's solution for avoiding human feeling, has no power over Dorothea or over the reader.

Recall that Fanny Price, like Dorothea Brooke, was also rebuked for not knowing the geography of Asia Minor. In *Middlemarch*, Fanny's spiritual successor in inept map reading reveals what it would have been like if Fanny had tried to learn the geography of Asia Minor. It would have been as meaningless for Fanny as it was for Dorothea and for the reader. Places as

chimes, as nodes, as abstractions pale in comparison to a sense of place that is peopled with bodies and fluidly connected to other embodied places.

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Taken together, these six case studies from novels written during the era of the Ordnance Survey's formative years reveal the novel's competing understanding of topography. As we saw in Chapter One, the Ordnance Survey's version of topography tended to be error-ridden, defunded, and undervalued. In a seemingly similar way, the characters featured in Chapter Two—those who misread maps and make geographical errors—are often mocked or ridiculed, ignored or swept aside, criticized or censured. And yet, these characters also offer an alternative understanding of place and its relationship to mapping. The maps that they misread do not offer them a satisfactory sense of place. Looking at a map of place does not transport them to that place; instead, they are stuck where they already are. Rather than the inadequacy of the map readers, these moments suggest instead the inadequacy of the maps themselves. A map cannot capture a place. Place, they suggest, is unmappable.

A sense of place as unmappable offers a way to intervene in longstanding scholarly and theoretical debates about the dichotomy between place and space. Michel de Certeau, one of the principal theorists of place and space, clearly prioritizes the latter over the former. He has argued that place is stable whereas space incorporates vectors of direction, velocity, mobility, and time. He gives the example of a street, which is initially defined as a place by urban planning, but then radically transformed into a space by walkers; thus, "space is a practiced place."[320] Given this distinction, Certeau assigns itineraries to the world of spaces and maps to the world of places. An itinerary captures the spatial motion of going, but a map only colonizes space, producing an immobilized place.[321]

Scholars have used Michel de Certeau's distinction between space and place to suggest that being mapped is what establishes a place as a place—an argument with which the Widow Wadman, Tabitha Bramble, Fanny Price, David Copperfield, Margaret Hale, and Dorothea Brooke would certainly disagree. For example, Yi-Fu Tuan's work on "topophilia" and Robert Tally's work on "topophrenia" both fit into Michel de Certeau's place-and-space framework. Tuan suggests that place emerges out of otherwise undifferentiated space when it occasions a

[320] de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 117.
[321] de Certeau, 121.

pause, a resting of the eye, or the stimulation of the senses. If place is a fixed and stable pause, space is associated with movement. Tuan's term "topophilia" captures the freedom and joy of that movement, whereas Tally's term "topophrenia" associates the movement of space with the peril, unease, anxiety, and discontent that comes from being away from home and on the move.[322] Putting aside their varying degrees of joy and anxiety, both Tuan and Tally articulate a sense of place that is, like Michel de Certeau's, frozen and stable.

The understanding of place that animates this chapter has less in common with Michel de Certeau's, Yi-Fu Tuan's, and Robert Tally's fixed and stable pause captured in a map and more in common with Edward Casey's and Doreen Massey's porous and unbounded sense of place. Casey suggests that place "determines not only *where* I am in the limited sense of cartographic location but also *how* I am together with others and even *who* we shall become together."[323] Casey's place is social, experienced, and communal. As Casey defines it, place is bounded, but "this boundary is not constrictive: the lifeline extending from body to landscape is as porous as a sieve, meaning that place constantly overflows its own boundaries."[324] Of course, a place that "overflows its own boundaries" is still a place that has boundaries, however inadequate.

Doreen Massey takes Casey's argument a step further by dissolving the boundaries around place altogether. As with her work on locality, she attempts to re-think the concept of place in an anti-essentialist way that figures place as a product of interactions. For Massey, "thinking of places in this way implies that they are not so much bounded areas as open and porous networks of social relations."[325] Massey gives the example of Kilburn, an area of north-west London which spans two boroughs of Camden and Brent. She argues that geographers who attempt to define regions by drawing lines around a place to distinguish between "us" and "them" or "inside" and "outside" produce little meaning in real places. Kilburn can still have a "character of its own" without "subscribing to any of the static and defensive notions of place." It can have a "character of its own" without being a "seamless, coherent identity, a single sense of place which everyone shares." She concludes, "I certainly could not begin to define Kilburn by drawing its enclosing boundaries."[326]

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[322] Tally, *Topophrenia: Place, Narrative, and the Spatial Imagination*, 17–18.
[323] Casey, *Getting Back Into Place: Toward a Renewed Understanding of the Place-World*, 23.
[324] Casey, 29.
[325] Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender*, 121.
[326] Massey, 152–54.

Massey's Kilburn example begs the question: if she would not draw lines around a place to distinguish its outside from its inside, and if she could not define Kilburn by drawing enclosing boundaries, how would she represent Kilburn on a map? I suspect the answer is that she would not do so. Scholars of place fall into two camps—those that conceive of place as mappable (*e.g.*, Michel de Certeau, Yi-Fu Tuan, Robert Tally) and those that do not (*e.g.*, Edward Casey, Doreen Massey). The map misreaders featured in this chapter fall squarely into the latter category. They would very likely agree with the sentiment shared by another nineteenth-century novel from across the ocean, Herman Melville's *Moby Dick* (1853): "It is not down in any map; true places never are."[327]

[327] Herman Melville, *Moby Dick* (New York: Race Point Publishing, 2016), 43.

Part II.
The Terraqueous Spectacle and Terrestrial Refraction of Islands

CHAPTER III.
"She traced the different countries on the sand": Female Robinson Crusoes in the Nineteenth-Century Novel

Douglas Jerrold's novella, "Miss Robinson Crusoe," was published in fourteen serialized chapters in the late summer of 1846 in the satirical magazine *Punch*. The story begins when young Miss Robinson Crusoe, discouraged by her middle-class marriage prospects at home in Westminster, books passage on a ship to India in search of a wealthy officer or rajah to marry. After twenty-seven days at sea, her ship sinks in a huge storm. Having conveniently learned to swim on a recent vacation to Margate, Miss Crusoe swims to the shore of a nearby desert island. She is the sole survivor of the wreck. After gathering materials from her sinking ship, she begins to reflect on where she is:

> My next work, however, was to look about me. Where was I? In what corner of the earth? It could not be Peru, for I saw not a morsel of gold upon the beach; it was not one of the Spice Islands, for not a single nutmeg was to be seen upon any of the trees. Was it the Canaries?—flights of birds flew past me; but they flew so high; it was impossible for me to discern if there were any canaries among them. And here—I must confess it—I felt some anger towards the respected principals of my Blackheath Boarding-School. I have said that I was nominally taught the Use of Globes; my learning was down in the bill, and paid for every quarter. I had been taught to talk about California and Behring's Straights, and the Euxine and Patagonia, as if they were all so many old acquaintance; and yet I know not if at that moment I might not be upon some of them. And then I sighed, and felt that it isn't for a young lady to know anything of the world, because she sits with the Globe in her hand two hours a day. And I felt too that if I ever should have a daughter—and my eyes did sadly wander about that uninhabited tract—I should not conclude that she knew anything of geography, because I had paid for it.[328]

[328] Douglas Jerrold, "Miss Robinson Crusoe," *Punch*, August 8, 1846, 53.

What does it mean to take a novel like Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719)—one that famously includes a map—and re-write that novel featuring a character who is not good at using maps and cannot locate herself on a map? Like the literary characters in Chapter Two who were mocked and ridiculed for their map misreadings and geographical errors, Miss Robinson Crusoe initially seems to be an incompetent geographer. Most literary critics have certainly understood her that way. Carl Thompson, for example, writes that the story "features an empty-headed protagonist whose chief lament is being cut off from fashionable society."[329] It is true that the story parodies both Daniel Defoe's original novel and the stereotypical superficiality of young ladies in society. Nevertheless, I will suggest that Miss Crusoe is not nearly as "empty-headed" as she seems. Her knowledge of geography, though unconventional, provides her with precisely the social and practical skills she needs to survive.

Her chances of survival initially seem quite slim. This is partly because of her attitude toward her own situation. Rather than despair about her lack of practical knowledge or fear for her uncertain future, her primary emotion is "anger" at her instructors for the way she has been financially exploited. Despite paying "every quarter" for learning "the Use of Globes," she does not know "anything of the world" or "anything of geography." She wants to dispute the bill more than she wants to know where she is. Her preoccupation with her previous financial transactions, at the expense of her curiosity about her current whereabouts, does not bode well for her chances of survival. However, though it is her first reaction, Miss Crusoe's anger at her geography instructors is neither intense nor lasting. Relative to what she could have felt in such a desperate situation, "some anger" is a muted emotion. In the end, despite her muted anger, she evidently does not consider her education to have been a waste of money: after all, she does not plan to do anything differently for her future daughter. She will still pay for her daughter's geography lessons, even knowing that her daughter will not necessarily learn any geography.

Miss Crusoe's angry reaction is muted and short-lived because she understands geography to be a social, rather than academic, discipline. For her, geography is about connection with other people. On that front, she has learned a great deal of geography. Having been "taught to talk about California and Behring's Straights, and the Euxine and Patagonia, as if they were all so many old acquaintance," she considers places like people, like familiars, like

[329] Carl Thompson, "The Grosvenor Shipwreck and the Figure of The Female Crusoe: Hannah Hewit, Mary Jane Meadows, and Romantic-Era Feminist and Anti-Feminist Debate," *English Studies in Africa* 51, no. 2 (2008): 12, https://doi.org/10.1080/00138390809487851.

friends. Geography is a social endeavor that involves talking *about* people *to* people. It is a social skill that allows you to get by in society, not a survival skill that helps you to identify your positionality on a globe. Her verb choice is active rather than analytical, practical rather than theoretical: she was not taught to understand the globe, but she was taught to "use" the globe as a tool in social situations. Miss Crusoe may be physically alone but thinking about geography has quickly transformed her solitariness into sociality. By the end of the passage, Miss Crusoe has stopped trying to figure out where she is and started to look around her to see if anyone is living on the island with whom she could partner to produce a daughter. She starts with "where was I" and ends with "who else might be here."

Because of this growing awareness of the sociality of geography, Miss Crusoe comes to realize that she is not as ignorant about geography as she initially feared. Compare her initial impression of the island with her later conclusions:

> I looked about me. *It was plain I was upon some island*. Yet, although my father had been regularly charged for my learning the use of the globes at Blackheath School, the fault was either in the teachers or myself, that I could not possibly guess upon what part of the world I was landed.[330]
>
> Arrived at the top, I turned round and round, and wherever I turned saw nothing but the sea heaving about me. Then I felt that I had, after all, learned something of geography. *I knew I was upon an island*.[331] [emphasis mine in both passages]

When she first lands on shore, Miss Crusoe doubts herself tremendously. Rather than claiming the remarkable accomplishment of realizing that she is upon an island, she avoids crediting herself with that knowledge by saying "it was plain" rather than "I knew." The passive construction suggests that such a discovery is obvious and available to anyone. Miss Crusoe also makes clear that her information is incomplete. Saying "some" island rather than "an" island calls attention to the fact that she does not know "which" island she has landed upon. Afterward, she immediately pivots to further doubt, subscribing "fault" to herself or her teachers because she cannot guess upon which island she has landed. In the second passage, after she has reflected on the social power of her own sense of geography, Miss Crusoe's doubt transforms into confidence. She particularizes and celebrates her own knowledge with the statement "I knew"

[330] Douglas Jerrold, "Miss Robinson Crusoe," *Punch*, July 11, 1846, 13.
[331] Jerrold, "Miss Robinson Crusoe," August 8, 1846, 53.

instead of "it was plain." She identifies herself as upon "an" island, rather than "some" island, which is a recognition of the completeness of her own knowledge of geography. She does not need to be able to identify her island on a globe. As long as she knows that she is upon an island, she has the information she needs to survive. The ability to identify her island on a globe will not feed her, shelter her, or help her to be rescued. Confident in the uselessness of traditional conceptions of geography, she appropriates its tools for other purposes. She notes, "I had brought away the ship's compass; and so used the metal basin that contained it as a saucepan."[332] She might not know how to use the compass as it is traditionally intended, but she is not wrong that using it as a saucepan better serves her survival.

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In Chapter Two, I established my methodology by locating moments of map misreading or geographical error practiced by novelistic characters, re-valuing those moments as avenues into the novel's anti-map stance. This chapter will suggest a potential payoff of this line of inquiry: my framework may put us in a position to modify the seminal account of the novel, Ian Watt's *The Rise of The Novel* (1957). Watt asserts that *Robinson Crusoe* is essential to the rise of the novel because of the way that Defoe narrativizes Crusoe's capitalism and Protestantism. Though the island setting is clearly crucial to this narrativization, my chapter's revisionary claim focuses on a new understanding of the work that the island setting is doing. I suggest that Crusoe becomes a persistent touchstone in later novels not just for the way that his capitalism and Protestantism unfold on his island habitant, but also because the island itself suggests the novel's particular fitness for productively navigating the uncertain boundary between being alone and being social. Crusoe and his shipwrecked successors experience solitude and sociality at the same time. Being alone on an island gives them the time and space to want to be together with others. This longing could be framed as loneliness. These characters do not experience solitude as loneliness, however. Instead, their solitude is re-framed as a form of sociality marked by possibility. This re-framing is made possible by the literal, physical, geological setting of the island, which invites characters to understand their solitude as temporary and transient, thus enabling an attitude of hope for rescue, escape, and reconnection with others.

This argument, about the pairing of solitude and sociality in the novel, is one with which Watt would likely disagree. Though Watt argues that Defoe contributed to the rise of the novel,

[332] Douglas Jerrold, "Miss Robinson Crusoe," *Punch*, August 22, 1846, 75.

he was nonetheless skeptical about whether *Robinson Crusoe* itself could be considered a novel. In 1951, he wrote, "We do not usually think of *Robinson Crusoe* as a novel."[333] He doubled down in 1957, writing that "Defoe's story is perhaps not a novel in the usual sense since it deals so little with personal relations."[334] For Watt, Crusoe is alone for too much of the story; a novel, in contrast, must deal with social relations. J. Paul Hunter disagrees. He argues that, among the nine novel features that formalists are "embarrassed" about, the novel has a tendency to "both probe and promote loneliness and solitariness."[335] According to Hunter, loneliness and solitariness do not preclude *Robinson Crusoe* from being a novel; instead, they are essential to the form. Loneliness is a feature not only of texts like *Robinson Crusoe* but also of texts in which the protagonist is comfortably embedded in a family situation (*e.g.*, Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* or Jane Austen's *Emma*). One of the problems with Hunter's argument is that he conflates loneliness and solitariness. For example, he writes, "The novel's addictive engagement with solitariness may be seen most clearly not in the lonely heroes of novels but in their lonely readers." Hunter repeatedly uses these terms interchangeably without acknowledging that one can be in solitude without being lonely (as introverts know well) or lonely without being in solitude (by feeling lonesome in a crowd).

A more nuanced treatment of being alone comes from Alicia Christoff's article, "Alone with *Tess*" (2015) about Thomas Hardy and mid-twentieth century psychoanalytic thinker D.W. Winnicott (1896-1971). Christoff observes that even when Tess seems most alone, in her moments of "utmost solitude," she is never totally alone because of the witnessing presence of the narrator and reader.[336] The novel "works to convince us" that "we are never as alone as we think we are."[337] I agree with Christoff and appreciate the way that she dissolves the sanctity of the boundaries around being alone by suspending "binary oppositions," especially the supposed opposition between "being alone and being in the presence of others."[338] That said, Christoff takes her argument in a different direction than I do. Unlike Christoff, I am not concerned here with the "bidirectional exchange of ideas between the Victorian novel and post-Freudian

[333] Ian Watt, "Robinson Crusoe as a Myth," *Essays in Criticism: A Quarterly Journal of Literary Criticism* I, no. 2 (April 1951): 95.
[334] Watt, *The Rise of the Novel*, 92.
[335] J. Paul Hunter, *Before Novels: The Cultural Contexts of Eighteenth Century English Fiction* (New York & London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1990), 39.
[336] Alicia Christoff, "Alone with Tess," *Novel: A Forum on Fiction* 48, no. 1 (May 2015): 18.
[337] Christoff, 20.
[338] Christoff, 30.

psychoanalysis."[339] This chapter will not take Christoff's psychoanalytic approach. She is also more concerned than I am with the drawing of literary character (how sometimes Tess is text, and sometimes type, and sometimes a warm and vital person) and the porousness between character, reader, and narrator.[340] Rather than literary character, I am more focused on place and setting. That is, rather than the witnessing presence of narrator and reader, I suggest that it is the island setting that can make a character who is alone on an island feel less alone and more hopeful for the possibility of future connection with others.

This chapter will suggest that solitariness is by no means beyond the realm of the novel's complex depiction of sociality. On the contrary, being alone, temporarily or at least possibly temporarily, creates the conditions for being social. On an island like Crusoe's, one is alone but not necessarily definitively or permanently. As we will see, the characters in this chapter are often at the edge of their islands—crossing back and forth from their shipwrecked boat to bring supplies to land, drawing countries in the sand, looking out toward the sea. Being at the border of the island should produce hopelessness, reminding characters of how alone, how small, and how distant they are. Instead, it paradoxically produces hopefulness. The geological features of the coast—mud and wet sand, as well as more violent mixings of physical elements like earthquakes, storms, and volcanoes—are reminders of instability, in a good way. That is, the physical characteristics of the island suggest transience: things will not always remain how they are now, the world is in constant flux, and even elements like land and sea that are not alike physically are nonetheless capable of mixing. It matters that land and sea interpenetrate at the island's border because it suggests that elements, including shipwrecked castaways, cannot be kept separate forever. What I will describe as the terraqueous experience of an island is both a literal fact and a metaphor. Terraqueousness allows a marooned or shipwrecked character, feeling herself to be utterly alone, to nonetheless retain some hope of rescue, escape, breach, and reconnection. Such hope might be faint, even irrational, but it inspires a solitary character to continually seek beyond the reach of her current position. She aspires for togetherness with others that is defined against—indeed, made possible by—its opposite: the condition of being alone. This attitude suggests a desire for and attachment to possibility, rather than certainty. Being on a terraqueous

[339] Christoff, 19.
[340] Christoff, 28.

island provides an opportunity to reflect on sociality that people who are not alone have the luxury of simply ignoring.[341]

This chapter proceeds in four parts. First, it theorizes islands as terraqueous and archipelagic, using William Wordsworth (1770-1850) to historicize the term terraqueous in a nineteenth-century literary context, particularly as opposed to the Ordnance Survey's treatment of islands as cartographically separate and impenetrable. Part Two will turn to the map that Defoe included with the publication of the fourth edition of *Robinson Crusoe* in August 1719. It will show the ways in which the boundaries of Crusoe's island are terraqueous, rendering it unmappable but also making it possible for Crusoe to hope for escape or rescue. Finally, Parts Three and Four will examine depictions of female Robinson Crusoes in two genres of long nineteenth-century British novels—first, in castaway fictions called "Robinsonades" and then in three novels set on the island of Britain: Maria Edgeworth's *Belinda* (1801), Fanny Burney's *The Wanderer* (1814), and Charles Dickens's *David Copperfield* (1849). I argue that examining retellings of the story with a female Robinson Crusoe complicates conventional readings of Crusoe and of his island, revealing Crusoe's desire for connection with others as the underlying current motivating his survival and made possible by an island existence that is not simply solitary but also characterized by a hopeful sociability that is made possible a literal and metaphorical experience of the island as terraqueous.

Islands

In the second year of his seminar series known as *The Beast and the Sovereign*, Jacques Derrida chose *Robinson Crusoe* as one of his two central texts. He opened the first lecture of the series, given on December 11, 2002, by repeating seven times the question: "What is an island?"[342] Rather than answering his own insistent question, he decided to "leave this question isolated, abandon it for a while."[343] Derrida's methodological approach to the island question (isolation, abandonment) is presumably a clever attempt to suggest something about the nature of Crusoe's island as correspondingly isolated and abandoned.

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[341] John Sitter argues that literature of the 1740s and 1750s is characterized by "literary loneliness" but his discussion focuses almost entirely on poetry, aside from the final chapter about Henry Fielding's *Amelia* and Samuel Richardson's *Sir Charles Grandison* which touches briefly on the absence of fathers in Fielding and the sociability of reading in *Grandison*. John Sitter, *Literary Loneliness in Mid-Eighteenth-Century England* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1982).
[342] Jacques Derrida, "First Session: December 11, 2002," in *The Beast and the Sovereign*, ed. Michel Lisse, Marie-Louise Mallet, and Ginette Michaud, trans. Geoffrey Bennington, vol. II (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 3.
[343] Derrida, 5.

Other scholars, trying to articulate their own answers to the same question, have argued that Crusoe's island is interesting because it is a place of total isolation. Edgar Allen Poe (1809-1849), writing in the *Southern Literary Messenger* in January 1836, suggests that the success of Defoe's novel is "largely indebted to his subject" because "the idea of man in a state of perfect isolation" had never been "so comprehensively carried out."[344] As you'll see, I disagree with this claim because I argue that Crusoe is never "in a state of perfect isolation." I suggest instead that his appeal and popularity stem from the terraqueous boundaries of his island and the possibility that he might *not* be alone forever. Nonetheless, arguments like Poe's about "perfect isolation" have longstanding appeal. A century and a half after Poe, literary critics Leopold Damrosch Jr. and John Bender make similar arguments. Both invoke the ways in which, as Judith Schalansky argues in her *Atlas of Remote Islands* (2010), an island can act as a natural prison—a place to gather, separate, hide, and punish the undesirable, displaced, and digressive.[345] For Damrosch and Bender, Crusoe's island is a special kind of prison. According to Damrosch, the island "probably suggests the debtor's prison in which he [Defoe] was humiliatingly confined."[346] Damrosch argues that the novel transforms that solitude from a source of humiliation to a source of absolute regal power.[347] Similarly, John Bender argues that Crusoe's experience on the island mirrors the reform of prisons: at first, his imprisonment on the island is "negative, random, punitive, vengeful" and later it becomes "salubrious, beneficent, reformative, and productive of wealth."[348] For these writers, the island is a place of isolation and imprisonment that eventually produces solitary power for its inhabitant.

In contrast with those scholars, this chapter argues that Crusoe's island is paradoxically a place of social connection more than a site of imprisonment or power. As an initial illustration of that claim, let's consider two different arguments about the appeal of islands. On the one hand, Max Byrd writes, "What a map of an island shows is really an entire world, set apart and comprehensible, reduced in size like the child's world, but complete. We can take it in at a glance, from above, like a god. A child's eye and imagination can control it."[349] In Byrd's words,

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[344] Edgar Allan Poe, *The Works of Edgar Allan Poe*, ed. E.O. Stedman and G.E. Woodberry, vol. VII (New York and Pittsburgh: P. F. Collier & Son, 1903), 302.
[345] Judith Schalansky, *Atlas of Remote Islands*, trans. Christine Lo (London: Penguin Books, 2010), 18.
[346] Leopold Damrosch Jr., *God's Plots and Man's Stories: Studies in the Fictional Imagination from Milton to Fielding* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 189.
[347] Damrosch Jr., 197–98.
[348] John Bender, *Imagining the Penitentiary: Fiction and the Architecture of Mind in Eighteenth-Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 55.
[349] Byrd, "This Is Not a Map," 31.

an island is "set apart," "comprehensible," "reduced," and "complete" such that a child can "control it" from "above, like a god." On the other hand, John Ballantyne (1774-1821), an Edinburgh publisher and friend of Sir Walter Scott, wrote that *Robinson Crusoe* "is read eagerly by young people; and there is hardly an elf so devoid of imagination as not to have supposed for himself a solitary island in which he could act *Robinson Crusoe*, were it but in the corner of the nursery."[350] In Ballantyne's rendering, the island is "solitary" but thinking of that solitary space as akin to the "corner of the nursery" is a reminder of the transience of its solitude: one is alone but someone else might enter and connect at any moment. Rather than a place "set apart," it is a place brimming with possibility for social connection. To that extent, my argument might not be so far from Derrida's after all. Regarding his question about "what is an island," Derrida decides to leave it "isolated, abandon it *for a while*" [emphasis mine], but not necessarily permanently.

Turning now to Derrida's question, what is an island? Many of the arguments articulated thus far—especially those that theorize islands as set apart, self-contained, comprehensible, controllable, and impenetrable—are common from a Western perspective. However, as Elizabeth McMahon observes, there have been "numerous and necessary checks to the Western imaginary of the island as a fetishized space of possession."[351] This chapter takes its theorization of islands from a different perspective, one that understands an island to be in a symbiotic relationship with water and in constant negotiation with its own terraqueous materialism. The conception of islands in this chapter is closely aligned with Margaret Cohen's "chronotopes of the sea" and Penny Fielding's work on the Shetland Islands. Cohen includes "the island" as one of her six "chronotopes of the sea." She writes that "the island is a piece of land defined by its relation to water."[352] Taking up that sense of relationality, rather than the completeness of an island, this chapter investigates the uncertain boundary at the island's edge, the porousness of an island's border, its incomplete isolation, the possibility that others might breach its shores, the chance of

[350] John Ballantyne, *The Prose Works of Sir Walter Scott*, vol. IV (Edinburgh and London: R. Cadell, 1834), 279.
[351] McMahon points to Tongan writer Epeli Hau-ofa's essay "Our Sea of Islands" (1993) as a "key intervention" because describing Oceania as a "sea of islands" overturns "the Western habit of binary structures that make a dichotomy of land and sea." Another example is Barbadian poet Edward Kamau Brathwaite's theory of "tidalectics," which "disavows the binary of land and water in favor of tidal and cyclical flows between them." McMahon's own book, *Islands, Identity and the Literary Imagination* (2016), focusing on Australia and its surrounding islands, follows the lead of these island theorists in their articulation of "an archipelagic relationality to replace the stolid monadism of the island." See Elizabeth McMahon, *Islands, Identity and the Literary Imagination* (London: Anthem Press, 2016), 10–11. See Epeli Hau'ofa, "Our Sea of Islands," in *A New Oceania: Rediscovering Our Sea of Islands*, ed. Vijay Naidu, Eric Waddell, and Epeli Hau'ofa (Suva, Fiji: School of Social and Economic Development, The University of the South Pacific in association with Beake House, 1993). See Edward Kamau Brathwaite, "Caribbean Culture: Two Paradigms," in *Missile and Capsule* (Bremen: Universitat Bremen, 1983), 9–54.
[352] Cohen, "The Chronotopes of the Sea," 659.

escape. Far more than a piece of land surrounded by water, I suggest that islands are *terraqueous*—that the water at an island's edge is part of, rather than separate from, the island's identity; this geological, material reality impacts how the island shapes the novel's sense of sociality. The mixing of land and sea at the island's edge is both a literal fact and a metaphor. If solitude on an island provides characters with the time and space to desire connection with others, something that non-castaways might take for granted, it is the island's border itself—characterized by mixing and interpenetrating, instability and transience, motion and flux—that transforms that desire from an abstraction into a possibility, giving characters a whiff of hope that keeps them struggling to stay alive and to reconnect. My claim is that the island's border is a region that is part of the island and, at the same time, worthy of independent investigation.

This argument borrows from Penny Fielding's work on the Shetland Islands in Northern Scotland. Fielding uses the word "terraqueous" to describe the Shetland Islands, a place that combines land and sea in several ways. Powerful subarctic waves sculpt inlets in the shoreline that literally bring the ocean into the landmass. Furthermore, the material properties of the soil, which is primarily peatland, mean that it holds reserves of water, making the islands water-logged. This phenomenon is historical as well as material: the sea heavily impacted the nineteenth-century Shetland economy. Because Shetland had almost no roads until the 1840s, the sea was the principal medium for transporting people and goods. Local tenants paid their (land) rent with a (water) commodity: fish.[353] As Fielding notes, however, not everyone in nineteenth-century Britain was pleased with the terraqueous nature of the Shetland Islands. When Walter Scott (1771-1832) visited Shetland in 1814, he saw the islands through the lens of "improvement" and recommended the separation of earth and water in the form of drainage to create a more fertile, manageable soil. Fielding's argument is that, though many would-be improvers were focused on the ways that the "terraqueous conditions" were problematic and unproductive, the literature of the Shetland Islands explored and celebrated those same conditions. According to Fielding, Shetland writing is characterized by geographical, material, linguistic, and cultural fluidity.[354]

To historicize how I use the term "terraqueous" in the context of nineteenth-century literature and maps, I turn briefly to William Wordsworth's poem "Written with a Slate Pencil,

[353] Fielding, "Eels, Words and Water: Shetland's Coastal Geographies and Amphibious Writing," 3.
[354] Fielding, 2.

on a Stone, on the Side of Mountain of Black Comb" (1815). In the poem, Wordsworth encourages a "bold Adventurer" to rest partway up the mountain and enjoy the view, which he calls a "grand terraqueous spectacle." This same "terraqueous" view seems to have been underappreciated by a previous visitor of the mountain, "a geographic Laborer" who used books and instruments "to measure height and distance." Despite spending "week after week" on the mountain, the geographic Laborer, toiling away on his "lonely task" and "studious work" inside the "Canvas dwelling" of his pitched tent, is blinded to the views. Most of the time, he is unable to see the "terraqueous spectacle," either because he is looking down at his own map-in-progress or inside his tent, or both. In one dramatic instance, however, he is literally blinded to the views when a storm extinguishes the golden day in a moment, leaving the laborer in "total gloom," "blinded" even "with unclosed eyes," such that not only the view in the distance but also the half-finished map at his fingertips becomes "invisible."

This poem was inspired by Wordsworth's familiarity with the mapmakers of the British Ordnance Survey. While spending the summer at Bootle in 1811, he learned from the local rector about Ordnance Surveyors William Mudge and Thomas Colby and their measurements atop Black Combe in the summer of 1808.[355] In Wordsworth's poem, it is the poet and walker, not the mapmaker, who gets to see the "terraqueous spectacle." In fact, not only does the mapmaker ignore the "terraqueous spectacle" (meaning the view) on a daily basis because his head is bent over his work, another version of "terraqueous spectacle" (namely, the storm) actively blocks his progress. After all, what is a storm but water in the air, a melding of the elements that obscures and darkens the sky, completely throwing off mapmaking? It is not just that the mapmaker is apathetic to the terraqueous phenomenon of the view, but also that he is actively at odds with the terraqueous phenomenon of the storm. The confusion and mixing of the elements prevent the mapmaker from completing his work.

The antagonism between Ordnance Survey mapmakers and varied kinds of "terraqueous spectacles" was not simply a figment of Wordsworth's imagination or solely a feature of his singular "geographic Laborer." On the contrary, the issue was far more widespread, as examining the Ordnance Survey's process for triangulating Ireland will show. Examining this process will also uncover how the Ordnance Survey understood the nature of islands and how the treatment of mapped islands was at odds with the novelistic recycling of *Robinson Crusoe*.

[355] Hewitt, *Map of a Nation: A Biography of the Ordnance Survey*, 198.

By the time Ordnance Survey Director Thomas Colby was ready to begin mapping Ireland in 1827, triangulation had already been completed across the sea in northern England. It would have been far easier to create the triangles that would undergird the new maps of Ireland by simply joining the Irish triangulation to the existing English triangulation by sight lines over the Irish Sea. Such a strategy would have involved nighttime measurements by lamplight across the water but would have avoided the considerably more rigorous measurement of an entirely new baseline in Ireland. Rather than taking the easier path of deducing Irish distances from English distances, however, Thomas Colby undertook the laborious process of measuring a new baseline on the eastern shore of Lough Foyle. This took a tremendous amount of time: measurements began on September 6, 1827 and were not completed until fourteen months later, on November 20, 1828. The process was also complicated by error: the new calculations were inexplicably off by a few feet, a confounding and disastrous predicament. After much head-scratching, the error was traced to the 1824 Weights and Measures Act, which had established the Imperial System in Britain and officially defined "one foot" as "twelve inches long," cementing a one-foot length in brass as the new standard. This produced a disjunction between the pre-1824 measurements in England (completed in the absence of the new standard) and the post-1824 measurements in Ireland.[356] The issues with the new standard could have been resolved by calculation, however, and did not merit a lengthy and laborious remeasurement.

There are nonetheless several legitimate reasons, both personal and political, as to why Colby measured a new baseline in Ireland, despite the perfectly good data available from previous measurements in England. On a personal note, Rachel Hewitt suggests that Colby was a "perfectionist" who would not have been satisfied without exerting the maximum effort.[357] On the political front, there are powerful historical and political reasons why the mapmakers might have treated Ireland in particular, as opposed to British islands, as separate from Britain. I do not deny Colby's perfectionism nor the special significance of Ireland's role in the empire, but I also suggest that the re-measurement of the Irish baseline can still provide at least some insight into how the Ordnance Survey treated islands. In this case, the islands of Britain and Ireland were treated as separate entities. Calculations were not extended over the Irish Sea. One island's extent and identity ended abruptly at its shoreline. The water at the edge of an island was a

[356] Andrews, *A Paper Landscape: The Ordnance Survey in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, 42–55.
[357] Hewitt, *Map of a Nation: A Biography of the Ordnance Survey*, 255.

barrier rather than a conduit. Even though nineteenth-century mapmakers and novelists shared a mutual interest in islands, faraway places, and adventure, that interest manifested in different forms. Whereas the mapmakers of the Ordnance Survey treated the water at the edge of one island as a barrier, novels embraced the flexibility of an island's uncertain border.

Robinson Crusoe

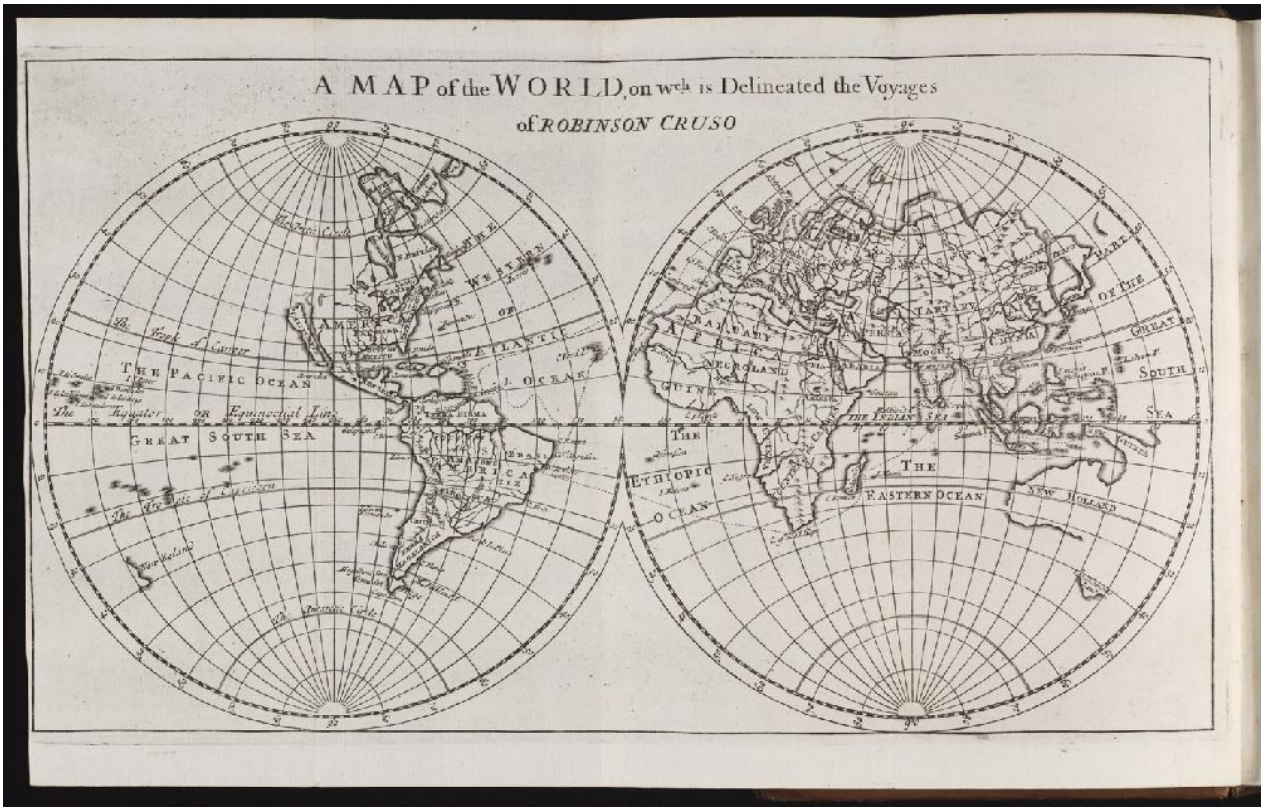

***Figure 8**. Daniel Defoe, A Map of the World on Wch [*sic*] is Delineated the Voyages of Robinson Cruso [*sic*]. 1719.*[358]

In the fourth edition of *Robinson Crusoe*, published in August 1719, Daniel Defoe (1660-1731) included a map for the first time (See **Figure 8**). The map is an unusual choice to accompany the text because it is not representative of the contents of the novel. In the novel, Crusoe narrates life experiences such as his childhood in York, journeys at sea, and plantation in Brazil, but the 28 years he spends as a shipwrecked castaway comprise 77% of the total novel.[359] Given that proportion, the most logical map to accompany the text would be a map of Crusoe's

[358] *A Map of the World, on Wch Is Delineated the Voyages of Robinson Cruso* (London: Printed for W. Taylor, 1719), Yale University Library Digital Collections, https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/2034440.
[359] Crusoe is on his island for 195 out of 253 pages in my edition. Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, ed. Thomas Keymer (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

island. Crusoe even takes a "particular Survey of the Island," as if in preparation for making a map.[360] And yet, the map that Defoe produces is not a map of the island. Instead, it is a "Map of the World on Wch [*sic*] is Delineated the Voyages of Robinson Cruso [*sic*]." It is a world map in which "the Voyages" of Crusoe, not the island of Crusoe, are prioritized. Unlike the castaway on his island, focused on surveying and settling in his immediate surroundings, the map zooms out to the scale of the globe and emphasizes journeying vast distances by sea.

Why does the map of the novel show the "World" and "Voyages" rather than its purported centerpiece—the island? I argue that there are two answers to that question. First, rather than a work of art commensurate with the novel, Defoe's world map is more like a functional marketing tool. Understanding this argument requires some context about the publication history of Defoe's trilogy about Robinson Crusoe. When Defoe created his map for the fourth edition, it was published in the same month as *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, the second novel in what would become a trilogy. In other words, Defoe was depicting Crusoe's travels in one map that spanned two novels. The inclusion of the second novel changes a lot. In the second novel, Crusoe travels back to his island by way of Ireland before venturing to Brazil, Madagascar, the Bay of Bengal, Cambodia, Taiwan, China, Siberia, Germany, and the Netherlands. Crusoe is much more world traveler than island dweller.

Since the twentieth century, the second novel has fallen out of favor with readers. John Richetti has argued that it fails because Crusoe sees too much of the world, leaving the character himself to "fade out of sight" in favor of "exotic locales."[361] Because of widespread critical valuation of the second novel, Melissa Free has argued that the majority of Crusoe criticism in the past century has "effectively erased" that novel from our common understanding of Defoe's work.[362] That was not always the case. According to Free, Volume Three quickly fell out of favor because of its "blatant didacticism" but Volume Two was "widely read for two hundred years." In fact, Volumes One and Two were printed together in nearly four-fifths of nineteenth-century Crusoe editions.[363] Understanding that Volume One and Two were read together means understanding that Crusoe was not just seen as "the man on the island" but also as "Crusoe the governor returned, Crusoe the trader, and Crusoe the idol burner."[364] This is one way to make

[360] Defoe, 84.
[361] John Richetti, *Defoe's Narratives: Situations and Structures* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 22.
[362] Melissa Free, "Un-Erasing Crusoe: Farther Adventures in the Nineteenth Century," *Book History* 9 (2006): 89.
[363] Free, 93–94.
[364] Free, 97.

sense of Denis Cosgrove's otherwise puzzling claim in *Apollo's Eye: A Cartographic Genealogy of the Earth in Western Imagination* (2003) that *Robinson Crusoe*, the Enlightenment's most durable literary creation, emphasizes "the imaginative significance of the ocean" and the "the oceanic character of the Enlightenment globe."[365] Cosgrove's argument about the ocean makes sense if we consider that, by the time that Defoe had written *Farther Adventures*, the "World" and the "Voyages" had gained wider significance in the trilogy.

In the context of this publication history, Defoe's fourth edition map makes sense as a savvy marketing tool that functions to stitch together the two volumes. His methodology even appears materially like stitching: he takes an existing world map and adds a dotted line to demarcate Crusoe's journey throughout the two texts. The dotted line shows how Crusoe's travels are connected, despite their disparate locations and subject matters, and could form a coherent trilogy that people ought to purchase and read together.

***Figure 9**. Daniel Defoe, A Map of the World on Wch [*sic*] is Delineated the Voyages of Robinson Cruso. 1719. [zoomed in to show "R. Crusoe's I"]*

A second answer to the question of why Defoe included a map of the "World" and "Voyages" instead of a map of Crusoe's island takes us back to William Wordsworth's poem about the Ordnance Survey on Black Combe. In Wordsworth's poem, the phenomenon of the "terraqueous spectacle" was both unavailable to mapmakers (in the form of the magnificent view) and an obstacle to their work (in the form of the terrible storm). The terraqueousness of Crusoe's island presents a similar obstacle to Defoe the mapmaker. On his map, the phrase "R.

[365] Cosgrove, *Apollo's Eye: A Cartographic Genealogy of the Earth in the Western Imagination*, 189.

Crusoe's I." is printed in minuscule script off the northern coast of South America near the mouth of the Oronoque River (See **Figure 9**). The island is positioned textually between two prominent phrases in bold capital letters—"TERRA FIRMA" on the left and "ATLANTIC OCEAN" on the right. Its position wedged between land and sea suggests some ambivalence about the island's status as one or the other: the island takes on an intermediate, terraqueous status. This terraqueous status is reinforced by the island's near invisibility on the map. Though we can discern the label "R. Crusoe's I." on the page by zooming in digitally, the graphic contour of the island itself is neither visible nor delineated, neither formed nor bound, neither shaped nor seen. Crusoe's "Voyages" are represented, but his experience on the island is rendered unmappable.

Rather than the map, Crusoe's experiences on the island are captured in his journals. At first glance, the journals seem like a gratuitous and unwieldy inclusion. After all, they provide a doubled account: they record the same events as the narrative does, so we read about identical events twice. This can be laborious for the reader. However, I suggest that the journals are included not to bore or annoy us (even if they have that effect) but instead to suggest something about the nature of Crusoe's sociability: they are a future-oriented object meant to communicate with others. This is a counterintuitive argument because the journals seem to represent the antithesis of sociability. Unlike Clarissa Harlowe's lengthy journal entries in Samuel Richardson's eponymous novel (1748), Crusoe's entries lack the sociability of a letter. He has no obvious audience or correspondent. His entries are short not only for the material reason that he is running out of ink but also for the social reason of his total isolation. However, the journals are nonetheless a social document. Crusoe builds his own "imagined community" by setting up a conversation between the journal self and the narrator self.[366] In his present moment on the island, he has someone to communicate and compare notes with. He is building community with himself. It is also a future-oriented project; when he is rescued, he will be able to use his journals to refresh his memory when he tells others about what happened on the island. Seemingly an activity of isolation, writing in the journals is also an act of present and future sociability. In fact, the sense of loss and isolation is what creates the need for sociability. When Crusoe writes in his journal, he leaves a record, trying to communicate in some way with others who are not there.

[366] Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*.

There is an inverse relationship between Crusoe's journals and Defoe's map: the experience that does not get depicted on the map is textually represented in the journals. John Richetti gestures toward this when he writes, "On the island Defoe's exact rendering of things and events is at its clearest and most intense, partly because exactness becomes most necessary here as an opposite to the formlessness of the island."[367] Situating that claim within Richetti's larger argument, he shows that the places in Volume Two are so vibrant that Crusoe himself cannot shine and the opposite is true in Volume One, where the island fades into formlessness, bringing Crusoe's own words and actions into sharper relief. Because the island is formless, the "things and events" happening on and around it are rendered more clear, intense, and exact. The "formlessness" that Richetti identifies is a consequence of Crusoe's lack of awareness about where in the world he is. For readers, the consequence of that gap in knowledge is that we do not learn much about the "where" of what is going on. Instead of the "where," we get sucked into Crusoe's own experience, which is an experience of loss, yearning for communication, and hoping to be found. If Richetti argues that exactitude is a response to the formlessness of the island, I add that the exactitude is a response to the possibility of sociability produced by the formlessness of the island. The island's formlessness makes it possible for Crusoe to imagine a future off the island when he can share the contents of his journals with an eager audience.

Crusoe experiences the formlessness of the island as terraqueousness. At the end of the novel, when Crusoe is making his way back to England, he reflects upon his island journals in a way that characterizes his island as neither entirely land nor sea. He writes, "As I have troubled you with none of my Sea-Journals, so I shall trouble you now with none of my Land-Journal."[368] In presenting this binary, Crusoe fails to mention his island journals, with which he extensively troubled the reader. This notable lacuna suggests that the island falls into neither dichotomous category. The island journals are a social project undertaken on a terraqueous surface that is neither land nor sea, that hovers liminally and formlessly between "terra firma" and "ocean."

Experiencing his island as terraqueous paradoxically inspires Crusoe with endless hope for a more social future. In fact, the more dire the situation, the more Crusoe holds out hope of escape. While trying to get his old ship turned upright and back to the water, he muses: "I was forced to give it over; and yet, though I gave over the hopes of the boat, my desire to venture

[367] Richetti, *Defoe's Narratives: Situations and Structures*, 35.
[368] Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, 243.

over for the main increased, rather than decreased, as the means for it seemed impossible."[369] Of the 42 times that he uses some variation of the word "hope," only seven of those refer to being "hopeless" or "out of hope" or "given over hopes." The other 35 occurrences are in reference to his hopes for delivery as in "hoping in time to see some Ship at Sea."[370] His hope motivates much of his decision making on the island, including the selection of a home base with "a View to the Sea, that if God sent any Ship in Sight, I might not lose any Advantage for my Deliverance, of which I was not willing to banish all my Expectation yet."[371] Even when he explores the island further and finds other, more pleasant places, he refuses to abandon his sea view, "where it was at least possible that something might happen to my advantage."[372]

Though *Robinson Crusoe* is often considered a novel that valorizes self-sufficiency, industriousness, manliness, and independent survival, Crusoe never abandons his own hope for rescue or escape. Indeed, it is precisely those moments when escape feels least possible that Crusoe's hope burgeons most. When the island is at its most terraqueous, either because of a natural phenomenon that mixes land and sea or because of a human situation like a single footprint on the beach,[373] Crusoe holds out the most hope for reconnection and future sociability. What should make him feel small and scared instead reminds him of the interconnectedness of the globe, endowing him with hope and optimism instead. When, as we will see in the next section, the novel is endlessly borrowed from, imitated, and echoed throughout the following centuries, it is this extreme—almost irrational—hopefulness that characterizes future versions of Crusoe. Retelling the story, especially with a female Robinson Crusoe, accentuates the desire for connection with others that lies at the heart of *Robinson Crusoe*. Just as the map that Defoe provided with the fourth edition was inadequate for representing Crusoe's experience on the island, we will see that the way in which one knows where one is, and how one can be rescued, is not through representation on a map or globe but through social relationality.

Female Robinsonades

[369] Defoe, 107.
[370] Defoe, 45.
[371] Defoe, 51.
[372] Defoe, 87.
[373] On several occasions, he describes seas like land, as when "the Sea went Mountains high" (11) or when "a raging Wave, Mountain-like, came rolling astern of us… I saw the sea come after me as high as a great Hill" (39). After the earthquake, there is a terrible hurricane in which "the Shore was cover'd with the Breach of the Water" (70). When he famously spots "the print of a man's naked foot on the shore," that footprint is notably singular (130). There is an implied understanding that the other, partner footprint has been washed away by the waves.

Almost immediately following its publication, *Robinson Crusoe* gained a devoted following among the leading intellectual and cultural arbiters of the eighteenth century. Aside from a rare negative review penned in 1719 by Charles Gildon (1665-1724), a minor playwright and jealous rival, the novel had many prominent early admirers.[374] Alexander Pope (1688-1744) wrote in 1742 that the novel was "very good" and, in fact, the only "excellent" thing ever written by Defoe.[375] Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) described it as "a complete treatise on natural education" and considered it the only book suitable for his young hero, Emile, to read.[376] Samuel Johnson reportedly declared: "Was there ever yet any thing written by mere man that was wished longer by its readers…?"[377] Admiration for the novel continued into the nineteenth century. Even Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800-1859), who described Defoe as, at best, "merely one of the crowd" as a political writer and, at worst, an "unskilled" and "unprincipled hack," admitted that the first part of *Robinson Crusoe* was "an excellent book."[378] Ordinary readers agreed. George Borrow (1803-1881) declared it to be "a book which has exerted over the minds of Englishmen an influence certainly greater than any other of modern times."[379] Edgar Allen Poe (1809-1849) wrote in 1836 that *Robinson Crusoe* had "become a household thing in nearly every family in Christendom."[380] Edinburgh publisher John Ballantyne (1774-1821) wrote, "There scarce exists a work so popular as *Robinson Crusoe*."[381]

Robinson Crusoe was also popular among novelists, inspiring countless references and imitations. A search in the Nineteenth-Century Fiction database, which includes 250 British and Irish novels published between 1782 and 1903, reveals 42 discrete novels with Crusoe references, nearly 20% of the total database. Of these 42 results, ten are novels by Charles Dickens, six each by Thomas Hardy and William Makepeace Thackeray, and three each by Maria Edgeworth and Anthony Trollope.[382] Some of these writers may have been wondering, as

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[374] Charles Gildon's pamphlet was titled *The Life and Strange Surprizing Adventurs of Mr. D—De F* and published in London in 1719. It stages a theatrical encounter between Defoe, Robinson Crusoe, and Friday in which Crusoe accuses Defoe of making him a whimsical, inconsistent character, and Friday accuses Defoe of making him a blockhead. In revenge, they make him "swallow his own Vomit" and eat his volumes of writing.

[375] Joseph Spence, *Observations, Anecdotes, and Characters, of Books and Men*, ed. Samuel Weller Singer (London: John Murray, 1820), 258.

[376] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emilius and Sophia: Or, A New System of Education*, trans. William Kenrick, vol. II (London: T. Becket and P.A. de Hondt, 1762), 59.

[377] Hester Lynch Piozzi, *Anecdotes of the Late Samuel Johnson* (London: T. Cadell, 1786), 281.

[378] G.O. Trevelyan, *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, vol. II (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1877), 383.

[379] George Borrow, *Lavengro*, vol. I (London: John Murray, 1851), 38.

[380] Poe, *The Works of Edgar Allan Poe*, VII:300.

[381] Ballantyne, *The Prose Works of Sir Walter Scott*, IV:279.

[382] The Nineteenth-Century Fiction database is useful but has its limitations: it offers a small, mainly canonical sample. Searching a larger database, Gale's Nineteenth-Century Collections Online, with specific parameters (content type: monographs; document

author-character Lady Carbury does in Anthony Trollope's *The Way We Live Now* (1875), if they might be capable of producing the next *Robinson Crusoe*. When Lady Carbury feels her precious manuscript is treated with unceremonious laxity and insufficient reverence, she exclaims:

> Oh, heavens, if it should be lost!—or burned!—or stolen! Those scraps of paper, so easily destroyed, apparently so little respected, may hereafter be acknowledged to have had a value greater, so far greater, than their weight in gold! If *Robinson Crusoe* had been lost! If *Tom Jones* had been consumed by flames! And who knows but that this may be another *Robinson Crusoe*—a better than *Tom Jones*?[383]

This section examines novels that, like Lady Carbury's, might claim to be "another *Robinson Crusoe*." In particular, it examines imitations of Defoe's novel called Robinsonades. According to Melissa Free, it was Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Emile* (1763) and Johann Heinrich Campe's *Robinson der Jüngere* (1779) that "set in motion the massive production of 'Robinsonades,'" a term first used in 1731 to refer to "castaway fiction derived from Defoe's original."[384] John Ballantyne suggests that "the rage for imitating a work so popular seems to have risen to a degree of frenzy… It is computed that within forty years from the appearance of the original work, no less than forty-one different Robinsons appeared, besides fifteen other imitations, in which other titles were used."[385] Working with a more expansive timeline, Ian Watt adds, "By the end of the nineteenth century, Crusoe had appeared in at least seven hundred editions, translations, and imitations, not to mention a popular eighteenth-century pantomime and an opera by Offenbach."[386] George Borrow called it "a book from which the most luxuriant and fertile of our modern prose writers have drunk inspiration."[387]

Both Defoe's novel and its Robinsonade imitations were most popular among male audiences. Leslie Stephen (1832-1904) called it "the most fascinating boy's book ever

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type: fictional work or novel; language: English; date: between 1800 and 1899) reveals 214 results with "Crusoe" in the "entire document." When I manually de-dupe those results, the list comes to 195 titles. There are limitations here, too. The list of 195 includes the Maria Edgeworth titles from the Nineteenth-Century Fiction database results, but none of the other canonical authors—Dickens, Hardy, Thackeray, or Trollope—make the list. The largest database, Hathi Trust, includes both canonical and non-canonical authors and yields significantly higher results. With specific parameters (full text: Crusoe; language: English; original format: book; dates: between 1800 and 1899; place of publication: United Kingdom), there are 29,032 titles.

[383] Anthony Trollope, *The Way We Live Now* (London: Wordsworth Editions, 2001), 681.

[384] Free, "Un-Erasing Crusoe: Farther Adventures in the Nineteenth Century," 107.

[385] Ballantyne, *The Prose Works of Sir Walter Scott*, IV:281.

[386] Watt, "Robinson Crusoe as a Myth," 95.

[387] Borrow, *Lavengro*, I:38.

written."[388] This is partly because there are almost no women in the original novel. Ian Watt points out: "There are, of course none [no women] on the island, and their absence is not deplored. When Crusoe does notice the lack of 'society,' he prays for company, but it is for that of a male slave."[389] Women do appear fleetingly in the novel: for example, Crusoe mentions his wife one time in the space of two sentences.[390] However, neither his wife nor any other female character is especially compelling. An unimpressed Charles Dickens (1812-1870) wrote, "Defoe's women too—Robinson Crusoe's wife for instance—are terrible dull commonplace fellows without breeches."[391] Given the paucity of female characters in the original novel, it is not surprising that most Robinsonades feature a male protagonist.[392] Jacques Derrida, who makes much of the similarity between the French *île* for island and *il* for he/him, insists that "this man is a man, a human and a male human (not a woman), let's never forget it; nothing equivalent or similar, analogous, was ever, to my knowledge (but I may be wrong) written about a woman alone: like an island in an island."[393]

To give Derrida credit for his prescient parenthetical, he was wrong. Female Robinsonades indeed appeared in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Jeannine Blackwell, an expert in the 16 German female Robinsonades written between 1720 and 1800, reports that there were also "at least three French, three Dutch, three British, and one American variation of the genre" written approximately during that same period.[394] She identifies the three British female Robinsonades as Penelope Aubin's *The Life of Charlotta Du Pont* (1723), Charles Dibdin the Elder's *Hannah Hewit, or The Female Crusoe* (1796), and Ann Fraser Tytler's *Leila, or The Island* (1839).[395] To Blackwell's list of three, I would add four other others: Sarah Burney's *The Shipwreck* (1815), Douglas Jerrold's "Miss Robinson Crusoe" (1846), and—if we extend our timeline into the second half of the nineteenth century—Elizabeth Whittaker's "Robina Crusoe

[388] Leslie Stephen, "De Foe's Novels," in *Hours in a Library* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1874), 51.
[389] Watt, "Robinson Crusoe as a Myth," 114.
[390] Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, 256.
[391] John Foster, *The Life of Charles Dickens*, vol. III (Philadelphia: Chapman & Hall, 1874), 135.
[392] Andrea Haslanger writes that "women are invisible in the traditional Robinsonade" and Elizabeth McMahon argues that "there is no direct female equivalent to the male Robinsonade." Andrea Haslanger, "From Man-Machine to Woman-Machine: Automata, Fiction, and Femininity in Dibdin's Hannah Hewit and Burney's Camilla," *Modern Philology* 111, no. 4 (2014): 796. McMahon, *Islands, Identity and the Literary Imagination*, 170.
[393] Derrida, "First Session: December 11, 2002," 2.
[394] Jeannine Blackwell, "An Island of Her Own: Heroines of the German Robinsades from 1720 to 1800," *The German Quarterly* 58, no. 1 (Winter 1985): 5.
[395] Blackwell, 13.

and Her Lonely Island Home," which appeared serially from 1882-1883 in *The Girls' Own Paper,* and L.T. Meade's *Four on the Island: A Story of Adventure* (1892).

These texts have been largely overlooked. The few critics who have examined these female Robinsonades—among them Jeannine Blackwell, Andrea Haslanger, and Thomas Fair—have been focused on the ways in which they are different from the traditional male imitations of *Robinson Crusoe*. Blackwell observes that, though female Robinsonades follow many of the same conceits of the Robinson tradition (*e.g.*, description of a storm, listing of the goods saved from the shipwreck, type of island, varieties of flora and fauna, religious attitude, sightings of ships), there are significant differences at all three stages of narrative—namely, the premise, the voyage, and the island existence.[396] In the end, a female Robinson survives because of "self-creation" rather than "the domination of other lands and peoples."[397] For Andrea Haslanger, the difference lies in the inclusion of the heterosexual marriage plot, which is peripheral to the traditional Robinsonade but central to the female Robinsonade.[398] Thomas Fair, distinguishing between earlier female Robinsonades like *Leila* and later versions like "Robina Crusoe," suggests that earlier versions "reposition the domestic component from marginal to central" and later versions "create a female protagonist who displays the intellectual abilities and physical skills associated with men."[399] Both "counter the images of women" and "challenge chauvinistic assertions" found in popular boys' Crusoe adventure stories.[400]

Though I agree that female Robinsonades counter, challenge, and present interesting alternatives to the original *Robinson Crusoe* and to traditional Robinsonades, I am less interested in the way that female Robinsonades are oppositional and more interested in the way that they draw out and uncover the latent, but usually unexamined, elements of the original text. Rather than depicting something entirely different, they emphasize what was there, but ignored, all along. Andrea Haslanger asks: "Can you place a female Crusoe on an island, expose her to various adversities, and produce the same kind of narrative as for Robinson? The answer is no."[401] This chapter asks: what would it mean to answer 'yes' instead? What if re-telling the

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[396] Blackwell, 8.
[397] Blackwell, 20.
[398] Haslanger, "From Man-Machine to Woman-Machine: Automata, Fiction, and Femininity in Dibdin's Hannah Hewit and Burney's Camilla," 796.
[399] Thomas Fair, "19th-Century English Girls' Adventure Stories: Domestic Imperialism, Agency, and the Female Robinsonades," *Rocky Mountain Review* 68, no. 2 (Fall 2014): 142.
[400] Fair, 156.
[401] Haslanger, "From Man-Machine to Woman-Machine: Automata, Fiction, and Femininity in Dibdin's Hannah Hewit and Burney's Camilla," 795.

story with a female Robinson Crusoe reveals the desire for connection with others that lies at the heart of *Robinson Crusoe*? In the following novelistic examples, the way in which one knows where one is located is not through representation on a map or globe but through relationality. This is not how early readers typically understood *Robinson Crusoe*—at least not those focused on valorizing Crusoe for being manly, solitary, industrious, and courageous. Nevertheless, his desire for connection with others is the underlying current that motivates his survival. Studying female Robinsonades complicates conventional understandings of islands as simply solitary; these novels show islands to be terraqueous both geologically and metaphorically in a way that is sociable because it animates and enlivens the possibility for escape, rescue, or reconnection.

In the opening anecdote of this chapter, Douglas Jerrold's Miss Robinson Crusoe celebrated the inutility of traditional geography by using her compass as a saucepan. Another female castaway—Hannah Hewit, from Charles Dibin's eponymous novel, published in 1796—seems to be Miss Crusoe's geographical opposite. Unlike Miss Crusoe, Hannah is an exceedingly capable castaway. She easily finds fresh water, builds a skylight into her cave, makes a full complement of furniture for her shelter, sews clothes, domesticates a lion cub, plants a garden, and even constructs an automaton. Using the instruments in the ship master's chest, she dexterously finds her location "in the latitude of thirteen degrees, eighteen minutes south" and concludes "I was upon one of the Comora Islands."[402] Hannah's easy dexterity would seem to contradict any notions that, with the rise of disciplinary sciences and technical mapping, knowledge had been professionalized such that only certain people (*i.e.*, men) were considered legitimate knowledge holders. Defying the odds, Hannah seems to have been admitted to the world of geographical knowledge.

Historical context slightly diminishes Hannah's achievements, however. Hannah only determines the latitude of her position, not the longitude. A lay person might guess that latitude and longitude are determined by similar methods, but latitude and longitude are measured differently and do not share the same historical trajectory. By the eighteenth century, it was considered fairly easy to determine latitude as Hannah does. In fact, mapmakers and cosmographers had been able to measure latitude since Antiquity by measuring the altitude of Polaris at night.[403] Hannah's measurement of her position's latitude would have been considered,

[402] Charles Dibdin, *Hannah Hewit; or, The Female Crusoe*, vol. II (London: Printed for C. Dibdin, 1796), 251.
[403] Matthew H. Edney, "Chapter Eleven- Mapping, Survey, and Science," in *The Routledge Handbook of Mapping and Cartopgraphy*, ed. Peter Vujakovic and Alexander J. Kent (New York: Routledge, 2018), 147.

to use Edwin Danson and Matthew Edney's terms, "relatively easy"[404] and "straightforward."[405] Longitude was a trickier problem.[406] Eighteenth-century cosmographers knew, at least in theory, how to solve the problem of longitude but, as Edney writes, "implementation proved wildly difficult."[407] The two preferred techniques, lunar distance and chronometers, both had serious drawbacks.[408] In fact, until the mid-nineteenth century, with the development of the telegraph, the problem of determining longitude remained a live, thorny, and vexing issue. Though Hannah seems to be more adept than Miss Crusoe, she is equally outside the realm of professional geography and would not have been considered a legitimate knowledge holder by those engaged in more intellectually and technologically rigorous issues.

Though she is excluded from traditional norms and standards of success in geography, she turns the problem of knowing only her latitude, but not her longitude, into an asset. Limited or incomplete information might seem like a barrier to success. At best, her conclusions about her own location could only be an educated guess. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to achieve certainty or accuracy. On the other hand, limited information offers her a kind of freedom because it allows her the opportunity to guess and choose based upon her own standards and criteria, not anyone else's. Unlike the Ordnance Surveyors, for example, she is not in the business of making a military map that depends on certainty and accuracy for acceptance and validity. Hannah only knows how far north or south she is from the equator, not how far east or west. With the entire "latitude of thirteen degrees, eighteen minutes south" to choose from, she settles upon the Comora Islands, a volcanic archipelago off the southeastern coast of Africa. Rather than having her location determined for her by a table of the eclipses of Jupiter's satellites or the instrument of a chronometer, she chooses her location for herself. It is a form of mapping by choice, not mapping by default. The act of making this choice is important. It matters less

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[404] Edwin Danson writes, "Latitude was relatively easy to measure by using a primitive quadrant or astrolabe to observe the altitude of a star." Danson, *Weighing the World: The Quest to Measure the Earth*, 14.
[405] Matthew Edney writes, "Determination of latitude was straightforward." Edney, *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India 1765-1843*, 86.
[406] Danson writes, "Longitude was much more difficult" and Edney notes, "Longitude measurements were highly uncertain." See Danson, *Weighing the World: The Quest to Measure the Earth*, 14. See Edney, *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India 1765-1843*, 86.
[407] Edney, "Chapter Eleven- Mapping, Survey, and Science," 148.
[408] There were two preferred techniques for determining longitude. One option—the method of lunar distances—was to use tables of the predicted eclipse of Jupiter's satellites published by the royal observatories at Paris and Greenwich. A second option became available after 1760 when British clockmaker John Harrison invented the chronometer, a clock that could work accurately at sea. A navigator with a chronometer on board could effectively take Greenwich time with him and calculate longitude whenever he could see the stars. There were problems with both methods, unfortunately. The lunar method was constrained by the infrequency of eclipses of Jupiter's satellites and the chronometer method was hampered by the delicacy of the instruments. See Edney, 149. See Edney, *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India 1765-1843*, 88.

where Hannah really is than where she *believes* she is, because the latter tells us more about how Hannah understands islands. Her choice, a volcanic island, is particularly appropriate because it suggests that she understands island life to be an unsettled, uncertain, terraqueous existence in which land has emerged from the sea, solid matter might transform into liquid, and chunks of earth might return to the ocean. The material existence that she selects for herself, one which blends land and sea, suggests that she understands the borders of her island to be terraqueous.

Understanding herself to be on a volcanic island means that Hannah considers her setting to be on the verge of possible eruption, change, mixing, and reconstitution. Her perceived physical reality matters because it allows her to adopt a hopeful mindset. Though this positive mindset is essential to her survival, it is also true that knowing (or thinking she knows) where she is ultimately leads nowhere. In fact, even if mapping her location precisely were available to Hannah, it would still have been utterly useless—a static node on a map rather than a dynamic trajectory with narrative potential. For a castaway on a desert island without any means of communication with the outside world, knowing her longitude would not enhance the prospects of her rescue. What matters more than geographical positionality is relationality. In the end, she is rescued not by virtue of any geographical skills or lack thereof, but by chance and by a connection to her husband. While searching the shipwreck, in addition to finding instruments to measure her latitude, she also finds her husband's trunk among the wreckage, a discovery that proves far more telling because it foreshadows his ability to rescue her later in the novel, since part of their journeys have overlapped, giving him a clue as to her whereabouts. More than geographical skill, having other people know where Hannah is, on top of simply having good luck, proves to have more value. Positionality matters as a mindset, but relationality matters more as a practical means toward escape.

Relationality also matters to a third female castaway, Leila Howard, who connects the terraqueous nature of islands to her own learning of geography. Ann Fraser Tytler's *Leila, or The Island* (1839) tells the story of a group of castaways—an elderly gentleman named Mr. Howard, his eight-year-old daughter Leila, their female nurse, and their spaniel Dash. Geared toward young adults, the text is explicitly religious and didactic. Leila is constantly learning academic and moral lessons from her father and her nurse. Her father says:

> If you are to be my friend, you must do all you can to improve yourself, and to gain information, that you may be able to converse with me; you must read history and

> geography, that we may talk together of what formerly happened in the world, and that you may know the places where these events did happen.[409]

Unlike Miss Crusoe, who learned the "use" of globes, and unlike Hannah Hewitt, who could calculate her own latitude, Leila seems to be learning a kind of historical geography that prioritizes history over geography, time over place, what happened over where it happened. Sequentially, she must first learn "what formerly happened in the world" and then follow up that knowledge with information about "the places where these events did happen." And yet, though Leila is learning historical geography, her lessons are not entirely oriented toward the past. Instead, they seem to be oriented toward the present (conversing with her father) and the future (conversing with others once their family is rescued from the island). This framing resituates geography as a relational, social subject. Leila learns so that she can be her father's "friend" and "converse with him." Mr. Howard teaches his daughter a social version of geography that will prepare her for life after rescue or escape. Whereas *Hannah Hewitt* reveals the uselessness of knowing precisely where one is located on a map as well as the freedom of choosing one's own location, *Leila* reveals the essential sociality of geography.

Fundamental to the sociability of Leila's geography lesson is her understanding of the island as terraqueous. After her father's lessons, Leila practices geography on her own: "With a sharp-pointed stick she traced the different countries on the sand."[410] Leila's technique for learning geography is practical. She is not in the business of making a map that she wants to last. Permanency is not her goal. In fact, it is quite the opposite: she wants the countries to disappear so that she can practice drawing them again. Given her limited resources, it would be wasteful to draw countries on paper so she relies on the elements to erase her work. When she draws countries in the sand, her tracings are ephemeral: they disintegrate in the wind or wash away in the waves. The countries disappear because of the mixing of the elements. Her disappearing countries are a reminder that Leila's own existence on the island is transient and impermanent.

If Leila learns a sociable kind of geography from her father, she also learns an important lesson about sociality from her nurse. One day, she asks, "Don't you like our island now, nurse? I dare say you like it better than England now." The nurse responds, "Indeed, Miss Leila, I cannot say that; for, I have many friends in England that I should like very much to see again.

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[409] Ann Fraser Tytler, *Leila; or The Island* (London: J. Hatchard & Son, 1839), 48.
[410] Fraser Tytler, 79.

When I was in England, I often had a friend to step in to take a sociable cup of tea with me."[411] Leila does not know what the phrase "a sociable cup of tea" means. She asks, "A sociable cup of tea means a cup with a great deal of sugar, does it not?" The nurse responds, "A sociable cup of tea is just a cup of tea, with a great deal of speaking about it."[412] Leila later reports the interaction to her father, "She murmurs, papa, about a sociable cup of tea, with a great deal of speaking about it; and she says, 'nobody steps into the cave to tell her she is looking well for her time of life.'"[413] Leila's initial guess about the meaning behind a "sociable cup of tea" is one "with a great deal of sugar." She takes one product of British colonization (tea) and adds another of the material goods (sugar) made possible by empire. Sociability, by this logic, is a result of dominance, control, territorialization, exploration, settlement, and mapping. To claim ownership over a place on a map is to gain control of a place's material resources (in this case, tea and sugar) and make them accessible to the home market. Rather than the containment and control of empire, the nurse contrastingly defines sociability by penetrability, breachability, porosity. She wants someone to enter her cave for a chat. She helps Leila to resituate a "sociable cup of tea" from the realm of aggressive empire to the realm of fluid sociability.

All three of the female castaways discussed so far—Miss Crusoe, Hannah Hewitt, and Leila—learn to understand geography as social and terraqueous. The borders and locations of their islands are not fixed. They have agency and skills that allow them to determine where they are, not necessarily in terms of positionality, but in terms of relationality. While on their islands, they go back and forth to their ships to retrieve supplies, as does Robinson Crusoe himself on many occasions. The ship offshore is in communication with the person on the island, almost as if they are two places in dialogue, maintaining the island's connection to society, and holding out hope for rescue and reconnection. If the ship offshore is a source of connection to other places, it would seem that when the ship sinks, as it inevitably does, that connection is permanently severed. This is not quite what happens in "Miss Robinson Crusoe," however. Instead, the ship sinks and then it resurfaces after an earthquake: "The island and the sea being well shaken, caused the wreck of the ship that lay at the bottom of the ocean, to be thrown high and dry ashore."[414] Notice that the earthquake produces terraqueous conditions. The island and sea are

[411] Fraser Tytler, 134.
[412] Fraser Tytler, 135.
[413] Fraser Tytler, 146.
[414] Douglas Jerrold, "Miss Robinson Crusoe," *Punch*, September 5, 1846, 101.

"well shaken." Earth mixes with water and one element combines with another. As a result of the earthquake, the thing that seemed irretrievably gone—namely, the ship and with it, Miss Crusoe's link to society—emerges. Her isolation turns out to be incomplete, transient, temporary.

The transience of Miss Crusoe's isolation is re-emphasized by the novella's ending scene when she spots a single footprint in the sand. Unlike the original Crusoe, she interrogates the oddity of a single footprint. She asks herself: "And then, it appeared very strange to me that there should be the mark of only one foot. Was the owner of the foot one-legged? Was the other leg of wood?"[415] The humor here comes from the improbability of her suggestions. Rather than realizing the obvious, that either the other foot was in the water or that the second footprint has since been washed away by the waves, she defaults to much less likely scenarios: a one-legged or wooden-legged stranger. She goes out of her way to try to deny the terraqueous nature of the island, but her denial only makes the island's terraqueousness more obvious.

A person on the edge of an island is simultaneously on land and by water. Terrestrial and aqueous experiences are not only happening side by side; they are constantly overlapping and exceeding their own apparent boundaries in the form of mud and wet sand. In that sense, the island is always doing a kind of navigational work for the novel. It allows for the mixing of two apparently unalike elements. This is a dynamic experience of landscape that cannot be captured in a map or by those who want to control peatland by draining it. Like land and water, solitude and sociality are capable of overlap. Rather than positioned in binary opposition, both experiences can be happening at once. That is, solitude can be a form of sociality if and when a character's experience of the island as terraqueous inspires them to view the world as dynamic, transient, and shifting in ways that make escape, rescue, or reconnection newly possible.

Female Robinson Crusoe

Though a Robinsonade is the obvious place to discover references to *Robinson Crusoe*, such references are by no means limited to castaway fictions. The non-castaway example with the highest number of Crusoe references in the Nineteenth-Century Fiction database is Wilkie Collins's novel *The Moonstone* (1868). In *The Moonstone*, house-steward Gabriel Betteredge, treats Defoe's novel simultaneously as advice book, Biblical guide, and consoling friend:

[415] Douglas Jerrold, "Miss Robinson Crusoe," *Punch*, September 26, 1846, 128.

> Such a book as *Robinson Crusoe* never was written, and never will be written again. I have tried that book for years —generally in combination with a pipe of tobacco— and I have found it my friend in need in all the necessities of this mortal life. When my spirits are bad—*Robinson Crusoe*. When I want advice— *Robinson Crusoe*. In past times, when my wife plagued me; in present times, when I have had a drop too much—*Robinson Crusoe*. I have worn out six stout *Robinson Crusoes* with hard work in my service. On my lady's last birth-day she gave me a seventh. I took a drop too much on the strength of it; and *Robinson Crusoe* put me right again.[416]

Betteredge's all-consuming obsession with *Robinson Crusoe* has its limits, however. When he opens the book to "a domestic bit concerning Robinson Crusoe's marriage," he quickly loses interest. He notes, "What Robinson Crusoe's wife did, or did not do, 'then,' I felt no desire to discover."[417] He puts the book away and moves on. Though this final section of the chapter will not concern itself with Robinson Crusoe's wife, it will turn to another group of women likely to have been of equally scant interest to Betteredge: a series of three female Robinson Crusoes who, unlike those women in the Robinsonades, neither travelled beyond Europe nor lived on a desert island. The first of these is Maria Edgeworth's character Virginia from her novel *Belinda* (1801).

Many critics have speculated about Maria Edgeworth's stance on *Robinson Crusoe*. In a recent article, Clíona Ó Gallchoir neatly summarizes the critical consensus: Edgeworth's response to Defoe's novel was "overwhelmingly negative." Ó Gallchoir says that critics like Maximilian Novak, Theresa Michals, and Brian Cooper advance this argument by pointing primarily to two pieces of evidence: first, Edgeworth's Moral Tale "Forester," which they consider to be "anti-Crusoe"; and second, her warning in *Practical Education* that *Robinson Crusoe* is inappropriate for most boys since it encourages reckless adventuring at the expense of sober perseverance.[418] Ó Gallchoir takes issue with this conclusion because of its narrow body of evidence; it ignores the plurality of Edgeworth's references to Crusoe, which also occur in *Manoeuvring, Belinda, Patronage, Madame de Fleury*, and the three-part publication of the children's text *Frank*. According to Ó Gallchoir, Edgeworth is critical of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's version of *Robinson Crusoe*, not the original text.[419] Whereas Rousseau identified

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[416] Wilkie Collins, *The Moonstone*, ed. J.I.M Stewart (New York: Penguin Books, 1980), 41.
[417] Collins, 519.
[418] Clíona Ó Gallchoir, "'A Desert Island Is a Delightful Place': Maria Edgeworth and Robinson Crusoe," *European Romantic Review* 31, no. 6 (2020): 715, https://doi.org/10.1080/10509585.2020.1831095.
[419] Ó Gallchoir, 718.

Robinson Crusoe as the single, exceptional text for Emile, Edgeworth's vision of education promotes wide reading to complement observation and experience.[420] In Edgeworth's writing, playing at *Robinson Crusoe* is domestic, social, available to all genders.[421]

I agree with Ó Gallchoir that Edgeworth is more open-minded about *Robinson Crusoe* than most critics have given her credit for, and that Edgeworth is interested in the potential sociability of *Robinson Crusoe*. However, my argument about the novel *Belinda* differs from hers. In Ó Gallchoir's discussion of *Belinda,* the secluded character Virginia St. Pierre, whose access to reading and writing is limited by her guardians, is a demonstration of Rousseau's educational philosophy gone wrong: Virginia is a failure, a mistake, an example of what to avoid. In contrast, I will show that Virginia—though seemingly secluded, separated, isolated, and alone—takes on many forms in the novel. Much as her guardians try to prohibit her reading, she becomes a prolific reader and even a figure for readers of the novel by seeing her own isolated self in other forms and other texts, allowing her to imagine a more social future.

Belinda tells the story of the eponymous heroine's courtship and coming of age. Unfortunately for Belinda, her love interest, Mr. Clarence Hervey, has been grooming a secret mistress in a secluded garden at Windsor. Reading Rousseau has wrongly convinced him that the only ideal woman is one cut off from the corrupting influences of society. Though Hervey's mistress does not actually live on an island, she seems to be as effectively isolated. Hence, Hervey names her Virginia, after a character from Jacques-Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's novel, *Paul and Virginia* (1788), which is set on the island of Mauritius in the Indian Ocean. Saint Pierre's novel tells the story of two mothers, Madame de la Tour from Normandy and Margaret from Brittany, who are each separated from their spouses and arrive in Mauritius where they give birth to Virginia and Paul. The children grow up together in a secluded part of the island, receiving no education (later they will both struggle to learn geography), and fall in love. However, though they live in seeming solitude on the island, they never fully forget their connections to their home countries. Eventually, Virginia is sent to live with her rich aunt in Normandy; when she refuses to marry a nobleman there, she is sent back to Mauritius but drowns in a hurricane just offshore while Paul tries in vain to save her. Mired in grief, Paul dies two months later, shortly followed by both of their mothers. The novel illustrates many of the

[420] Ó Gallchoir, 721.
[421] Ó Gallchoir, 722.

features of island existence traced in this chapter. The island characters seem to be isolated, but they are always on the verge of mixing and proliferating with others. For example, the narrator sets the scene by describing "the richness of an unbounded landscape, and the charm of uninterrupted solitude" only to note in the very next sentence: "One day, when I was seated at the foot of the cottages, and contemplating their ruins, a man, advanced in years, passed near the spot."[422] No sooner is the "charm of interrupted solitude" introduced than it is immediately undermined and erased, lasting not even the length of a single sentence. Despite taking place in a secluded spot on an island, the story's landscape is "unbounded," calling to mind the "uncertain extent" from the definition of topography rather than the boundaries of land and sea. The island is not as separate from the sea or from other places as it might seem.

Befitting her island counterpart, the Virginia in *Belinda* is also seemingly separated, isolated, and alone. She is described as "shut up,"[423] "deserted,"[424] "by herself,"[425] "away from all the world,"[426] and "secluded from all intercourse with the world."[427] Hervey is "the first man she ever spoke to."[428] When she happens to interact briefly with another character, she starts "as if she had never seen any body before in her life."[429] When one character tells another about Virginia's name, she observes: "I forgot to mention, that the unfortunate girl's maiden name was St. Pierre, my lady: but her Christian name, which was rather an out o' the way name, I quite forget."[430] Her name is "out o' the way" linguistically because it is old-fashioned, but it is also "out o' the way" topographically because it comes from an "out o' the way" place, deriving not only from a distant island but from a distant island within a fictional text written in a foreign language, giving it two or three levels of displacement. The name is also "out o' the way" in the conversation because it is forgotten by the speaker and now tacked on, as an afterthought, to the end of a dwindling conversation. However, even though Virginia does not escape her "out o' the way" isolation until the end of the novel, her isolation nonetheless becomes less defining of her identity. At first, she is described as "mistress of the wood."[431] Thirteen chapters later, she

[422] Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, *Paul and Virginia* (Chicago: M.A. Donohue, 1914), 37.
[423] Maria Edgeworth, *Belinda*, ed. Kathryn J. Kirkpatrick (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 328.
[424] Edgeworth, 328.
[425] Edgeworth, 329.
[426] Edgeworth, 366.
[427] Edgeworth, 370.
[428] Edgeworth, 366.
[429] Edgeworth, 329.
[430] Edgeworth, 329.
[431] Edgeworth, 148.

becomes "mistress in the wood."[432] The slight shift from the preposition "of" to the preposition "in" suggests her impending escape. Though she is still "in" the wood, she is no longer "of" the wood. She is not defined solely by her solitude. The reason that Virginia becomes "in" instead of "of" of the wood, despite not escaping or relocating, is that she begins to proliferate across the text in multiple material, visual, verbal, and textual forms. Though her physical body remains in the woods, different iterations of her form escape the confines of her isolation.

In the most embodied example of escape, a lock of Virginia's hair drops out of one of Hervey's letters and onto the floor at Belinda's feet, embarrassing him and putting Belinda on guard.[433] Soon after the appearance of that material version of Virginia, we get a visual version of her when Belinda and her friends come across Virginia's portrait at a London art exhibit.[434] The form that she appears in most often is verbal: she is the subject of endless gossip. For example, Mr. Hervey's ne'er do well friends, Sir Philip Baddely and Mr. Rochfort, make surreptitious visits to Windsor to spy on Virginia and her guardian in their seclusion. After peeping at her over the garden wall, they drop hints about her to Lady Delacour and Belinda.[435] Their embryonic information spreads wildly such that the dowager Lady Boucher eagerly gossips to her friends that "there was a charming scene, and some romantic story, about his finding the girl in a cottage, and calling her Virginia something or other."[436] When asked to defend her sources to a skeptical audience, Lady Boucher reveals her (rather tenuous) chain of gossip: "my woman had it from lady Newland's Swiss, who had it from lady Singleton's Frenchwoman, who had it from Longueville, the hair-dresser, who had it from lady Almeria's own woman."[437] As this extensive gossip chain reveals, other characters in the novel are obsessed with Virginia. Even if she remains isolated in her forest, she is also everywhere else at once, especially on the tips of other tongues.

The more Virginia proliferates, the bigger threat she becomes to Belinda's marriage plot. Though Belinda tries to remain nonchalant, "her voice almost failed when she came to the history of the lock of beautiful hair, the Windsor incognita, and the picture of Virginia."[438] Belinda describes Virginia almost as if she is three different people. She acknowledges three of

[432] Edgeworth, 272.
[433] Edgeworth, 139.
[434] Edgeworth, 190.
[435] Edgeworth, 145.
[436] Edgeworth, 355.
[437] Edgeworth, 456.
[438] Edgeworth, 242.

Virginia's different forms—the materiality of "the lock of beautiful hair," the verbal gossip about the "Windsor incognita" as told by Sir Philip, and the visual "picture of Virginia" from the art exhibit. Virginia's proliferations present a paradox. She is isolated in one location, yet she seems to appear everywhere. She is solitary, yet she is also with other characters. She occupies one form, yet she also takes on many forms. This proliferation means that Virginia, seemingly isolated, comes to occupy a central position. She is the mystery at the heart of the novel, the obstacle to the marriage plot, the secret that will lead to the novel's climax.

At the center of the novel, then, is a representation of island existence that is all about mixing and proliferating, not about separation or isolation. Virginia thinks of herself as Virginia from Saint Pierre's novel: "I thought I was not myself, but the Virginia that we were reading of the other night; and I was somewhere in the Isle of France."[439] Because she comes to think of herself as an islander, she understands island existence in a particular way, which is perhaps best represented by a substantial section of *Paul and Virginia* that is quoted at length in *Belinda*: "She thought of Paul's friendship, more pure than the waters of the fountain, stronger than the united palms, and sweeter than the perfume of flowers; and these images, in night and in solitude, gave double force to the passion, which she nourished in her heart."[440] During the "night and in solitude," Virginia is thinking of being together with Paul. Her language is filled with images of mixing—fountain waters, united palms, perfume in the air. While alone, she is thinking of mixing together with others.

Though Virginia's most prominent island allusion is to Saint Pierre's novel, the other island novel referenced in the text is *Robinson Crusoe*. We learn that because she is "isolated in the world… diamonds were consequently as useless to her as guineas were to Robinson Crusoe on his desert island."[441] It is an interesting point of comparison. In the strictest sense, guineas might have been useless to Crusoe "on his desert island" but he saves them optimistically for a time when he can escape. They are somewhat useless in the present moment but not insofar as they are useful to save for a future moment. They are a sign of lingering hope, the possibility of escape, the chance for reconnection with the outside world. Comparing Virginia to Crusoe is a reminder that, isolated as she might seem, her moment of escape is coming too. Like Crusoe

[439] Edgeworth, 387.
[440] Edgeworth, 381.
[441] Edgeworth, 372.

himself, she is half in and half out of solitude, as if she has one footprint on the beach and the other in the water.

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On August 4, 1782, the Grosvenor East Indiaman capsized off the coast of Pondoland in South Africa. Nearly all of the 140 passengers and crew were safely evacuated to the shore, but only 14 people survived the subsequent trek across South Africa. Carl Thompson argues that this disaster has a literary legacy beginning with Charles Dibdin's *Hannah Hewit; or, The Female Crusoe* (1796) and spreading to Sarah Burney's novel *The Shipwreck* (1815) and her sister Fanny Burney's novel *The Wanderer* (1814).[442] Thompson's claims about the connection between Sarah Burney's novel and the Grosvenor shipwreck are fairly straightforward. After all, *The Shipwreck* is about a wreck that leaves Lady Earlingford and her seventeen-year-old daughter Viola cast away on an island in the Indian Ocean. Thompson's evidence for the connection between the Grosvenor shipwreck and Fanny Burney's novel is less robust. He relies almost entirely on historical proximity: even though *The Wanderer* was not published until 1814, Fanny Burney had begun drafting it in the 1790s, when Dibdin's novel was published. Thompson writes, "Fanny's powerful portrait of a woman surviving 'on such resources as she could find, independently, in herself' was in some small way made possible by Dibdin's *Hannah Hewit*."[443]

I agree with Thompson's claim that shipwreck influences *The Wanderer,* but I argue that the connection has less to do with the fictional influence of *Hannah Hewit* and more to do with the fictional influence of *Robinson Crusoe*. This might seem far-fetched, especially because the heroine, Juliet Granville, seems to be unlike the original Crusoe in almost every way. Aside from an initial cross-channel journey to escape the Terror in France, she never leaves England. Her circumstances require her to travel friendless and incognito, but she is rarely fully alone; instead, she is subject to social persecution, harassment, and inconvenience wherever she goes. However, if we are willing to suspend our disbelief and consider Britain as her island, Juliet's plot does indeed resemble Robinson Crusoe's trajectory: she experiences a catastrophe (the shipwreck of French national stability), gets aboard a boat, and lands on an island (Britain) where she must survive by exploring, settling, and fending for herself. The comparison is reinforced in the novel's closing sentences when Juliet is explicitly described as a female Robinson Crusoe:

[442] Thompson, "The Grosvenor Shipwreck and the Figure of The Female Crusoe: Hannah Hewit, Mary Jane Meadows, and Romantic-Era Feminist and Anti-Feminist Debate," 9.
[443] Thompson, 18.

> Here, and thus felicitously, ended, with the acknowledgement of her name, and her family, the difficulties of the wanderer;—a being who had been cast upon herself; a female Robinson Crusoe, as unaided and unprotected, though in the midst of the world, as that imaginary hero in his uninhabited island; and reduced to sink, through inanition, to nonentity, or to be rescued from famine and death by such resources as she could find, independently, in herself… Yet even difficulties such as these are not insurmountable, where mental courage, operating through patience, prudence, and principle, supply physical force, combat disappointment, and keep the untamed spirits superiour to failure, and ever alive to hope. [444]

Despite her dire circumstances, Juliet is "ever alive to hope," the final phrase of the novel and a defining characteristic of castaway existence. This hope is possible, I argue, because she experiences the island as terraqueous, a place where her options are to "sink" or "be rescued." Her hope is dependent upon her uncle the Bishop's arrival from France to confirm her identity and her story. It is, in other words, dependent on the island continuing to be breachable and permeable to rescue from across the channel.

Juliet's rescue takes place in a terraqueous scene in the final two chapters. Juliet and her friends are walking back and forth along a beach "overlooking the vast ocean" when her uncle the Bishop abruptly lands onshore with a boatload of some "strangers of a foreign appearance."[445] There are many exclamations and explanations, shouts and sensations, discussions and disbelief. Amid the chaos and confusion, minutes lengthen "unconsciously to hours" and still they remain on the beach. Eventually, the party realizes that Juliet's two uncles (a French Bishop and an English Admiral) are missing. In a bizarre twist, an old sailor leads them to a "bathing-machine" where the uncles are ensconced "cheek by jowl" and getting acquainted. Juliet's love interest, Albert Harleigh, is "speedily summoned into the machine" to join them where he makes a proposal for Juliet's hand in marriage.[446] Let's pause to say that, in general, *The Wanderer* is not an especially funny novel; it is serious, verbose, convoluted, and pedantic. It is, therefore, exceedingly strange and humorous that the climactic, would-be romantic proposal scene takes place with three men crammed inside a bathing-machine. I suggest

[444] Fanny Burney, *The Wanderer; or, Female Difficulties*, ed. Margaret Anne Doody, Robert L. Mack, and Peter Sabor (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 873.
[445] Burney, 857–59.
[446] Burney, 864.

that this ending is a fittingly terraqueous setting for the attainment of Juliet's hopes. A bathing-machine, after all, is a device designed to bridge land and sea. One climbs into it from one end on the land, changes into a bathing costume in privacy, rolls down to the sea, and swims out the other entrance into the water. It is the perfect setting for Juliet's rescue, for a reconciliation between cross-channel relatives, and for a resurgence of Juliet's hope.

That she is "alive to hope" on a terraqueous island is not the only link between Juliet and Crusoe. They are also connected in that neither of their island experiences are representable on a map. Consider this moment from Chapter Seventeen, when Juliet's more powerful rival, Elinor, forces Juliet (who she calls Ellis because she does not yet know Juliet's name) to confront their mutual love interest, Albert Harleigh, while he is examining a map:

> Elinor returned almost instantly. 'Hasten, hasten,' she cried, 'Ellis! There is no time to be lost. Scene the first is all prepared. Albert Harleigh, at this very moment, is poring over the county map in the hall. Run and tell him that you have something of deep importance to communicate to him to-morrow.' 'But may he not—if he means to go—desire to hear it immediately?' Elinor, without answering, forced her away. Harleigh, whose back was to the stair-entrance, seemed intently examining some route.[447]

In this scene, which takes place in the town of Lewes, Harleigh is examining a "county map," presumably the Ordnance Survey's map of Sussex. In the surveying season of 1793, William Mudge and Isaac Dalby completed the Trigonometrical Survey of Sussex and, by 1795, William Gardner and Thomas Gream, from the Tower Drawing Room, had published the map commercially.[448] Harleigh, who is about to leave town, is examining the Sussex map for "some route" to take upon his departure. Harleigh's ability to examine a route on a published map before leaving is a privilege. He plans ahead and travels via established routes on public roadways. Juliet does not have this luxury. Her travel is last minute, unplanned, uncertain. She travels blindly—"ignorant what course she took,"[449] "wandering on, by paths unknown to herself,"[450] "wholly ignorant of the way."[451] She avoids common routes and moves off-road to evade robbers, smugglers, aggressors, and lewd men. Out of necessity, she seeks "personal scarcity" with "terrified eagerness… her steps had no guide but fear, which winged their flight;

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[447] Burney, 157.
[448] Hewitt, *Map of a Nation: A Biography of the Ordnance Survey*, 136.
[449] Burney, *The Wanderer; or, Female Difficulties*, 655.
[450] Burney, 662.
[451] Burney, 664.

she sought no route but that which seemed most private. She flew past, across, away from the high road, without daring to raise her eyes."[452] Again and again, we are told that Juliet's journey is ignorant, routeless, and unguided: she does not have access to a map. Even if she did, mapped routes would not suit her purposes. She considers the high road not as a channel for efficient and direct movement but as a dangerous avenue to avoid—moving past, across, and away with hurried steps and downcast eyes.

Staying off the road and off the map is a choice driven by fear, but it is also a choice that paradoxically produces hope. Just as Robinson Crusoe felt hopeful when his situation seemed dire, Juliet's desperate decision to stay "far removed… from all public roads; not even a beaten path in view" and to "turn aside from the public way" gives her hope that she will go undetected and unmolested.[453] Being off the map is what brings her "Hope; whose magic elasticity waits not for reason, consults not with probability; weighs not contending arguments for setting its expectations, or regulating its desires; but airy, blyth, and bright, bounds over every obstacle that it cannot conquer."[454] Hope is personified as an elastic, unregulated, airy, bounding body that is undeterred by traditional obstacles, rules, expectations, reasons, and probabilities. Hope is unconstrained by all the same forces with which Juliet herself must contend. It transcends the boundaries and barriers that separate one county from another, one island from the next. Animated by that hope, Juliet makes a move that mimics Crusoe's: she mounts "a hillock to take a general survey of the spot, and thought all paradise was opened to her view."[455] In spite—or rather, because—of the fact that her travel is off the road and her experiences are off the map, Juliet's hope makes it possible for "all paradise" to become "opened to her view."

In an era in which mapping was a prized and privileged form of knowledge, neither Juliet's survival nor her hope is reliant on maps. On the contrary, she finds hope and safety in being off the map. This is an important retelling of the Crusoe narrative. Both Crusoe and Juliet tell narratives of unmappable, terraqueous places: his island does not appear on Defoe's map and Juliet's Britain does not appear on an Ordnance Survey map. The difference is that he is a male conqueror, settler, and enslaver on an unmapped desert island. She is a woman who exhibits neither that privilege nor that violence. She lives and travels in a place that, unlike Crusoe's

[452] Burney, 674.
[453] Burney, 675.
[454] Burney, 675.
[455] Burney, 676.

island, has already been mapped, but she exists outside the exclusionary world of those maps. An Ordnance Survey map would have been inaccessible to her financially as well as useless to her because of the visibility of the established routes.

The map is more useful and accessible for Albert than for Juliet, but nevertheless uninteresting to him. Looking at the map is the start of "scene the first" but not the substance of it. Looking at the map is like asking to be interrupted with something more engaging. When Elinor asks Juliet to "hasten, hasten" and to "run" because "there is no time to be lost," it is because she recognizes that Albert will not remain looking at the map for very long; it cannot capture his attention for any extended period. Whereas he would not look at the map for more than a few moments, he will remain at the house for an entire additional day to hear the information that Juliet will convey the following morning. The social connection with Juliet is more appealing than the cartographic connection (the route), even for someone with the privilege of using the map to plan his routes in advance. In the end, the social connection with Juliet is so strong that she tempts him off route. This transgression is literal, as when he follows her off route to Stonehenge, and it is also figurative, when his love for Juliet lures him away from the traditional path his family would have wanted him to take, and he pursues an engagement with Juliet instead. Juliet, whose island existence is unmappable, pulls Albert into her orbit: he goes off route and they both live happily ever after on a terraqueous island, "ever alive to hope."

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This chapter has theorized islands as terraqueous in a way that enables sociality and a chance for reconnection. For the most part, the possibility of connection has been treated as inherently good and desirable. The final section will introduce more ambiguity, nuance, and complexity to our evaluation of the connections made possible by islands. If connection is an enabler, it also enables inequality. Islands are a form that allows for connection with others and that exposes exploitation. David Copperfield and his aunt Betsey Trotwood are foil characters that contrastingly illustrate the benefits and perils of the kind of connectedness made possible by island living. Whereas *Robinson Crusoe* is a tool that David uses to re-situate the geographical category of "cast away" into a social category that allows for connections to others, his aunt serves as a reminder of the ways that the geographical "cast away" retains its valences of power, inequality, and exploitation. David believes in the possibility of hopeful connection, but Betsey Trotwood is a vector for the insidiousness of connection in the context of an empire composed of

vulnerable islands. Betsey Trotwood is the tipping point at which proximity and connection become empire and at which feminine ways of knowing become complicit in the colonial project.

Let's begin with David. It is David who calls his aunt a "female Robinson Crusoe," and not the other way around, but he conceivably could share that title with her. After all, Betsey desperately wanted David to be born a girl and named after her. Throughout the novel, she repeatedly insists on his counterfactual existence as her own female namesake. To the extent that his female alter-ego is a ghostly presence between them, both Betsey and David might be considered "female Robinson Crusoes." David, an avid reader of eighteenth-century novels, was certainly familiar with Defoe's novel. He pillages his late father's book collection, devouring the tales of "Roderick Random, Peregrine Pickle, Humphrey Clinker, Tom Jones, the Vicar of Wakefield, Don Quixote, Gil Blas, and Robinson Crusoe."[456] He writes, "When I think of it, the picture always rises in my mind, of a summer evening, the boys at play in the churchyard, and I sitting on my bed, reading as if for life."[457] At this period in his development, David is isolated from his peers and from his family. He is not invited or allowed to play with other boys in the churchyard. His mother has recently remarried the odious Mr. Murdstone, who is making David's life miserable. The books are a lifeline, a lifeboat, tethering him to connection with others. They "kept alive my fancy, and my hope of something beyond that place and time."[458] The books occupy a figurative role for David not unlike the figurative role of the island, offering hope of connection with others (albeit fictional others) and the "hope of something beyond that place and time." To imagine himself as "cast away" like Robinson Crusoe offers a salve to David's status as "cast away" from others.

In the following chapter, David is further "cast away" when he is sent to school in London. On the way, he stops to eat at an inn, where he is shown into a waiting room: "It was a large long room with some large maps in it. I doubt if I could have felt much stranger if the maps had been real foreign countries, and *I cast away* in the middle of them" [emphasis mine].[459] David has many reasons, both affective and spatial, for feeling anxious and uncomfortable. He is nervous about attending school. He is unsupported at home. The waiting room is "large and

[456] Dickens, *David Copperfield*, 66.
[457] Dickens, 67.
[458] Dickens, 66.
[459] Dickens, 76.

long" and the maps on the walls are also "large," making him feel small and insignificant. Though it is natural for David to feel anxious in this scenario, the slippage in his word choice reveals the root of his anxiety. Rather than using any number of straightforward adjectives like uncomfortable, worried, apprehensive, uneasy, or afraid, David uses the word "stranger" to describe his state of mind. Though he presumably means to deploy "stranger" in its adjectival sense as inexperienced and unfamiliar with his surroundings, what also hovers in the passage is the noun form of the word—a stranger. At his core, David feels uncomfortable because he is unconnected to others, not only a stranger in this place (the inn) but also in the place he has been (home) and the place he is going toward (school).

David's solution to the anxiety of being a perpetual stranger appears in a second linguistic slippage in the same passage. On top of the resonance between the adjective *stranger* and the noun *a stranger*, there is another categorical confusion in the treatment of "cast away." In being sent to school, David experiences "cast away" as a social category (strictly speaking, as an anti-social category). To avoid dwelling on that painful reality, he makes a substitution, re-locating himself to the geographical category of "cast away" by imagining himself in the foreign countries on the room's maps. What is interesting about David's imaginative substitution is that, while he seems to reject the social category for the geographical one, what he is really doing is recasting the geographical category as a potentially social one. This is doubly interesting because he is also detaching "cast away" from its usual nautical and island context by imagining himself "in the middle" of these countries, not washed up on the beach. Even if he were cast away in the middle of a foreign country, he could hardly be more of a stranger than he is/was at home, at the inn, and at school; he might even have more hope of making connections with others.

David turns the geographical category of cast away into a hopeful social possibility by way of the map but also in a way that is antithetical to the map. Recall from Chapter Two that David is an unconventional map user. He misunderstood his geography book's depiction of a small round globe to mean that every component part of the earth must also be round. When he arrives at Yarmouth with his nurse Peggotty for the first time, he is shocked to find it so flat. Rather than revising his understanding of place geographically by shifting up the scale of the globe, he revises his thinking topographically by relocating Yarmouth to the poles, where he can once again make sense of its flatness. This response is conventionally "wrong" both because Yarmouth is not located at either pole and because it reveals David's fundamental

misunderstanding about the scale of the earth. Nonetheless, David's map misreading does not lead him astray; instead, associating Yarmouth with recent polar disasters allows him to intuit the bad things that will happen to his friends Em'ly and Ham at Yarmouth.

In this example, David continues to be apathetic about scale and measurement, though in a different manner. Whereas he obviously spent time interestedly poring over the "small" globe in his geography book, here he is dealing with "large maps," which are much less compelling to him. In fact, the map as coterminous with the "large" room is alienating and intimidating to David. He wants to avoid the largeness of the map as much as he wants to avoid the isolation of being a stranger. He therefore engages vaguely, rather than precisely, with the details of the map. He uses general terms like "large" and "in the middle" rather than offering specific dimensions or locations. By stripping the map of its conventional properties like precision, measurement, and scale, David turns the map into a tool for social connection. He projects himself onto the map—animating it, narrativizing it. In the space of a single sentence, he turns the map into a *Robinson Crusoe*-style narrative of his own. Throughout the rest of the novel, David's own *Robinson Crusoe* narrative continues to serve as a point of connection to others, especially with the women in his life. For example, on the day he is introduced to his first wife, Dora Spenlow, he is listening to a case at work that he understands to be in relation to *Robinson Crusoe*:

> We had an adjourned cause in the Consistory that day—about excommunicating a baker who had been objecting in a vestry to a paving-rate—and as the evidence was just twice the length of Robinson Crusoe, according to a calculation I made, it was rather late in the day before we finished.[460]

Clearly bored doing his tedious job, David passes the time by thinking about Dora but also about *Robinson Crusoe*. He uses *Robinson Crusoe* as a tool to measure his proximity to Dora. The language of numerical precision and mathematical computation is ubiquitous throughout the passage with terms like "the paving rate," "twice the length," and "calculation." And yet, David's measurement is fuzzy. There are many unanswered questions about his methodology. How is he calculating the length of court evidence: by word count, total page volume, or time spent in session? Which version of *Robinson Crusoe* is he using to measure? After all, David has made a habit of re-telling his favorite novels to his school friends, possibly committing "ravages"

[460] Dickens, 394.

on them in the process that may alter fundamentally alter their essence or their length.[461] *Robinson Crusoe* is a malleable tool that David can alter to link him together with others.

Thus far, we've seen the positive valences of David's connection to *Robinson Crusoe*. Feeling himself to be cast away socially from family and from like-minded peers, David imagines himself as cast away like Robinson Crusoe. Ironically, imagining himself as a castaway makes David feel less alone. This is because the figure of the island is a model of ideal sociability. Rather than a source of isolation, an island holds out hope for connection that is both spatial and affective. David treats as terraqueous both Crusoe's island and England, David's own island.

The centrality of Yarmouth is essential to David's re-imagination of England as akin to Crusoe's island. Yarmouth makes possible several connections between David's story and Crusoe's. First, Mr. Peggotty's house, which David visits again and again, is a re-purposed, upside-down ship. It hovers at the edge of the narrative and at the edge of the land like Crusoe's own shipwrecked vessel. Second, Crusoe experiences his first shipwreck at Yarmouth during a "terrible storm" during which "the sea ran mountains high."[462] David experiences a storm in the same place, though from the perspective of the land rather than the sea. He writes, "The water was out, over miles and miles of the flat country adjacent to Yarmouth; and every sheet and puddle lashed its banks, and had its stress of little breakers setting heavily towards us."[463] In both cases, land and sea are mixing. For Crusoe, the sea transforms into metaphorical land that is "mountains high." For David, the land transforms into literal sea as the water escapes "out" of its oceanic container and covers Yarmouth and the adjacent territory. Both storms are like the earthquake in Douglas Jerrold's "Miss Robinson Crusoe," which causes the land and sea to be "well shaken."[464] The violent language in David's description—lashed, setting heavily, stress—matches the force of that earthquake. In all three experiences, an island is a vulnerable place that might mix with its surroundings at any moment.

If David gets a glimpse of the vulnerability of island life during the storm at Yarmouth, his aunt Betsey Trotwood is the embodiment of vulnerability when she arrives in London with all her luggage, having lost her fortune and her home. It is in that moment that David describes

[461] Dickens, 103.
[462] Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, 11.
[463] Dickens, *David Copperfield*, 793.
[464] Jerrold, "Miss Robinson Crusoe," September 5, 1846, 101.

her as a "female Robinson Crusoe." His comparison seems unsuitable in the extreme, almost comic in its discordance. The powerful influence of Robinson Crusoe is such that even someone who seems nothing like him still gets compared to him. Betsey Trotwood is a highly unlikely candidate for any discussion about Robinson Crusoe because she hates to travel, dreading to go even as far as London. David says of his aunt:

> I have understood that it was, to the last, her proudest boast, that she never had been on the water in her life, except upon a bridge; and that over her tea (to which she was extremely partial) she, to the last, expressed her indignation at the impiety of mariners and others, who had the presumption to go 'meandering' about the world. It was in vain to represent to her that some conveniences, tea perhaps included, resulted from this objectionable practice. She always returned, with greater emphasis and with an instinctive knowledge of the strength of her objection, 'Let us have no meandering.'[465]

In this ironic passage, Betsey is being exposed and gently mocked for her less educated, provincial attitude and her hostility to the outside world. We've seen this before. Betsey Trotwood seems to be the literary descendent of another fictional aunt, Tabitha Bramble from *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* in Chapter Two, who was considered "woefully ignorant" for believing that one must travel by water to get to Scotland: "What, between want of curiosity, and traditional sarcasms, the effect of ancient animosity, the people at the other end of the island know as little of Scotland as of Japan." Whereas Tabitha does not know that she need not cross water to get to Scotland, Betsey does not think anyone should cross water at all. In addition to their shared "want of curiosity," "traditional sarcasms," and "ancient animosity," Tabitha and Betsey share a mutual interest in sustenance. For Tabitha, it is better food for her family than the meager "oatmeal and sheep's head" found in Scotland; for Betsey, it is "her tea (to which she was extremely partial)."

The tea is a key ingredient. Betsey claims to have never been "on water," and yet she is articulating that denial "over tea." Read literally, and read with the twinkling eye this passage seems to invite, being "over tea" is a kind of being over, above, or on top of water because her body is placed and her words are spoken over and above and on top of a cup filled with water and tea leaves. Even if the physical comedy of that joke does not register, the metaphorical suggestion packs even more punch. "Over tea" is a metaphorical being "on water" since it means

[465] Dickens, *David Copperfield*, 14.

that, though she is not sailing across the ocean to east Asia to acquire the tea herself, she is still an important part of the web of international commerce as a consumer drinking her tea. Though her own indignance and resistance mean that Betsey is not quite like Jane Austen's Fanny Price, the only character in *Mansfield Park* (1813) to ask her uncle about his Antigua plantation, Betsey is nonetheless at least an unwilling vector through which empire can be referenced. She is an addition to the argument articulated by Isobel Armstrong about Dickens and colonial space. Armstrong writes that Dickens creates "insistent colonial space in two ways. First… the urban glasshouse and the conservatory, that site of plundered flora and fauna forced from the tropical to a temperate environment… Secondly, the black presence is literally taken into the bloodstream because it presides over digestion and at meals.[466] Betsey Trotwood is a third point of connection to empire insofar as she reminds us that the accompaniments of feminized life are part of what keep empire going. We all, Betsey Trotwood included, might want to believe Leila's nurse that a cup of tea is about sociability, but this passage reminds us of tea's undeniable connection to empire. Betsey, who loves tea, the fruit of empire, does not want to acknowledge her own messy entanglement with its sources, preferring to use "meandering" as a kind of code word. Both aspects of this passage—her hostility to foreign places and her simultaneous entanglement with global commerce—mean that, despite her resistance to "meandering," Betsey Trotwood might be a figure for Robinson Crusoe after all.

When David calls his aunt a "female Robinson Crusoe," she is again drinking tea but this time it is less about the inanimate tea and more about the animate beings around her. David observes: "What was my amazement to find, of all people upon earth, my aunt there, and Mr. Dick! My aunt sitting on a quantity of luggage, with her two birds before her, and her cat on her knee, like a female Robinson Crusoe, drinking tea."[467] Presumably, what makes David call his aunt a "female Robinson Crusoe" is the presence of the animals around her. This serves as a reminder that the original Crusoe, like Betsey, was not really alone. Even before he was joined by Friday, he shared his island home with lots of domesticated and non-domesticated animals. The presence of animals constitutes a throughline in the female Robinsonades that follow. Hannah Hewit domesticates a lion club who becomes so loyal to her that he later dies trying to

[466] Isobel Armstrong, "Spaces of the Nineteenth-Century Novel," in *The Cambridge History of Victorian Literature*, ed. Kate Flint (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 595–96.
[467] Dickens, *David Copperfield*, 501.

defend Hannah from a baboon attack. She is also accompanied by monkeys and birds.[468] Leila Howard rescues a cat and a spaniel from the shipwreck and later domesticates goats and a talkative parrot. Miss Crusoe decides to breed ringdoves. The presence of these animals, as well as numerous undervalued sidekicks like Friday, Leila's nurse, and Mr. Dick, shows that none of our castaways are truly alone, except perhaps in the strictest (elitist, racist) sense of being alone. The inclusion of animals produces an effect similar to the effect of the island setting. Just as the instability of the terraqueous border blurs the boundary between being alone and being social by offering an opportunity for escape or rescue, so too do the animals challenge our understanding of what it means to be really alone. The animals suggest that sociality, more than relationality, is a better term for describing the experience of the island since relationality is a term that refers specifically to "human" relationships[469] whereas sociality is a term that can refer to "social organization or behavior in animals."[470] In addition to not being fully alone, Betsey is like Crusoe because she is on the cusp of mixing with others. Having lost her fortune, she is forced to move from her prior "secluded" existence to one that entails regularly crossing paths with David, Mrs. Crupp, Dora, Traddles, and many others in London. Rather than sitting on a piece of furniture, she is sitting on a piece of luggage. Her future is mobile, uprooted, uncertain.

Betsey is not the only one with an uprooted and uncertain future. Though we've already established that Betsey herself is ignorant about the outside world, she nonetheless makes comments that might have prompted contemporary readers to connect her words with global current events. There was, at the very least, available information at the time for readers to make those connections. For example, Betsey says to David, about his nurse Peggoty:

> 'Don't call the woman by that South Sea Island name! If she married and got rid of it, which was the best thing she could do, why don't you give her the benefit of the change? What's your name now,--P?' said my aunt, as a compromise for the obnoxious appellation. 'Barkis, ma'am,' said Peggotty, with a curtsey. 'Well! That's human,' said my aunt. 'It sounds less as if you wanted a missionary.'[471]

Betsey's primary objection to Peggoty's last name is that it sounds pagan; hence, changing her name after marriage obviates the necessity for a missionary. But Betsey's reference to the South

[468] In a nice connection to Chapter Four, she notes that the birds on her island are like those that "build their nests in many islands, particularly the Isle of Wight." Dibdin, *Hannah Hewit; or, The Female Crusoe*, II:210.
[469] "Relationality," in *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).
[470] "Sociality," in *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).
[471] Dickens, *David Copperfield*, 502.

Sea Islands might have had other, darker resonances for readers. In the South Sea Islands, early instances of the practice known as "blackbirding" had begun in 1847, two years before this novel's publication. Blackbirding involved kidnapping indigenous people from smaller islands in the South Pacific and forcing them into labor in New South Wales and Queensland. Benjamin Boyd's importation of 200 Ni-Vanuatu in 1847 was widely reported in the Australian press[472] and news traveled back to Britain. A September 1848 article in Douglas Jerrold's newspaper, entitled "South Sea Islanders in Sydney," describes how Benjamin Boyd "imported from Lefoo, Tanna, and other islands of the New Hebrides group, 140 natives" for labor on sheep farms.[473] It's a story of multi-layered, island-based colonialism: Australians exploit South Sea Islanders and are in turn exploited by the British. Whole communities of islands are engaged in trade, dialogue, and exploitation. As in the tea example, Betsey wants to ignore the messy underbelly of global commerce and empire, but she also serves as a vector and reference point for it. Despite her resistance to "meandering," empire impinges on her story anyway. Her comment and its possible resonance for contemporary readers remind us that the kinds of connection made possible by islands are not only a source of hope and possibility but also one of commerce and capitalism, subjugation and slavery, exploitation and empire.

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We've had many encounters with maps in this chapter. First, we saw how Ordnance Surveyors treated the islands of Britain and Ireland separately, choosing to re-measure a baseline in Ireland rather than extending their existing triangulation across the Irish Sea. This choice reflects an understanding of water as border and barrier rather than connective tissue. Similarly, the mapmakers encountered by Wordsworth's poet on Black Combe are stymied by the "terraqueous spectacle" before them; not only are they blocked from appreciating the view since their heads are bent over maps inside their canvas tent, but also their vision is further occluded by the mixing of the elements in a violent storm. A third case, Daniel Defoe's map, fails to capture Crusoe's island. Defoe produces a map of the globe instead of the island not just to stitch together his two commercial products but also because Crusoe's island—which, according to his journals, is neither quite land nor quite sea—cannot be depicted on any conventional map. The

[472] It was reported in *Geelong Advertiser*, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, *Bell's Life in Sydney and Sporting Reviewer*, *The Sydney Chronicle*, and *The Maitland Mercury*. Tracey Banivanua Mar, "'Boyd's Blacks': Labour and the Making of Settler Lands in Australia and the Pacific," in *Labour Lines and Colonial Power: Indigenous and Pacific Islander Labour Mobility in Australia*, ed. Victoria Stead and Jon Altman (Acton: Australia National University Press, 2019), 57–73.
[473] "South Sea Islanders in Sydney," *Douglas Jerrold's Weekly Newspaper*, September 2, 1848.

first three examples of maps illustrate the ways in which terraqueousness is at odds with, and an obstacle to, mapmaking.

In the second half of the chapter, the novelistic examples from Part Three and Part Four further demonstrate the inutility of conventional cartography, especially for a castaway, but they also celebrate the ways in which terraqueous islands pair land and water, offering a navigational tool for the novel by blurring and mixing the categories of solitude and sociality. Hannah Hewitt, given the latitude to determine her own longitude, chooses to situate herself on a volcanic archipelago. Leila Howard learns a sociable geography from her nurse and practices drawing countries in the shifting sands of her island's shoreline. The final section of the chapter returns briefly to the Ordnance Survey to examine how Juliet Granville, unlike Albert Harleigh, could not have used the OS map of Sussex to plan her exit; instead, she is forced to move off road, in the margins, and through interstitial spaces—relying on social connections rather than fixed nodes. Finally, David Copperfield uses a map to reanimate the geographical category of "cast away" into a social one that makes possible a connection with Dora and others at the same time that his aunt Betsey shows the ways in which connections can be exploitative and troubling in the context of an empire partly composed of vulnerable islands.

Taken together, this chapter has shown that terraqueous islands were an obstacle to mapmakers but a navigational tool for novelists. This discrepancy reinforces a concept from Chapter Two of this project: maps and novels, which are both abstractions and methods of translating a place into a paper object, nevertheless have different tolerances for the phenomenon of being lost. Getting lost means the novel has succeeded: to be lost in a good book is to be absorbed and captivated.[474] On the other hand, getting lost means the map has failed: a good map should tell you where you are. The problem, as we saw in Chapter Two, is that no map can really tell you where you are. Close examination of map misreading in that chapter revealed not the ignorance of map users but the inadequacy of the map for representing place. In this chapter, we saw further evidence of the map's inadequacies for representing place: namely, the map's intolerance for the porous pairings and muddled mixings of what might seem to be opposing experiences—terrestrial and aqueous, solitary and sociable. The novel, on the other, successfully

[474] The idiom "lost in a book" dates from the mid-nineteenth century. Google NGram indicates that the first use was in the short story "The Disappointed Manoevrer," published in the magazine *Godey's Lady's Book* in 1840. The second use was in Henry Mayhew's *The London Labour and the London Poor* in 1851. See S. Holland, "The Disappointed Manoeuvrer," *Godey's Lady's Book*, 1840, 129. See Henry Mayhew, *The London Labour and the London Poor*, vol. I (London: George Woodfall and Son, 1851), 295.

deploys the contradictions of island existence as a formal mechanism for navigating the uncertain and overlapping boundary between being alone and being social. A shipwrecked character, feeling herself to be alone, nonetheless retains hope of rescue, escape, and reconnection. That aspiration for togetherness is made possible by the condition of being alone on a terraqueous island, which inspires a desire for connection, a rejection of certainty, and a feeling of being "ever alive to hope."

There are more maps to come in the following chapter, which will move from the many fictional islands of Robinson Crusoe and his female successors to a singular, real island off the southern coast of England—the Isle of Wight. The Ordnance Survey struggled with a different "terraqueous spectacle" on the Isle of Wight—one known as "terrestrial refraction," which occurs when moisture in the atmosphere distorts a mapmaker's vision and measurements. Ordnance Surveyors were forced to re-measure, re-calculate, and re-vise their figures to erase this lived experience and pin down place on the map in a way that would obscure the messy, confusing, disorienting, even uncanny realities of mapping and resituate their work in a history of discipline, efficiency, instrumentality, and concretization. They aimed to produce a mappable place in the name of greater transparency, future navigation, and military defense.

It may seem that this chapter and the next present a temporal paradox. Here, I argued that islands are a formal shaping mechanism for the novel's sociality because they suggest a hope for future connection. In the next chapter, we will see that it is the maps, not the novels, that are future-oriented in a way that functions to erase the present messiness of lived experience. Despite that seeming temporal reversal, what will remain true in both cases is that the novel does not take its temporal clues from the map. Indeed, this dissertation project shows that the experiences of literary characters are often discordant with the purpose of the map. It is because of that discordance that one can make interesting claims about novels and maps that go beyond the expressions of similarities and contiguities of the "spatial turn" in the humanities.

In the next chapter, that discordance emerges in the mapmakers' experience of terrestrial refraction as well as in the lived experiences of two Isle of Wight homeowners, Queen Victoria (1819-1901) and Alfred, Lord Tennyson (1809-1892). There is a lingering sense of something unsettling, unsuitable, unknowable, and uncomfortable about the Isle of Wight that is captured not by the map but instead by the novel's representation of the island. As we will see in the next chapter, novelists render the Isle of Wight unmappable. Rather than orienting and reassuring

people, novelistic depictions of the Isle of Wight depict the feeling of being bewildered, dreamy, lost, not quite one thing or another, part of something but also beyond it—the feeling of being out of place that is the antithesis of mapping but an essential part of reading novels. If Betsey Trotwood in this chapter showed how connectivity, which we assumed to be an inherently good thing, can also be insidious, we will see the same process in reverse in the next chapter: being out of place—which would seem to be a bad thing, suggesting disorder, mismatch, isolation, loneliness, and a painful lack of belonging—might also bring about beauty, freedom, and possibility. After all, we are technically out of place when we read novels. The reader is in an affective, in-between space that is not unlike the liminal space of the Isle of Wight. One's body is located in one place; one's mind in another. In this way, literary characters' relationship to the Isle of Wight models the reader's relationship to all fictional places.

CHAPTER IV.
"To dance up and down in a very extraordinary manner": Out of Place on the Isle of Wight

In Anthony Trollope's novel, *The Way We Live Now* (1875), aspiring railroad magnate Paul Montague has a problem. To be frank, he has several professional and personal problems, but one among them is that he is in love with Hetta Carbury and wants to end a lingering and messy affair with an American widow, Mrs. Winifred Hurtle, before Hetta catches wind of his indiscretions. When Paul ineptly tries to cut things off with Mrs. Hurtle, she cleverly suggests that they indulge in one final weekend getaway—a plan to which Paul semi-reluctantly and misguidedly agrees. They discuss and reject several possible locations: Penzance (too far), Orkney (also too far), Southend (too hot, too muggy), Cromer (the sea is more like a ditch), and Ramsgate (should not like it), before considering the Isle of Wight. Paul suggests, "There's the Isle of Wight. The Isle of Wight is very pretty." Mrs. Hurtle responds dismissively, "That's the Queen's place. There would not be room for her and me too."[475]

In his conversation with Mrs. Hurtle, Paul employs two rhetorical strategies: repetition at the level of the phrase and revision at the level of the sentence. As we will come to see, Paul's double strategy of repeating and revising his representation of the Isle of Wight will be one deployed by both mapmakers and novelists of this era in much different ways and with varying success. As for Paul, notice that he repeats "the Isle of Wight" twice, rather than using the pronoun "it" in his second sentence. By repeating the name back-to-back at the end of one sentence and the beginning of the next, Paul attempts a form of rhetorical persuasion. He wants the name to echo in her head like a chant, a chime, or a peeling bell that cannot be unrung. Paul, who is drawn to Mrs. Hurtle against his better judgment but also afraid of her, cannot tell her what to do outright. He hopes to use repetition to subtly persuade her of the island's suitability without pushing her hard enough that she will rebel and reject his suggestion.

[475] Trollope, *The Way We Live Now*, 321.

In addition to using repetition to persuade Mrs. Hurtle, Paul also uses revision. His first sentence—"There's the Isle of Wight"—is hardly persuasive. He merely points out that the island exists and offers no reason why it deserves a different fate than any of their other discarded destinations. His second sentence attempts to right that wrong: he adds, "The Isle of Wight is very pretty." Though the second sentence is not an argumentative tour-de-force, it at least makes an aesthetic case for visiting the island. Unfortunately for Paul, his attempt to marshal the rhetorical devices at his command to persuade Mrs. Hurtle to select the Isle of Wight is immediately unsuccessful. Before turning to the impact of that failure, it is worth examining why he would have wanted to travel to the Isle of Wight at all.

Paul's reasons for suggesting the Isle of Wight come down to two possibilities: time or place. First, it is possible that he is simply tired of the conversation and wants Mrs. Hurtle to select a destination as quickly as possible. In that case, the Isle of Wight would be an interchangeable placeholder, equally as acceptable to him as any other place mentioned at this late stage in their discussion. The exigency of time would hold precedence over the specificity of place. On the other hand, it is also possible that there is a specific reason the Isle of Wight makes Paul's list. One answer as to the island's appeal lies in Mrs. Hurtle's response: "That's the Queen's place." Paul, seeking to keep his relationship with Mrs. Hurtle a secret from his friends and acquaintances, might feel that the Isle of Wight would be a safe destination for their covert tryst because no one he knows is aristocratic enough to vacation on the Isle of Wight. The island's association with Queen Victoria put it on the map socially, making it a low-risk option for someone like Paul, who is not especially well-connected. Either explanation for his motivations could be true: his desperation to end the conversation or his eagerness to select a place that would be discreet. In fact, time and place are not as much dichotomous terms as they are two sides of the same coin. Much as he is attracted to her, Paul is ashamed of his liaison with Mrs. Hurtle and wants to keep his time and place with her as concise and concealed as possible.

If Paul's suggestion of the Isle of the Wight is motivated by shortening time and shrouding place, Mrs. Hurtle rejects the island for an entirely different reason. Unlike Paul, she has no desire to end the conversation and no qualms about being seen with him. Like Paul, however, she engages in her own process of revision. Her first response to his suggestion—"That's the Queen's place"—is more than a simple statement of fact. It is a rare admission of vulnerability from an American with a hardscrabble past, a fierce demeanor, and an

uncompromising demand for respect. Her use of possessive grammar is a reminder that the Queen has a place that belongs to her and a place where she belongs. Mrs. Hurtle, on the other hand, has no "place" to belong to herself; she would be out of place in "the Queen's place" on multiple levels—by virtue of her citizenship, her social class, and her transitory relationship status as Paul's mistress with no real place in his future life. For a brief moment, hardly discernable to either of them, she nearly confesses the loneliness and powerlessness that lie beneath her insouciant façade. As if to erase her own moment of uncharacteristic vulnerability, Mrs. Hurtle's second sentence offers a revision: "There would not be room for her and me too." This sentence takes up a defensive posture. Rather than expressing that she feels out of place because of circumstances mostly beyond her control—citizenship, class, status—she takes matters into her own hands, declaring stubbornly that she would not want to go there anyway. The implication is that her domineering personality and the Queen's sovereign authority could not peacefully coexist on the same island. In short, she refuses to defer to the foreign queen.

By refusing to defer to the foreign queen, Mrs. Hurtle surrenders the Isle of Wight to the Queen's realm. Just as Mrs. Hurtle would have felt out of place on the island, the island itself remains out of place in the novel. It is referred to, but just as quickly retreated from. Paul and Mrs. Hurtle eventually settle on traveling to Lowestoft for the weekend instead. The Isle of Wight becomes one among the other discarded possibilities, a counterfactual alternative that could have, but does not, change the course of the novel's plot. After all, if Paul and Mrs. Hurtle had gone to the Isle of Wight instead, they might not have run into Roger Carbury, Hetta's cousin and other suitor, who they *do see* at Lowestoft and who nearly brings an end to Paul's engagement to Hetta. Had the engagement ended because of that Lowestoft encounter, and had Mrs. Hurtle convinced the distraught Paul to marry her instead, surrendering the Isle of Wight to the Queen would have been a brilliant tactical move on Mrs. Hurtle's part. Instead, Mrs. Hurtle wins neither Paul nor a place on the island. In the wake of her strategic maneuvering, the Isle of Wight is left to exist in the historical world of Queen Victoria, hovering just beyond the edges of the world of the novel.

This anecdote from *The Way We Live Now* introduces some of the key questions that will animate this chapter. Why is the Isle of Wight a place that literary characters refer to but retreat from without visiting? Is there something specific about the island that is important, or is it one among a number of interchangeable destinations? What is the relationship between time and

place? How is the feeling of being out of place represented by the novel? Why does Queen Victoria's association with the island matter, especially in terms of class and social status? How do nineteenth-century representations of the island, in novels and on maps, engage differently in processes of repetition and revision?

Whereas the previous chapter examined recurring references to *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) in novels of the nineteenth century in order to show how the island setting allows for a pairing of solitude and sociability, this chapter focuses more narrowly on one particular island: the Isle of Wight, which emerged vividly on the map and in Victorian life at the same time that it remained an unmapped, enigmatic, imaginary phenomenon in novels of the same era. Because of its location, the Isle of Wight held an outsize role in Ordnance Survey mapping. In 1810, the term "Ordnance Survey" was first used on the map of the Isle of Wight. Similarly, the island was a significant social destination in nineteenth-century Britain—where Queen Victoria spent her childhood holidays and later re-remodeled Osborne House. Paradoxically, the Isle of Wight appears in dozens of novels by authors including Jane Austen, Robert Bage, Mary Elizabeth Braddon, Fanny Burney, Wilkie Collins, Charles Dickens, Benjamin Disraeli, Elizabeth Gaskell, Charles Kingsley, Frederick Marryat, George Moore, Charles Reade, William Clark Russell, Walter Scott, Charlotte Smith, William Makepeace Thackeray, Anthony Trollope, and Charlotte Yonge as a place that characters do not visit. In Braddon's *Lady Audley's Secret* (1862), for example, the newspaper article proclaiming Helen Talboys' burial on the island becomes a false map to her body: she is very much alive and not on the island at all. This chapter will seek to explain why the Isle of Wight emerges in Victorian life as a vividly mapped place to visit and vacation but flickers evanescently in the novel as a place off the map and accessible only in the imagination.

On the Map

The Isle of Wight is a diamond-shaped island just off England's southern coast. It is separated from France to the south by the width of the English Channel and separated from the adjacent English county of Hampshire to the north by the much narrower Solent Channel, which ranges from five to eight kilometers wide.[476] At an area of 385 kilometers squared, the Isle of

[476] Adam Grydejøj and Philip Hayward, "Autonomy Initiatives and Quintessential Englishness on the Isle of Wight," *Island Studies Journal* 6, no. 2 (2011): 180.

Wight is England's largest island, measuring approximately 35 kilometers east to west and 20 kilometers north to south.[477] It forms one of England's 83 counties.[478] Topographical features of the island include a chalk range running from east to west, a sandstone belt and coastal hills in the south, and the Undercliff at the southern tip, comprised of soft Cretaceous rocks predisposed to landslides.[479]

Two essential topographical features, the island's highly visible cliff range and its location in the Solent Channel, are reflected in the island's toponymic history. During the Roman Empire, the island was called *Vectis* or *Vecta* in Latin, which means a lever or 'the act of lifting.' During the Anglo-Saxon period, the island's name transitioned from the Latin *Vecta* to Old English *Wiht*, meaning "weight," and the Welsh *Gwaith*, meaning "turn." The authors of the *Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* speculate that lever, weight, and turn suggest that the meaning might have been "what has been raised, *i.e.,* what rises above the sea, island."[480] In that case, the name 'Isle of Wight' expresses a repetition in itself: the Isle of what has been raised, the Isle of what rises above the sea, the Isle of island. According to this toponymic history, the vertical separation between the raised island above and the sea below is an essential part of the name. A different toponymic history emphasizes a key horizontal division: the authors of *A Dictionary of English Place-Names* write that the Isle of Wight is "a Celtic name possibly meaning 'place of the division,' referring to its situation between the two arms of the Solent."[481] Different toponymic historians emphasize different planes of separation—vertical above the sea or horizontal across the Solent—but both treat the island as a "place of division." As we will see, "place of division" is open to interpretation in other ways, too. It came to mean different things for mapmakers and novelists in the nineteenth century. For mapmakers, the Isle of Wight marked a division between us and them, Britain and France, here and there. For the novelists, and even for Queen Victoria, the island's status was not so straightforward. Instead of falling clearly on the English side of the divide, the island straddled the division, existing in a transitional, transnational, intermediary space that was both here and there, British and not, near and far.

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[477] David W. Lloyd and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Isle of Wight*, The Buildings of England (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), 1.
[478] Grydejøj and Hayward, "Autonomy Initiatives and Quintessential Englishness on the Isle of Wight," 180.
[479] Lloyd and Pevsner, *The Isle of Wight*, 1.
[480] Eilert Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), 518.
[481] A.D. Mills, *A Dictionary of English Place-Names* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 359.

The Isle of Wight held an important military and social place in nineteenth-century Britain. Jane Austen calls it the "far-famed Isle of Wight" in *Persuasion* (1817).[482] During the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815), when the British feared invasion from the French, the island's location off the southern coast of England meant that it operated as a buffer between the two nations.[483] Because we know now that invasion by the French never happened, it is easy to forget how frightening the prospect of such an invasion, by one of the most powerful imperial forces ever assembled, might have been. Nearly helpless in the face of such an eventuality, one of the few things that the British could do was to produce accurate maps of the lands they might need to defend against Napoleon's *La Grande Armée*. Therefore, when the Board of Ordnance commissioned its county-by-county maps in 1791, they started with Kent, the southeasternmost county in England, located a mere 34 kilometers from France beyond the cliffs of Dover. After Kent, the mapmakers proceeded west along the southern coast of England.

Despite the imperatives of wartime, mapping Britain for the first time was not a speedy or efficient process. Having begun with Kent in 1792 and proceeded to the Isle of Wight in 1793, it was not until nearly two decades later, in 1810, that the map of the Isle of Wight was actually published. Of all of the Ordnance Survey's maps, the publication of the map of the Isle of Wight was a watershed moment. It marked the first time that the term "Ordnance Survey" was used by the institution's mapmakers. They published the "Ordnance Survey of the Isle of Wight and Part of Hampshire" on June 1, 1810 (See **Figure 10**). It was the Ordnance Survey's tenth sheet map, out of an eventual 180 sheets covering all of England, Ireland, and Scotland.

[482] Jane Austen, *Persuasion*, ed. Patricia Meyer Spacks (New York & London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1995), 64.
[483] Charlotte Smith also wrote about the Isle of Wight as a kind of buffer in her poem, *Beachy Head*. Using the Latin name, *Vecta*, she writes: "where Vecta breaks / With her white rocks the strong impetuous tide" (lines 294-5). Smith's is not a military reference, but she nonetheless considers the Isle of Wight to be a buffer, protecting the Hampshire coast from the strong forces and currents that come from the south.

Figure 10. *William Mudge, Ordnance Survey of the Isle of Wight and Part of Hampshire, 1810.*[484]

The Isle of Wight's importance was not limited to its strategic military location or even to its historic role in Ordnance Survey nomenclature. Part of its importance is demonstrated by the conflicts over what to do with the Isle of Wight maps: namely, who could have access to such critical, but also beautiful, craftsmanship. The mapmakers were ambivalent about whether the maps ought to be shared with the public as a matter of national pride or kept hidden as a matter of national security. On the one hand, cultural geographer Steven Daniels suggests that the maps were "objects of chauvinist pride. Some of the fine drawings for the maps of Kent and the Isle of Wight were put on show for visiting foreign dignitaries."[485] On the other hand, historian W.A. Seymour points out that it was shortly after the publication of Sheet 10, covering the Isle of Wight, that the Earl of Mulgrave (1755-1831), then Master General of the Ordnance Survey, ordered that the maps "should no longer be made available to the public" for reasons of national

[484] William Mudge, *Ordnance Survey of the Isle of Wight and Part of Hampshire*, Dissected and mounted on linen, 1:63,360, First Series (London, 1810), Steven S. Clark Library at the University of Michigan, https://search.lib.umich.edu/catalog/record/990052469530106381.
[485] Stephen Daniels, "Re-Visioning Britain: Mapping and Landscape Painting, 1750-1820," in *Glorious Nature: British Landscape Painting, 1750-1850*, ed. Katherine Baetjer (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1993), 61.

security.[486] This meant that the maps relating to Essex, Devon, the Isle of Wight, Hampshire, Dorset, Sussex, and Cornwall were all kept under wraps until the Earl of Mulgrave's order was reversed in the spring of 1816 after Napoleon was defeated at the Battle of Waterloo. That these early southern Ordnance Survey maps were the object of such radically different feelings and directives demonstrates their key role in both the nation's defense and the nation's sense of self. Sometimes the desire to defend the nation militarily and the desire to defend one's national honor produced different imperatives—conceal the maps or display them proudly.

The Isle of Wight's importance would not dissolve when the Napoleonic Wars ended. In 1860, after the annexation of Nice and Savoy by France in the Treaty of Turin, Lord Palmerston (1784-1865)—fearing another war, this time with Napoleon III—convinced the House of Commons to allocate nine million pounds for the fortification for British ports and military surveys along the southern coast, including the Isle of Wight. On June 17, 1861, a Select Committee was appointed to inquire into the extension of a more detailed map (at a scale of 1:2500) in the south of England. The committee made a single recommendation: that the Isle of Wight, which had been previously partially surveyed at the detailed 1:2500 scale, should be completed.[487] Evidently, the island held, and continued to hold, an important role in the history of British mapping throughout the nineteenth century.

Around the same time that it emerged on the military map of the Ordnance Survey, the Isle of Wight also emerged on the social map of the wealthy. According to architectural historian David Lloyd and art historian Nikolaus Pevsner, the Island was "discovered" around 1790 by "wealthy, sometimes aristocratic people who built houses for periodic occupation on choice sites" on the island, usually on the north shore overlooking the Solent with views of the sea, wooded coastlines, and ships headed out from Portsmouth.[488] When Lloyd and Pevsner use the word "discovered" to describe the "occupation" of the wealthy on the Isle of Wight, they are deploying the language of exploration, survey, and settlement in what was already a budding age of empire and imperialism. Just as British merchants and the British navy "discovered," claimed, mapped, and occupied places in South America and the South Pacific, so too did the wealthy "discover" and "occupy" the Isle of Wight. The royal family quickly took notice of the island's new status. In 1815, a Yacht Club was founded at Cowes and the Prince Regent (1762-1830)

[486] Seymour, *A History of the Ordnance Survey*, 71.
[487] Seymour, 133.
[488] Lloyd and Pevsner, *The Isle of Wight*, 37.

became a member in 1817.[489] Shortly after the Prince Regent became King George IV in 1820 after his father's death, he established an annual sailing regatta near Cowes in 1826 that would become part of the British aristocracy's social calendar each August and continues today.[490]

Though the stage had been set by George IV early in the century, the Isle of Wight would achieve its social peak during the Victorian era. As Princess, the young Victoria stayed with her mother at Norris Castle near Cowes in the summers of 1831 and 1833. Charmed with the setting and the views, she would later purchase the adjoining Osborne Estate in 1845 with her husband, Prince Albert (1819-1861). The house was an existing eighteenth-century mansion that she and Albert would renovate over the next six years.[491] Rather than using the Commission for Woods and Forests, which controlled other Crown properties, the layout of Osborne House was enthusiastically undertaken by Prince Albert himself, in association with famed Belgravia builder and developer Thomas Cubitt (1788-1855).[492] One of its most famous features was the Queen's bathing machine on the beach at the edge of the estate. An awe-inspiring technological feat, the bathing machine included a changing room with a water closet fed by its own tank and a decorative balcony. The Queen, who recorded her first use of the machine in 1847,[493] could climb into the contraption on the beach; it would then be rolled on wheels down a stone track into the water where she could climb into the sea without compromising her honor or her privacy.[494] The Queen became so closely associated with her bathing machine at Osborne House that, when she made a visit to the King of France at Tréport in 1845, a cartoon by the artist John Leech appeared in the magazine *Punch* showing her arriving via her bathing machine, apparently at the suggestion of Louis Philippe (See **Figure 11**).[495] In reality, she was rowed from the Royal Yacht to a horse-drawn vehicle that pulled her ashore. Though Leech's primary purpose for his

[489] Lloyd and Pevsner, 42.
[490] Grydejøj and Hayward, "Autonomy Initiatives and Quintessential Englishness on the Isle of Wight," 182.
[491] Lloyd and Pevsner, *The Isle of Wight*, 44.
[492] Lloyd and Pevsner, 200.
[493] Queen Victoria wrote in her journal: "Afterwards drove down to the beach with my maids & went into the bathing machines, where I undressed & bathed in the sea, (for the 1rst time in my life) a very nice bathing woman attending me. I thought it delightful till I put my head under water, when I thought I should be stifled." RA/VIC/MAIN/QVC (W) 30 July 1847 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 March 2021.
[494] Lloyd and Pevsner, *The Isle of Wight*, 212.
[495] The description of the *Punch* cartoon notes: "Though the King of the French was up early to receive the Queen, the sea would not rise before its usual hour, and there was consequently not water enough to allow of Her Majesty's landing in the customary manner. Louis-Philippe, however, was not to be baffled, and he thought at once of a bathing machine. The *heureuse idée* was acted upon, and the Queen was driven in triumph to the shore in a machine, for which Crickett or Foat of Margate would give any money, since it has been immortalized by a royal progress. This is certainly the age of machinery; but the bathing machine is not the one whose triumphs we expected to be called upon to record in the middle of the nineteenth century." John Leech, "The Queen's Landing," *Punch, or the London Charivari*, 1845.

cartoon was to mock the Queen's somewhat clumsy arrival in France, his cartoon nonetheless makes an astute connection between the Isle of Wight and France. Whether intentionally or not, it hints at the Isle of Wight's status as a steppingstone or halfway point between England and France, as if the Queen could get into her bathing machine at Osborne House and hop out in France on the other side.

***Figure 11**. John Leech, The Queen's Landing, 1845.*[496]

So far, we've seen that the Isle of Wight was put on the map, both literally and socially. As we will see in the next section, however, not every aspect of the mapmakers' experiences of the Isle of Wight was included in the published map. On the contrary, the eagerness of mapmakers to iron out any inconsistencies, draw clear lines and boundaries, determine precise measurements, pin down the map, and make the maps quickly available to English troops tends to obscure the messy, confusing, disorienting, even uncanny realities of mapping and experiencing the island on the ground. Mapmakers papered over the experience of terrestrial refraction to publish a reputable, scientific product.

[496] John Leech, *The Queen's Landing*, 1845, Wood engraving, 11.1 x 18 cm, 1845, V0020078, Open Artstor: Wellcome Collection, https://library-artstor-org.proxy.lib.umich.edu/#/asset/24845859.

Terrestrial Refraction

Ordnance Surveyor Isaac Dalby (1744-1824), Queen Victoria (1819-1901), and Poet Laureate Alfred Tennyson (1809-1892), despite their myriad differences, experienced the Isle of Wight in markedly similar ways. All three had deep familiarity with the island but nonetheless described it as almost unknowable, unimaginable, beyond the laws of physics, difficult to map, hard to understand. Though they were there in body and in place, the island offered an out of body and out of place experience. For all three, this feeling could be uncomfortable and unsettling. As a result, they tried to revise their own representations of the Isle of Wight in ways that would iron out any inconsistencies and vagaries to pin down its place on the map.

When the Ordnance Survey was officially established on July 12, 1791, the organization had three employees—Director Edward Williams, Deputy Director William Mudge, and their assistant Isaac Dalby. By all accounts, Director Williams was dead weight on the team, leaving Deputy Mudge and assistant Dalby to do much of the work.[497] In the summer of 1793, Mudge and Dalby were on the Isle of Wight, trying to make astronomical measurements to determine precise directions for north and south. Trying is the operative word. Even had they been assisted by their absentee supervisor, this task would have proven unexpectedly challenging because of the atmospheric conditions they encountered. Mudge and Dalby's measurements on the Isle of Wight were hampered by the effects of "terrestrial refraction," which occurs when the atmosphere—usually dew, fog, or other moisture in the air—acts as a kind of prism. Rays of light appear to bend, producing mirages. This was not an entirely unheard-of phenomenon, nor was the Isle of Wight the only place that the surveyors encountered it. In fact, Major General William Roy had previously experienced terrestrial refraction while attempting to measure the proto-original baseline on Hounslow Heath in 1784. Though there were other occurrences of terrestrial refraction, the Isle of Wight was emblematic of this phenomenon, as well as its attendant problems and discordances, because terrestrial refraction was more pronounced on the island than it was on mainland England. Even in comparison with Roy's earlier observations of "extraordinary refraction," Mudge and Dalby's experience on the Isle of Wight was "still more singular."[498] Because of this singularity, the surveyors elected to publish an account of the circumstances on the Isle of Wight in the prestigious journal *Philosophical Transactions* in 1795:

[497] Hewitt, *Map of a Nation: A Biography of the Ordnance Survey*, 143.
[498] William Mudge, Edward Williams, and Isaac Dalby, "An Account of the Trigonometrical Survey Carried on the Years 1791, 1792, 1793, and 1794," *Philosophical Transactions* 85 (1795): 586.

> ‘I observed,’ says Mr. Dalby, ‘what seemed to me a very uncommon effect of terrestrial refraction, in April 1793, as I went from Freshwater Gate, in the Isle of Wight, towards the Needles. Soon after you leave Freshwater Gate, you get on a straight and easy ascent, which extends 2 or 3 miles; a mile, or perhaps a mile and a half beyond this to the westward, is a rising ground, or hill, and it is to be remarked, that its top and the aforesaid straight ascent, are nearly in the same plane: now in walking towards this hill, *I observed that its top (the only part visible) seemed to dance up and down in a very extraordinary manner*; which unusual appearance however, evidently arose from unequal refraction, and the up-and-down motion in walking; but when the eye was brought to about 2 feet from the ground, *the top of the hill appeared totally detached, or lifted up from the lower part, for the sky was seen under it*. This phenomenon I repeatedly observed. There was much dew, and the sun rather warm for the season, consequently a great evaporation took place at the time’ [emphasis mine].[499]

This narrative account in *Philosophical Transactions* is strikingly candid. In Dalby’s experience of terrestrial refraction, the hill “seemed to dance up and down in a very extraordinary manner” and the top of the hill “appeared totally detached” from the base with sky seen in between. For a mathematician and a man of science like Dalby, seeing the hills of the Isle of Wight appear to dance and float must have been unsettling. Dalby might have wondered how his intended audience, fellow mathematicians and scientists, would react to his account. Luckily, the narrative genre lends itself well to capturing (rather than erasing) the nuances of terrestrial refraction. Dalby employs several rhetorical strategies to convince his readers of the validity of his experience. First, he acknowledges his audience’s possible skepticism by admitting that the account might seem outlandish, using the words “uncommon,” “extraordinary,” and “unusual.” He then reassures them of the reliability of his method, repeating the word “observed” three times and noting that he observed the phenomenon “repeatedly.” He closes with a plausible scientific explanation about “much dew,” “sun rather warm,” and “great evaporation.” With great patience, he guides readers through his own experience and their possible reactions to it, offering a convincing account of an extraordinary phenomenon.

Dalby’s experience did not translate as smoothly to the medium of the published maps as it did to the narrative account, however. Instead, it had to go through several steps of

[499] Mudge, Williams, and Dalby, 587–88.

translational revision. The transitional, translational phase interposing between Dalby's lived experience and the final published map was necessary because terrestrial refraction posed a serious challenge to the map's accuracy. For example, the surveyors found that the height of the ground at a trigonometrical station was 240 feet by one calculation but 321 feet by another calculation. Of this discrepancy, they wrote, "This very great disagreement principally arises from the variableness in the terrestrial refraction."[500] Such a "great disagreement" had no place on a scientific map. Accounting for, smoothing over, and erasing the errors caused by refraction entailed some complicated mathematical acrobatics. Here is one convoluted example:

> The ground at Rook's Hill would be 97 feet lower, and that at Butser Hill 131 feet higher than Dunnose; the sum is 228 feet for the difference of heights of Butser Hill, and Rook's Hill, obtained in this manner; but from the reciprocal observations, the ground at Rook's Hill is only 208 feet lower than at Butser Hill, which is less than the former difference by 20 feet; therefore, supposing each of the mean refractions to have produced an equal error in the heights, we have 792 – 97 + 20/3 = 702 feet, for the height of Rook's Hill; and 792 + 131 – 20/7 = 916 for that of Butser Hill.[501]

To put these calculations in plainer English, the surveyors made two observations of Butser Hill and Rook's Hill. In the first observation, Rook's Hill was 97 feet lower than Dunnose and Butser Hill was 131 feet higher than Dunnose. Adding them together (97 + 131) shows the difference between Rook's Hill and Butser Hill to be 228 feet. In a second observation, however, the difference between the two places was found to be only 208 feet, not 228 feet, a difference of 20 feet. The surveyors assume that both observations produced "equal error" so they take the average to determine the actual heights of Rook's Hill and Butser Hill. They start with 792 feet (the known height of Dunnose) and then add or subtract the height of the first observation (-97 for Rook's Hill and +131 for Butser Hill) and then add or subtract the shift for the second observation (+20 feet / 3 for Rook's Hill and – 20 feet / 7 for Butser Hill). The new heights (702 feet for Rook's Hill and 916 feet for Butser Hill) are the averages of the first and the second observation heights combined and are thus considered to be more accurate than either observation alone. Armed with the final answer, one could pretend that terrestrial refraction never happened at all.

[500] Mudge, Williams, and Dalby, 584.
[501] Mudge, Williams, and Dalby, 580–81.

The explanation for this calculation is followed by a full-page table of "mean refraction" figures. These refraction calculations were essential because, though terrestrial refraction might have been an intriguing and astonishing visual novelty, it would have marred the aspirational perfection of the published map. The English military, even the English public, would have no use for a dancing or floating hill. The purpose of the finished map was to pin down locations to prevent troops or other map users from getting lost or experiencing the disorientation that Dalby experienced that summer. By way of the intermediary step of addition and subtraction, the published maps erased terrestrial refraction and, in the process, simplified the representation of the Isle of Wight that would be made available to the public.

In the three-step transition from Dalby's narrative account to the mathematical "mean refraction" tables and finally to the published map of the Isle of Wight in 1810, the hills of the island were simplified, smoothed, flattened, frozen. As seen from Dalby's embodied phenomenological perspective, the hills between Freshwater and the Needles were dancing; as seen in the map's depiction, those same hills were static (See **Figure 12**). What is lost by this revision? The maps were produced to protect the nation against invasion, to help troops defend the country, to prevent something from happening that ultimately never happened. In that way, the maps were preventatively oriented toward the future and what might occur. Dalby's experience, on the other hand, was rooted in the present moment. It is that present-ness of experience that is lost when the dancing hills are flattened and frozen.

***Figure 12**. William Mudge, Ordnance Survey of the Isle of Wight and Part of Hampshire, 1810. [zoomed in to show the hills between Freshwater and The Needles]*

For Isaac Dalby's unlikely counterpart, Queen Victoria, the Isle of Wight initially appeared to be merely unsuitable, rather than unsettling. Prime Minister Lord Melbourne (1779-1848) was the first to articulate the island's unsuitability as a vacation home to the then twenty-year-old Queen Victoria. In 1839, Victoria recorded in her journal a conversation with Lord Melbourne about the opportunity to buy Cowes Castle: "It can be bought for £15,000. 'I don't think you would like Norris,' he said, 'it's too far; you wouldn't stay there?' Is very true, and couldn't get people to come to me, having to cross the sea perpetually."[502] As Lord Melbourne saw it, and Victoria agreed at the time, the Isle of Wight was too inconvenient to be a good residence for the monarch. The waters of the Solent, even at a width of only five to eight kilometers, were a disqualifying feature given the lack of consistent or reliable transportation across them. This conversation with Lord Melbourne would prefigure Victoria's own future observations about whether the Isle of Wight was part of England, or something else entirely.

Despite Lord Melbourne's reservations, Queen Victoria and Prince Albert purchased the estate at Osborne House. Between 1845 and 1887, she spent anywhere between two and five

[502] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 29 August 1839 (Lord Escher's typescripts). Retrieved 22 March 2021.

months per year on the Isle of Wight. Queen Victoria's reflections on life at Osborne House on the Isle of Wight are easy to ascertain because of the surviving 141 volumes of her journals, totaling an impressive 43,765 pages, and written nearly every day between 1832 (when she was 13 years old) until her death in 1901.[503] During that time, Queen Victoria would find the island not nearly as unsuitable as Lord Melbourne had feared but nearly as unsettling as Isaac Dalby had experienced it to be. Though not exactly terrestrial refraction, Queen Victoria described her experiences on the island as bewildering, dream-like, uncanny, and even at times un-English. Despite being in body and in place, she often felt out of body and out of place. Queen Victoria's "bewildering" experiences on the Isle of Wight began immediately upon her arrival. She recalled waking up one morning, having traveled the previous day from Buckingham Palace to Osborne House, and noted that: "on waking felt quite bewildered as to where I was."[504] Several more examples appeared throughout the next decade: "We landed at East Cowes… I was delighted to see them all again, but felt bewildered,"[505] "rather tired & bewildered,"[506] "reaching Osborne safely by ¼ p. 8, somewhat bewildered,"[507] and "felt very strange on waking, at finding myself at Osborne."[508] According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, "bewildered" means "to confuse in mental perception, to perplex, confound; to cause mental aberration." Etymologically, to be "bewildered" means to "be wilder" or led to stray and wander.[509] Given the connection between "bewilder" and movement, it makes sense that the word "bewildered" was linked to Victoria's travel to and from the Isle of Wight. She used the word almost exclusively on the days when she had just arrived on the island. Though she was in place there, she still felt out of place, as if her body had arrived but her mental and imaginative faculties had not yet caught up and settled in.

It is not my contention that Queen Victoria was exclusively bewildered on the Isle of Wight; bewilderment was a feeling she experienced and expressed elsewhere, too. However, her references to bewilderment on the Isle of Wight are proportionally significant. Between the purchase of Osborne House in 1845 and her final reference in 1892, Queen Victoria refers to

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[503] Digitized versions of these journal entries have been made available on the 'Queen Victoria's Journals' database, a partnership between the Bodleian Libraries and the Royal Archives in collaboration with ProQuest. The preferred format for citing these entries, which will be used in this chapter, is: RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) followed by the date of the entry, the version of the journal used (e.g., Queen Victoria's handwriting, Lord Esher's typescripts, Princess Beatrice's copies, or Queen Victoria's drafts), and ending with the retrieval date.
[504] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 11 September 1845 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 March 2021.
[505] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 2 October 1848 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 March 2021.
[506] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 25 August 1850 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 March 2021.
[507] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 12 August 1854 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 March 2021.
[508] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 29 August 1855 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 March 2021.
[509] "Bewildered," in *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

herself 50 times using some form of the word "bewilder" (bewilder, bewildered, bewildering). Over a 47-year period, that calculates to roughly one reference to bewilderment per year. Of those 50 references, 18 of them (36%) refer to experiences on or travels to the Isle of Wight. That proportion is especially notable for two reasons: first, she spent significantly more time per year in other places. Second, she had considerable reasons for being bewildered elsewhere (*e.g.*, seeing the Crystal Palace Exhibition, seeing Versailles, seeing large troop formations) that would not have been part of her regularized vacation routine on the Isle of Wight. Taken together, those two factors make it much less likely that Queen Victoria would express bewilderment on the Isle of Wight. Nonetheless, she was bewildered there more than any other place. As compared to the 18 times she was bewildered on the Isle of Wight, she was bewildered only 11 times at Windsor Castle, 7 times at Buckingham Palace, and 6 times at Balmoral Castle.

Even once she was fully settled, Queen Victoria continued to describe her life on the Isle of Wight in a state of fuzzy uncertainty, a state of being in between, a state of physical presence but mental absence. She repeatedly characterized her experience on the island as "like a dream." Initially, the word "dream" had positive connotations linked to Albert's labor and her own leisure. On their estate at Osborne House, Albert devoted hours to planting trees, poring over architectural plans, and even assisting in the physical work of construction and repair.[510] Of course, though Albert did labor on the island and though Victoria did attend to matters of state, Albert's labor was voluntary (a vacation rather than a vocation) and Victoria also had ample time for leisure—singing, dancing, and playing in the pleasure gardens of Osborne House with her husband and children. This means that her observations about dream-like leisure and bewildering travel are different from the dreamy and bewildering experiences of the novel's characters in Part Three. In the novels, dreaminess is more likely to be associated with real vocational labor, rather than leisure, and bewilderment is not connected with travel to the Isle of Wight, since the novel's characters almost never actually visit the island and certainly not with the seasonal regularity of Victoria's travel.

As we saw with Isaac Dalby, Queen Victoria's representations of the Isle of Wight underwent a process of revision. Initially, she used "dream" to suggest some of the positive connotations indicated by the *Oxford English Dictionary*'s definition: perfect, ideal, longed for,

[510] On March 17, 1852, Queen Victoria wrote: "It is such a pleasure to me to see how my beloved one enjoys himself here, how happy he is & what a childlike pleasure he takes in all his improvements & plants." RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 17 March 1852 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 March 2021.

delightful, excellent, a reverie, a vision, or hope for the future. She wrote: "all seemed like a dream to me,"[511] "it appears to me like a dream to be here now,"[512] "it seemed to me like a dream,"[513] "it seemed like a dream"[514] "it seemed quite a dream to be home again,"[515] "which seemed like a dream to me,"[516] "to see him & the Empress here, at Osborne, in our simple rooms, seems a dream,"[517] "it seemed like a delightful dream,"[518] and "it seemed like a dream."[519] After Albert's death at Windsor Castle in December 1861, however, her language changed. Unusually, she did not write in her journal for two weeks. When she resumed, on January 2, 1862, she was back on the Isle of Wight. She wrote again in the language of dreams—this time, bad dreams. She wrote, "I feel as if I were in a dream,"[520] "all seems like a hideous dream,"[521] and "I seemed to be in a dream, but I was determined to keep up for dear Lenchen's [her daughter's] sake."[522] These descriptions reflect the negative connotations of "dream" as something invented, a false belief, an illusion, a delusion, a sham, a pretense, a state of mind in which a person is unaware of his or her surroundings, a daze, a vain hope, an idle fantasy.[523] This is a revision of "dream" in which something hopeful is lost. Whether associated with marital bliss or lonely despair, Victoria's sense of her time on the island as dream-like reflects a sense of being lost, out of place, out of body, caught up in the world of her own mind.

Queen Victoria's sense of being "in between" on the island, with her body in one place and her mind in another, is similarly reflected in the Isle of Wight's curious liminal position in terms of its national status. As the selected vacation home of the monarch, the Isle of Wight would seem to be quintessentially British. Yet it also seemed to Queen Victoria to have an identity of its own. She wrote, "the Island looks like a garden, & the air so frosty and invigorating, quite unlike London"[524] and "the air is so different to London, & very refreshing."[525] At first blush, these observations about the Isle of Wight's differences from

[511] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 15 October 1844 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 March 2021.
[512] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 14 September 1846 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 March 2021.
[513] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 3 October 1847 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 March 2021.
[514] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 6 August 1850 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 March 2021.
[515] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 23 July 1852 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 March 2021.
[516] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 18 May 1853 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 March 2021.
[517] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 8 August 1857 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 March 2021.
[518] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 21 May 1859 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 March 2021.
[519] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 18 September 1860 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 March 2021.
[520] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 3 January 1862 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 March 2021.
[521] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 1 February 1862 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 March 2021.
[522] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 17 April 1862 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 March 2021.
[523] "Dream," in *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).
[524] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 19 June 1845 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 March 2021.
[525] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 7 June 1848 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 March 2021.

London seem fairly uncontroversial. Hardly anyone would dispute that a large urban city is "so different to" a small rural island. But Victoria's seemingly obvious commentary illustrates some intriguing paradoxes about the Isle of Wight. On the one hand, she observes that the air is "frosty," "invigorating," and "very refreshing." In contrast to the dreamy bewilderment we cataloged previously, here she is energized, invigorated, refreshed, and woken up by the crisp and frosty properties of the air. This is partly a commentary on temperature, but it is also a commentary on space: London may be bigger and more populous than the Isle of Wight, but its air is more confined and stagnant. On the Isle of Wight, fewer people and buildings allow for more air circulation and correspondingly more invigoration. Put differently, something big can nonetheless feel confining and something small can feel expansive.

Victoria makes a second connection between big and small in her comparison between the Isle of Wight and a garden. Melinda Rabb examines the historical relationship between small-scale and large-scale in *Miniature and the English Imagination: Literature, Cognition, and Small-Scale Culture, 1650-1765* (2019). Rabb counterintuitively suggests that gardens (small) are similar to battlefields (big). Though gardens and battlefields seem to be opposing spaces—representing the contrast between peace and war, violence and tranquility, productivity and description—both "share a commitment to finding ways to measure and organize the earth."[526] Both offer means of diagramming and controlling space. Comparing the Isle of Wight to a garden also suggests a connection to another method of controlling and diagramming space—namely, mapping. It is a reminder that the island has been newly mapped by the Ordnance Survey. Just as a map is a small-scale object that bears a relationship to the larger place it represents, and a small garden bears a relationship to a big battlefield, so too is the Isle of Wight a small-scale place that bears a relationship to the larger British empire and the world. To underscore that point, I want to extend Rabb's argument. For Rabb, a garden is characterized by its small size and diagrammatic design, but what she does not discuss is that a garden is also characterized by its liminal location. A garden is a kind of buffer between the house and the land beyond. Yes, it is controlled (per Rabb) but it is also uncontrolled, artificial but also natural, close but also far. Just as a garden is positioned in between the house and the land beyond, so too is the Isle of Wight a buffer between England and France. Victoria's commentary about the Isle of Wight's invigorating air and garden aesthetic show that she perceives the island to be a liminal

[526] Rabb, *Miniature and the English Imagination: Literature, Cognition, and Small-Scale Culture, 1650-1765*, 155.

steppingstone—both bewildering and invigorating, both small (in size) and large (in air circulation), both diagrammed and wild, both English and increasingly connected to a globalized world.

Victoria takes these paradoxical observations a step further when she declares that portions of the island are not only unlike London but also unlike England entirely. In July 1845, she writes that the Under Cliff, on the southern tip of the Isle of Wight, is "unlike anything European, & certainly it is un English."[527] Just two weeks later, she notes that the chalk rocks, near Ventnor, are "very unlike anything else in England."[528] If certain geological formations on the Isle of Wight are not like England, what country are they like instead? Victoria does not answer that question in July 1845, leaving the Isle of Wight in a grey area somewhere beyond the boundaries of England but not quite in the realm of another national territory. Her later journal entries, however, explore the possibility that the Isle of Wight can be directly compared to other countries. Sometimes this other country is Switzerland, as when she and Albert construct a Swiss Cottage on their grounds at Osborne House that seems so realistic to them that "one would fancy oneself suddenly transported to another country."[529] Other times, the island is "like the South of France" because of its warm climate.[530] Most of the time, however, she compares the Isle of Wight to Italy. The weather is "quite like Italy"[531] and "quite Italian"[532] and "glorious bright calm, Italianlike weather."[533] The sea is "much of the Mediterranean"[534] and indeed "the Mediterranean could hardly be bluer."[535] Even the local people look Italian, like a peasant girl who is "quite like an Italian, with rich, dark colouring."[536] One of the buildings on their grounds is "very pretty; & Italian looking."[537] Victoria's comments are not all that surprising; we often make sense of one thing by comparing it to another. The shift from "un English" to "Italianlike" illustrates her growing confidence and familiarity with other places and points of comparison as a well-traveled monarch.

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[527] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 15 July 1845 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 March 2021.
[528] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 28 July 1845 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 March 2021.
[529] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 26 November 1853 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 March 2021.
[530] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 10 December 1848 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 March 2021.
[531] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 29 June 1851 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 March 2021.
[532] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 8 July 1852 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 March 2021.
[533] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 21 July 1854 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 March 2021.
[534] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 15 July 1852 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 March 2021.
[535] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 6 July 1849 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 March 2021.
[536] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 29 October 1850 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 March 2021.
[537] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 17 March 1849 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 March 2021.

But something else is happening here, too. The modal shift from "un English" to "Italianlike" is the unfamiliar made familiar. Something that is vaguely "un English" is ambiguous, uncertain, even unmappable. To make it Italian instead is to transplant something undefined onto something with definition or to relocate the unmappable onto another map. Victoria makes a move not unlike Isaac Dalby's, transferring something uncertain about the island into something that is mappable. This kind of rhetorical move is satisfying insofar as a concrete comparison makes it possible to pin down a place and achieve closure. At the same time, however, the comparison can only be stretched so far: Queen Victoria's transplantation of the island onto the map of Italy is at odds with the Ordnance Survey's goals and practices. Mapping, especially military mapping, is a nationalistic enterprise. It relies on stark divisions between us and them, here and there, England and France, England and Italy. There is special emphasis on national identity and national boundaries. It is striking that an island that was crucial to Britain's defense in the Napoleonic Wars and beyond, whose maps were displayed as a matter of national pride and concealed as a matter of national security, should be considered by its own monarch to be vaguely "un English" and then revised to be more conclusively "Italianlike." Clearly, Victoria was intrigued by the paradoxical ways that she experienced the Isle of Wight as bewildering but also invigorating, unknowable but also Italian, like a garden but also difficult to map and hard to understand.

Like Queen Victoria, Alfred Tennyson, Poet Laureate of England from 1850-92, famously lived on the Isle of Wight and his presence enhanced its fame and quintessential Englishness. And yet, much as Tennyson's presence made the island *more* English, he also made it more global by attracting American tourists, inviting foreign visitors to his cosmopolitan salons, and planting non-native trees. His poem, "To Gifford Palgrave," composed in 1888, tries to make a case for the distinctive Englishness of the Isle of Wight, but the poem ultimately reveals that neither Tennyson himself, nor his island home, can be pinned down on any English map.

When Alfred Tennyson succeeded William Wordsworth as Poet Laureate in 1850, he was well positioned to become a literary figurehead for the nation and a poetic representation of Englishness. Marion Sherwood makes the case for Tennyson's quintessential Englishness in *Tennyson and the Fabrication of Englishness* (2013). She notes that the term "Englishness" was

first used in 1804, predating Tennyson's birth by only five years.[538] Though Tennyson did not write any essays on nationhood, Sherwood argues that his views on England can be deduced from his poems, which are "English" in both form and content. She makes note of his overtly patriotic verse, his poetic protagonists, and his use of the English popular ballad form as well as blank verse with its Shakespearean echoes.[539] I complicate Sherwood's argument that Tennyson's poetry shaped emerging understandings of Englishness in the nineteenth century by suggesting that his habitation on and poetry about the Isle of Wight both bolstered and challenged understandings of Englishness.

In 1853, three years after he was named Poet Laureate, Tennyson relocated with his family from London to the Isle of Wight. Using the proceeds from the publication of "Maud," he was able in 1856 to purchase Farringford, a house on the outskirts of the village of Freshwater, a remote area on the western tip of the island. Moving to the Isle of Wight deepened his connection to Queen Victoria, who had appointed him to the Laureate position, admired his work, and interacted with him semi-regularly on the island.[540] To have the longest serving Poet Laureate and the longest reigning monarch, both figureheads for the nation, sharing the same small island would have enhanced and reinforced the island's, and their own, Englishness. Contemporaries certainly agreed. In an essay entitled "Tennyson's Homes at Aldworth and Farringford," published in *English Illustrated Magazine* in 1892, writer Grant Allen suggested that "Farringford's situation in the midst of such *typical quiet English scenery* seems admirably suited to *the most typically English* of the great English poets" [emphasis mine].[541] Tennyson and the Isle of Wight's "typical" Englishness were mutually reinforcing: the scenery and the poetry went hand in hand.

In some ways, Tennyson acted as a kind of poetic analog to the Ordnance Survey. He, like the national mapping agency, was responsible for transforming the Isle of Wight into a recognizably English place. His inhabitation meant that the island was featured regularly in newspapers, magazines, periodicals, and guidebooks. As Charlotte Boyce notes, "A stream of pieces focusing on the Laureate "at home" emerged in a range of British and American

[538] Marion Sherwood, *Tennyson and the Fabrication of Englishness* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 3.
[539] Sherwood, 4.
[540] On April 14, 1862, she wrote from Osborne House: "I went down to see Tennyson, who is very peculiar looking, tall, dark, with a fine head, long black flowing hair & a beard,--oddly dressed, but there is no affectation about him." RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 14 April 1862 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 March 2021.
[541] Grant Allen, "Tennyson's Homes at Aldworth and Farringford," *English Illustrated Magazine*, 1892, 150.

periodicals, from local daily newspapers to highbrow monthly magazines, between the 1860s and the 1890s."[542] Guidebooks and periodicals encouraged tourists to visit his "hallowed grounds" and stake out his "favorite nightly walk" on the downs near Farringford.[543] Tennyson's presence made the Isle of Wight a fashionable tourist destination. This meant that, though Tennyson and his Farringford home seemed to typify Englishness, they also attracted the non-English. Despite his avowed desire for privacy and seclusion, he attracted a swarm of American tourists. American author M.D. Conway wrote: "Sundry Americans have recorded… the success with which they have waylaid and got an eye-shot at a new species of game to be found exclusively in this region, namely, the Poet Laureate."[544] Grant Allen added: "The American tourist, descending year by year in the holiday season upon the Isle of Wight with inquisitive opera-glass, made it necessary for the bard to hurry away betimes with each returning spring to the Hampshire moorlands."[545] Though Tennyson avoided the tourists as much as possible, he regularly invited foreign visitors of his own, including American poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807-1882) and Italian revolutionary Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-1882). As essayist Wilfrid Ward wrote, the celebrity gatherings at Freshwater were different than gatherings in London because they came "nearer to realizing the purpose and ideal of a French salon than any social group… in England."[546] Just as Queen Victoria built a Swiss cottage and compared the island to Italy, Tennyson invited and attracted Americans and cultivated intellectual celebrity gatherings in a French-style.

Though Tennyson's social practices made the Isle of Wight more cosmopolitan, his poem "To Gifford Palgrave" (1888) attempts to make a case for the distinctive Englishness of the island. Oher Tennyson poems, including "Enoch Arden," "Maud," "To the Reverend F.D. Maurice," and "Crossing the Bar," also make reference to the Isle of Wight, but it is in "To Gifford Palgrave" that Tennyson most clearly marks out the Isle of Wight as English in contrast with other places. The poem was written in response to "Ulysses," a collection of essays by W.G. Palgrave (1826-1888). In the poem, Tennyson thanks Palgrave for the essays, which he calls a

[542] Charlotte Boyce, "At Home with Tennyson: Virtual Literary Tourism and the Commodification of Celebrity in the Periodical Press," in *Victorian Celebrity Culture and Tennyson's Circle*, by Charlotte Boyce, Páraic Finnerty, and Anne-Marie Millim (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 23.
[543] Boyce, 18.
[544] M.D. Conway, "South-Coast Saunterings in England: Saunter V—The Isle of Wight II," *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, 1870, 539.
[545] Allen, "Tennyson's Homes at Aldworth and Farringford," 153.
[546] Wilfrid Ward, "Tennyson at Freshwater," *Dublin Review*, 1912, 69–70.

"rich gift." The essays are a "tale of lands" from around the world that the poet cannot know or experience, confined as he is to the Isle of Wight. Much of the poem is preoccupied with tracing a distinction between the wide variety of places that Ulysses has traveled and the narrow Englishness of the poet's island. Ulysses is a "much-experienced man" who has "known this globe" and "tribes of men" from "Corrientes to Japan." The poet, on the other hand, is "chaining fancy now at home / Among the quarried downs of Wight" and breathing in the "English air." Unlike Ulysses, the poet is chained down, pinned down, located, and mapped where he can be traced and found by tourists and friends alike.

Much as the poem tries to create a firm division between "globe" and "home," "broader zones" and "quarried down," "tropic bower" and "winter wet," "lands I know not" and "English air," such separations prove to be slippery, porous, and illusive. This slippage is most apparent in stanzas IV-IX, which detail the foliage at Farringford in contrast to the plants that Ulysses encounters in his travels:

> I tolerant of the colder time,
> Who love the winter woods, to trace
> On paler heavens the branching grace
> Of leafless elm, or naked lime,
>
> And see my cedar green, and there
> My giant ilex keeping leaf
> When frost is keen and days are brief—
> Or marvel how in English air
>
> My yucca, which no winter quells,
> Altho' the months have scarce begun,
> Has push'd toward our faintest sun
> A spike of half-accomplish'd bells—
>
> Or watch the waving pine which here
> The warrior of Caprera set,
> A name that earth will not forget

Till earth has roll'd her latest year—

I, once half-crazed for larger light
On broader zones beyond the foam,
But chaining fancy now at home
Among the quarried downs of Wight

Not less would yield full thanks to you
For your rich gift, your tale of lands
I know not, your Arabian sands;
Your cane, your palm, tree-fern, bamboo

In this section of the poem, Tennyson lists the trees at Farringford: elm, lime, cedar, ilex, yucca, and pine. He attempts to use those trees to trace a contrast between his home scenes at Farringford and Ulysses' broad travels, but his firm distinction begins to crumble almost immediately. Though the first two trees (elm, lime) are native to the British Isles, the others are not. Cedar trees thrive in the Mediterranean and yucca in the Caribbean. The waving pine is native to the British Isles but was famously planted at Farringford in 1864 by Garibaldi, an Italian general. There are, in other words, a variety of trees at Farringford—both native and non-native. Rather than showcasing the Englishness of his plants, Tennyson ends up highlighting his global varieties of plants.

In that context, perhaps the most interesting tree listed is the "giant ilex keeping leaf." In modern botany, ilex refers to the common holly plant, but in the nineteenth century the term ilex referred to the holm-oak or *Quercus ilex*, from the Latin *īlex*, *īlic-em*.[547] The holm-oak, native to the Mediterranean, is considered an invasive species in Britain.[548] According to The National Trust, the largest population of holm-oak in Northern Europe is on the Isle of Wight. The trees, which were "planted across Ventnor by the Victorians," have "colonized the south facing chalk slopes," such that there is "almost a Mediterranean flavor to the landscape." Unfortunately, the "spread of holm-oak poses a serious threat to the chalk grassland, causing butterfly and insect populations to dwindle." In the late twentieth century, the National Trust brought a herd of Old

[547] "Ilex," in *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).
[548] "Quercus Ilex," GB Non-Native Species Secretariet, accessed January 22, 2023, https://www.nonnativespecies.org/non-native-species/information-portal/view/2958.

English feral goats to the island to help control the spread of holm-oak trees.[549] Because of Victorians like Alfred Tennyson, holm-oaks came to "colonize" the Isle of Wight, destroying the native flora and fauna. There is another, more sinister, colonial resonance in this part of the poem, too. The "cane" and "palm" call to mind sugarcane plantations in the Caribbean and palm plantations in West Africa. Just as the holm-oak (planted by the Victorians themselves) is destroying the native plants and animals on the Isle of Wight, the Victorians are also destroying and enslaving the people of their colonies to capitalize on the resources of their plants. The poem weaves together two different, but inseparable, processes of colonization. A poem that attempts to distinguish between plants on the Isle of Wight and "your cane, your palm" instead reminds us of empire and an increasingly globalized and connected world.

The colonial resonance of the plants opens up new meaning for the phrase "chaining fancy now at home." Read literally, the phrase is doubly false. The use of "chaining" is jarring in the context of sugarcane and palm plantations because, of course, Tennyson is not chained at all. Though he may be tormented by tourists, he is free to come and go. Indeed, though he pretends to be "chaining fancy now at home," he is actually just as likely to be elsewhere as at home on the Isle of Wight. Because of his fame, the proliferating guidebooks, and the resulting assaults on his privacy at Farringford, Tennyson built a new home called Aldworth at Blackdown on the Sussex-Surrey border. After 1869, he spent the touristy summer months at Aldworth and returned to Farringford only when it was safe in the late autumn.[550] Putting the island on the map meant that Tennyson had to remove himself from that map so that he could not as easily be pinned down. Rather than being chained to the island, he was constantly "crossing the bar" on his journeys back and forth between Aldworth and Farringford. He was both on and off the island, here and elsewhere, pinned down by the guidebook and nowhere to be found.

Both Tennyson and Queen Victoria seem to be wrestling with the relationship between Englishness and empire: is the Isle of Wight a quintessentially English place or is it an in-between space that appears on an English map despite its "un English" features and Mediterranean plants? Ian Baucom explores this topic in *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire, and the Locations of Identity* (1999). He asks: "Is empire the domain of England's mastery of the

[549] "Our Work on Ventnor Downs," The National Trust, accessed January 22, 2023, https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/visit/isle-of-wight/ventnor-downs/goats-on-ventnor-downs.
[550] Boyce, "At Home with Tennyson: Virtual Literary Tourism and the Commodification of Celebrity in the Periodical Press," 20.

globe or the territory of its loss of Englishness?"[551] Baucom examines six spaces—Gothic architecture, the Victoria Terminus in Bombay, the Anglo-Indian Mutiny pilgrimage, the cricket field, the country house, and the zone of urban riot—in order to show that Englishness is not simply produced in England and then exported abroad; instead, Englishness is "collaboratively written" in England, the colonies, and the "in between" and "imaginary space of boundary."[552] This collaborative formation is dynamic rather than static: "Englishness is never the same thing but is continuously discontinuous with what it was a moment ago and what it is about to become."[553] Baucom ends his book by declaring poetically that the "topographies of Englishness are always sprawling, mutating, solidifying, and collapsing again."[554] His argument aligns with the final section of this chapter, which will show that being out of place is a way of being in time instead.

Out of Place

As we've seen in the first two sections of this chapter, the Isle of Wight was put on the map in two ways during the nineteenth century. First, the Ordnance Survey's maps were designed to capture place and pin it down in the name of greater transparency, navigation, and defense. As this literal mapping progressed, a second mapping proceeded as the Isle of Wight was populated by the wealthy and well-connected who wanted to pin down and secure their place in society. Despite all this, there lingered—in the mapmakers' experience of terrestrial refraction, the dreamy bewilderment of Queen Victoria, and the foreign foliage of Alfred Tennyson—hints of something unsettling, unsuitable, un-English, refracted, and mirage-like that would be captured not by the literal map or the social map but instead by the novel's representation of the island.

It might be said that novelistic representation and mapping practices are both forms of translating a place into a paper object. If so, the paper object they each produce is markedly different. Whereas the mapmakers aim to produce a mappable place, the novelists make the Isle of Wight unmappable. And whereas the Ordnance Survey produced maps of place, and the social milieu ensured that aristocratic people were in place with the right set, the novels of this era

[551] Baucom, *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire, and the Locations of Identity*, 6.
[552] Baucom, 137.
[553] Baucom, 163.
[554] Baucom, 221.

depict the Isle of Wight as out of place. Rather than orienting and reassuring people, novelistic depictions of the Isle of Wight preserve and celebrate the feeling of being bewildered, dreamy, lost, not quite one thing or another, part of something but also beyond it—the feeling of being out of place that is the antithesis of the act of mapping but an essential part of reading novels. Part Three explores the paradox whereby feeling out of place is the way that we experience place, especially when we are reading novels. Recall that the characters in Chapter Two misread maps unconventionally; they did not misread maps while they were physically located in the place depicted on the map, thus getting lost. Instead, they misread maps while located far from the places depicted by the map. In the same way, novel readers are located far from the places depicted by the novel. Readers imagine the spaces and places of the novel, but do not actually visit those places while reading. The reader is in an affective, in-between space that is not unlike the liminal space of the Isle of Wight. One's body is located in one place; one's mind is located in another place. In this way, the experience of novel reading is not unlike literary characters' experiences of the Isle of Wight. In fact, literary characters' relationship to the Isle of Wight models the reader's relationship to all places in fiction. Because, as we've seen in Part One and Part Two, the Isle of Wight was historically and geographically so significant in the nineteenth century, it was able to serve for these novelists as an archetype or model of the imaginary place.

The Isle of Wight can be a model of the imaginary place in part because it is, by and large, a place that literary characters do not visit and must imagine instead. As discussed in Chapter Three, the Nineteenth-Century Fiction database includes 250 British and Irish novels from 1792 to 1903. It is admittedly a canonical selection, but it has the advantage of cleaner optical character recognition (OCR) data than larger sources like Gale's Nineteenth-Century Collections Online or HathiTrust. Furthermore, it works well for my argument because I am not trying to prove that the Isle of Wight was mentioned a lot or even to ascertain how frequently it was mentioned; instead, I examine *how* the Isle of Wight is represented in the novels in which it is mentioned. The results from the Nineteenth-Century Fiction database show that 29 novels (just over 10% of the database) include references to the Isle of Wight. Each of those 29 novels has been or will be mentioned in this chapter, some briefly and some with sustained attention. Of the 29 results, only five novels actually have scenes taking place on the island. I will return to those cases at the conclusion of this chapter. First, I will examine how and why, in over 80% of these novels, the Isle of Wight is a place that characters do not visit and must imagine instead.

In one batch of novels, characters see the Isle of Wight in the distance from the mainland but do not go there, as in Robert Bage's *Man As He Is* (1792), in which the island is visible in the distance from an inn in Hampshire.[555] Even this can be fleeting, as in George Moore's *Esther Waters* (1894) in which William tells Esther, "Look due south-west, straight through that last dip in that line of hills. Do you see anything?" Esther, "after straining her eyes for a few moments," responds "I can see nothing" and William says, "I thought not. ... Well, if it was going to rain you would see the Isle of Wight."[556] The Isle of Wight is a place that can be seen from the mainland, but only under certain, fleeting weather conditions like the promise of rain. In a similar batch of novels, characters see the Isle of Wight not from the mainland but from a ship. However, even though they have the means to do so, they still do not land there. Examples include Charlotte Smith's *The Old Manor House* (1793),[557] Frederick Marryat's *Peter Simple* (1832),[558] and William Clark Russell's *The Wreck of the Grosvenor* (1878).[559] Though one could approach the island more closely from a ship, the views of the island from a ship are nonetheless sometimes subject to the same uncertainty as the views from the mainland. In Charles Reade's *Hard Cash* (1863), for example, there is fierce disagreement on board about whether they actually see the Isle of Wight. Dodd says he has "seen the coast of the Isle of Wight in a momentary lift of the haze." Robarts replies, "Isle of Fiddlestick! Isle of Wight is eighty miles astern by now." Dodd firmly maintains his position, declaring that "he was well acquainted with every outline in the Channel, and the land he had seen was St. Katherine's Point [on the Isle of Wight]." Robarts goes into his cabin, consults his chart, and comes back out to say "so much for you and your Isle of Wight. The land you saw was Dungeness, and you would have run on into the North Sea, I'll be bound."[560] We are left to believe that the men did not see the Isle of Wight at all.

In another batch of novels, the Isle of Wight is not only unvisited and unseen but also impossible to be seen, even under optimal weather conditions and with the most skilled chart

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[555] Robert Bage, *Man As He Is* (London: Printed for William Lane, 1792), 84.
[556] George Augustus Moore, *Esther Waters* (London: Walter Scott, Ltd., 1894), 41.
[557] The main character, Orlando Somerive, sees the white cliffs of "the back of the Isle of White" from a boat and begs to be put ashore there but is refused and lands between Shoreham and Worthing instead. Charlotte Smith, *The Old Manor House* (London: Printed for J. Bell, 1793), 9.
[558] From the ship, Peter admires "the scenery of the Isle of Wight" from the ship but does not land there. Frederick Marryat, *Peter Simple* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1834), 146.
[559] William Clark Russell, *The Wreck of the "Grosvenor." An Account of the Mutiny of the Crew and the Loss of the Ship When Trying to Make the Bermudas* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1878), 87.
[560] Charles Reade, *Hard Cash: A Matter-of-Fact Romance*, vol. I (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1863), 324–25.

reading; instead, it appears as a military outpost, one whose distance from the central plots and concerns of the novel is measured not just in miles but also in tone, politics, and time period. This distance is most pronounced in historical novels like Charles Kingsley's *Hereward the Wake* (1866) which is set in the eleventh century. The hero, Hereward (1035-1072), exiled in Flanders, learns that his uncle Tostig (1029-1066) is gathering forces, money, and provisions on the Isle of Wight in May 1066.[561] Tostig's efforts prove to be futile, as he is killed at the Battle of Stamford Bridge just four months later in September 1066. A similar example is Walter Scott's *Kenilworth* (1821), which is set in 1575 during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. In need of friendship and support, Robert Dudley, 1st Earl of Leicester (1532-1588), is counting his allies around the country, among them his friend Horsey in the Isle of Wight. He thinks these allies will not "be disposed to see me stagger unsupported."[562] However, Robert Varney, the Earl's squire, reminds him that these so-called allies will only support him while he holds the Queen's favor. Without it, he will find himself "instantly deserted and outnumbered."[563] In other words, Dudley's support on the Isle of Wight, already distant, will soon disappear entirely. Even in non-historical novels, the Isle of Wight appears as a distant military outpost. In Benjamin Disraeli's *Tancred* (1847), Lord Palmerston (1784-1865), who was an elected member of Parliament for Newport on the Isle of Wight between 1807-1811, is described as "in exile; he is governor of the Isle of Wight"[564] as if the island is so far separate from the rest of Britain that it is a kind of exile. In William Makepeace Thackeray's *The Virginians* (1858), Harry Warrington joins a regiment at Ryde on the Isle of Wight but by the time readers learn this, Harry is already leaving within the hour to embark on one of his Majesty's ships.[565] Though Harry returns to "the Isle of Wight and Portsmouth" a few times in between battles, each time he treats the two places interchangeably, always referencing them together and treating them both as transitional places to depart from rather than places to stay: for example, Harry is off to another battle "after staying a brief time at Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight."[566] The narrator does not describe the Isle of Wight at all, noting that "my business is not with the army, but with people left behind."[567] The military concerns centered on the Isle of Wight are distant from the civilian concerns of the novel. This is

[561] Charles Kingsley, *Hereward the Wake, "Last of the English."* (Cambridge: Macmillan and Co, 1866), 304.
[562] Walter Scott, *Kenilworth* (Edinburgh: Printed for Robert Cadell- Whittaker & Co, 1831), 290.
[563] Scott, 291.
[564] Benjamin Disraeli, *Tancred: Or, the New Crusade* (London: Henry Colburn, 1847), 141.
[565] William Makepeace Thackeray, *The Virginians: A Tale of the Last Century*, vol. II (London: Bradbury & Evans, 1858), 128.
[566] Thackeray, II:135.
[567] Thackeray, II:136.

also true in Elizabeth Gaskell's *Sylvia's Lovers* (1863) in which the Isle of Wight is mentioned once as the geological and political opposite of the town of Monkshaven in northern England where the novel is set. The different coastline conditions on the Isle of Wight are a metaphor for the different political conditions in the two places: whereas southerners on the Isle of Wight are enthusiastic about fighting Napoleon because of their proximity to the danger, the townspeople of Monkshaven, far removed from the Isle of Wight, are fiercely opposed to the press gangs that threaten to kidnap their fathers, brothers, and sons.[568] In these novels, the Isle of Wight seems to belong firmly within the purview of the Ordnance Survey as a place of strategic military importance but just as firmly outside the scope of the novel's central plots and concerns.

Another batch of novels treats the Isle of Wight as a possible, but ultimately rejected, vacation spot, as we saw with Paul and Mrs. Hurtle in *The Way We Live Now*. In these novels, the Isle of Weight seems to belong firmly within the realm of Queen Victoria and other vacationers of her ilk. Novels in this category include Charles Kingsley's *Alton Locke* (1850), [569] Charlotte Yonge's *The Daisy Chain* (1856),[570] and William Makepeace Thackeray's *Lovel the Widower* (1861).[571] Jane Austen's *Persuasion* (1817) could also be counted in this category because the Isle of Wight is mentioned as a more famous vacation spot than Lyme, which is where Anne Elliot and her friends choose to go instead.[572] Adjacent to this category are novels in which the Isle of Wight is not a rejected vacation spot as much as it is someone else's vacation spot, from which a character hears word or receives a letter, as in William Makepeace Thackeray's *The Adventures of Philip* (1862), in which other characters gossip about Philip Firmin's mother, who is allegedly vacationing on the Isle of Wight instead of tending to Philip during a serious illness,[573] or Wilkie Collins's *No Name* (1862) in which Magdalen's older sister Nora writes her a letter from Ventnor on the Isle of Wight where she is honeymooning with her new husband, Admiral George Bartram.[574] An excellent example of this kind of reference is

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[568] Elizabeth Gaskell, *Sylvia's Lovers* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1863), 59.
[569] Alton (a tailor, aspiring poet and failed Chartist) nearly goes to the Isle of Wight to recover his health but sails to America instead. Charles Kingsley, *Alton Locke, Tailor and Poet. An Autobiography. In Two Volumes.* (London, 1850), 291.
[570] The Rivers family is planning to go yachting and sailing at Ryde on the Isle of Wight but one of the sisters, Meta Rivers, gets engaged to Norman and thus skips the trip: "She released Meta from the expedition to Ryde." Charlotte Mary Yonge, *The Daisy Chain* (London: John W. Parker and Son, 1856), 581, 613.
[571] The Isle of Wight is proposed as a hypothetical, but unrealized, vacation spot: "if you and your family go to the Isle of Wight this autumn…" William Makepeace Thackeray, *Lovel the Widower* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1861), 204.
[572] Austen, *Persuasion*, 64.
[573] William Makepeace Thackeray, *The Adventures of Philip On His Way Through the World* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1862), 3.
[574] Wilkie Collins, *No Name*, vol. III (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1862), 382.

George Gissing's *New Grub Street* (1891) in which Jasper Milvain and his sisters take an "extravagant" ten-day holiday to the Isle of Wight that we only hear about briefly in a letter from Dora Milvain to her friend Marian Yule.[575] The vacation operates as a foil to the kind of "sea-shore" holiday that Jasper's impoverished friend Edwin Reardon cannot muster the funds or the spirits to undertake.[576] The vacation's extravagance is the tonal opposite of Edwin's oppression. The Isle of Wight appears on the page of Dora's letter but off the page of the novel in the sense that no scene from the novel takes place there and the island can only be imagined by those, like Marian, who read about it in a letter or those, like us, for whom the reference is so fleeting as to be almost invisible.

This tour through dozens of novels in which the Isle of Wight is mentioned but not visited has been rapid and perhaps dizzying. However, it is useful insofar as it helps to prove quantitatively that the patterns I aim to identify in the more sustained and careful close readings ahead are patterns and not just coincidences or pieces randomly assembled. With this in mind, I now want to examine more closely representations of the Isle of Wight in four novels by two authors: Fanny Burney's *Camilla* (1796) and *The Wanderer* (1814) and Elizabeth Gaskell's *Mary Barton* (1849) and *North and South* (1855). In many ways, the circumstances of the Isle of Wight in these four novels are exemplary of the patterns and themes of the other novels mentioned above. In *Camilla*, for example, the main character receives a letter from the Isle of Wight but does not go there herself. In *Mary Barton*, the Isle of Wight is neither seen nor visited; instead, it appears as a political and tonal opposite—a place of leisure, not labor. In *North and South*, the Isle of Wight is a possible but rejected vacation spot. *The Wanderer* is a fitting exception to the rule because one character does visit the island. As we will see in the examples at the conclusion of the chapter, when characters do visit the Isle of Wight, the place admittedly becomes less imaginary but the characters themselves are more fictional, in the sense of deceptive, disguised, or disappearing.

I have chosen to focus on two novels by Fanny Burney and Elizabeth Gaskell because each author's second novel features a revision or re-writing of the first novel's representation of the Isle of Wight. Burney's and Gaskell's revisions stand in stark contrast to Ordnance Surveyor Isaac Dalby's reductive revisionary process, one that proceeded from the lived experience of

[575] George Gissing, *New Grub Street*, vol. II (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1891), 191–92.
[576] Gissing, II:154, 184.

terrestrial refraction to the mathematical tables of 'mean refraction' to the published medium of the map, along the way flattening and freezing the dancing hills. In contrast, the novels show that feeling out of place can offer beauty, freedom, and renewal but can also be isolating, terrifying, and dangerous. The process of revision means that we need not foreclose on any of these possibilities or pin things down one way or another. Being in motion, in process, in time is an important part of being out of place.

Camilla; or, A Picture of Youth

Fanny Burney's third novel, *Camilla; or, A Picture of Youth* (1796), tells the story of Camilla Tyrold and her suitor Edgar Mandlebert's long and bumpy courtship along a road strewn with multiple, seemingly insurmountable misunderstandings. More than seven hundred pages into the novel, after Camilla seems to have disappointed him yet again, Edgar travels to the Isle of Wight to break off their engagement. He writes to her: "I am this moment leaving Southampton for the Isle of Wight, whence I shall sail to the first Port, that the first vessel with which I may meet shall be bound."[577] In the first half of his sentence, Edgar seems to prioritize place. He is precise about his plans to travel from Southampton across the Solent to the Isle of Wight. Naming those places seems to give them importance and status. Indeed, the Isle of Wight as a place looms large, especially in comparison with what will come next (next in the sentence and next in his journey). In the second half of the sentence, he clarifies that where he leaves *from* is critical, but where he goes *to* is less important. Distressed by the status of his broken engagement, the question of where he will go next, after his layover on the Isle of Wight, is unimportant. He needs a quick getaway. Rather than being directed by destination, he will take the "first" vessel available and sail to the "first" Port. Time takes precedence over place.

If the second half of Edgar's sentence prioritizes time, it also engages in a process of revision that partially erases the prominent place given to the Isle of Wight in the first half of the sentence. Notice the strange order of the sentence structure: "whence I shall sail to the first Port, that the first vessel with which I may meet shall be bound." He mentions the Port of arrival before mentioning the voyage. It is as if he has already arrived somewhere else before even taking the journey. Though he is writing to Camilla from Southampton with multiple stages left

[577] Fanny Burney, *Camilla; or, A Picture of Youth*, ed. Edward A. Bloom and Lillian D. Bloom (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 724.

in the journey, his mind has already transported him to his final destination. This temporal leap, which is also a temporal reversal since he recalls the journey in the final clause as an afterthought, has the effect of erasing the Isle of Wight. Though the island is a named place, it figures only as a quasi-place, a transitional space, a steppingstone to someplace else, a way toward leaving England and escaping his problems.

Camilla's response to the letter reifies the Isle of Wight's status as a transitional and transnational space. For Camilla, even more than for Edgar, the island is simultaneously of England but also beyond it. Reading the letter aloud to her sister Eugenia, Camilla is distraught by Edgar's news: "'No, my dear Eugenia,' cried she, then coloring, and putting down the letter, 'your mediation will be spared. He acquaints us he is quitting England. He can only mention it to avoid the persecution of an answer. Certainly none shall be obtruded upon him.'"[578] Recall that Edgar's letter was sent at the "moment" he was leaving Southampton for the Isle of Wight. That is, Edgar wrote the letter while he was still firmly within the official bounds of mainland England. Presumably, he will leave England in the future, but his departure is still several steps ahead. Given the precision, in time and place, of Edgar's positionality as described in the letter, Camilla's response to the letter, especially her verb tense, introduces a telling ambiguity. As opposed to the simple future verb tense of "will quit England," which would be most accurate according to national sovereignty, she uses the present continuous verb tense to declare that Edgar "is quitting England." The phrase "is quitting England" in this context has the effect of blurring the national boundary. By transforming the instantaneous "moment" of Edgar's letter into the drawn-out process of "is quitting," Camilla's response begs the question: when does Edgar quit England? Is it when he leaves Southampton? Is it when he leaves the Isle of Wight? Is it when he arrives at the first Port? Is the Isle of Wight fully part of England or is it halfway to somewhere else? As opposed to a definitive single "moment" in time, Camilla's phrase "quitting England" suggests a process of departure that unfolds across time and blurs the national border.

Camilla's processual verb choice in this moment is not an isolated one. Process is key to understanding this novel, as Deidre Lynch has argued in *The Economy of Character* (1998). In her chapter on *Camilla*, Lynch focuses on Camilla's role as both shopper and commodity in the marketplace.[579] When Camilla purchases a ball gown and looks at herself in the mirror, neither

[578] Burney, 724.
[579] Deidre Shauna Lynch, *The Economy of Character: Novels, Market Culture, and the Business of Inner Meaning* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 178.

the gown nor the mirror image represents who she is. Even if they did, high rates of consumer turnover suggest that whatever might be someone's style today (that dress feels like "me") might not be to their taste tomorrow (that's "not me").[580] In other words, there is no isolated, static self: identity is suspended between the "me" and the "not me." According to Lynch, novelistic consumer culture models a complex selfhood, one that is evolving, dynamic, animated, processual, narrative.[581] Understanding character as evolving and processual helps to illuminate the dynamic between Edgar and Camilla in this shared Isle of Wight moment. Edgar "is quitting England" just as he is also quitting their engagement. It is a process that is ongoing, but not finalized. Indeed, Camilla and Eugenia disagree about how final Edgar's departure really is. Eugenia sees Edgar's actions as reversible, especially compared to her own permanent disfigurement from smallpox. She "pleaded that still a letter might overtake him at the Isle of Wight, and all misunderstanding might be rectified. 'And then, my sister, all may be well, and your happiness renewed.'"[582] Unlike Camilla, but like the novel's readers, who suspect that Camilla and Edgar will end up together in the end, Eugenia understands that Edgar's process of "quitting England" and the engagement is reversible. Misunderstandings can be "rectified," and happiness can be "renewed." Indeed, the whole novel is about rectifying misunderstandings.

What helps to rectify misunderstandings is not place but time. Change, revision, renewal, and rectification all require time. Place is less important. Indeed, the Isle of Wight is not the place where Edgar and Camilla will reconcile their misunderstandings and renew their happiness. As we will see in other novelistic examples to come, the Isle of Wight is a place where characters do *not* travel. In this case, the "answer" and the "letter" are personified. Camilla declares that Edgar is trying to avoid "the persecution of an answer" and Eugenia pleads that "a letter might overtake him." There is no suggestion that either Camilla or Eugenia would go to the Isle of Wight themselves. The Isle of Wight remains off the map, off the page, beyond the bounds of the novel and maybe even of England.

The Wanderer; or, Female Difficulties

Fanny Burney's representation of the Isle of Wight as beyond the novel, beyond England, and even out of place altogether is further emphasized, but also renewed and revised, in her

[580] Lynch, 184–85.
[581] Lynch, 186.
[582] Burney, *Camilla; or, A Picture of Youth*, 724.

fourth and final novel, *The Wanderer; or, Female Difficulties* (1814). The novel primarily follows the wanderings of a mysterious woman named Juliet who escapes France, travels around England trying to support herself in various downwardly mobile occupations, and eventually marries her love interest Albert Harleigh in the last chapter, after it is revealed that she is the half-sister of (the English) Lord Melbury and Lady Aurora and her previous marriage in France had been a sham. Though Juliet is clearly the novel's heroine, there is also a proto-feminist foil character named Elinor, an unmarried heiress who had been in love with Albert Harleigh, too. When Harleigh rejects her, Elinor begins to behave in a strange and alarming manner, eventually attempting suicide. Just before that happens, she goes to the Isle of Wight:

> Elinor had travelled post to Portsmouth, whence she had sailed to the Isle of Wight. There, meeting with a foreign servant out of place, she engaged him in her service, and bid him purchase some clothes of an indigent emigrant. She then dressed herself grotesquely yet, as far as she could, decently, in man's attire; and, making her maid follow her example, returned to the neighbourhood of Brighthelmstone, and took lodgings, in the character of a foreigner, who was deaf and dumb, at Shoreham; where, uninterruptedly, and unsuspectedly, she resided.[583]

Elinor's journey to the Isle of Wight to secure her disguise would have been lengthy and time-consuming. Brighthelmstone, where Elinor had been living, is an older name for Brighton. To travel from Brighton to the Isle of Wight would have entailed an arduous 80-kilometer journey one-way by post, followed by a trip across the waters of the Solent. Once she had purchased her outfit, she had to cross back to the mainland, travel 80 kilometers back east to Brighton, and then retrace her steps 10 kilometers west to take lodgings at Shoreham. It would have been a journey of 170 kilometers by post, in addition to two boat rides. The Isle of Wight was close to neither her original neighborhood nor to her intended lodgings; it would have been out-of-the-way and utterly inconvenient.

For Ingrid Horrocks, that inconvenience is part of the point. In *Women Wanderers and the Writing of Mobility, 1784-1814* (2017), Horrocks examines the paths and perils of the heroine Juliet's travel. Horrocks argues that Burney rethinks what mobility can mean by representing the arduous, precarious, painful travel of vulnerable women instead of the pleasant meandering of

[583] Burney, *The Wanderer; or, Female Difficulties*, 395.

Henry Fielding's Tom Jones, Samuel Johnson's Rasselas, or Laurence Sterne's Yorick.[584] According to Horrocks, *The Wanderer* is radical and sophisticated because it "represents the experiences of those who do not have access to the privilege that makes travel a source of improvement and self-determination."[585] In the case of the heroine Juliet's travel, Horrocks argues that Juliet's journey around England—which takes her to popular tourist sites at Salisbury, the New Forest, Wilton, and Stonehenge—is a horrific, nightmarish version of the domestic tour that has been superimposed on the traditional route.[586]

If Juliet's journey is a re-writing of the domestic tour, Elinor's journey to the Isle of Wight is a re-writing of Juliet's original arrival from France at the beginning of the novel. In the opening chapter, Juliet manages to secure a place as a stowaway on a small vessel "in the dead of night, braving the cold, the darkness and the damps of December" to escape "the dire reign of the terrific Robespierre" and travel to safety to England.[587] Dressed in ragged foreign clothing, she is utterly anonymous. She calls herself, "A Wanderer,--without even a name!"[588] Nearly four hundred pages later, Elinor mimics that journey to the best of her abilities. Of course, being already in England, she has to fabricate the first part of the journey. That is, she has to go away so that she can come back dressed in foreign rags. Going all the way to France is not feasible because of the French Revolution. As a result, she settles for a place that offers the safety of England but also the mystery of a place that simultaneously seems to be beyond England. The Isle of Wight hovers in the novel as a liminal national space—far but not too far, known but not too known, English but not too English.

Once she arrives, Elinor's commercial transactions on the Isle of Wight certainly seem to be, to use Queen Victoria's words, "un English." She meets with a "foreign servant" and purchases "some clothes of an indigent emigrant" to take up her own disguise, and her maid's, as a "foreigner." Note the quadrupling of the foreign presence: the buyer is a foreign servant, the seller is an indigent emigrant, Elinor is in foreign disguise, and her maid is commanded to adopt similar attire. Two of these four are actually outsiders, while two are only English people disguised as foreigners. As in *Camilla*, when the national boundary line was blurred by Camilla's

[584] Ingrid Horrocks, *Women Wanderers and the Writing of Mobility, 1784-1814* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 1.
[585] Horrocks, 200.
[586] Horrocks, 184.
[587] Burney, *The Wanderer; or, Female Difficulties*, 11.
[588] Burney, 33.

use of the present continuous verb tense phrase "is quitting England," in *The Wanderer*, the question of whether or not the Isle of Wight is part of England or beyond is confused and complicated. Is the Isle of Wight a foreign place? Is it a place full of foreigners? Or, is it merely dressed in the accouterments of foreignness but nonetheless English at the core?

One clue to the novel's stance on the curious national status of the Isle of Wight comes from the description of the foreign servant who is "out of place." Though it is never explicitly stated, presumably the phrase "out of place" means that the foreign servant in question does not currently hold "a place" as a domestic in an aristocratic household and is therefore available to help Elinor secure her disguise. As a servant, the only way to hold "a place" is to labor, to be tied down to one's vocation, to be inextricably linked to a class position, to be pinned down "in place" like a map. Thus, keeping servants in their place keeps them from rising or rebelling, as had recently happened in France; it also keeps them invisible and occupied.

This novel—which is about disguise, namelessness, wandering—is a rejection of what it means to be kept "in place." To that end, the Isle of Wight serves an important role. In the novel, the Isle of Wight, like Elinor, is in disguise. People are not what they seem; people are not in place. These unsettling disruptions are a way of rendering the Isle of Wight unmappable. Indeed, the servant's position as "out of place" might also be understood to hold true for the island itself. As we've seen in Fanny Burney's two novels, the Isle of Wight occupies an uncertain national position. It is officially part of England, but it also hovers like a mirage just on the edges of national sovereignty. It is a steppingstone to someplace else, halfway in and halfway out. To that extent, it is out of place (meaning that it does not quite belong) either in England or outside England. It is also out of place in the world of the novel—there, but not quite there, as we will see further in the novels of Elizabeth Gaskell.

Mary Barton: A Tale of Manchester Life

In Elizabeth Gaskell's first novel, *Mary Barton: A Tale of Manchester Life* (1849), the Isle of Wight likewise emerges as out of place. The novel's eponymous heroine is a young, working-class woman whose suitor, factory worker Jem Wilson, is arrested for murdering Harry Carson, the son of a wealthy mill owner. Knowing Jem to be innocent, and her own father to be guilty, Mary travels from Manchester to Liverpool in search of an alibi for Jem before his trial. During her stay in Liverpool, Mary is housed by an old sailor named Ben Sturgis and his wife.

The couple has two sons and, though both are absent abroad, their presence is deeply felt by their mother, even imprinted upon the walls and furniture:

> Mrs. Sturgis led her into a little room redolent of the sea, and foreign lands. There was a small bed for one son, bound for China; and a hammock slung above for another, who was now tossing in the Baltic. The sheets looked made out of sail-cloth, but were fresh and clean in spite of their brownness. Against the wall were wafered two rough drawings of vessels with their names written underneath, on which the mother's eyes caught, and gazed until they filled with tears.

This nautical room, designed with sailor sons in mind, has a ship bunk and hammock, sail-cloth brown sheets, and two drawings of the sons' vessels. For all its detail and specificity, however, this initial description of the room is incomplete. As we will later learn, the room contains an additional decoration from the Isle of Wight that is not mentioned here.

It is not until three chapters later that we learn that the Isle of Wight is also represented in Mary's room at the Sturgis household. By that point, Mary is in a significantly different mental state. In the wake of the murder trial, she is distraught: she "hover[s] between life and death" and "lay[s] in a stupor" while "her mind [is] in the tender state of a lately born infant's."[589] It is only in this altered, deteriorated mental state that Mary notices the Isle of Wight's representation in the room for the first time: "She wondered at the ball of glass, containing various colored sands from the Isle of Wight, or some other place, which hung suspended from the middle of the little valance over the window."[590] Given that the room is described in robust detail three chapters earlier, it seems striking that this additional observation is held back until Mary is half conscious and recovering from her fainting spell at the trial. In her semi-conscious state, Mary does not distinctly "see" the ball of glass; instead, she vaguely "wonder[s] at it." It is as if the island is shimmering, half there, hovering in the window like a mirage. As soon as it is mentioned, its presence is immediately undermined by the phrase "or some other place," which operates as a partial erasure. The sands might be from the Isle of Wight, but they could just as easily be from somewhere else.

In some ways, Mary's half-recognition is a moment of dreamy bewilderment that seems to match Queen Victoria's descriptions of the Isle of Wight. Mary's semi-conscious wonderment

[589] Elizabeth Gaskell, *Mary Barton: A Tale of Manchester Life*, ed. Macdonald Daly (London: Penguin Books, 1996), 347–48.
[590] Gaskell, 348.

recalls Queen Victoria's oft-repeated sentiments that her life on the island was "like a dream" and that she often felt quite "bewildered." In other ways, however, this is a radically different sentiment. After all, Queen Victoria's dreaminess was connected to leisure: first to her contentment with her husband and children, and later to her horror about the loss of that domestic paradise. The dreaminess that Mary Barton experiences, in contrast, is a consequence of labor, not leisure. She falls ill from extreme exhaustion and exertion, from a burden that she takes on to defend her working-class father and suitor from the injustices of the carceral system, and from a position of utter powerlessness that could not be more different from Queen Victoria's. Furthermore, in addition to the leisure and labor dichotomy, there is also a stark difference in mobility. Victoria's observations of "bewilderment" occurred almost universally on the days when she arrived on the Isle of Wight from somewhere else. Her bewilderment was a consequence of the disorientation of frequent and extensive travel. Mary, on the other hand, remains confined to this sickroom in the Sturgis household for weeks. Indeed, not only has Mary never travelled to the Isle of Wight, but likely she has never even seen it from the Portsmouth shores. Manchester, where Mary lives, and Liverpool, where she recuperates, are both over 400 kilometers away.

Above and beyond its physical distance from Manchester and Liverpool, the Isle of Wight is also notably far away in terms of content. Indeed, in a novel about labor conditions and injustices in a northern industrial city, this reference to the Isle of Wight, known primarily as a southern vacation spot for the wealthy and well-connected, seems out of place. It is a jarring reminder of an entirely different kind of life, one that would probably seem like a shimmering mirage to humble Mary Barton whether she was fully conscious or not. Just as the reference is out of place in the novel on a macro level, so, too, on a micro level, is the glass ball itself out of place in the Sturgis room. On one level, it is an item of dreamy pleasure, an aesthetic interlude that disrupts the room's utility and indexes of labor, a stark contrast from the rest of the room, with its bunk and hammock and sail sheets, meant to mimic the experience of being at work on a ship. Hanging in suspense from the middle of the window valence, the glass ball is meant to catch the light so that the colored sands will reflect and refract colored light around the room. To borrow Ordnance Surveyor Isaac Dalby's language from *Philosophical Transactions*, the ball would cause waves of colored light "to dance up and down" in the room. This is the novel's version of terrestrial refraction. Rather than remaining of their place on the actual Isle of Wight,

or in their place in the glass ball, the refracted strands of light from the colored sand would dance around the room, as out of place as the reference to the island itself.

The glass ball filled with sands from the Isle of Wight is a lovely reminder that being out of place is not necessarily a bad thing. For all that the phrase might suggest disorder, mismatch, isolation, loneliness, and a painful lack of belonging, there is also beauty and freedom and possibility in a world that celebrates what it means to be out of place. This, after all, is precisely the feeling offered by the novel as a form. To be out of place when reading a novel is to exist in one place while fully and imaginatively engaged in another world, watching the shimmering lights from the Isle of Wight's sands dancing against the walls of Mary Barton's bedroom.

North and South

Another Elizabeth Gaskell novel features a second out of place representation of the Isle of Wight, one that is both strikingly similar to the moment in *Mary Barton*, but also a self-conscious re-writing of that reference. In *North and South* (1855), the heroine Margaret Hale moves north from her childhood village in pastoral Helstone to the industrial city of Milton. Because her father is impractical and her mother is terminally ill, Margaret takes on a decisive leadership role in their family—directing their move, their new financial precarity, and their charity work among the factory workers of Milton. Before she is forced to take charge, however, Margaret is just as dreamy and bewildered about the Isle of Wight as Mary Barton in her semi-conscious state.

While staying with her cousin Edith in London, Margaret opts out of any discussion of travel: "Once a year, there was a long discussion between her aunt and Edith as to whether they should go to the Isle of Wight, abroad, or to Scotland; but at such times Margaret herself was secure of drifting, without any exertion of her own, into the quiet harbour of home."[591] While Edith and Mrs. Shaw discuss their vacation plans, Margaret is barely listening. Though she regularly stays with the Shaws in London, she does not accompany them on their yearly vacations. Margaret's immediate lethargy on the topic suggests that she is neither interested in an invitation nor surprised at the absence of one. In short, Margaret will never go to the Isle of Wight on the Shaw family's annual excursion. Because the novel follows Margaret's

[591] Gaskell, *North and South*, 48.

consciousness, the reader is similarly excluded from traveling there. The Isle of Wight remains off the page; readers will never follow Margaret to its shores.

It is not even clear that the Shaw family will travel to the Isle of Wight. After all, the island is mentioned as one among three options: the Isle of Wight, abroad, or Scotland. These three are introduced as if they are interchangeable, equally appealing, indistinct places. They are all, in some sense, "un English." This equivalence is never disrupted. There is no resolution to the conversation. Rather than selecting one of the options, there is a refusal to be pinned down by a particular place. The question of which of the three will be selected is unresolved. In fact, resolution would be impossible because this is not a distinct conversation. Rather than telling us about one particular discussion, Gaskell's narrator generalizes, describing instead the annual recurring pattern of this type of conversation. It is possible that the family discussed these three choices out of habit every year but always decided on the same outcome—always selecting, say, Scotland instead of the other two options. Alternatively, the result could be different every year—an equal opportunity rotation, for example. We cannot know.

The choice to include a generalization about a recurring conversation, instead of one specific conversation, reveals the relative value of time over place. Even though this is, on the surface, a discussion about place, time is actually more important to the Shaw family. The passage foregrounds the language of time: "once a year," a "long" discussion, "at such times." It matters less where they go than that they go somewhere at the right time of year, the time of year when it is fashionable to leave London. Whereas for the Ordnance Survey and Queen Victoria, the Isle of Wight mattered enormously as a particular place, the Isle of Wight figures in the novel as one place among several equally acceptable places. The island sheds some of its distinctiveness. If a mapped place becomes sharper, easier to navigate, more clearly delineated, the novel's version of the Isle of Wight is depicted with much less resolution, distinction, or clarity. It becomes a model for any imaginary place encountered by a novel reader.

Though Margaret will not travel to the Isle of Wight with the Shaws, and though the Shaws may not even travel there themselves, the island is closer than it would seem. This is the point at which the *North and South* passage seems to be a self-conscious rewriting of the *Mary Barton* passage. In some ways, the two passages are similar. When the Isle of Wight is referenced, both young women are semi-conscious, half-aware, without agency, not part of the conversation, and out of place. However, unlike Mary Barton, who lives more than 400

kilometers away and would be unlikely to have any personal familiarity with the island, Margaret would almost certainly have seen the Isle of Wight. Margaret grew up in Helstone, a fictional village in southern England that, as she tells family friend Henry Lennox, is located in the New Forest, just across the Solent from the Isle of Wight.

Indeed, the language of the vacation discussion passage suggests that Margaret has some dreamy familiarity with the Isle of Wight. Whereas Mary Barton is lying in a room designed like a boat, Margaret is personified as a boat "secure of drifting… into the quiet harbor of home." Though intended as a metaphor illustrating Margaret's languor, following the metaphor as if it were a kind of travel itinerary for Margaret's dreams would lead directly to the Isle of Wight. Margaret's dream journey from London to Helstone would have meant drifting down the Thames River, around the tip of England by Ramsgate, and west along the southern coast, sending her drifting right past the Isle of Wight. This route is an impractical dream; Queen Victoria, for example, always traveled by rail from London to Gosport, a town on the western side of the Portsmouth Harbor, before crossing the Solent by boat.[592] Her journals are filled with complaints about crowds, cramped conditions, hot weather, and stifling train cars. Margaret's mode of travel in her languorous dream, by contrast, sounds quite pleasant and unharried. Lulled by sea breezes and "secure of drifting," she need not have worried about any navigational issues—coping with crowds, losing her moorings, drifting out to sea, getting lost, or shipwrecking on the Isle of Wight. Because it is only a dream, and because of the unlikely mode of travel, this sounds like a journey for which she would not have needed a map.

Though maps are not mentioned in either of Gaskell's Isle of Wight passages, one of the primary ways in which the Margaret Hale episode is a rewriting of the Mary Barton scene pertains to maps. Structurally, the Isle of Wight reference comes at a much different stage of the novel's plot in *North and South* than it did in *Mary Barton*. In the former example, the island is referenced at the end of the novel, when Mary has succumbed to exhaustion because she has already exerted herself. Margaret, on the other hand, who is "without any exertion of her own" during the Isle of Wight conversation, or indeed who is more generally "without any exertion of her own" in her entire life up until that point, presents a different case than Mary: her exertions lie ahead of her. These exertions, behind Mary and ahead of Margaret, are reflected in their

[592] See, for example: RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 15 July 1848 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 March 2021. See also RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 22 May 1848 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 22 March 2021.

differing statuses as map users. Mary ends up in her nautical room at the Sturgis household partly because she gets lost trying to navigate Liverpool without a map. At least in the short term, she might have benefited from a map. In the end, however, it was *not* having a map that produced her happy ending, leading her to the Sturgis household and ultimately saving her life, her father's, and her lover's. Mary's story might be read as a cautionary tale in which the benefits of getting lost far outweigh the costs of feeling out of place. Margaret, on the other hand, is "secure of drifting" and does not initially need a map. She can travel home without risk of getting lost. In fact, there are many ways in which Margaret is more "secure" than Mary. Though her father has relinquished his stable job as a rector in the Church of England, Margaret has much more financial security than Mary Barton. She has had an education and her family has good connections. Despite all those advantages, Margaret's security is increasingly tenuous. As the novel proceeds, Margaret will progressively lose her "security," increasingly feel out of place, and have to exert herself to make her place in the world. As discussed in Chapter Two, she will need a map to find her way and, unlike Mary, will have access to an atlas.

Using the map might help Margaret plan her family's move from Helstone to Milton, but it cannot save her from feeling out of place. Indeed, the sense of being out of place and having to make exertions to fit in is essential to the novel on many levels. Mr. Hale feels out of place in the Church of England, prompting his resignation and the catalyst for the family's move. When they arrive, Margaret will feel out of place socially in the northern industrial town of Milton. Even John Thorton, who seems to be rich and powerful, feels out of place among the other cotton-mill owners. In some cases, feeling out of place produces more sinister results than discomfort and self-doubt. Factory worker John Boucher feels so out of place that he kills himself. Margaret's brother, Frederick, is so out of place in England because of a past mutiny charge that he is not allowed in the country. Mrs. Hale's sense of balance and wellness is displaced so dramatically by their family's change of fortunes and locations that she dies. The efforts and exertions required to make a place for oneself in the world can be tremendous, uncertain, and not always successful.

This sense of the sometimes-fatal consequences of being out of place in *North and South* is darker than the shimmering, dancing light in Mary Barton's room at the Sturgis household. Though the sample size is small, we've seen a pattern thus far in the novels of Fanny Burney and Elizabeth Gaskell. Passages associated with the Isle of Wight in the two earlier novels—Burney's *Camilla* and Gaskell's *Mary Barton*—offer more light and hope. Recall that Eugenia

reminds Camilla that, if a letter reached Edgar on the Isle of Wight, misunderstandings might be "rectified," and happiness might be "renewed." In the two later novels—Burney's *The Wanderer* and Gaskell's *North and South*—some of that hopeful light has dimmed. Elinor, who employs an "out of place" servant on the Isle of Wight to find a disguise for herself, later returns to Shoreham where, isolated and alone, she attempts suicide. These shifts in tone are a reminder of the changing dynamics of human life. Feeling out of place will not always produce the same emotions: sometimes, it will inspire a sense of freedom and beauty but other times uncertainty and despair. To be out of place is to be in motion, in flux, in time. To be "out of place" is also to be a novel reader. I posit that literary characters' relationships to the Isle of Wight are a model for readers' relationships to all imaginary places in fiction. We are always out of place, especially when we read novels. Having access to a map, like Margaret Hale, or not having a map, like Mary Barton, is not what allows us to successfully navigate the world. Quite the contrary, these novels show us how to navigate the world without a map when we are feeling out of place. Unlike the many characters in both novels who are unable to successfully navigate the world, Mary Barton and Margaret Hale are both able to visualize the Isle of Wight not as a place concretely pinned down on a map but as an imaginary place. The place itself, with its dancing light and dancing hills, is in motion, as are the observers, with Mary dozing in a ship-themed room and Margaret floating along the Solent in a languorous dream. As readers, we might do well to mimic the flexibility and creativity that allows them to imagine a place that is shifting and unsettled even while being themselves in the same uncertain state. Their ability to imagine, and ours, is part of what allows us all to navigate the disruptions and displacements of our lives.

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Let me conclude by turning briefly to three major disruptions—birth, death, and marriage—in four novels that do have scenes taking place on the Isle of Wight. The already discussed fifth example, Fanny Burney's *The Wanderer*, in which Elinor visits the island in disguise, follows the same patterns that we will see here. When the place itself becomes less imaginary because it is visited and described, the characters instead become more imaginary. Put differently, characters who are on the Isle of Wight become more obviously fictional by means of disguise, deception, or disappearance.

In Charlotte Smith's *Emmeline* (1788), the character Adelina is in hiding at her brother Godolphin's house at East Cliff near Cowes on the Isle of Wight. Having left her ne'er do well

husband and had a baby with another man, Fitz-Edward, she accepts her brother Godolphin's protection and his generous offer to claim her son, William, as his own child. There are many levels of deception and attempted invisibility happening at once. Adelina does not want her other, more severe brother to find her or know that William is her own child. Her lover Fitz-Edward, meanwhile, is also on the island, disguising himself to his landlord "as a person hiding in this island from the pursuit of creditors."[593] He appears at Godolphin's house three times as a "phantom."[594] By the third time, Adelina is so out of her mind that she believes that Fitz-Edward is dead even though he is standing right in front of her. Her mental anguish makes him invisible on the island. There are, in other words, three characters on the island who are in various stages of disguise, disappearance, and deception.

In James Payn's *By Proxy* (1878), the recently orphaned heroine Nelly Conway goes to the Isle of Wight with her protectors, Mr. and Mrs. Wardlaw, just after her mother's sudden death from apoplexy. The island is introduced as a singular place. The narrator observes that, when we typically admire beauty, it is from the front view, as when we admire a woman's face instead of the nape of her neck: "But in England, at least, there is one exception to this general rule, namely the Isle of Wight. In that case our admiration is always reserved for the 'back of the island.'"[595] By this account, the Isle of Wight is an exception, a standout, a unique place. For Nelly Conway, however, it is not. Absorbed in grief, "the poor girl did not care herself where she went; it seemed to her that all places were alike now."[596] Though Nelly is physically on the island, she may as well be anywhere else since all places are "alike" in her grief. Similar to Queen Victoria after Albert's death, she is not there mentally because she is living in her head rather than living on the island.

If the singularity of the Isle of Wight is invisible to Nelly in her all-consuming grief, the same is true in reverse: she is also invisible on the island. Her invisibility is made evident by the strange order in which her story is told. Mr. Wardlaw sends a letter indicating that Nelly has left the island and installed herself in Gower Street in London.[597] When, in the very next chapter, the story returns to Nelly, evidently still on the Isle of Wight, her presence there is surprising to the reader. Even while we read about how she is still there, we know she very soon will *not* be there,

[593] Charlotte Smith, *Emmeline, the Orphan of the Castle*, vol. IV (London: Printed for T. Cadell, 1788), 300.
[594] Smith, IV:259, 280, 282.
[595] James Payn, *By Proxy*, Second Edition, vol. II (London: Chatto & Windus, 1878), 69.
[596] Payn, II:70.
[597] Payn, II:167.

so she occupies a ghostly position on the island. Her ghostly position is doubly enhanced by the events of that same scene in which Nelly, walking on the beach, is trapped by the rising tide and nearly drowns.[598] It is as if both the narrative sequence of the novel and the geological forces of the earth are plotting together to erase Nelly's presence on the Isle of Wight. Unlike her nemesis Miss Millburn, who at one point is "dinting the soft ground with the point of her parasol,"[599] Nelly's tread on the Isle of Wight is so soft as to be nearly invisible, nearly erased, nearly swallowed up by the sea.

Though *Emmeline*'s Adelina goes to the Isle of Wight to conceal the birth of her son and *By Proxy*'s Nelly goes to the Isle of Wight to heal from her the trauma of her mother's death, the disruption that most often brings characters to the Isle of Wight is marriage. Because it is known as a spot for honeymooning, the Isle of Wight is a place whose representation is limited temporally to the length of a honeymoon. The narrator of *By Proxy* admits that Nelly and the Wardlaws are outliers because most other visitors to the island are celebrating their recent nuptials, and thus: "Life is an idyll in this exquisite village, and endures for a month exactly."[600] In George Meredith's *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel* (1859), Richard Feverel and his bride Lucy Desborough go to the Isle of Weight for their honeymoon. Richard's cousin, Mr. Adrian Harley, tells a friend that Richard is "married, and gone to spend his Honeymoon in the Isle of Wight: a very delectable place for a month's residence."[601] In that novel, it is not simply that honeymooning characters will disappear from the Isle of Wight in a month; it is also noticeable that the island begins disappearing textually almost immediately. Richard and Lucy's friend Mrs. Berry, trying to protect the couple from being followed and discovered, says when asked that Richard and Lucy have gone "To the Isle o'—I don't know, indeed, Sir!"[602] When Richard goes back to London, leaving Lucy behind, his aunt asks him: "Well, now, you are thinking of returning to—to that place—are you not?"[603] Richard asks his friend Tom to protect Lucy and Tom responds: "Ay, Sir; that will. Did'n Oisle o'Woight."[604] In each of these conversations, the Isle of Wight disappears from the novel, becoming instead the Isle o'—(silence), that place, and the misspelled Oisle o'Woight.

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[598] Payn, II:174–78.
[599] Payn, II:195.
[600] Payn, II:70.
[601] George Meredith, *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel*, vol. III (London: Chapman & Hall, 1859), 9.
[602] George Meredith, *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel*, vol. II (London: Chapman & Hall, 1859), 345.
[603] Meredith, *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel*, 1859, III:123.
[604] Meredith, III:374.

A final honeymooning scene on the Isle of Wight is from Charles Dickens's novel, *Our Mutual Friend* (1864), which illustrates the transience of these feelings of freedom and despair that can come from being out of place. Dickens knew the Isle of Wight well, having lived there in 1849 while writing *David Copperfield*. In *Our Mutual Friend*, he sends Alfred and Sophronia Lammle to the Isle of Wight for their honeymoon. Unfortunately, the island does not yield the same wedded bliss to Alfred and Sophronia that it did to their historical counterparts, Prince Albert and Queen Victoria. Instead, the newlyweds discover that they have been duped into the marriage, each thinking that the other was rich. While on their honeymoon, the truth comes out:

> All over, that is to say, for the time being. But, there is another time to come, and it comes in about a fortnight, and it comes to Mr. and Mrs. Lammle on the sands at Shanklin, in the Isle of Wight. Mr. and Mrs. Lammle have walked for some time on the Shanklin sands, and one may see by their footprints that they have not walked arm in arm, and that they have not walked in a straight track, and that they have walked in a moody humor; for, the lady has prodded little spirting holes in the damp sand before her with her parasol, and the gentleman has trailed his stick after him.[605]

As a couple that is highly concerned about capital, both social and financial, it makes sense that Alfred and Sophronia spend their honeymoon at a place that is on the social map. To them, place matters tremendously, especially their place in society. They care about how things look. Whereas Elinor in Burney's *The Wanderer* travelled to the Isle of Wight to avoid being seen and to secure a disguise, the Lammles travel to the island precisely to be seen. Of course, Alfred and Sophronia are out of place, too. They are both deeply unhappy, though the evidence of their unhappy marriage, left in footprints on the sands of the Isle of Wight, is temporary. Their footprints will soon be erased by the waves of a higher tide. It will be as if they had never visited the Isle of Wight at all. They are out of place and in the world of time instead. Indeed, the description of Alfred and Sophronia's experience on the Isle of Wight says more about time than it does about place. The word "time" is repeated three times in the first three sentences. What we see of their honeymoon is described as the "time to come," as if it is in the future, but we actually see what is left behind. That is, we do not see them walking on their honeymoon. Instead, we see the ghostly record of their footprints, the parasol marks in front, the trailing stick behind. We see the aftermath of the time to come, which is a kind of past *and* future, the past of the future.

[605] Charles Dickens, *Our Mutual Friend*, ed. Adrian Poole (London: Penguin Books, 1997), 125.

The maps of the Ordnance Survey were future-oriented. They were designed to prevent a future Napoleonic invasion. To that end, they instantiated firm national distinctions between us and them, here and there, England and not. Because of the Isle of Wight's location off the coast of southern England, it held a critical status in that defensive mapping project. Sheet 10 of the Ordnance Survey locked the island "in place" to prevent disorientation, bewilderment, dreaminess, uncertainty, loss of control. The novel, on the other hand, reveals the foolishness of trying to predict the future by showing us the aftermath of the time to come, the past of the future. In the novel, the island cannot be locked in place because it is always out of place—a transitional, transnational place that is of England but also beyond it, far but not too far, foreign but not too foreign. It is a reminder of the feeling of being out of place, an essential part of novel reading and one that undergoes constant revision, change, and shifting as sentences build upon each other, as hills dance up and down, as time passes, as boats drift.

PART III.
Misreading More Maps Together

CHAPTER V.
"Either my reader or I must be a bad hand at topography": Maps of Barchester, Treasure Island, and Wessex

"An authoritative map of Barsetshire has long been needed. That England's fairest county should have been neglected by the Ordnance Survey is not to be wondered at and, in any case, who would wish to see those leafy woods and hallowed lanes profaned by the clink of measuring chains and the harsh tramp of unimaginative surveyors?"[606]

Lance O. Tingay, "Mapmaking in Barsetshire," 1948

In *Framley Parsonage* (1861), the fourth of six books in Anthony Trollope's Chronicles of Barsetshire series, aspiring politician Harold Smith gives a free lecture to the Barsetshire community "about the Australasian archipelago."[607] The audience, gathered in the big room at the Mechanics' Institute, is segmented by social status: the Barchester tradesmen with their wives and families arrange themselves on benches in the back, waiting for the "big people" from the palace, who arrive late and seat themselves in comfortable armchairs in the front row.[608] When everyone is settled, Harold Smith hums three times and begins his lecture, the purpose of which is to raise funds and enthusiasm for sending more missionaries to several islands in the South Pacific. After a few opening lines, Harold says to the crowd:

> 'My friends, you are familiar with your maps, and you know the track which the equator makes for itself through those distant oceans.' And then many heads were turned down, and there was a rustle of leaves; for not a few of those 'who stood not so high in the social scale' had brought their maps with them, and refreshed their memories as to the whereabouts of these wondrous islands. And then Mr. Smith also, with a map in his hand, and pointing occasionally to another large map which hung against the wall, went into the geography of the matter. 'We might have found that out from our atlases, I think, without

[606] Lance O. Tingay, "Mapmaking in Barsetshire," *The Trollopian* 3, no. 1 (June 1948): 19.
[607] Anthony Trollope, *Framley Parsonage*, ed. David Skilton and Peter Miles (New York: Penguin Books, 1984), 41.
[608] Trollope, 94.

> coming all the way to Barchester,' said that unsympathizing helpmate, Mrs. Harold, very cruelly—most illogically too, for there be so many things which we could find out ourselves by search, but which we never do find out unless they be specially told us; and why should not the latitude and longitude of Labuan be one—or rather two of these things?[609]

No one in this scene is safe from the humorous irony of the narrator's gaze, which falls upon and lays bare the disconnect between each participant's actions and intentions. Harold Smith, pompously performing a mastery of geography and a deep concern for the education of the South Sea islanders, is instead preoccupied with advancing his own political career. His wife attempts to conceal her obvious pride at Harold's prominence and ambition by interrupting him to suggest that they might all have stayed at home with their maps instead. Meanwhile, the Barchester tradesmen in the crowd, acutely conscious of being "not so high in the social scale," are desperate to prove the worthiness of their own belonging by attending to the equatorial line on the maps clutched eagerly in their hands.

This scene prompts some intriguing questions about maps. Why are these South Sea Island maps the only maps used by characters in the entire Chronicles of Barsetshire series? Why does this scene appear in *Framley Parsonage*, the novel about which Trollope famously wrote in his autobiography that, "as I wrote it, I made a map of the dear county"?[610] Surely that convergence cannot be a coincidence. And yet, why haven't scholars connected the intradiegetic map of the South Sea Islands with the extradiegetic map of Barsetshire? This chapter will put those two maps in conversation for the first time by examining the tension between the real world of the South Sea Islands (of which characters have a map) and the fictional world of Barsetshire (of which Trollope made an unpublished map). I will suggest that, paradoxically, the inclusion of the intradiegetic map and the exclusion of the extradiegetic map create some surprising social connections.

This chapter is about the tension between intradiegetic knowledge (what is known by characters in the story) and extradiegetic knowledge (what is known by the author and readers outside the story). Most of my previous chapters have focused on characters navigating space. This chapter, in contrast, is about how the reader navigates novels. In this chapter, the novel

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[609] Trollope, 96.
[610] Anthony Trollope, *An Autobiography* (London: Omnium Publishing for The Trollope Society, 1999), 96.

becomes the territory, and maps (whether provided to characters or readers or both) help readers to navigate that territory. In this chapter, the reader is a kind of traveler who may or may not get lost. By focusing on the ways that maps circulate in and around novels, I offer readers a map for how to negotiate the insides and outsides of books. The comingled geography of characters and readers promotes reading as a practice that is empathetic toward the errors of others and imaginatively ambitious about the possibility of a social co-construction of place.

The maps of this chapter differ from those discussed in previous chapters. Chapter One was about the historical sheet maps of the nineteenth-century Ordnance Survey, not maps in books at all. Chapter Two was about the map misreadings of literary characters in novels that did not include maps for readers. Chapter Three discussed one early map provided to readers, Daniel Defoe's 1719 map of *Robinson Crusoe*, but primarily focused on map use by characters in island narratives. Chapter Four turned to the historical mapping of the Isle of the Wight in the early nineteenth century as compared to narrative descriptions of the island in novels of the same period. In Chapter Five, in contrast, we will examine intradiegetic and extradiegetic maps together, focusing on three novelists and places: Anthony Trollope's Barsetshire, Robert Louis Stevenson's Treasure Island, and Thomas Hardy's Wessex. In the late nineteenth century, all three of these novelists produced paratextual maps of their fictional worlds but not in the same way. Anthony Trollope (1815-1882) produced a map of Barsetshire as he was writing *Framley Parsonage* (1860) but did not make it available to readers or characters. Twenty-two years later, Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (1882) offered readers access on the frontispiece to the same map that characters use within the narrative. Finally, Thomas Hardy (1840-1928) made a map of Wessex for his readers in 1895 and his characters have access to a relative abundance of maps and mapping paraphernalia. Looking at all three writers and their maps lends this chapter a comparative aspect. As Ricardo Padrón writes, "Maps of imaginary worlds that are linked to literature and storytelling come with a prepackaged point of comparison."[611] The combination of map and text in one object automatically invites comparison between the two.

In addition to comparing three authors, and comparing each author's texts to their maps, there is also an underlying comparative tension between the moments of map misreading in this chapter and the moments of map misreading in Chapter Two of this project. Indeed, three key

[611] Ricardo Padrón, "Mapping Imaginary Worlds," in *Maps: Finding Our Place in the World*, ed. James R. Akerman and Robert W. Jr. Karrow (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 260.

differences between Chapter Two and Chapter Five are worth highlighting here. First, the characters in Chapter Two did not get lost. Though the most obvious and literal way to "misread" a map would be to read the map wrongly while in the place represented on the map and to get lost, that is not how the characters represented in Chapter Two misread maps. Instead, they misread maps of other places, usually places that were quite far from the places they were in while reading the map. The consequence of this kind of "map misreading" was not to reveal the ignorance of the map users, but instead to reveal the inadequacy of the map for representing place. In those novels, maps failed because, rather than informing their users about the place on the map, they reminded their users of the place that they were in while reading the map. The texts in Chapter Five, in contrast, explore more seriously what it means to be lost. In addition to getting physically lost on land or at sea, they also explore losing your reputation or your virginity, losing something of monetary value like a treasure, losing your head or your heart or your breath, losing ground, and losing your identity and becoming submerged in something else.

Second, the characters in Chapter Two were unable to see the bird's eye view. When presented with the system of a map, atlas, or geography book, they could not comprehend Elaine Freedgood's "cartographical bird's eye view"[612] because they were focused on the individuals that connect places. Rather than seeing the system, they saw Uncle Toby's groin, hungry fellow travelers in the Bramble family, relatives in Portsmouth, Peggotty's body and the bodies of Yarmouth sailors, Margaret Hale's finger and her mother's frailty, and Dorothea's hands. These characters were not systems thinkers or geographers, but they were nonetheless able to use their phenomenological, embodied lens on the world to make links and connections. Chapter Five, and especially the section on Thomas Hardy, features characters who encounter places from a bird's eye perspective, including Tess Durbeyfield, Gabriel Oak, Elizabeth-Jane Henchard, Mr. Stockdale, and Phyllis Grove. As we will see, the bird's eye view activates their imaginations, linking their intradiegetic perspectives with the reader's extradiegetic experience of Hardy's zoomed-out map of Wessex.

Third, the early nineteenth-century novels of Chapter Two did not include maps for readers. In fact, there is a strikingly long gap between when Daniel Defoe printed a map in *Robinson Crusoe* in 1719 and when Robert Louis Stevenson printed a map in *Treasure Island* in 1882. Up to this point, my dissertation project has focused on that 160-year gap, examining

[612] Freedgood, *Worlds Enough: The Invention of Realism in the Victorian Novel*, 80.

moments of discordance between novels and maps that nearly always occur in novels without maps. My other chapters have shown how maps are inadequate for representing place (Chapter Two), and especially inadequate for representing terraqueous island experiences (Chapter Three) or the feeling of being out of place (Chapter Four).

What had changed about the disciplines of topography, geography, and cartography by the late nineteenth century? Maps were becoming increasingly numerous as well as increasingly prestigious. By 1870, the Ordnance Survey had completed all 180 sheets of the First Series maps of England, Ireland, and Scotland. Two years later, they authorized the Second or "New Series" of maps, which would comprise 360 sheets.[613] More maps were being produced all the time, such that progress on the newer series was slow, hindered by extra projects like maps of the North American boundary and maps of the civil and ecclesiastical divisions.[614] As more maps were being produced, the discipline of geography was also growing more prestigious. Prior to 1878, geography was seen as the domain of children, something to be memorized and regurgitated. After 1878, geography became a discipline at Oxford and Cambridge.[615] Whereas earlier novelists did not include maps (for example, Christopher Donaldson says that Walter Scott felt ill-equipped to do anything more than practical or lived geography[616]), the novelists in this chapter—Stevenson, Trollope, and Hardy—felt differently.

This chapter will address some general characteristics about the maps that authors make to represent the literary worlds of their novels, including their materiality, publication history, use patterns, value or prestige, and referentiality. Materiality accounts for where the map is placed in the book (the frontispiece, the middle, a pocket in the back), how the reader accesses it, whether flipping back and forth between map and text impacts the reading experience, and if the goal is to make the book look good (aesthetics) or allow the reader to use the map (functionality). Publication history addresses whether the map has been included with every edition, added later, or excluded when the book was downsized from hardback to paperback. It considers whether the map has been more vulnerable to excision or reduction than the text. The question of use considers both who uses the map—readers, character(s), or both—and the phases of user

[613] Hewitt, *Map of a Nation: A Biography of the Ordnance Survey*, 176.
[614] Seymour, *A History of the Ordnance Survey*, 164–65.
[615] Ralph Pite, *Hardy's Geography: Wessex and the Regional Novel* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 4.
[616] Christopher Donaldson, "Deep Mapping and Romanticism: 'Practical' Geography in the Poetry of Sir Walter Scott," in *Romantic Cartographies: Mapping, Literature, Culture, 1789-1832*, ed. Sally Bushell, Julia S. Carlson, and Damian Walford Davies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 211–31.

experience, including anticipation, active use, and reflection. Determining value or prestige involves evaluating whether a map is more like Gèrard Genette's "paratext" or WJT Mitchell's "imagetext."[617] In other words, is it subordinate to the text or a dynamic element of meaning? Finally, referentiality considers whether the map offers internal mappability (*i.e.*, descriptions of geographic features in fictional text are consistent with each other) or referential mappability (*i.e.*, geographic features in a fictional text correspond to features on other maps). This distinction may not be entirely clear cut; Robert Stockhammer, for example, argues that both Wessex and Treasure Island play with the blurriness of this boundary.[618] Taken together, we'll explore the ways in which map usage takes place in the context of narrative; indeed, it is through narrative that we can come to perceive and understand mapping in a new light.

Anthony Trollope and Barsetshire

Harold Smith's map lecture seems to exemplify a broader characteristic of this novel and Trollope's entire series: it is predicated on division and factionalism. In *Framley Parsonage*, there are numerous pairs of foils: Lord Lufton's mother wants him to marry the stately and statuesque beauty Griselda Grantly, but he is in love with the poor and insignificant sister of a local clergyman instead. Meanwhile, in the political arena, the powerful Whig politician the Duke of Omnium faces off against the wealthy pharmaceutical heiress Martha Dunstable and, in the religious domain, the Bishop of Barchester's wife Mrs. Proudie battles against Mrs. Grantly, wife of the Archdeacon of Barchester. The divisions at the level of character are mirrored in the novel's setting. The story takes place in southwestern England in the fictional county of Barsetshire, which is segmented by roads and railroads into East Barsetshire, which is Tory, and West Barsetshire, which is "decidedly Whig."[619] Despite being ostensibly one county, Barsetshire is split in multiple competing localities.

In keeping with these characterological and topographical divisions, Harold Smith's map lecture is a meditation on division.[620] His audience self-organizes around accepted norms with

[617] Bushell, "Paratext or Imagetext? Interpreting the Fictional Map."
[618] Robert Stockhammer, "The (Un)Mappability of Literature," in *Literature and Cartography: Theories, Histories, Genres*, ed. Anders Engberg-Pedersen (Cambridge and London: The MIT Press, 2017), 89–90.
[619] Trollope, *Framley Parsonage*, 45.
[620] Harold Smith's entire political career also hinges on division. Shortly after giving this map lecture in Barsetshire, Lord Brock comes to power in the government. Seeking a non-controversial appointee for the office of Lord Petty Bag, he appoints Harold Smith, in part because he hears that Harold "gave lectures in provincial towns on popular subjects" (229). In other words, after waiting for this role for ten years, Harold finally earns his government appointment because his lecture about equatorial divisions makes him palatable to one division of the political spectrum. Unfortunately for Harold, though his lecture about equatorial

the front row in armchairs and the back rows on benches. In addition to the shape and segmentation of the crowd, the lecture's content focuses on another division—the equator. He says, "You know the track which the equator makes for itself through those distant oceans."[621] The places he mentions during the lecture—which include Borneo, Labuan, the Moluccas, New Guinea, Papua, the Philippines, the Solomon Islands, and Sarawak—are quite literally divided by the equator. This is not to mention the other divisions, beyond latitude and longitude, implied by the lecture between Christians and non-Christians, white people and Asian Pacific islanders, England and the South Pacific. Harold Smith's lecture relies upon a firm division between here and there because he does not intend to go to these islands himself. He wants to know the map version of the place intimately for purposes of rhetorical mastery but does not want to be acquainted with the real version of the place. No one in the room at the Mechanics' Institute has either the intention or the opportunity to go to the South Pacific. They are quite comfortable, even those sitting on hard wooden benches, knowing that they will never be lost in the place depicted on their maps.

Though Harold Smith's lecture seems to be dependent on divisions between here and there, us and them, civilizers and savages, I argue that the map scene in *Framley Parsonage* is actually a meditation on social connection. The maps collapse seemingly solid divisions in surprising ways. Though the tradesmen in the audience each have their own individual map, they are using them together in a communal, collective practice. In this scene, the maps make legible two forms of social connection—first, between Barchester tradesmen and South Sea islanders and second, between readers and Trollope's narrator.

The connection between the Barchester tradesmen and the South Sea islanders is not immediately obvious, partly because Harold Smith attempts to use the map to obfuscate it. He employs a three-pronged strategy that focuses on mapping conventions, places, and commodities rather than people. First, he endows the equator with dynamism, agency, and familiarity. When he says, "you know the track which the equator makes for itself through those distant oceans," he personifies what would otherwise be an unfamiliar, invisible, inaccessible convention of mapping, giving it the power to make its own way through the ocean. By describing it as a

division brings him political success at last, his triumph is short lived. In April, Lord Brock's government is out, and Lord De Terrier's government is in, so Harold Smith is removed from government after serving as a cabinet minister for only three weeks (275). The theme that powers his lecture and his political career—division, separation—comes back to haunt him when the power balance between Whigs and Tories slips in the wrong direction.

[621] Trollope, *Framley Parsonage*, 96.

"track," he brings the equator closer to home by making it seem like a railroad track, something that would have been meaningful to anyone living in southwest England in the late nineteenth century. Making the equator knowable, legible, familiar, and dynamic, Smith aligns himself with the equator over and against "those distant oceans." He signifies his allegiance to maps over the people who live in the places represented by them. Similarly, Harold has "an idea that he could in about three months talk the British world into civilizing New Guinea, and that the world of Barsetshire would be made to go with him by one night's efforts."[622] By talking about the "British world" and the "world of Barsetshire" rather than individual people, and by looking at places like New Guinea as points or abstractions on the map, he directs his audience's attention to places, rather than people. Displaying a colonizing ethos, he characterizes these places as sources of commodities, rather than homes for people. He reminds the audience that they are looking at "lands of which produce rich spices and glorious fruits, and whose seas are imbedded with pearls and corals."[623] On the surface, Harold's mission is to help people, but commodities are the undercurrent of the lecture: under the guise of educating, helping, and civilizing, the colonial mission that Harold proposes is about extracting material resources. By focusing attention on mapping conventions, places, and commodities, Harold erases and dehumanizes the people who live in those places. The success of Harold's plan hinges on his ability to make the Barchester tradesmen feel superior to the South Sea islanders and to widen the gulf between the island of England and the island of New Guinea.

By using the map, Harold generates false empathy for an abstracted version of South Sea islanders while simultaneously blocking authentic empathy for their embodied experience. Ironically, the marker of his successful disembodiment of the people on the map is the reactive embodiment of the people in the room. When Harold declares that the "citizens of Barchester" need to bestow "education and civilization" upon the South Sea islanders, the Barchester tradesmen give "the lecturer the applause of their hands and feet."[624] When he uses the phrase "citizens of Barchester," Harold draws on local pride and global paternalism to drive a wedge between Barchesterians (citizens) and South Sea islanders (non-citizens) while also flattening the social distinctions in the room: the back rows of benches and the front row of armchairs are all

[622] Trollope, 90.
[623] Trollope, 96.
[624] Trollope, 95.

occupied by the bodies of "citizens."[625] Harold's unifying rhetoric is met with the unifying sound of clapping (one person's clapping does not sound demonstrably different from another person's clapping). Clapping is a social response to the lecture, meant to signal cohesion, approval, and understanding. When the tradesmen clap, they signal their approval of the message that they are all citizens that have "civilization" to give, that they are different from the South Sea islanders, and that they understand as much from the maps and the lecture as anyone else in the room does.

Unfortunately for the tradesmen, the embodiment of their clapping has the opposite of the intended effect. Rather than connecting them to the front row as fellow "citizens of Barchester," their hands mark their separation from the front row. We see this when Harold Smith pauses his lecture "in order that the feet and hands might go to work. The feet and hands did go to work, during which Mr. Smith took a slight drink of water."[626] Later, that particular phraseology in which "hands and feet… go to work" gets repeated for a third time: "all Barchester went to work with its hands and feet; —all Barchester, except that ill-natured aristocratic front-row."[627] Describing clapping as going "to work" suggests that the applause is a kind of labor, or at least that the corporality of it is connected to their labor, differentiating them from the armchair crowd, who do not clap. There is a gap between the tradesmen (in the back, on benches, going to work with hands and feet) and the aristocrats (in the front, in armchairs, not going to work in any sense of that phrase).

In addition to the embodiment of clapping, the other difference between front and back is the materiality of the map. Clutching maps in their hands, the back rows arrive early to the lecture, believing that their maps are entry tickets to inclusion in a shared experience with the higher social classes. Unfortunately for them, the map does the opposite of what they think it will do. Rather than connecting them to the aristocratic front row, it marks their otherness since no one in the front row has brought a map. It is not that the front row does not have maps. Mrs. Smith makes it clear that they have atlases at home—a larger, more expensive, bound collection of maps that would not be portable enough to bring to the lecture. Even if they could bring their

[625] Here I want to acknowledge that I am following the narrator's lead by focusing on the tradesmen for the sake of clarity and simplicity in a way that elides their "wives and families," who are also at the lecture and would not have been citizens. This fact does not impair my argument; on the contrary, being non-citizens would have strengthened a possible social connection between the women and children of Barchester and their counterparts in the South Sea islands.
[626] Trollope, *Framley Parsonage*, 96.
[627] Trollope, 97.

atlases, though, the "big people" do not need to; they do not need an entry ticket because they get in by virtue of who they are.

Instead of connecting the front and back rows, the materiality of the maps connects the Barchester tradesmen and the South Sea islanders. This argument draws on Leah Price's work on religious tracts in *How to Do Things with Books in Victorian Britain* (2012). Price writes, "Measuring by what has survived, we call the nineteenth century the age of the novel; but if we counted instead what was produced, the Victorians might look more like a people of the tract."[628] She points out that, because of the surfeit of printed matter and especially religious tracts, the "book came to feel like a burden" because "printed matter was foisted upon" unwilling recipients such that "receiving a book now connoted powerlessness as often as privilege."[629] According to Price, studying religious tracts challenges Benedict Anderson's model of "imagined community," in which anonymous strangers could identify with each other from afar by reading the same newspapers at the same time.[630] Price points out that religious tracts given out by missionaries do not fit into Anderson's model for two reasons: first, they encourage their handlers to "differentiate themselves" from, rather than identify with, one another; and second, they "draw their significance from face-to-face interactions" rather than from "virtual community in anonymity."[631]

Price's engagement with Anderson is generative, but her argument applies to Trollope's novel in a different way. I am not interested in how face-to-face interactions allow missionaries to differentiate themselves from the intended recipients of their religious tracts. Instead, I am interested in how the tradesmen in Barchester, who are not missionaries and will never interact face-to-face with the South Sea islanders, are nonetheless connected to the islanders via the materiality of paper maps and paper Bibles. Price's argument is relevant to Trollope's novel insofar as the printed copies of maps in the hands of those "who stood not so high in the social scale" would link them to the people in the places on their maps, who held printed copies of Bibles in their hands. Shared papers (maps and Bibles) link the townspeople and the islanders. What about the front row? It is not that the front row was paperless. At home, they would have had an abundance of books, letters, periodicals, newspapers—even Bibles and maps. And, given

[628] Leah Price, *How to Do Things with Books in Victorian Britain* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2012), 150.
[629] Price, 139.
[630] Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 25–26.
[631] Price, *How to Do Things with Books in Victorian Britain*, 152.

that mapping and conversion are both colonial projects, and that maps and Bibles are the production of material relating to colonizing, the front row was surely implicated at least as much, if not more, than the back rows. But the point is that, at the lecture, paper becomes a signifier of being othered. Both the tradesmen and the South Sea islanders receive something ostensibly for free (Harold Smith's lecture is "gratis")[632] but at the cost of ideology. The lower-status people in England, who have maps, and the people of the South Sea Islands, who will be given Bibles, are linked by a shared materiality that comes at a price.

In addition to the ideological price, there is also a material price. The fact that the tradesmen have maps, but the wealthy do not is a reversal of the early years of the Ordnance Survey when maps were prohibitively expensive and nearly impossible to acquire. The first map of Kent, published in 1801, sold for three guineas (£3 3s) and the price increased up to six guineas (£6 6s) for the 1816 map of Devon.[633] To put it in more concrete terms, an early OS map selling for £6 6s would have been worth 336 fat pigs.[634] According to the currency converter from *The National Archives*, £6 6s was the equivalent of 42 days' wages for a skilled tradesman in 1810 and would have been worth £293 in 2017.[635] In this map lecture, we see a shift in the attitude of the wealthy: rather than guarding the privilege of having a map, they relish in the freedom of not having one. Not having paper (the shared materiality of the tradesmen and the islanders) gives the wealthy power because they do not care about finding Labuan on the map, or listening to the lecture, or helping other people. If maps prompt us to think about the social and the communal, the wealthy audience members seem to be excluded from that prompting.

In contrast with the wealthy front row, the novel reader, rather than being excluded from the prompt to think about others, is ushered into a social contract with the first-person narrator in which both parties have an obligation to contribute to the interpretation and understanding of maps. In the Chronicles of Barsetshire series, the narrator makes two sweeping observations

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[632] Trollope, *Framley Parsonage*, 94.
[633] Rachel Hewitt, "'That Experienced Surveyor, Colonel Mudge': Romantic Representations of the Ordnance Survey Map-Maker, 1791-1830," in *Romantic Cartographies: Mapping, Literature, Culture, 1789-1832*, ed. Sally Bushell, Julia S. Carlson, and Damian Walford Davies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 52.
[634] I have turned to William St. Clair's *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* to determine how much a map would have been worth in concrete terms. According to St. Clair, William Wordsworth's long poem *The Excursion* in quarto cost 42 shillings before binding and 45 shillings bound. St. Clair indicates that it was "perhaps the most expensive work of literature ever published in England... for the price of one copy of *The Excursion* in quarto, a reader in Salisbury could have bought over a hundred fat pigs," which sold at seven and a half shillings a score. The map of Kent would have cost 63 shillings and the map of Devon would have cost 126 shillings, translating to 168 fat pigs for the map of Kent and 336 fat pigs for the map of Devon. William St. Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 202.
[635] "Currency Converter: 1270-2017," The National Archives, accessed June 15, 2022, https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/#currency-result.

about topographical mapping that implicate the reader: one in *Framley Parsonage* and the other in the second book, *Barchester Towers* (1857). The reference to topography in *Barchester Towers* might not initially seem relevant to Harold Smith's map lecture in *Framley Parsonage*, but the two passages share both a medium (the embodiment of hands) and a message (that topography offers a form of social connection). In *Barchester Towers*, the narrator interjects an observation about topography suddenly and surprisingly in the middle of an extended architectural description of the floor plan of the Thorne manor house, which is called Ullathorne Court because "the house itself formed two sides of a quadrangle, which was completed on the other two sides by a wall about twenty feet high."[636] We learn in detail about the material and color of the wall, the functionality (or lack thereof) of the iron entrance gates, the direction of the paths in the courtyard, and the partitioning of the dining room. After a long and convoluted description, the narrator observes: "Either my reader or I must be a bad hand at topography, if it be not clear that the great hall forms the ground-floor of the smaller portion of the mansion, that which was to your left as you entered the iron gate, and that it occupies the whole of this wing of the building."[637] In other words, the preceding description should have illuminated the floor plan of the house in perfect clarity. If not (and it is not at all clear), then someone—either the reader or the narrative "I"—is a "bad hand at topography."

Who is to blame—reader or narrator? There is a case to be made for blaming either side. The reader's fault stems from a basic unfamiliarity with Tudor architecture. The narrator tells us repeatedly that "little is known by English men and women of the beauties of English architecture" and that the English "know nothing of" and are "still ignorant" of the "glories in Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and Somersetshire."[638] Even if the reader did know something about Tudor architecture, accurately visualizing the layout of the house would still have required extraordinary patience and discipline to read this passage again and again, probably with a pen in hand, trying to sketch out a floor plan. This approach hardly seems advisable because there is no discernable payoff for that level of attention to this tedious description of the architecture, which has no bearing on the rest of the novel.

If the reader's architectural ignorance and lack of patience are partly to blame, the tone of the final sentence suggests that the narrator is also implicated in the problem. The very

[636] Anthony Trollope, *Barchester Towers*, ed. Robin Gilmour (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 198.
[637] Trollope, 199.
[638] Trollope, 198.

acknowledgment that the description might be unclear is a tacit admission that it is intricate and hard to follow, likely to be perused quickly with glazed eyes or skipped over entirely. The tone is joking, but it also conveys a subtle undercurrent of anxiety about actually being bad at topography in a way that cannot entirely be explained away by readerly ignorance. Whether in jest or disquietude, the joke or the burden is shared by the reader and narrator. Given that both reader and narrator bear some responsibility for the topographical confusion, the only thing that seems clear (and it is not the floor plan) is that "topography" is done in communication with someone else. The "bad hand" could belong to the author/creator or to the reader/interpreter. Just as the embodied "hands and feet" of the Barchester tradesmen bring them a step further from the abstraction of Harold Smith's lecture and a step closer to the bodies of the South Sea islanders, here another "hand" is shared by several possible bodies.

The narrator's second observation about mapping in the Chronicles of Barsetshire series also connects narrator and reader in a social exchange. Introducing a parish called Hogglestock, the narrator observes: "I almost fear that it will become necessary, before this history be completed, to provide a map of Barsetshire for the due explanation of all these localities."[639] Notice the use of the word "provide" instead of produce, create, or make. The word choice seems to suggest that a map of Barsetshire already exists but hasn't yet been offered to the reader. Providing a map is a more social phrase than producing one. Trollope could produce a map without sharing it with readers but providing a map involves both giving and receiving. It is a social exchange offered by one party and received by another.

In fact, Trollope did produce a map of Barsetshire while writing *Framley Parsonage*, but he kept it to himself and did not "provide" it to his readers. The exclusion of the map of Barsetshire would seem to be at cross-purposes with the inclusion of the map in Harold Smith's lecture, but I will argue that these seemingly perpendicular strategies both activate social connections. Just as Harold Smith's map lecture seemed to be about division while actually illuminating several forms of social connection, Anthony Trollope's produced-but-not-provided map of Barsetshire offers a surprising link of sociality between Trollope and his readers. Trollope recalls the circumstances of making the map in his autobiography:

> Of *Framley Parsonage* I need only further say, that as I wrote it I became more closely than ever acquainted with the new shire which I had added to the English counties. I had

[639] Trollope, *Framley Parsonage*, 184.

> it all in my mind, its roads and railroads, its towns and parishes, its members of Parliament, and the different hunts which rode over it. I knew all the great lords and their castles, the squires and their parks, the rectors and their churches. This was the fourth novel of which I had placed the scene in Barsetshire, *and as I wrote it I made a map of the dear county*. Throughout these stories there has been no name given to a fictitious site which does not represent to me a spot of which I know all the accessories, as though I had lived and wandered there [emphasis mine].[640]

What happened to this map is somewhat mysterious. By the time Trollope's autobiography was published in 1883, a year after his death, the map of Barsetshire could not be located. In *Anthony Trollope: A Commentary* (1927), Michael Sadleir writes:

> For a generation, Trollopians wondered where—if indeed it was ever made—that map was hidden. Pending its discovery two enthusiasts—Mr. Spencer van Bokkelen Nichols in America and Father Ronald Knox (as he then was) in England—tried their hand at a reconstruction of the county as Trollope conceived it.[641]

After chronicling the difficulty of Nichols' and Knox's attempts at recreating the original map, Sadleir ends on a triumphant note. Included in his book is "Trollope's *own* map, which was drawn as he declared and was found, while this book was being written, among some papers." Enthusiastic map seekers are bound to be disappointed by Sadleir's bold promise, however. Oddly, Sadleir does *not* include the original map. Instead, he notes that the map in his book has been "redrawn in the interests of clear reproduction" (See **Figure 13**).[642] Sadleir breezes past this admission, confidently concluding that "this may be taken as the final solution of the Barsetshire riddle."[643]

Sadleir's substitution does not seem to have disturbed subsequent scholarship, which has been more concerned with pointing out Trollope's errors or accounting for mismatches between the text and map. An earnest article by Lance O. Tingay called "Mapmaking in Barsetshire" (1948) offers a litany of excuses for Trollope, including a "clerical error" that "remained uncorrected" because Trollope "took little notice of his work after publication" and was "doubtless unusually pressed for time" since he was writing both *Framley Parsonage* and *Castle*

[640] Trollope, *An Autobiography*, 96.
[641] Michael Sadleir, *Trollope: A Commentary* (London: Oxford University Press, 1927), 161.
[642] Sadleir, 161.
[643] Sadleir, 164.

Richmond at the same time.[644] Another mistake can be accounted for because "the novel was written amidst the difficulties of a journey to Egypt" when Trollope was "more than once forced to put down his pen to go away and be sick." In these "onerous" conditions, "What is more probable, then, than that the chronicler should write 'eight' when what he really intended to say was 'eighteen'? A sudden wave, a feeling of nausea, a slurring of the pen, and all is accounted for."[645]

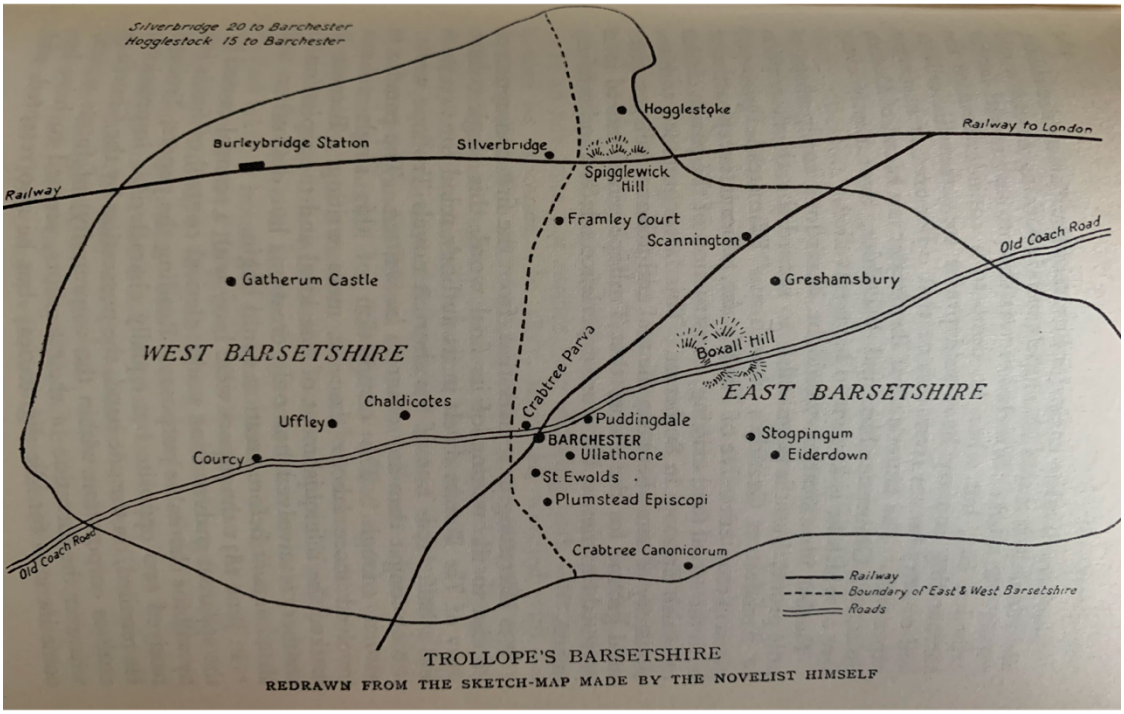

***Figure 13**. Michael Sadleir, "Trollope's Barsetshire: Redrawn from The Sketch-Map Made by The Novelist Himself" in Trollope: A Commentary by Michael Sadleir, 1927.*[646]

Rather than focusing on discrepancies between the text and map, I am more interested in lacuna in the archive: the missing map. Where is Trollope's original map? It is not in the collection housed at Oxford University's Bodleian Library, even though that collection includes three boxes of materials encompassing the "Papers of Anthony Trollope (1815-82) relating to his novels and other works, used by M. T. H. Sadleir for his *Trollope: A Commentary*."[647] When

[644] Tingay, "Mapmaking in Barsetshire," 24.
[645] Tingay, 26.
[646] Sadleir, *Trollope: A Commentary*, 163.
[647] "Archive of Anthony Trollope," 1882 1815, MSS. Don. c. 9-10, 10*, Oxford, Bodleian Libraries.

other scholars use a map of Barsetshire, or when it is printed in modern editions of the Chronicles of Barsetshire series, it is a version of Sadleir, van Bokkelen, Nichols, or Knox's copy, rather than the original. This ongoing mystery is why Trollope's "almost fear" about maps was only partially realized: he did produce a map, but he did not "provide" it. He had over twenty years between the novel's publication and his death to include his map, but he never did.

It was not that he was opposed to visual materials on principle. In fact, *Framley Parsonage* was Trollope's first illustrated fiction.[648] The novel was published serially in *Cornhill Magazine* from January 1860 to April 1861 and in three volumes in book form by Smith, Elder in 1861. Both the *Cornhill* serial and the Smith, Elder first edition included six full-page illustrations by the painter John Everett Millais (1829-1896).[649] Trollope's London publishers commissioned these illustrations at a "high standard, and by implication a high cost,"[650] suggesting that the publishers could have afforded to include a map with the novel if they, or Trollope, wished. The choice to illustrate rather than map reveals something further about the value of social connection. In their essay on "Trollope and Illustration," Paul Goldman and David Skilton argue that the six illustrations served as connective tissue between different novels in the series.[651] As an example, Goldman and Skilton point to an image of Lord Lufton and his love interest, Lucy Robarts (See **Figure 14**). Though the couple meets inside a walled garden in the text, Millais re-locates them on a sloped hill near an arched gateway and adds circling doves overhead.

[648] Paul Goldman and David Skilton, "Trollope and Illustration," in *The Routledge Research Companion to Anthony Trollope*, ed. Deborah Denenholz Morse, Margaret Markwick, and Mark W. Turner (New York: Routledge, 2017), 214.
[649] Goldman and Skilton, 219.
[650] Goldman and Skilton, 229.
[651] Goldman and Skilton, 221.

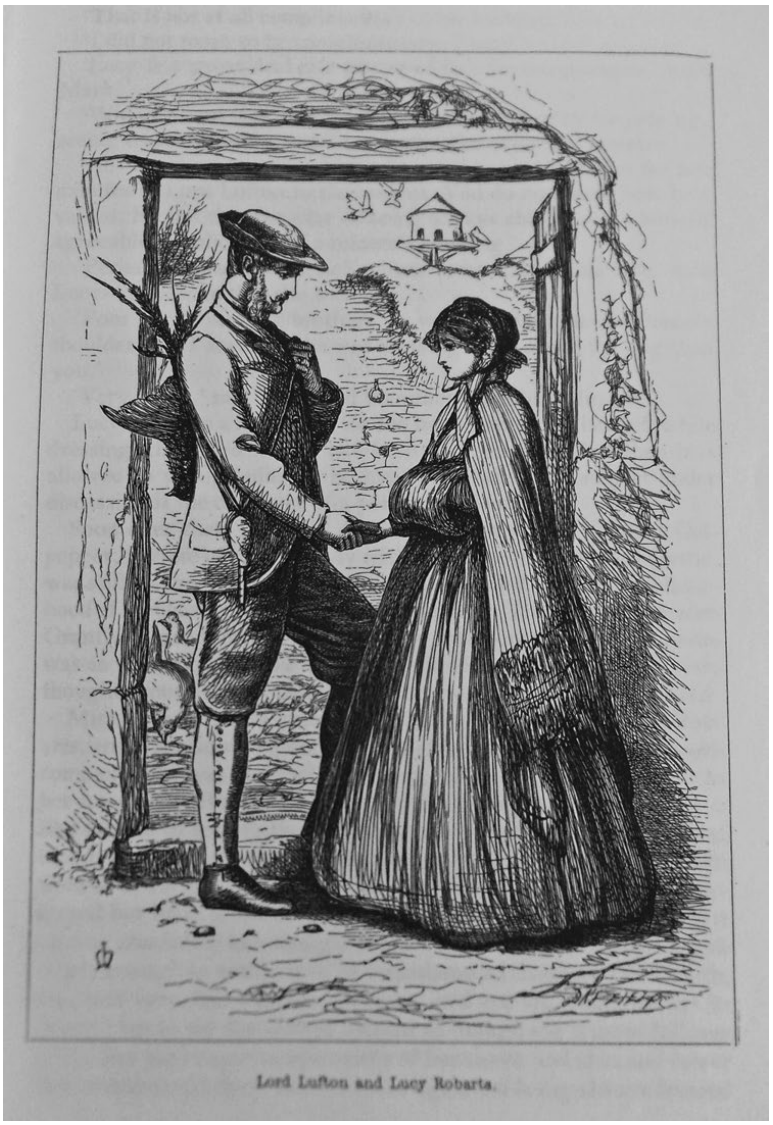

***Figure 14**. John Everett Millais (wood engraving by Dalziel Brothers), Lord Lufton and Lucy Robarts, 1861.*

According to Goldman and Skilton, Millais's extra-textual additions to this image would inform the final book in the six-part series, *The Last Chronicle of Barset* (1867). In book four, wealthy Lord Lufton loves penniless Lucy Robarts; similarly, in book six, wealthy Major Grantly loves penniless Grace Crawley. In Chapter Fifty-Five of the sixth book, entitled "Framley Parsonage" in homage to the fourth book, Mark Robarts asks Lord Lufton, "Where is Grantly?" and Lufton replies, "'I don't know where he is… He has sloped off somewhere.' The major had sloped off to the parsonage, well knowing in what nest his dove was lying hid."[652] The image from *Framley Parsonage* and the text from *The Last Chronicle* are closely tied, in Goldman and Skilton's

[652] Anthony Trollope, *The Last Chronicle of Barset* (New York: Penguin Books, 1986), 578.

words, by "the same topography."[653] The slope of the hill matches Grantly's behavior as he "sloped off" to the parsonage to find Grace, his dove in the nest. Rather than including a map, Trollope includes illustrations which connect his texts and his characters.

The choice to include illustrations but not maps would seem to prove Ian Duncan's point about Trollope's provincialism. Duncan writes that Trollope's novels "map a ruling-class apparatus of institutions, estates, and benefices which renders the nation as a political topology rather than a geography. The specific location of a given estate or country town is unimportant, except in such matters as convenience of access to London or the provision of suitable conditions for game."[654] Trollope prioritizes topology over topography, suitable game over specific geography, and relationships over regionalism. But something does not add up. If Trollope is interested in the social connections among his characters and if, as we have seen, Harold Smith's lecture highlights several forms of social connection made possible by the presence of the map, why doesn't Trollope provide the map to his readers that he produced?

One answer might come from Trollope's aversion to the writings of fellow novelist Wilkie Collins (1824-1889). He writes in his autobiography:

> When I sit down to write a novel I do not at all know and I do not very much care how it is to end. Wilkie Collins seems to construct his, that he not only, before writing, plans everything on, down to the minutest detail, from the beginning to the end; but then, plots it all back again, to see that there is no piece of necessary dove-tailing which does not dove-tail with absolute accuracy. The construction is most minute and most wonderful. *But I can never lose the taste of the construction.* The author seems always to be warning me to remember that something happened exactly at half past two o'clock on Tuesday morning, or that *a woman disappeared from the road just fifteen yards beyond the fourth milestone.* One is constrained by mysteries and hemmed in by difficulties, knowing, however, that the mysteries will be made clear and the difficulties overcome at the end of the third volume. Such work gives me no pleasure [emphasis mine].[655]

Even though Wilkie Collins's novels do not include maps, Trollope nonetheless manages to use Collins as a foil to illustrate the dangers of having a map. With a map, you can know for certain

[653] Goldman and Skilton, "Trollope and Illustration," 223.
[654] Ian Duncan, "The Provincial or Regional Novel," in *A Companion to the Victorian Novel*, ed. Patrick Brantlinger and William B. Thesing (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2005), 329.
[655] Trollope, *An Autobiography*, 159–60.

that "a woman disappeared from the road just fifteen yards beyond the fourth milestone." Having a map ties you down to exactitude, constrains and hems you in, gives you the taste of constructedness.

Not having a map, in contrast, might give readers the comfort of knowing a place and its habitants so well as to not need a map. After Trollope admits to making the map, he writes, "Throughout these stories there has been no name given to a fictitious site which does not represent to me a spot of which *I know all the accessories, as though I had lived and wandered there*" [emphasis mine]. Not including the map offers readers a shared opportunity to "know all the accessories" as though they, too, "had lived and wandered there." What seems like an anti-social maneuver, producing the map but not providing it, instead offers a social form of co-construction between readers and author. Seen in this light, the re-creation of the Barsetshire map by scholars like Sadleir, van Bokkelen, Nichols, and Knox looks less like a violation of Trollope's wishes and more like a fulfillment of the readerly end of the bargain. Trollope left a blank space on purpose with the intention that readers fill it in with our own "hand" at topography. Once again, we have a social contract: Trollope does not provide the map so that we can produce a map if we want. The intradiegetic map that Harold Smith does provide, and the extradiegetic map that Trollope does not provide, both offer access to social connection. The inclusion of one and the exclusion of the other do similar work: both activate the social by linking readers and characters more clearly with other people.

Robert Louis Stevenson and Treasure Island

During the rainy and windy Scottish summer of 1882, Robert Louis Stevenson (1850-1894) took refuge from the inclement weather in a local cottage, passing the afternoons making colored drawings. As he later recalls in his essay, "My First Book: *Treasure Island*" (1894), he "made a map of an island" on one of those occasions (See **Figure 15**). Stevenson goes on to explain that his drawing would directly inspire his novel: "the shape of it took my fancy beyond expression; it contained harbors that pleased me like sonnets; and with the unconsciousness of the predestined, I ticketed my performance *Treasure Island*."[656] Though Stevenson is describing the map that he made, his description also gives hints about the plot of his novel. The rest of his

[656] Robert Louis Stevenson, "My First Book: Treasure Island," in *Essays in the Art of Writing* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1912), 121.

essay is all about embodiment (being sick, being in Scotland, being of a particular age), but when it comes to making the map, Stevenson is disembodied, predestined, unconscious, seemingly outside his own body and without agency. At the expense of his own body, Stevenson focuses his attention on the material "shape" of the island as a way of highlighting the island's characteristics. The shaped island is the thing with agency, the subject of the sentence, and the source of the active verbs. It is not, however, what pleases him "like sonnets." Instead, the harbors (excisions or cutouts from the island) are like sonnets. A sonnet has rules and operates in measurable, rhythmic, predictable ways. What happens on the island, in contrast, is dynamic, social, chaotic, ungovernable. The island is a performance, meaning that it is both potentially replicable (*e.g.*, you can see a play again and again) but also fleeting, dissolving. You cannot exactly replicate the same performance again because it changes as it goes from one iteration to the next. The island is thus unstable, unpredictable, social, replicable but with a difference.

Figure 15. *Robert Louis Stevenson, Map in* Treasure Island*, 1883.*

The map is also characterized by excess in a way that is reflected in the plot. Rather than simply one island, there is doubling everywhere. There are two ships, two harbors, and two mermaids. The compass points not just in four directions but in sixteen, offering a plethora of choices. There are innumerable trees, which will prove problematic for singling out the right one.

The lawlessness and excess of Stevenson's map mirrors the multiplicity of maps and interpretations of those maps in the novel. Indeed, *Treasure Island* (1882) depicts a world of multiple maps with many uses. As maps multiply, characters begin using them for their own purposes. With the growing personalization of maps, the possibility of using maps in one supposedly "correct" way (like to navigate from point A to point B without getting lost) dissolves. In fact, more than knowing how to use maps correctly or even knowing how to use maps at all, it becomes more important to understand how other people use maps. Paradoxically, as map use in *Treasure Island* becomes increasingly individual, it requires knowing *more*, not less, about other people and how they interpret and use maps.

Treasure Island begins when our youthful narrator, Jim Hawkins, unearths the map of an island with three red crosses marking hidden treasure. Jim and his two allies, Dr. Livesey and Squire Trelawney, acquire a ship, the Hispaniola, to seek the treasure. Though the ship's captain, Smollett, is aligned with the protagonists, many of the other hired hands, and most of all the ship's cook, Long John Silver, are corrupt. When they arrive at the island, nineteen of the twenty-six men on board mutiny. During the chaos, Jim is separated from his allies multiple times and there are several casualties. Dr. Smollett learns that the treasure has already been found and relocated by marooned sailor Ben Gunn. Knowing that the map no longer indicates the treasure's location, Dr. Smollett gives it to Long John Silver. Using the map, the pirates try in vain to dig up the treasure and eventually mutiny against Silver. The protagonists escape with the treasure and return to England.

This simplified version of the plot belies the fact that there are multiple versions of the map of Treasure Island. Readers first encounter a map on the novel's frontispiece that matches the map in the story, with three red crosses marking the treasure, which is found in a chest. This doubling is complicated by the appearance of a third map, a duplicate of the original. Captain Smollett, who commands the ship that will take Jim and his friends to the island to seek the treasure, shows the duplicate to Long John Silver, who is eager to lead a mutiny and seize the treasure for himself:

> Long John's eyes burned in his head as he took the chart, but by the fresh look of the paper I knew he was doomed to disappointment. This was not the map we found in Billy

> Bones's chest, but an accurate copy, complete in all things—names and heights and soundings—with the single exception of the red crosses and the written notes.[657]

This tripling of the map causes each individual map to lose its centrality and change its value. The copied map in this scenario is *less* valuable for Long John Silver because it does not have the red crosses marking the treasure but *more* valuable for Captain Smollett because it allows him to deceive Silver and keep the treasure's location a secret.

The multiplication of mapping in this passage mirrors the multiplication of mapping via the publication of the novel. As soon as the novel was published, there would have been thousands and eventually millions of copies of the map of *Treasure Island*. Catherine Gallagher has argued that "the potential for seemingly infinite reproduction obviated the possibility of equating the text with any, or for that matter all, of its instantiations."[658] As we will see, the twists and turns concerning the fate of the maps in the story are also a meditation on the material complexity of the map in the book: on the one hand, both are singular but, on the other, subject to loss, error, change, infinite reproducibility, and other people's interpretations. What is happening within the plot is connected to the material conditions of the maps.[659]

The map that Captain Smollett shows to Long John Silver is a clever copy that is set up to deceive map users because it is "complete in all things." It would be entirely sufficient for someone who was not looking for the treasure but simply looking to navigate the island without getting lost. It would check all the boxes of an Ordnance Survey map with "names and heights and soundings." Sally Bushell persuasively argues that this deceptive yet complete map offers a warning about the trickiness and fictionality of all maps, even "real" maps like the Ordnance Survey maps. Bushell writes, "A fictional map functions as a potentially self-knowing exemplar of the fictionality of all maps."[660] While Bushell is making a point about how all maps are fictional for everyone, *Treasure Island* shows that maps can never do one thing for everyone; instead, maps do different things for different people. Because of this proliferation and divergence, the key to using a map is to understand that it exists in a social context, not in a

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[657] Robert Louis Stevenson, *Treasure Island* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publishing Group, 2015), 83.
[658] Gallagher, *Nobody's Story: The Vanishing Acts of Women Writers in the Marketplace, 1670-1820*, 65.
[659] Daniel Hack makes an argument about the relationship between the physical format and the linguistic text of William Makepeace Thackeray's novel, *The History of Henry Esmond* (1852) in which he suggests that Thackeray's "activation and exploration of the potential meaningfulness of writing's multifaceted materiality" is "one of the defining features" of Victorian fiction. Hack, *The Material Interests of the Victorian Novel*, 36.
[660] Sally Bushell, "Mapping Victorian Adventure Fiction: Silences, Doublings, and the Ur-Map in Treasure Island and King Solomon's Mines," *Victorian Studies* 57, no. 4 (Summer 2015): 615.

vacuum. When map users get lost or make geographical errors, it is because they misunderstand maps as an intra-social document and fail to consider how other people use maps.

This proliferation, both the multiplicity of maps and the individuality of interpretations, forces readers and characters alike to reckon with the limits of individual knowledge. As readers of the novel, we only have full access to one version of the map (the single-sided version on the frontispiece) but we know that other versions exist beyond our grasp. In addition to the copy that Smollett shows Silver, we also learn that the original map contains information on the back, which we cannot see. As Bushell puts it, "The visual map provided at the front of the book silently withholds vital information that the later verbal account reveals."[661] Depending upon which edition of the novel one is reading, there are further silences.[662] In some modern editions, for example, the map is only reproduced in black and white whereas the first-edition map distinguishes different handwriting with different colored ink: Flint writes in red, Billy Bones in brown, and Jim in blue (See **Figure 15**).[663] No legend explained these color distinctions, leaving a further gap for readers to bridge with context clues from the story.

For Jim, it is not so much the absence of red ink that cues him into the deceptiveness of the copy but rather the "fresh look" of the paper. The materiality of the map, not just its content, poses the problem of multiplicity. This is yet another thing that we do not have visual or tactile access to as readers. Instead, we are reliant on someone else's map reading and interpretation skills. In this passage, we read the map through several layers of mediation: we are looking at Jim who is looking at Silver who is looking at Smollett's map. As much as our own map reading can be individualistic, it is also highly reliant on data and information from others. In some sense, we must read maps in community. This is partly what all these layers of annotating and copying suggest. No matter how "fresh" the paper, there are layers of other fingerprints involved in the processes of both map production and interpretation.

The fingerprints on the map multiply when, midway through the novel, the original map (with the red crosses marking the treasure) changes hands from Captain Smollett's band of sailors and civilians to Long John Silver's band of mutinous pirates. Jim, knowing only that his

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[661] Bushell, 625.
[662] J.B. Harley, who pioneered critical cartography in the last two decades of the twentieth century, is responsible for the term "silences," as opposed to blank spaces, in the context of mapping. A silence, unlike a blank space, is the product of active human agency. J.B. Harley, "Silences and Secrecy: The Hidden Agenda of Cartography in Early Modern Europe," in *The New Nature of Maps*, ed. Paul Laxton (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 85.
[663] Bushell, "Mapping Victorian Adventure Fiction: Silences, Doublings, and the Ur-Map in Treasure Island and King Solomon's Mines," 625.

friend and ally, Dr. Livesey, has inexplicably given up the original map to their enemy, is baffled by circumstances of the map's surrender. When Long John Silver shows the map to the other pirates, characters on both sides of the divide fail to consider, let alone correctly assess, how other people around them are using maps:

> And he cast down upon the floor a paper that I instantly recognized—none other than the chart on yellow paper, with the three red crosses, that I had found in the oilcloth at the bottom of the captain's chest. Why the doctor had given it to him was more than I could fancy. But if it were inexplicable to me, the appearance of the chart was incredible to the surviving mutineers. They leaped upon it like cats upon a mouse. It went from hand to hand, one tearing it from another; and by the oaths and the cries and the childish laughter with which they accompanied their examination, you would have thought, not only they were fingering the very gold, but were at sea with it, besides, in safety.[664]

Unlike in the previous scene with the duplicate map, there is only one map here—the original. The map's singularity is reinforced by the metaphor: there are many cats (pirates) but only one mouse (map). The frenzied reactions of the cats/pirates to the mouse/map—tearing it from one another, making oaths, crying out, childishly laughing—are amplified by the uneven ratio. They would not be so frenetic if they each had their own map, or if they were alone with this map. Theirs is a group reaction—egging each other on, heightening the intensity—because they each want individual access to the map themselves. The pirates are acting as a group but on behalf of themselves as individuals.

Neither as individuals nor as a group are the pirates behaving especially astutely. When they get ahold of the map, they think they have already achieved their goal: they are not only "fingering the very gold" but also already "at sea with it, besides, in safety." They confuse the signifier (the map) with the signified (the treasure) and thus skip the giant step of finding and digging up the treasure. Are the pirates bad at reading maps? Sally Bushell calls them "extremely naïve map readers" but I disagree.[665] Though they are frenzied and too hasty, it turns out that there is nothing they could have learned by reading the map more slowly and carefully. The map does not contain the essential information that they need, namely, that the treasure has already been found and relocated. More than being bad map readers, the pirates are bad at understanding

[664] Stevenson, *Treasure Island*, 209.
[665] Bushell, "Mapping Victorian Adventure Fiction: Silences, Doublings, and the Ur-Map in Treasure Island and King Solomon's Mines," 618.

how other people use maps. None of them, including Long John Silver, has realized that Dr. Livesey was willing to give them the map because it has changed in value for him. Noticing this invisible but nonetheless substantial shift in the map's value is what would have changed the outcome for the pirates, not better map reading skills. It is not just that people are interpreting maps differently from each other, but also that the map itself is changing subtly as it passes from one owner to the next.

These shifts are difficult to trace; indeed, it is not just the pirates who are in error. Jim also cannot comprehend why Dr. Livesey has given Long John Silver such a valuable commodity. From Jim's perspective, the map still holds great value because it indicates where the treasure is hidden. However, for Dr. Livesey, the original map is out of date because it does not indicate that bearded island-dweller Ben Gunn has lifted the treasure from its original X-marked spot and relocated it to his cave. The map holds different value for Dr. Livesey, insofar as it is a valuable trade item with Long John Silver (who does not know that the treasure has been relocated), but the map's value is not the same as it once was and not what Long John Silver thinks that it is. Everyone in this scene—Jim, the doctor, Long John Silver, and the pirates—all have different understandings of the value of the map and different plans for using it. Other than the doctor, no one takes other people's plans and motivations into account.

Though Jim and the pirates fail to consider how other people are using maps, the map itself is constantly training and prompting characters to think about other peoples' map use and experiences on the island. Early in the novel, when Jim and his friends approach the island, the map reveals the presence of other fingerprints. Jim observes: "From the ship we could see nothing of the house or stockade, for they were quite buried among trees; and if it had not been for the chart on the companion, we might have been the first that had ever anchored there since the island arose out of the seas."[666] Their first glimpse of the island is obstructed by the proliferation of trees. The abundant verdure makes the map useful to them. Indeed, the map offers an alternative way to view the island. Given all the trees, they cannot see the house or stockade, but they know those structures are present because of the map. In this way, the map becomes the lens through which they view the island. As a lens, the map adds a temporal dimension to the island. It is the map, rather than anything else, that indicates that they are not the first to see the island. The map contains history, allowing them to see and know more about

[666] Stevenson, *Treasure Island*, 91.

the island at first glance than they would otherwise know. The map not only makes visible the house and stockade but also makes visible those who came before them.

If the proliferation of trees makes the map *more* useful in this moment of arrival, the trees will later make the map *less* useful, or at least much more difficult to use. After Long John Silver's band of mutinous pirates acquires the original map, they use it to navigate to the place with a red X marked "bulk of the treasure here." At this point, they run into a scale problem because "the red cross was, of course, far too large to be a guide." Undeterred in their eagerness to seize the treasure at all costs, they refer to the note on the back of the map, to which readers do not have access on the single-sided frontispiece map. The note says: "Tall tree, Spy-glass shoulder, bearing a point to the N. or N.N.E. Skeleton Island E.S.E. and by E. Ten feet."[667] The trees, which made the map so valuable upon arrival, begin to shift the map's value. Much to the pirates' dismay, there are many tall trees on the plateau "and which of these was the particular 'tall tree' of Captain Flint could only be decided on the spot, and by the readings of the compass."[668] With so many trees to choose from, it is challenging to select which one in particular is the "tall tree" under which Captain Flint buried his treasure. The abundance of trees makes the map *less* useful than it would be if there were, for example, only one tall tree. The map alone does not help them to figure out which one is the "tall tree" that Captain Flint intended. Instead, several other preconditions must be met: a treasure seeker must be "on the spot," must use a compass, and must rely on someone's else interpretation of a "tall tree." In this way, the map demands of them several things: to be in person, to use other tools, and to invest in understanding someone else's perspective. The map is not useless, per se, but it is pointing the reader to other kinds of artifacts, an assembly of different tools and instruments. The map demands that the pirates contemplate the way that other people might use a map.

To reinforce this lesson, the novel both begins and ends with a reminder of our connections to other people. The novel begins:

> Squire Trelawney, Dr. Livesey, and the rest of these gentlemen having asked me to write down the whole particulars about Treasure Island, from the beginning to the end, keeping nothing back but the bearings of the island, and that only because there is still treasure not yet lifted, I take up my pen…[669]

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[667] Stevenson, 223.
[668] Stevenson, 224.
[669] Stevenson, 2.

According to the opening sentence, only one piece of information will be withheld from the reader, namely, the "bearings of the island." Though such an omission may seem inconsequential, it reveals much about the novel's attitude toward maps. Without a provided bearing, the island cannot be placed in relation to the rest of the world. It is detached from its context, hovering somewhere but not locked into place anywhere in particular. This dislocation from context, produced by the omission of the bearings, is the opposite of the cartographical logic of the Ordnance Survey. After all, as we saw in Chapter One, the Ordnance Survey's scientific process of triangulation, an essential part of nineteenth-century mapping, is all about fitting places within triangles, locating one place relative to another place, and locking it all into place in a comprehensive and error-proof framework. What differentiates the Ordnance Survey maps from the maps of previous centuries is the accuracy of the triangulated framework. Stevenson's map, on the other hand, is resistant to that logic. Though we can know an incredible amount about the island, we still cannot know *where* it is. The contrast between the map of Treasure Island and the Ordnance Survey triangles is a reminder of the multiplicity of maps—there are lots of maps emerging to serve many purposes and with many possible interpretations—and of the instability of maps. That instability is heightened by the reproduction of printed maps in published books. This map has no coordinates in the plot of the novel, but it also has no coordinates on the material version in the frontispiece because it is a fictional place that does not exist in the extradiegetic world.

The stated reason for why we are barred from knowing the island's bearings is because "there is still treasure not yet lifted." If readers knew where the island was, they might stop being readers and jump into the story to look for the remaining treasure themselves. Worse still, some of the novel's readers might be former characters seeking revenge and another chance at finding the remaining treasure. Refusing to provide the island's bearings blurs the line between readers (who might be future characters) and characters (who might be future readers). The porous boundary between reader and character is further reinforced by their shared access to the same map, which is used by characters but also printed in the novel's frontispiece.

The absence of distinction between readers and characters also means that the story extends temporally into the future. It is unfinished. The treasure is yet to be recovered and thus another story can still be told about it. Raphael Zähringer writes about this as an essential aspect of children's literature. He argues that Stevenson lets Long John Silver escape with some of the

treasure to an unknown fate because there is "another treasure, another map, another journey" that is "not yet actualized." Leaving behind parts of the treasure allows the "reading game—an essential part of children's literature" to continue.[670] Jim Hawkins, our child narrator, writes this story at the request of others, not by his own choice, and perhaps he will write the next story at his own instigation. He seems to have unfinished business as a narrative voice.

Jim's unfinished business is reinforced by what happens to the map at the novel's conclusion. After discovering that the treasure has already been taken, the doctor gives the map to Long John Silver to keep: "He had gone to Silver, given him the chart, which was now useless."[671] From the doctor's perspective, the treasure has been found and relocated so the map is "now useless." Sally Bushell calls it "valueless" and "hollow."[672] But the map is neither useless nor valueless nor hollow, despite what either Dr. Livesey or Bushell may think. Instead, the map is useful based on who uses it. The shifting value of the map is tied to its multiplicity and hence serves as a counterpoint or commentary on the logic of the Ordnance Survey. Silver's possession of the map, compounded by the fact that he later escapes sneakily with three to four hundred guineas of the treasure, alerts us to the map's continuing value. There is a strong implication that the story is not yet over. Either Silver or Jim or the reader or someone else will go back to look for the remaining treasure. Though the map's value may shift over time, it is not without value. Being able to consider another perspective and understand what Long John Silver might do next with the map is the reader's final and ongoing challenge.

Long John Silver is not the only one who ends up with an extraneous map. In Stevenson's essay, "My First Book: *Treasure Island,*" he claims to have "made a map of an island" during a rainy afternoon in Scotland. Though the article modifying map is singular ("a"), that singularity dissolves almost immediately when he explains, "I ticketed my performance *Treasure Island*."[673] As a performance, the map multiplies. It would be a mistake to think of *Treasure Island* only as a novel inspired by a singular map made on a rainy afternoon; as we've seen, there are numerous versions of the map that are each experienced differently by characters and readers across time. Stevenson, too, experiences multiple maps, though he is cagey and not

[670] Zähringer, "X Marks the Spot—Not: Pirate Treasure Maps in Treasure Island and Käpt'n Sharky Und Das Geheimnis Der Schatzinsel," 14–19.
[671] Stevenson, *Treasure Island*, 239.
[672] Bushell, "Mapping Victorian Adventure Fiction: Silences, Doublings, and the Ur-Map in Treasure Island and King Solomon's Mines," 619.
[673] Stevenson, "My First Book: Treasure Island," 121.

entirely honest about how this happens. In the essay, he shares that when he sent his manuscript and map to the publishers, Messrs. Cassell in London, they sent back the manuscript with corrections but reportedly lost the map. Horrified by the loss, Stevenson apparently had his father's clerks reproduce the map. The clerks' copy, which was published with the novel, "was never Treasure Island to me."[674] Sally Bushell points out that this account in the essay does not match Stevenson's letters, "where it is absolutely clear that the clerks in his father's office drew the map for publication from the authorial original with the author's full approval. In the Letters, the lost map is the one made by the clerks and the authorial original is safely returned to Stevenson."[675] Bushell notes that "no previous critic has noted this discrepancy" and modestly disavows her discovery, saying that "none of this matters hugely."[676]

I would suggest that this strange discrepancy indeed matters because it allows us to understand Stevenson's essay in relation to his novel. By alleging that his original map was lost, but presumably keeping it for himself while allowing the clerks' copy to be included in the published text, Stevenson reinforces the lessons of his novel. In this situation, we see a multiplication of maps—in this case, his original map and the clerks' duplicate copy. As the maps multiply, Stevenson uses his own for his own purposes, not to be shared with the public. For us as readers, the whole episode suggests that Stevenson's essay is not an entirely truthful accounting of his creative process. His essay, as much as his novel and his map, is a fiction. As we take into account how other people use maps, we would do well to consider Stevenson's own map use and motivation, just as much as Jim's or any of the pirates'.

This insight is especially important because it contradicts Stevenson's strangely narrow and myopic claims about map use in the essay. Stevenson's essay contains several famous declarations about map use. One of the most cited is: "I am told there are people who do not care for maps, and I find it hard to believe."[677] When Anders Engberg-Pedersen includes this statement as the epigraph to *Literature and Cartography* (2017), he uses it to reinforce not only Stevenson's love of maps but also a presumed universal fascination with maps: he writes that novel readers "know well the lure of maps."[678] Engberg-Pedersen assumes that Stevenson's

[674] Stevenson, 133–34.
[675] Bushell, "Mapping Victorian Adventure Fiction: Silences, Doublings, and the Ur-Map in Treasure Island and King Solomon's Mines," 632.
[676] Bushell, 633.
[677] Stevenson, "My First Book: Treasure Island," 121.
[678] Engberg-Pedersen, "Introduction—Estranging the Map: On Literature and Cartography," 14.

enthusiasm for maps is contagious and his interpretation is not entirely wrong. Stevenson's attitude has certainly been contagious for some.[679] However, focusing only on Stevenson's enthusiasm for mapping leaves unexamined a more puzzling aspect of his famous passage. Throughout his essay, Stevenson seems to be trying very hard not to understand other people. He is so careful to distance himself from those perplexing strangers whose attitudes toward maps are apathetic or worse, that he denies even knowing such people. His connection to them is via hearsay only: "I am told." Rather than pausing to consider further the motivations of such strangers, he continues unabated with his own personal love letter to maps. Maps, he argues, offer an "inexhaustible fund of interest for any man with eyes to see or two pence-worth of imagination."[680] Even if not intentionally malicious, Stevenson's tone can seem judgmental and even callous. Throughout the essay, he is continually resistant to understanding a different perspective. He swiftly dismisses entire audiences for his novel ("women were excluded")[681] before concluding the essay with a jab at Walter Scott in the vein of offering some general advice to other would-be novelists. In order to avoid making the "grossest possible blunders" like those made by Scott in *The Antiquary* (1816) and *Rob Roy* (1817), Stevenson recommends that all novelists write "with an almanack, and the map of the country, and the plan of every house."[682] The writer "who is faithful to his map, and consults it, and draws from it his inspiration, daily and hourly, gains positive support, and not mere negative immunity from accident. The tale has a root there; it grows in that soil; it has a spine of its own behind the words."[683] In Stevenson's metaphor, the novel is a plant with its roots growing in the soil of the map. The soil/map provides the plant/novel with support, immunity, rootedness, growth, and strength.

Ironically, the kind of rootedness that Stevenson advocates for here is not all that dissimilar from the way that Walter Scott himself approached geography. Christopher Donaldson writes about Scott through the lens of "deep mapping," which is a "mode of observation that aims to record and communicate aspects of a locality that cannot be adequately conveyed through conventional cartography." According to Donaldson, Scott felt ill-equipped to do

[679] To give one example: Jorge Luis Borges has obviously been influenced by Stevenson's enthusiasm for maps when he writes, "I like hourglasses, maps, eighteenth-century typography, etymologies, the taste of coffee, and Stevenson's prose." Jorge Luis Borges, "Borges and I," in *Dreamtigers*, trans. Mildred Boyer and Harold Morland (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1964), 51.
[680] Stevenson, "My First Book: Treasure Island," 122.
[681] Stevenson, 123.
[682] Stevenson, 135.
[683] Stevenson, 136.

anything more than "practical" (lived) geography because his knowledge was not cultivated in the classroom but instead in the fields. At variance with a disembodied, detached "bird's eye-view" rooted in calculation and geography, Scott's geography was based on memory, sensory experience, and deeply saturated history.[684] In other words, Scott's novels were rooted in the local soil, just as Stevenson thought novels ought to be rooted in the soil of maps.

Rather than bothering to understand Scott's perspective on mapping and geography, however, Stevenson ridicules Scott's blunders. His focus on his own perspective blinds him to other perspectives on mapping. As we have seen, this kind of myopic attitude is not reflected in his novel. Though his essay stridently articulates what a map should do, his novel offers a more nuanced understanding of the multiplicity of maps. In the end, what Stevenson *says* about map use in the essay is much less important than how he actually *uses* maps. Though he claims that there is one true way to use maps in plotting one's novel, he was in practice using multiple maps the whole time.

Thomas Hardy and Wessex

Thomas Hardy's short story, "A Tradition of Eighteen Hundred and Four," takes place on the high downs of Sussex in 1804-05, when Napoleon Bonaparte had amassed troops across the English Channel at Boulogne and was scheming about a possible invasion of England. Young shepherd Solomon Selby and his uncle fall asleep watching their sheep and wake up to see two Frenchmen on the shore below with their boats. Peering down upon them, Solomon can "see that one of 'em carried a roll of paper in his hand, while every moment he spoke quick to his comrade, and pointed right and left with the other hand to spots along the shore. There was no doubt that he was explaining to the second gentleman the shapes and features of the coast."[685] The two Frenchmen move closer to Solomon and suddenly one of them "sprung a dark lantern open on the paper, and showed it to be a map… The other French officer now stooped likewise, and over the map they had a long consultation, as they pointed here and there on the paper, and then hither and thither at places along the shore beneath us."[686]

[684] Donaldson, "Deep Mapping and Romanticism: 'Practical' Geography in the Poetry of Sir Walter Scott," 213–14.
[685] Thomas Hardy, "A Tradition of Eighteen Hundred and Four," in *Wessex Tales*, ed. Kathryn R. King (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 36.
[686] Hardy, 36–37.

The story sets up a multi-level scene: Solomon and his uncle are perched atop the downs, looking below at the two Frenchmen who are using their map on the ground. Solomon and his uncle have scant information about the identity of the map users below them: "though the map had been in the lantern-light, their faces had always been in shade."[687] The position of the Englishmen, a bird's eye view in the darkness, leaves them unable to gather more concrete information and forces them to activate their imaginations: they conclude excitedly that one of the men must be Napoleon Bonaparte. The story ends abruptly with the note that the French invasion never happened, and the protagonist Solomon has been dead for ten years. We never learn why the invasion did not ensue, though two possibilities are implied by the story: Solomon and his brother could have been wrong in imagining that the map-user was Napoleon, or the map-users below could have failed in any number of ways, including failing to find an adequate place to land, failing to corral their troops, or even failing to use their maps correctly at all.

This story from *Wessex Tales* exemplifies Hardy's use of maps in his fiction. We see characters accessing maps from two vantage points—from a bird's eye view above or on the ground below. In the first instance, watching from above changes the scale in a way that activates imaginative labor from characters. In the second instance, characters reading maps on the ground are operating in a much less forgiving environment and regularly make mistakes. Rather than seeing those mistakes firsthand, we see a softened version of them through another character's eye. Taken together, these two perspectives suggest that maps are unstable, social documents as capable of inspiring imagination from above as they are of fostering error on the ground. Hardy's fiction valorizes error as much as imagination. Making mistakes holds value: without mistakes, there would be no story.

In Hardy's fiction, there are ample opportunities for both imagination and mistakes with maps. Unlike in Anthony Trollope's Barsetshire series (which includes a single scene of Harold Smith's map lecture about the South Sea islands, and which excludes the map of Barsetshire that Trollope made), and unlike in Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (which features multiple iterations of a single map) and Thomas Hardy's short stories and novels are filled with a relative abundance of maps, globes, bird's eye views, contours, and navigational handposts. To capture the volume and range of these references, this section will briefly touch down in a series of selected mapping passages drawn from a cross section of Hardy's fiction, including four short

[687] Hardy, 37.

stories from *Wessex Tales* in addition to four novels: *Far from the Madding Crowd* (1874), *The Return of the Native* (1878), *The Mayor of Casterbridge* (1886), and *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* (1891). In addition to an abundance of intradiegetic mapping, Hardy produces not just one extradiegetic map of the fictional area in Southwestern England that he calls Wessex but several versions, including an original in 1895 and a revision in 1912, alongside multiple revisions of older texts to ensure that they matched the details of the map.

This section will proceed in three parts. I will begin with a brief history of Hardy's Wessex, in which I will argue that Wessex (the place and the map) is a collaborative co-construction between Hardy and his readers. That means that, rather than being hostile to or in opposition to Trollope's Barsetshire, the inclusion of Hardy's map of Wessex shares a similar social function with the exclusion of Trollope's map of Barsetshire. Next, I will turn to several examples of the ways in which characters' imaginations are activated by the perspective of the bird's eye view, collapsing what other critics have characterized as the uncrossable space between the lived geography of characters and the linear geography of readers. Finally, I will conclude with examples of mapping errors made on the ground, errors which are softened by our social view of them through the eyes of other characters, showing that Hardy's fictions value mistakes at least as much as they value imagination.

Wessex is the fictional place in southwestern England where Hardy's novels take place and of which he produced several extradiegetic maps. Though scholars have characterized Wessex as hostile to other depictions of the west,[688] illustrative of the human predicament to be alone,[689] or capitalist pandering to his readers,[690] I suggest in contrast that Wessex is a collaborative social construction. Paradoxically, providing the map of Wessex aligns Hardy with Trollope, who produced but did not provide his own map of Barsetshire, because both allow for social collaboration between an author and his readers.

Simon Gatrell sketches out four stages by which Wessex evolved as a concept and a place. In the first stage, in the spring of 1873, Hardy linked together a group of three novels (*Under the Greenwood Tree*, *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, and *Far from the Madding Crowd*) which all mentioned the town of Casterbridge. He also dropped the name Wessex into the manuscript of *Far from the Madding Crowd*, though did not elaborate on it until *The Hand of Ethelberta*. In

[688] Pite, *Hardy's Geography: Wessex and the Regional Novel*, 112–13.
[689] Miller, *Topographies*, 55.
[690] Peter Widdowson, *Hardy in History: A Study in Literary Sociology* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), 16–17.

stage two, after Hardy moved to Dorchester, he continued to make more explicit connections to previous novels in *The Mayor of Casterbridge*. Around this time, in 1886-87, he wrote to his publishers at Sampson Low to ask: "Could you, whenever advertising my books, use the words 'Wessex novels' at the head of the list? I find that the name Wessex, which I was the first to use in fiction, is getting to be taken up everywhere: & it would be a pity for us to lose the right to it for wanting of asserting." In the third stage, writing *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* during the summer of 1890, Hardy expanded Wessex from one county into a larger footprint that included most of Dorset, western Hampshire, southern Wiltshire, and eastern Somerset. Finally, in 1895, Hardy published the first volume of the collected edition, explaining his use of the name Wessex:

> I first ventured to adopt the word 'Wessex' from the pages of early English history… The series of novels I projected being mainly of the kind called local, they seemed to require a territorial definition of some sort to lend unity to their scene. Finding that the area of a single county did not afford a canvas large enough for this purpose, and that there were objections to an invented name, I disinterred the old one.[691]

In addition to using the word Wessex as a "territorial definition" to "lend unity" to his "local" series of novels, Hardy also included a map of "The Wessex of the Novels" for the first time with the 1895 collected edition (See **Figure 16**).[692]

[691] Thomas Hardy, *Far from the Madding Crowd*, ed. Suzanne B. Falck-Yi and Linda M. Shires (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 3–4.

[692] The inclusion of the map was not surprising to those who knew Hardy well. In his autobiography, Hardy boasts about being good at geography, writing that it was a subject at which he "excelled" in school. Thomas Hardy, *The Life and Work of Thomas Hardy*, ed. Michael Millgate (Athens, GA: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1985), 21. Later in life, Hardy's friend Hermann Lea reported that Hardy loved maps into adulthood: "It always gave him intense pleasure to map out the route a day or two before we started, and many an hour have we spent over the ordnance maps spread out on the table at Max Gate planning each road, and so arranging that we took in any place he wanted to see, or to show Mrs. Hardy [his second wife, Florence], that lay not too far off the actual route." James Gibson, ed., *Thomas Hardy: Interviews and Recollections* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 55.

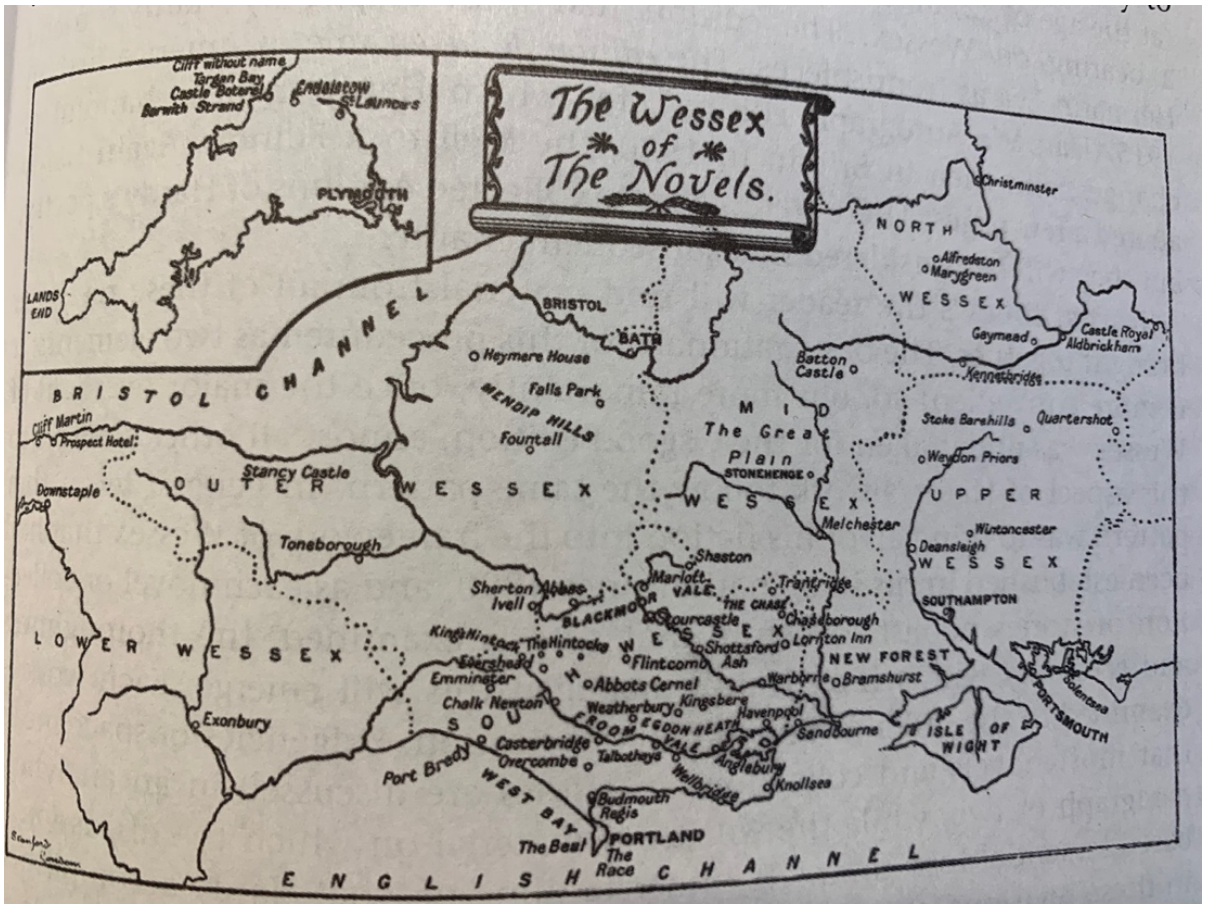

Figure 16. *Map of "The Wessex of the Novels" in the Osgood, McIlvaine collected edition of Hardy's work, 1895.*

Hardy's 1895 map of "The Wessex of the Novels" shows southwestern England stretching from Windsor in the east, to Barnstaple in the west, to Oxford in the north. Cornwall is inset in the top left-hand corner. The map shows accurate rivers, county boundaries (indicated by dotted lines), real places like Bristol, Bath, and the New Forest (shown in capital letters), and fictional places (shown in lower-case letters).[693] Though there was a revision in 1912, this 1895 version of the map has had tremendous staying power: it is this map that is printed with most editions of the novels. Ralph Pite observes that this is especially strange because the 1895 map is regularly printed with editions of Hardy's novels "as they appeared when first published in volume form," meaning that the texts "antedate" the map.[694]

The fact that the texts of the novels predate the map seems to align with J. Hillis Miller's argument about the relationship between novels and maps in his chapter on Hardy in

[693] Pite, *Hardy's Geography: Wessex and the Regional Novel*, 171.
[694] Pite, 171.

Topographies (1995). He argues that maps and novels are so closely intertwined that "a novel is a figurative mapping: the story traces the movement of characters from house to house and from time to time, as the crisscross of their relationships gradually creates an imaginary space."[695] In other words, as the novel proceeds, a map is produced. This linearity reflects what seems to have happened in Hardy's case, in which the novels came before the map. The next part of Miller's argument is strange, though. He goes on to argue that the map outlasts its characters. He writes, "The map is what remains after characters are dead or happily married."[696] Miller ends his chapter by claiming that "for Hardy, the human predicament is to be alone."[697] This characterization of the map as something antisocial and separate from its character's lives does not accord with how we will see characters using maps in this section.

Like J. Hillis Miller, Ralph Pite also posits that Hardy's geography is antisocial. Writing about Michael Henchard, the titular mayor in *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, he says that "Henchard is a person whose geographies are personal and incommensurate with other people's."[698] In addition to his describing his characters' geography in this way, Pite also paints Hardy himself as antisocial and hostile to other writers. He says that Hardy's work "voices suspicions about his contemporaries' construction of the west"[699] and that he was "always personally rather hostile to Trollope" and in fact created Wessex "out of his opposition to [Trollope's] ruralist geography."[700] Rather than contesting Hardy's personal hostility toward Trollope, I want to observe instead that Hardy's inclusion of the map of Wessex seems to have had a similar impact to Trollope's exclusions of his map of Barsetshire. Both were opportunities for a social collaboration with readers.

In Hardy's case, readers were quite eager for a map of Wessex, even as early as 1873. The earliest surviving request for a map came from John Hutton, who published reviews of Hardy's novels in the *Spectator*. Hutton wrote to Hardy on July 3, 1873: "I picture places to myself very vividly & get disappointed afterwards when I find I have got wrong—I am rather great in locality & the faculty has its disadvantages—I always want a map as a frontispiece to a good novel."[701] Over time, Ralph Pite argues, Wessex evolved according to communications,

[695] Miller, *Topographies*, 19.
[696] Miller, 20.
[697] Miller, 55.
[698] Pite, *Hardy's Geography: Wessex and the Regional Novel*, 48.
[699] Pite, 87.
[700] Pite, 112–13.
[701] Simon Gatrell, *Thomas Hardy's Vision of Wessex* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 22.

collaborations, and requests from readers. Eventually, Hardy "adapted himself and his work to his readers' perception of him" as an authority on the Dorset area of west England.[702] In this sense, Wessex was a collaborative effort with readers.

Some have viewed this collaboration with skepticism and argued that Hardy's map of Wessex is a form of capitalist pandering to his audience to sell more books. For example, Peter Widdowson says Hardy "bowed to public desires" to make his novels "more easily located by pilgrims."[703] Joe Fisher argues that Hardy used Wessex to further his career and pursue success.[704] I disagree. Rather than pandering to his audience, the map of Wessex is Hardy's way of being authentic to the kinds of maps that interest his own characters: social maps of both imagination and error used in communication and collaboration with others. By including a map of Wessex for his readers that is huge—spanning multiple counties, situating the novels amid a vast scale, limiting the internal representation of a town to a small dot—Hardy replicates for readers the experience that his characters have of seeing a place from a bird's eye view. Like characters on a hill, looking at the map of Wessex allows readers to see more but see everything smaller, leaving space for imaginatively filling in the details.

Hardy's fictions often feature characters who view the world from a bird's eye perspective. J. Hillis Miller makes a similar observation in *Thomas Hardy: Distance and Desire* (1970). Miller argues that both Hardy and his characters "prefer to remain on the periphery of life… quietly watching on the sidelines"; they enjoy spying, seeing without being seen, or watching from an upper window or a hill.[705] For Miller, this distance serves a purpose: "the wider, the more detached, the more impersonal, the more disinterested, the more and objective a man's view is the closer he will come to seeing the truth of things as they are."[706] In other words, a bird's eye view allows Hardy and his characters to see reality more accurately. I agree with Miller that Hardy is clearly interested in the affordances and limitations of the bird's eye view. However, I suggest that the bird's eye view is more significant for what it does not show than for what it does. The bird's eye view is less about reality ("the truth of things as they are") than it is about imagination. Seeing something from above changes the scale, offering a necessarily limited and foreshortened perspective. Because these characters do not quite know what they are

[702] Pite, *Hardy's Geography: Wessex and the Regional Novel*, 2.
[703] Widdowson, *Hardy in History: A Study in Literary Sociology*, 16–17.
[704] Joe Fisher, *The Hidden Hardy* (Basingstroke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1992), 2–3.
[705] Miller, *Thomas Hardy: Distance and Desire*, 6–7.
[706] Miller, 17.

looking at, they activate their imaginations to fill in the missing details. Furthermore, because Hardy compares the bird's eye view to the view of a map, scenes of the bird's eye view offer important implications for the map that Hardy himself provides to his readers. The kind of imaginative labor performed by characters accessing a bird's eye view is similar to the imaginative labor performed by readers filling in the gaps in Hardy's own map of Wessex, thus collapsing the distinction between readers and characters.

Hardy articulates the general principle that one sees a map from above in an early scene in *The Return of the Native* (1878). A solitary pedestrian sees a figure of a young woman in the distance. The narrator observes: "There the form stood, motionless as the hill beneath. Above the plain rose the hill, above the hill rose the barrow, and above the barrow rose the figure. Above the figure was *nothing that could be mapped* elsewhere than on a celestial globe" [emphasis mine].[707] By gesturing toward the unmappable, this passage makes a vertical distinction: what is above the figure cannot be mapped. By implication, what is below the figure, including the barrow and hill and the heath, can be mapped.[708] This is a different sort of boundary than we often see on maps, which typically exclude horizontally rather than vertically.

The idea that we read maps from above was rooted in the historical moment of the nineteenth century, in which Britons were fascinated by the affordances of height, especially panoramas and hot air balloons. In *An Empire of Air and Water: Uncolonizable Space in the British Imagination, 1750-1850* (2015), Siobhan Carroll traces a brief history of the rise of hot air ballooning. Before 1783, she says, "the atmosphere—as a space that could not be traversed or occupied—did not interest Europeans very much." That attitude changed "almost overnight" when the Montgolfier brothers launched the first hot air balloon in France.[709] The mania for ballooning traveled to England where Margaret Graham, the only English female aeronaut, performed a song from a hot air balloon at Queen Victoria's coronation.[710]

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[707] Thomas Hardy, *The Return of the Native*, ed. Simon Gatrell, Margaret R. Higonnet, and Nancy Barrineau (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 17.
[708] Of course, just because "what is below" can theoretically be mapped does not mean it can be mapped easily. Later, we learn: "It seemed as if the bonfire-makers were standing in some radiant upper story of the world, detached from and independent of the dark stretches below. The heath down there was now a vast abyss, and no longer a continuation of what they stood on; for their eyes, adapted to the blaze, could see nothing of the deeps beyond its influence." As compared with the previous passage, which established the above as unmappable and the heath as mappable, we have a complication here: those at the top cannot see what is below because they are blinded by the light. As we will see, looking down from above does not mean the view is clear; it often requires imaginative labor. Hardy, 20.
[709] Carroll, *An Empire of Air and Water: Uncolonizable Space in the British Imagination, 1750-1850*, 121.
[710] Carroll, 139.

Hot air ballooning soon made the transition from science to literature. Elaine Freedgood argues that, as a form, the nineteenth-century novel offers an aeronautic perspective that she calls a "cartographic birds-eye view."[711] Alison Byerly compares contemporary descriptions of hot air balloon travel with panoramic literary descriptions in *Bleak House*, *Adam Bede*, and *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*.[712] For example, Byerly observes that the words of hot air balloon traveler James Glaisher—"The whole country appears like a prodigious map spread out beneath [one's] feet"[713]—are remarkably similar to the opening salvo of *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*, which describes the Vale of Blackmoor:

> The traveler from the coast, who, after plodding northward for a score of miles over calcareous downs and corn-lands, suddenly reaches the verge of one of these escarpments, is surprised and delighted to behold, *extended like a map beneath him*, a country differing absolutely from that which he has passed through [emphasis mine].[714]

The similarity that Byerly observes is obvious: both Glaisher the balloonist and Hardy's "traveler from the coast" see the land like a map beneath them. This view, made possible because of the bird's eye perspective from the balloon or the top of the escarpment, looks like a map because of the scale: they both can see a long way at a low resolution. Despite their similar perspectives, I think the divergence between Glaisher and the traveler is more interesting. The two are impressed by different things. In the case of the balloonist, the adjective "prodigious" is modifying the noun "map." For the balloonist, it is the map that is "prodigious," meaning remarkable, large, impressive. Hardy's traveler, in contrast, is far less impressed by the map. In fact, the sentence could function without the map clause at all: the traveler "is surprised and delighted to behold… a country differing absolutely from that which he has passed through." Rather than being impressed by the map-like appearance of the land, the traveler is surprised and delighted because the new land is unknown to him. As we will see, not knowing a place and not being able to see the full details from a limited bird's eye view is what activates the imaginations of Hardy's characters. In the next three examples, seeing topography from above becomes a mechanism for allowing characters to see and amplify their own affective emotions—guilt in

[711] Freedgood, *Worlds Enough: The Invention of Realism in the Victorian Novel*, 80.
[712] Alison Byerly, "'A Prodigious Map Beneath His Feet': Virtual Travel and The Panoramic Perspective," *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 29, no. 2–3 (2007): 159, https://doi.org/10.1080/08905490701584643.
[713] James Glaisher, *Travels in the Air* (London: Richard Bentley, 1871), 5.
[714] Thomas Hardy, *Tess of the d'Ubervilles*, ed. Tim Dolin (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 12.

"The Distracted Preacher," desire in *Far from the Madding Crowd*, and nostalgia and hope in *The Mayor of Casterbridge*.

In "The Distracted Preacher," the bird's eye view perspective allows the preacher in question, a Wesleyan minister named Mr. Stockdale, to evade his own complicated feelings of guilt. Mr. Stockdale arrives in the town of Nether-Moynton, where he is startled to learn that smuggling liquor is the primary vocation of most of his neighbors. When the Customs-officers arrive to search the town, all the men hide in the church tower. Watching from above, they see the Customs-officers find their hidden tubs of alcohol in the orchard and in the church below. Mr. Stockdale climbs up to the church tower to see for himself:

> Stockdale here beheld all the missing parishioners, lying on their stomachs on the tower-roof, except a few who, elevated on their hands and knees, were peeping through the embrasures of the parapet. Stockdale did the same, and *saw the village lying like a map below him*, over which moved the figures of the Customs-men, each foreshortened to a crab-like object, the crown of his hat forming a circular disc in the centre of him [emphasis mine].[715]

As in "A Tradition of Eighteen Hundred and Four," there are many levels and layers to this scene. Starting from the bottom, we have the "village lying like map" with Customs-men moving "over" the map. Above the Customs-men are the villagers lying on their stomachs on the church tower-roof; above them are those "elevated on their hands and knees." Finally, in the back, we have Mr. Stockdale who is a map user but also the viewer of other map users. At the back and the top, Mr. Stockdale's view of the scene is necessarily limited. He cannot get the full picture from this perspective. In particular, he cannot see the faces of the Customs-men. Without that, he is forced to use his imagination in a way that projects his own ambivalence about his place in the town. Though he disapproves of the smuggling operation, he finds himself up the church tower with the townspeople, rather than helping the Customs-men in their search. He feels guilty about not helping the Customs-men, but also feels guilty about not fully supporting the townspeople, ultimately belonging with neither camp. As a result of his guilt and ambivalence, he imaginatively transforms the Customs officers from men into crabs wearing hats. By

[715] Thomas Hardy, "The Distracted Preacher," in *Wessex Tales*, ed. Kathryn R. King (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 208.

dehumanizing and homogenizing them into crustaceans that cannot be distinguished from each other, Mr. Stockdale uses the bird's eye perspective to help him evade his own conflicted guilt.

Mr. Stockdale is not the only Hardy character who uses the bird's eye perspective to imaginatively shape a scene to reflect his affective emotions. In *Far from the Madding Crowd* (1874), Farmer Gabriel Oak uses topography as a mechanism for desire. He observes newcomer Bathsheba Everdene from above as he looks down into a lit barn where she is working with her aunt: "One of the women was past middle age. Her companion was apparently young and graceful; he could form no decided opinion upon her looks, her position being almost beneath his eye, so that he saw her in a bird's-eye view, as Milton's Satan first saw Paradise."[716] The comparison to John Milton's epic poem *Paradise Lost* (1667) is odd. It is true that Gabriel sees Bathsheba from above and that Satan sees Paradise from above, but the similarities between the scenes end there. Gabriel stumbles upon his viewpoint effortlessly since the barn is built into a hill so he peers through "crevices in the roof" which are at eye level. Satan, on the other hand, laboriously ascends a "steep savage hill" on a "pensive and slow" journey through a "thick entwined… undergrowth of shrubs and tangling bushes" before leaping over the wall of Paradise and landing atop the Tree of Life.[717] Gabriel is a harmless and gentle spectator, more heroic savior than threatening menace. Satan, despite sitting atop the Tree of Life, is "devising death" for Adam and Eve like a "prowling wolf" plotting their downfall.[718] Gabriel's scope of view is also much narrower—a single lit barn with two women and two cows—whereas Satan is able to see vast swaths of land "from Auran eastward to the royal tow'rs of great Seleucia," including a large river, a mountain, a fountain, a steep glade, four streams, sands of gold, beds of flowers, hill and dale and plain, an open field, groves of trees, grazing flocks, a valley, and a lake. Given these striking differences, why make the comparison to Milton's poem at all? I suggest that the reference to *Paradise Lost* shows that Gabriel, by harnessing the power of an imagination activated by the bird's eye view, sees as much in a tiny barn as Satan sees of the entirety of Paradise. When Gabriel hears Bathsheba speaking with her aunt, he becomes "more curious to observe her features, but this prospect being denied him by the hooding effect of the cloak, and by his aërial position, he felt himself drawing upon his fancy for their details… his position

[716] Hardy, *Far from the Madding Crowd*, 19.
[717] John Milton, "Paradise Lost," in *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*, ed. George M. Logan et al., 8th Edition, vol. Volume B: The Sixteenth Century and The Early Seventeenth Century (New Haven & London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2006), 1891.
[718] Milton, 1891.

moreover affording the widest scope for his fancy, he painted her a beauty."[719] Because Gabriel is looking down upon Bathsheba, certain details are illegible, so he fills in the missing details with his imagination, making a single person as capacious and beautiful and interesting as all of Paradise.

What makes this scene especially interesting is that Gabriel has already seen Bathsheba before, in the previous chapter, from a non-bird's-eye perspective when she was riding in a carriage and looking at herself in a mirror. This is yet another difference from *Paradise Lost,* in this case a narrative reversal. Eve tells Adam about seeing her reflection in the "crystal mirror" of the "clear smooth lake" *after* Satan has already seen her from his bird's eye view perch atop the Tree of Life.[720] Gabriel, on the other hand, watches Bathsheba seeing herself in the mirror *before* he sees her from the bird's eye view in the lit barn. Because of the mirror, one might say that Gabriel has doubly seen her before, both herself in the flesh and the mimesis of her mirror reflection. When he looks down upon her in the lit barn and tries to paint her with his imagination, he is painting a person who he has already seen twice, whose outlines have already been established, who ought to only provide the narrowest and certainly not the "widest" scope for his imagination. The bird's eye perspective, then, allows him to exercise his imagination and creativity in a way that ought to be doubly impossible. He projects what he wants onto her, painting her a beauty, because the bird's eye view gives him that opportunity. When J. Hillis Miller writes about Gabriel seeing Bathsheba from a distance, he chooses to write only about the mirror scene, not mentioning the second encounter in the lit barn. Miller's selective excision works well for his argument that watching from a distance allows characters to "see reality as it is" but it does not work as well when including the totality of the "watching from a distance" scenes.[721] Including the barn scene in addition to the mirror scene reveals that Gabriel is not necessarily seeing "reality as it is" as much as he is rolling back what he already subconsciously knows, undoing things as they actually are, and instead painting Bathsheba with the hues of his imagination.

My final example of bird's eye view imagination comes from an early scene in *The Mayor of Casterbridge*. In this case, Elizabeth-Jane and her mother Susan experience different affective emotions (hope and nostalgia, respectively) when they arrive on the edge of the town of

[719] Hardy, *Far from the Madding Crowd*, 20.
[720] Milton, "Paradise Lost," 1897.
[721] Miller, *Thomas Hardy: Distance and Desire*, 9.

Casterbridge, where Susan's former husband Michael Henchard is now the mayor. The two women view Casterbridge from above, atop a hill, before descending into town:

> It was on a Friday evening, near the middle of September and just before dusk, that they reached the summit of a hill within a mile of the place they sought. There were high banked hedges to the coach-road here, and they mounted upon the green turf within, and sat down. The spot commanded a full view of the town and its environs. 'What an old-fashioned place it seems to be!' said Elizabeth-Jane, while her silent mother mused on other things than topography. 'It is huddled all together; and it is shut in by a square wall of trees, like a plot of garden ground by a box-edging.' Its squareness was, indeed, the characteristic which most struck the eye in this antiquated borough, the borough of Casterbridge—at that time, recent as it was, untouched by the faintest sprinkle of modernism. It was compact as a box of dominoes. It had no suburbs—in the ordinary sense. Country and town met at a mathematical line. To birds of the more soaring kind Casterbridge must have appeared on this fine evening as a mosaic-work of subdued reds, browns, greys, and crystals, held together by a rectangular frame of deep green. To the level eye of humanity it stood as an indistinct mass behind a dense stockade of limes and chestnuts, set in the midst of miles of rotund down and concave field. The mass became gradually dissected by the vision into towers, gables, chimneys, and casements, the highest glazings shining bleared and bloodshot with the coppery fire they caught from the belt of sunlit cloud in the west.[722]

As in the other novels, we again approach a place from a bird's eye perspective. Here the view is broken down into three vertical levels: "birds of a more soaring kind" will see a colorful mosaic, the "level eye of humanity" will see an indistinct mass, and a further layer of dissection will reveal individual features like towers and chimneys. We learn, by negation, that Elizabeth-Jane must be viewing the town topographically since her mother, in contrast, is "musing on things other than topography." As that phrase indicates, Elizabeth-Jane and her mother appear to be viewing the town quite differently: whereas Elizabeth-Jane is focused on place (topography), her mother is preoccupied with time (things other than topography). On the eve of reconnecting with her estranged husband Henchard, Susan is thinking about her messy and complicated history,

[722] Thomas Hardy, *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, ed. Dale Kramer and Pamela Dalziel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 26–27.

which is not a history that took place here at Casterbridge. She seems to be living in the past, dwelling on time and not interested in place at all. Indeed, for a passage that is ostensibly introducing a new place, there is a lot about time in the opening of this passage (Friday evening, September, dusk) to support Susan's musings. And yet, there is a blurriness here between place and time. For example, the phrase "old-fashioned" is ambiguous. The phrase begs the question: does time tell you something about a place or does place tell you something about time? Old-fashioned seems to do both, as a time phrase that tells you how a place looks. Though Elizabeth seems to be a more conventional map user in her meditations on the shape of the town and country, her mother is constructing a time-oriented mental map of her relationship with Henchard.

Though the mother seems to dwell on time and the daughter on place, both use the bird's eye view to project their affective emotions on Casterbridge. In fact, both see the same man, Henchard, in the town. For the mother, Henchard is a source of nostalgia and for Elizabeth-Jane, he is a source of hope for a possible future. Henchard is part of their view of Casterbridge, most obviously because he is in the town while they are looking down upon it. There are other signs of his presence, too. The phrase "bleared and bloodshot" is not just a way to describe the windows glinting in the western sun. It also serves as a double reference to Henchard: first, because it calls to mind his unpredictable "bloodshot" drunkenness and second, because it highlights his vexed relationship with Elizabeth-Jane, who is not actually his daughter but who he believes is his daughter and then officially claims as his daughter even after he learns that she is not. The question of "blood" is complicated and recurring: he calls Elizabeth-Jane "my own flesh and blood"[723] but later we learn that "her blood was a sailor's"[724] instead. What all of this suggests is that, though Elizabeth-Jane and her mother appear to be preoccupied with different views of the town, one rooted in place and the other in time, both are imaginatively seeing their affective desires reflected in their bird's eye view.

As we've seen in these examples, Hardy's characters often have access to a bird's eye view from which they view people and places like maps, imaginative filling in the missing details. These examples allow us to challenge one thread of the existing critical consensus about the role of maps in Hardy's fiction. In varying ways, scholars have claimed that Hardy articulates

[723] Hardy, 84.
[724] Hardy, 284.

a firm distinction between the lived geography of characters and the linear geography of readers as an uncrossable boundary, barring readers from fully understanding the land as characters do. This argument has persisted for the last 40 years, ranging from John Barrell's "Geographies of Hardy's Wessex" (1982) to Ruth Livesey's *Writing the Stagecoach Nation* (2016). John Barrell articulates two types of geographies in Hardy's fiction—first, the "primal" geography of Tess Durbeyfield and those who live on Egdon Heath is local, circular, intense, full, detailed, non-exportable, and informed "by smell, by tread, and by sound"[725] whereas the reader's geography is linear, visual, regional, and "rich in cartographical, geological, and pictorial reference."[726] Barrell concludes that the reader can know that there *is* local knowledge, but "he can grasp only the notion of its existence, not the knowledge itself."[727] It is "impossible" for readers "to cross the space between what we see and what the locals know."[728] Even the narrator does not have the power to imbricate these two separate forms of geography. Ruth Livesey expands Barrell's argument to include Hardy's map of Wessex. She observes that "Hardy's map of Wessex positions readers at a point of abstraction: to see where locality is, in Hardy's work, involves flipping pages and viewing Wessex in a way his protagonists never do, outlined from above as a whole." As a result, the map is "the most portable form of representing place" (because it can be rolled up and taken away) but also "the antithesis of… local knowledge."[729] Like Barrell, Livesey argues that there is an uncrossable boundary between what characters know and what readers can know. The addition of the map of Wessex also allows her to make a second argument, beyond what Barrell has said: that protagonists never see Wessex "outlined from above as a whole."

As we've seen in this section, characters frequently see Wessex outlined from above. In so doing, they are forced into a kind of imaginative labor that is similar to the imaginative labor that readers use to engage with fiction. Just as Mr. Stockdale evades guilt by transforming men into crabs with hats, Gabriel Oak feeds his own desire by painting Bathsheba a beauty, and Elizabeth-Jane and her mother see the figure of Henchard as one of hope or nostalgia in the landscape of Casterbridge, so too do readers see their own emotions in the fiction they read by connecting with or rejecting a character, a feeling, a place, or a turn of phrase. There is space for

[725] John Barrell, "Geographies of Hardy's Wessex," *Journal of Historical Geography* 8, no. 4 (1982): 347–49.
[726] Barrell, 356.
[727] Barrell, 357.
[728] Barrell, 360.
[729] Livesey, *Writing the Stage Coach Nation: Locality on the Move in Nineteenth-Century British Literature*, 214.

this readerly participation both within the lines of the text, which cannot possibly include every detail about a person or place, and in the blank spaces of the map, which likewise can never have a one-to-one correspondence with reality, as Lewis Carroll (1832-1898)[730] and Jorge Luis Borges (1899-1986)[731] have shown. By providing a zoomed-out map of Wessex, Hardy allows readers to fill in the details for themselves, creating an alignment between readers and characters. Seeing from a bird's eye view thus challenges and collapses the firm distinction that Barrell and Livesey articulate between literary characters and readers.

In addition to viewing the world from above from a bird's eye view perspective, Hardy's characters also use maps on the ground. This is a far more difficult task. As a result, we frequently see characters misreading maps or making geographical errors. When we saw something similar happening in Chapter Two of this project, the point was not to expose characters' topographical ignorance, but instead to reveal the inadequacy of maps for representing place. Here, in contrast, we do see topographical ignorance, but it is softened by displacement. That is, rather than seeing the errors firsthand in the moment in which they happen, we see the errors after the fact and mediated by the gaze of another sympathetic character. Instead of being painted as flaws, mistakes are characterized as avenues for building relationships and advancing stories. Building relationships and advancing stories are admittedly different effects, but both will illuminate how studying maps via the narrative context of novels reveals the underlying sociality of map use.

Like our "traveler from the coast" in the opening salvo to *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*, Tess herself comes to see the land from a bird's eye perspective. When she leaves the "Vale of Little Dairies" for the "Valley of the Great Dairies," she sees her new home "under her eyes" from "a summit" and a "distant elevation" with a "bird's eye perspective before her." From the summit, she "descended the Egdon slopes lower and lower towards the dairy of her pilgrimage… it was necessary to descend into its midst… she found herself standing on a carpeted level." From "this horizontal land," the confusion begins: "Not quite sure of her direction Tess stood still upon the

[730] The professor figure Mein Herr asks young Bruno: "What do you consider the largest map that would be really useful?" Bruno responds: "About six inches to the mile." Mein Herr says: "Only six inches! We very soon got to six yards to the mile. Then we tried a hundred yards to the mile. And then came the grandest idea of all! We actually made a map of the country, on the scale of a mile to the mile!" Bruno asks: "Have you used it much?" Mein Herr says: "It has never been spread out yet. The farmers objected: they said it would cover the whole country, and shut out the sunlight! So we now use the country itself, as its own map, and I assure you it does nearly as well." Lewis Carroll, *Sylvie and Bruno Concluded* (New York & London: Macmillan and Co, 1894), 169.

[731] Jorge Luis Borges, "On Exactitude in Science," in *Collected Fictions*, trans. Andrew Hurley (New York: Viking, 1998), 322.

hemmed expanse of verdant flatness."[732] This transition from summit to verdant flatness is accompanied by a concomitant difficulty in navigation. Tess can see a lot from the "bird's eye perspective" but on the ground she is "not quite sure of her direction." As if to remedy the difficulty of the flat land, Tess begins to use contour lines to read both places and faces. Contouring, which shows elevation and steepness by way of the frequency and density of lines, is a mapping technique that replicates three-dimensionality on a two-dimensional surface.[733] Using contouring becomes Tess's technique for deploying the imaginative possibilities of the bird's eye view toward the difficulties of navigating on the ground. On the eve of her departure to Trantridge, we learn that "every contour of the surrounding hills was as personal to her as that of her relatives' faces; but for what lay beyond, her judgment was dependent on the teaching of the village school."[734] By this description, Tess appears to be not only a map user but a dexterous, flexible one with two different kinds of skills adaptable to different circumstances. For the local land "of the surrounding hills," she reads the contours easily since the land is personal and familial. For "what lay beyond," she uses the "teaching of the village school" to navigate.

Unfortunately for Tess, both forms of contour reading contain obvious flaws. As soon as she leaves the Vale of Blackmoor for "what lay beyond," whatever she learned from school collapses, leaving her "not quite sure of her direction." She immediately gets lost, which is hardly a ringing endorsement for the school's geography lessons. Likewise, her ability to read the contours of faces is similarly unreliable. In Alec d'Urberville's face she sees "touches of barbarism in his contours"[735] whereas in Angel Clare's face she finds that "every line in the contour of his person [is] the perfection of masculine beauty."[736] Though these contour-readings are not inaccurate, per se, they do not effectively guide her behavior. The "touches of barbarism" do not help her avoid Alec and the "perfection of masculine beauty" blinds her to Angel's flaws. She is literally and relationally "not quite sure of her direction" due to her inability to read rightly the contours of faces and places.

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[732] Hardy, *Tess of the d'Ubervilles*, 102–5.
[733] It is worth noting that was a hotly debated topic in Britain in the second half of the nineteenth century. Julia S. Carlson writes that, after a contoured map was displayed at the Great Exhibition in 1851, there was a Parliamentary debate over the use of contouring or hachuring on Ordnance Survey maps. Though Carlson suggests that hachuring was more expressive and poetic, Hardy seems to disagree, deploying the language of contouring to link characters to maps via the lines on their faces. Carlson, *Romantic Marks and Measures: Wordsworth's Poetry in Fields of Print*, 85.
[734] Hardy, *Tess of the d'Ubervilles*, 37.
[735] Hardy, 40.
[736] Hardy, 192.

Whereas Tess Durbeyfield transitions from the imaginative perspective of the "bird's eye view" to the mistake-prone "verdant flatness," our next example showcases both perspectives at once: the mapping mistake on the ground is mediated by watchful eyes from above. In fact, in "The Melancholy Hussar of the German Legion" the mapping error is mediated by several audience layers. The story itself takes place "ninety years ago" and is told to our first-person narrator thirty-two years ago by the woman, Phyllis, to whom the events happened and who has already been dead for twenty years. The story is about what happened to Phyllis when the York Hussars, one of the regiments of the King's German Legion, arrive in town. Phyllis watches the soldiers, who are camping on the downs, from atop a garden wall. Falling in love with a corporal named Matthäus Tina, Phyllis agrees to run away with Tina, who is going to desert the army because he is homesick. Tina concocts his escape plan with his friend Christoph:

> We shall have come from yonder harbour, where we shall have examined the boats, and found one suited to our purpose. Christoph has already a chart of the channel, and we will then go to the harbour, and at midnight cut the boat from her moorings, and row away round the point out of sight; and by the next morning we are on the coast of France, near Cherbourg. The rest is easy, for I have saved money for the land journey, and can get a change of clothes.[737]

Theirs is a tremendously cavalier plan that makes a lot of assumptions—that they will have no trouble finding a suitable boat, cutting the boat from its moorings, rowing away without anyone noticing, traversing the channel, and navigating well enough to land near Cherbourg. The only thing they have successfully done is to acquire a "chart of the channel." The rest, which they allegedly "shall" do, certainly does not seem "easy."

As it turns out, Tina and Christoph are unsuccessful. Getting cold feet at the last minute, Phyllis opts not to join them. Sitting atop the garden wall a few days later, Phyllis looks down upon the troops arrayed below her and witnesses Tina and Christoph being shot for deserting:

> It transpired that the luckless deserters from the York Hussars had cut the boat from her moorings in the adjacent harbour, according to their plan, and, with two other comrades who were smarting under ill-treatment from their Colonel, had sailed in safety across the Channel. But mistaking their bearings they steered into Jersey, thinking that island the

[737] Thomas Hardy, "The Melancholy Hussar of the German Legion," in *Wessex Tales*, ed. Kathryn R. King (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 48.

> French coast. Here they were perceived to be deserters, and delivered up to the authorities.[738]

There are four techniques for taking your bearings with a map and compass: A) taking a bearing in the field, B) transferring a bearing to a map, C) taking a bearing on a map, and D) transferring a bearing to the field. Two of these techniques must always be performed together for effective navigation: A with B or C with D.[739] Performing one technique without its partner can result in significant issues, like those that plague Tina and Christoph, who attempt to follow the A and B pattern. They perform Part A acceptably if incorrectly; they take a bearing in the field by seeing an island and hypothesizing that it is the French coast. Unfortunately, in their eagerness to escape their regiment, they fail to perform Part B correctly or at all. Rather than transferring their bearing to their "chart of the channel" to confirm that the island is actually the French coast, an action that could have corrected their error in Part A, they either do not check their map or they see on the map what they want to see (confirmation bias) instead of what is actually printed there. In the first case, mistaking their bearings is a form of map not-reading; in the second case, it is more like map misreading. In either case, the consequences for their shoddy navigation are severe. This is quite different from the instances of map misreading that we saw in Chapter Two in which characters generally did not get lost because they were not using maps in the places represented on those maps. Tina and Christoph's ability to use their map is a matter of life or death. Getting lost and "mistaking their bearings" is fatal.

We do not see Tina and Christoph's mistakes firsthand. We are not on the boat with them, nor do we land on the Channel Island of Jersey with them. We see the aftermath of their errors through the eyes of Phyllis, looking down from her garden wall, and told to us by our narrator ninety years after they have happened. This is a classic Hardy mapping situation. Characters on the ground, Tina and Christoph, have made a mistake with their maps that drives the story's climax. We see their error through sympathetic eyes of another character, Phyllis, who is looking down upon them and thinking about Tina's home country, "the country which he

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[738] Hardy, 56.

[739] These details come from the website of Andrew Skurka, a prolific American thru-hiker, who has been named *Outside* Magazine 'Adventurer of the Year' in 2011, *National Geographic* 'Adventurer of the Year' in 2007, *Backpacker* Magazine 'Person of the Year' in 2005. Andrew Skurka, "Map & Compass: Find & Transfer Bearings in the Field & on a Map," *Hard-Won Insights from out There* (blog), accessed January 28, 2023, https://andrewskurka.com/map-and-compass-find-transfer-bearings-map-field-video/.

had colored with such lovely hues in her imagination."[740] Imagination from above and mistakes from below are inextricably tied together.

In *Far from the Madding Crowd*, the consequences of Bathsheba Everdene's mapping error are less severe than they were for Matthäus Tina. Bathsheba was once the subject of Gabriel Oak's bird's-eye view as he gazed down upon her in a lit barn and filled in the unknown details of her face and figure with his imagination. Thirty chapters later, she becomes a map user herself. Trying to travel inconspicuously to Bath to speak with Sergeant Troy, her love interest, she drives her own horse and cart along the turnpike road in the middle of the night:

> Her plan was now to drive to Bath during the night, see Sergeant Troy in the morning before he set out to come to her, bid him farewell, and dismiss him: then to rest the horse thoroughly (herself to weep the while, she thought), starting early the next morning on her return journey. By this arrangement she could trot Dainty gently all the day, reach Liddy at Yalbury in the evening, and come home to Weatherbury with her whenever they chose—so nobody would know she had been to Bath at all. Such was Bathsheba's scheme. But *in her topographical ignorance* as a late comer to the place, she misreckoned the distance of her journey as not much more than half what it really was [emphasis mine].[741]

What excerpting a quote, even a block quote, cannot capture is that this narrative is told in a very strange order. From the previous chapter (Chapter Thirty-One), we know that Bathsheba is upset and worried that her two love interests, Sergeant Troy and Farmer Boldwood, are going to duel. When we leave her at the end of that chapter, she is sitting alone on a rock far from home. At the beginning of Chapter Thirty-Two, we are operating from Bathsheba's servant Maryann's perspective and then Gabriel Oak's perspective, both of whom think that the missing horse and cart have been stolen. We follow along with them as they attempt to hunt down the thief. When they finally catch up with the horse and cart at the turnpike gate on the high road to Bath, the driver turns out to be Bathsheba, not a thief. We see them approach the cart and see Bathsheba from the outside, as she presents herself to Gabriel, calm and collected. It is only at the very end of the chapter that we get this excerpted quote, which reveals her whole misguided plan.

[740] Hardy, "The Melancholy Hussar of the German Legion," 49.
[741] Hardy, *Far from the Madding Crowd*, 214.

The strange order of the storytelling means that we do not see Bathsheba's mistake in action. Instead, we see the aftermath. By that point, we have already seen other people's mistakes: for example, Maryann and Gabriel are mistaken in thinking that the horse and cart have been stolen. Bathsheba's mistake is one among several and she has already semi-successfully covered it up by the time she is caught. We see her through Gabriel Oak's sympathetic eyes. In addition to seeing her actions mediated after the fact through the eyes of a sympathetic viewer, the extent of Bathsheba's "topographical ignorance" is also muted. It is left ambiguous which journey she has miscalculated. Is it the journey to Bath that is twice as long as she thought it was? Or her entire journey from Bath to Yalbury to Weatherbury? The imprecision of the narrator's description of her misreckoning aligns Bathsheba with the narrative voice: who amongst us—Bathsheba, the narrator, the reader—has not been imprecise about distance?

Furthermore, it is not just the topographical part of her journey that is wildly inaccurate. Her topographical ignorance is a stand-in for other kinds of emotional ignorance and naivety, especially her misguided belief in her own ability to "bid farewell" and "dismiss" Troy, who has utterly seduced and practically brainwashed her. Seen in that light, her topographical ignorance is arguably the most minor of her errors. Her delusion about Troy is much more consequential to the story. Focusing on topographical ignorance instead of the other sorts of ignorance protects her and minimizes her delusions. Because of order (the way the story is told), scale (one mistake among many), and size (other mistakes are bigger), we can easily overlook and forgive Bathsheba's topographical ignorance. The whole tale is bound up with the affordances of the novel and narrator.

The previous two examples had clear, though displaced, audiences. Phyllis watches from above as the German soldier gets shot, but she does not see him mistake his bearings and she does not tell her story for thirty-two years. Bathsheba's topographical ignorance is not discovered until many hours after the mistake had been made. In The *Mayor of Casterbridge*, the audience is also displaced, even seemingly absent. When Elizabeth-Jane has difficulties using maps, she imagines her own actions through someone else's eyes. Though she is alone, she replicates the social dynamic for herself that occurs when making mistakes with maps.

Having entered Casterbridge society as the town beauty, Elizabeth-Jane becomes conscious that her inadequate education is not commensurate with her looks. She thinks to herself: "If they only knew what an unfinished girl I am—that I can't talk Italian, or use globes,

or show any of the accomplishments they learn at boarding schools, how they would despise me! Better sell all this finery and buy myself grammar-books and dictionaries and a history of all the philosophies!"[742] Though we can empathize with her insecurity, it is clear that the task before Elizabeth-Jane is a futile one. This is partly because she seems more interested in performance than in substance. Rather than "learn" the accomplishments of boarding school, she wants to "buy" the accouterments of accomplishment and "show" that she has learned. The hard work of studying is never mentioned. Even if she did want to do the work, her plans are misaligned with her goals. Nothing that she proposes to buy—"grammar-books and dictionaries and a history of all the philosophies"—would help her to learn to "use globes." They might not even help her to "talk Italian" since they are written materials and could only teach her to read Italian at best.

We never see Elizabeth-Jane misread a map or even fail to learn how to read a map. Instead, we see the aftermath of her attempt through the sympathetic eyes of another character, Henchard. When Elizabeth-Jane tells him that she is moving out of the house, he goes up to her room for the first time: "He had never been there since she had occupied it. Evidences of her care, of her endeavours for improvement, were visible all around, in the form of books, sketches, maps, and little arrangements for tasteful effects."[743] This is a striking description of her room. On the one hand, it seems like a messy and functional room, with books and sketches and map strewn around in a way that implies their frequent use. On the other hand, it seems possible that this is a studied or performed messiness. The "little arrangements for tasteful effects" suggest that the other items might be scattered for tasteful effect, too. Ultimately, we never learn if Elizabeth can use maps, only that her room looks like (or is designed to look like) she does. Though her father has not been paying attention to her, having never visited her room in his house until she is on the verge of leaving it, Elizabeth-Jane has created her own audience by imagining her own actions through someone else's eyes. Even though she is alone, her map use is social. She demonstrates the paradox of being alone but leaving "evidence" and "visible" traces for someone else to discover.

As these moments of map misreading have shown, maps are unstable, social documents that can be difficult to read, especially on the ground. Making a mistake, however, is not a problem in these novels. In fact, mistakes are essential for building relationships and for

[742] Hardy, *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, 91.
[743] Hardy, 135.

advancing stories, which is precisely what happens in "Interlopers at the Knap." In the story, three men are traveling at night on the road north from Casterbridge. They are on their way to meet Sally Hall, the woman whom one of the men (Farmer Charles Darton) is soon going to marry. They come to a fork in the road which presents them with a problem:

> The lane they followed had been nearly straight for several miles, but now they left it for a smaller one which, after winding uncertainly for some distance, forked into two. By night country roads are apt to reveal ungainly qualities which pass without observation during the day; and though Darton had travelled this way before, he had not done so frequently, Sally having been wooed at the house of a relative near his own. He never remembered seeing at this spot a pair of alternative ways of looking so equally probable as these two did now.[744]

Farmer Darton and his friends find themselves in an exceedingly confusing situation here. After leaving the straight lane, they travel along a smaller lane which is "winding uncertainly." Of course, the road (an inanimate object) cannot be uncertain. Nonetheless, the road is personified as a drunk or lost person. What seems to be happening is that the men upon the road, who are uncertain, project their uncertainty onto the road itself. In addition to being uncertain, the road is also personified as "ungainly." Interestingly, though the road could be uncertain at any time of the day or night, it only reveals its "ungainly qualities" at night.[745] This is a place that is clearly situated in time. Even if Darton and his friends had a map, the road's ungainliness would not have been visible on the map. One has to be at that spot at a certain time to experience the ungainliness. It's worth noting, too, that the map of "The Wessex of the Novels" would not have been helpful to Darton for multiple reasons. Not only does it not show the road's nighttime qualities, it is also too zoomed out to be able to see anything like this particular fork in the road.

Darton and his friends do not have a map, let alone Hardy's map of Wessex. They do, however, come across a handpost a few steps further ahead. One of the men climbs up the post and strikes a match at the top to try and read the writing. The man returns to the ground in frustration, saying: "Not a letter, sacred or heathen—not so much as would tell us the way to the

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[744] Thomas Hardy, "Interlopers at the Knap," in *Wessex Tales*, ed. Kathryn R. King (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 139.

[745] There is a lot in Hardy's fiction about not being able to understand a place unless you experience it at night. In *The Return of the Native*, he writes: "In fact, precisely at this transitional point of its nightly roll into darkness the great and particular glory of the Egdon waste began, and nobody could be said to understand the heath who had not been there at such a time." Hardy, *The Return of the Native*, 9.

town of Smokeyhole—ever I should sin to say it! Either the moss and mildew have eat away the words, or we have arrived in a land where natyves have lost the art o' writing, and should ha' brought our compass like Christopher Columbus."[746] If the map of Wessex, or any map, would not be helpful to Darton, neither is the handpost. Moss and mildew have eaten away at the words as if the land they are trying to map and navigate is resistant to being mapped. Though someone has tried to produce a static map and accompanying static infrastructure, the land itself is not static: it exists in both cyclical time (night/day) and the long durée (moss/mildew).

Forced to navigate without infrastructure in a land that is resistant to being mapped, Darton opts for the straightest road. Crucially, this turns out to be the wrong road, making them late to meet Sally Hall and setting in motion the major plot and conflict of the story. In the meantime, along the road they do not follow, someone else arrives at Sally Hall's house—her long-lost brother and his wife, Helena. Helena turns out to be a former love of Darton's and, after Sally's sickly brother dies, Darton marries Helena instead of Sally. Time passes, Helena dies, and Darton begins to court Sally again. He travels twice more past the same fork in the road: "There came a winter evening precisely like the one which had darkened over that former ride to Hintock, and he asked himself why he should postpone longer, when the very landscape called for a repetition of that attempt."[747] The landscape, and Darton's choices at the fork in the road, are prompting the plot. Having chosen the wrong way the first time, he opts for the right way on his second visit. Unfortunately for Darton, Sally turns him down when he proposes. He tries again for a third time, avoiding the anniversary of his other two trips: "Anniversaries having been unpropitious he waited on till a bright day late in May… As he rode through Long-Ash Lane it was scarce recognizable as the track of his two-winter journeys. No mistake could be made now, even with his eyes shut."[748] Now that he is traveling on a "bright day" in May, and has already traversed this intersection twice before, he cannot make a mistake. Avoiding error might be good for him, just as it would have been better for him to avoid error in the first instance, but it is not good for the story. Without the original error, the story would not have a plot. When he avoids error—"no mistake could be made now"—the story ends.

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[746] Hardy, "Interlopers at the Knap," 140.
[747] Hardy, 159.
[748] Hardy, 164–65.

This chapter has focused on intradiegetic map use by characters in novels and access to extradiegetic maps by authors and readers. In *Framley Parsonage*, the inclusion of the intradiegetic map of the South Sea Islands and the exclusion of the extradiegetic map of Barsetshire both had a social function, illustrating connections among characters and between Trollope and his readers. In *Treasure Island*, the intradiegetic and extradiegetic maps were the same, though both were subject to multiplication via the processes of copying (inside the narrative) and publication (outside the narrative). Despite the increasing availability of maps to individuals, map reading was a community endeavor, subject to error and misinterpretation when read in a vacuum and without considering the social context of other people's map interpretation. Hardy's inclusion of the Wessex map was paradoxically similar to Trollope's exclusion of his map: if Trollope's exclusion allowed readers to imagine Barsetshire as though they "had lived and wandered there," Hardy's inclusion was a social co-construction with eager readerly correspondents. The vast scale of Hardy's extradiegetic map allowed readers to experience the same bird's eye view perspective that activates the imaginations of his characters, a perspective from above that goes hand-in-hand with map misreading on the ground. When seen through layers of displacement and sympathetic eyes, map misreading is a valuable form of knowledge for building social relationships and advancing stories.

The tensions between extradiegetic and intradiegetic knowledge have shown that map interpretation depends on questions on perspective, location, and access. Map misreading, as a theme of the dissertation, has value because different ways of knowing have value. To that extent, map misreading is a feature of the novel form, which always involves an uneven distribution of knowledge between author, narrator, character, and reader. We have seen that map usage takes place in the context of narrative, thereby highlighting the role of the novel as a formal mechanism for perceiving and understanding mapping. Studying maps through novels makes us aware of the contexts and formal features of map use, not because maps are like novels but because novels can illuminate the features of maps and map use that we might otherwise be in danger of taking for granted. Novels are particularly well suited to do this work because they help to highlight the sociality of mapping—showing us characters who see bodies instead of systems (Chapter Two), characters who are sociable even when solitary (Chapter Three), and characters who, by feeling out of place, help readers to understand imaginary place (Chapter Four). Indeed, readers participate in this sociality when they co-construct the spaces and places

of the novel with authors like Trollope, or learn to study other people's strategies for using maps with Stevenson, or fill in the gaps of Hardy's Wessex map by mimicking his imaginative characters' approach to the bird's eye view. This kind of readerly participation suggests that, in addition to studying maps through novels, studying novels through maps offers readers a map for navigating the novel. The map for novel reading is neither prescriptive nor pinned down but it strongly encourages paying attention to undervalued people and places, remaining open to the hidden benefits of taking an indirect route, allowing uncertainty to bloom into hopefulness for the future, embracing the discomforts and the joys of feeling out of place, participating actively in the imaginative process, considering thoroughly other perspectives, and building empathy for the errors of others as well as ourselves. As we've seen in every chapter, mapping and error go hand in hand. No map is perfect, and no map reader or novel reader is perfect either. Reading novels about maps teaches us that error is inevitable and abundant. May we give each other grace to make mistakes and even to celebrate them, rejoicing in the connections and stories that those mistakes produce.

CODA.
"Which way to Watenlath?"
Long-Distance Walking as Critical Practice

In 1772, William Gilpin (1724-1804) was lost in the Lake District. He recounts the experience in *Observations, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty* (1786):

> 'Which way to Watenlath [sic]?' said one of our company to a peasant, as we left the vale of Borrowdale. 'That way,' said he, pointing up a lofty mountain steeper than the tiling of a house… The question we asked… we found was a very improper one. We should have asked, in what direction we were to seek it. For way there was none; except here and there a blind path; which being itself often bewildered, served only to bewilder us. The inhabitants pay little attention to paths; they steer along these wilds by landmarks, which to us were unknown.[749]

I know the feeling Gilpin describes. Nearly 250 years later, I was lost in the exact same place. In the summer of 2019, I was hiking Alfred Wainwright's Coast to Coast Path, a 190-mile route across the north of England from the Irish Sea at St. Bees through the Lake District, the Yorkshire Dales, and the North York Moors to the North Sea at Robin Hood's Bay. The previous day I had camped in a field in Stonethwaite and was trying to climb out of the Vale of Borrowdale toward Grasmere. Though Gilpin and I were trying to head in different directions—him toward the hamlet of Watendlath to the north and me toward the village of Grasmere to the south—we were both struggling to find the right path out of the vale of Borrowdale. As I wrote in my journal at the time, "There was a steep climb and some confusing wayfinding at the top. We weren't certain where we were and there was no one around to really ask. Eventually we ran into a local runner who showed us his map and it turns out we were completely in the wrong place. We backtracked all the way back to Stonethwaite and the whole thing took us about three hours."

[749] William Gilpin, *Observations, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1772, on Several Parts of England; Particuarly the Mountains, and Lakes of Cumberland, and Westmoreland* (London: R. Blamire, 1786), 207–8.

Many things had changed between 1772 and 2019: the tools of correction shifted from someone's pointed finger to a GPS mapping device and the source of knowledge came from a high-tech ultrarunner instead of a peasant. Yet a surprising number of factors stayed the same: not just the steep terrain and bewildering paths[750] but also the undeniable gap between local and outside knowledge. Though I seem to have gotten more helpful information from my forthcoming runner than Gilpin did from his peasant, I argue that Gilpin's peasant is by far the most interesting character in either story. In that sense, the role of the peasant recalls some of the overlooked and undervalued characters in this dissertation project: while everyone else thinks Uncle Toby is the map user of note in *Tristram Shandy*, we paid attention instead to the strategies of the Widow Wadman. Here we can turn from the famous Gilpin to the unnamed peasant.

The peasant's answer to the question—which way to Watendlath—could take on as many meanings as there are branching paths out of Borrowdale. When the peasant points up the steep mountain, directly toward Watendlath, he could be answering the question literally. His answer is technically correct, at least if you consider places to be equivalent nodes on a flat map, rather than having three-dimensional obstacles between them. Taking for granted his own local sense that the direct way is not always the best route to travel (as we saw elsewhere in this dissertation project), the peasant might have thought Gilpin simply wanted to know the literal way, as the crow would fly, and assumed that Gilpin would not be foolish enough to attempt to walk in that direction. Alternatively, it is possible that the direction the peasant points *is* the best and easiest way to walk, with no smoother alternative, but Gilpin and his friends are ill-accustomed to the kind of hard walking to which the peasant would have been inured. A third possibility is that the peasant is enacting his own resistance to outside intrusion, knowingly misunderstanding the question, and deliberately misleading them. This mischievousness could be malicious or playful. I like to imagine the peasant having a good laugh at Gilpin's expense. Whatever the situation, it is clear there is a gap between local and outside knowledge.

We have seen that gap before. In the final section of Chapter Five, I explored whether an outsider (the reader) could ever access the local knowledge of Hardy's characters. I suggested that Hardy collapses the supposedly uncrossable space between the lived geography of his

[750] The use of "bewilder" also recalls Queen Victoria's journalistic descriptions of the Isle of Wight in Chapter Four. For Gilpin, there is an elegant slippage between the physical sense of "bewildered," referring to the wildness of the overgrown path, and the affective impact it has on the user, who is "bewildered" cognitively.

characters and the linear geography of his readers via the bird's eye view. The imaginations of characters are activated by the frequent perspective of the bird's eye view just as the imaginations of readers are activated by the zoomed-out, sparsely detailed map of Wessex that Hardy provides with his novels. In this coda, I turn from the bird's eye view to the long-distance walk as another tool for understanding place, a tool that is available to locals and outsiders alike.

How can you come to know a place? By seeing it on a map or from a bird's eye view? By reading about it in a book? Only by living there for years? Can an outsider ever access local knowledge of a place? What does it even mean to be an outsider? What does it mean to be a walker who does not know the way? How can you learn a land that is not your own? These questions feel especially weighty to me as I prepare to exit this discipline, furthering my outsider status, already conscious of being an American who is studying and loving novels from a place and time that are not my own. George Eliot's narrator in *The Mill on the Floss* (1860) says famously, "We could never have loved the earth so well if we had had no childhood in it… What novelty is worth that sweet monotony where everything is known, and loved because it is known?"[751] This is one of my favorite lines in all of Eliot's novels, but it reads slightly differently from an outsider's perspective. What about a place where everything is *not* known, where sweet monotony is elusive? Can you still "love the earth so well" in a place where you "had no childhood in it"? I do not think the answer is "never" and I want to explore why.

Walking is one way for an outsider to access something closer to an insider's local knowledge of place. I am not suggesting that it is the only way. Indeed, I want to acknowledge here that I am offering an able-bodied vision of place and reading. However, walking is my chosen practice, both literally and metaphorically, and I will argue that walking is a practice well suited to the historical period that I study and to my particular methodology. In *Deep Mapping the Literary Lake District: A Geographical, Textual Analysis* (2022), authors Joanna Taylor and Ian Gregory show how the reputation and conceptualization of walking shifted during the Romantic period: the association between walking and vagrancy was replaced by one between walking and thinking.[752] Taking my cue from that shift, I consider walking not just as a literal way of moving through the world but also as a critical practice of inquiry and a type of thinking. Taylor and Gregory write that, during the Romantic period, "Walking became a key strategy for

[751] George Eliot, *The Mill on the Floss* (New York & London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1994), 36.
[752] Taylor and Gregory, *Deep Mapping the Literary Lake District: A Geographical Textual Analysis*, 107.

the kind of embodied close reading that was considered necessary for a true understanding of this complex region. Channeling this kind of mobility in our interpretive practices can transform the ways we understand, evaluate, and utilize data in the humanities."[753] Part of Taylor and Gregory's overall argument is that macro approaches to the humanities are not sufficient on their own. Developing a large database of texts and then conducting data-led research on that corpus are only the first two stages in digital humanities scholarship. An essential third stage entails moving the humanities to the foreground and slowing the pace to a walk so to allow close analysis to complement the tools of distant reading.

Though my project is not in the digital humanities, I agree with Taylor and Gregory that walking is a kind of embodied close reading and that channeling walking in our interpretive practices can enrich our scholarship. To that end, I would describe my methodology in this dissertation project as a particular style of walking—namely, long-distance walking. Long-distance walking is a fitting metaphor for my methodology because, though the evidence for my claims comes primarily from close reading, I am also interested in covering a lot of ground. Rather than walking the same loop from home multiple times and seeing it in every light, condition, and season (which would be akin to a patiently, richly developed single novel chapter), I am exploring far and wide, offering a larger volume of shorter close readings of many novels across the long eighteenth and nineteenth century. Though my range is big, walking is still a mode that requires patience. Even a fast walker still moves at a slow pace relative to most other modes of movement, especially if a walker is trying to cover lots of miles. The ability to sustain a steady pace when walking long distances (or writing a dissertation) is key. Rather than being a limitation, the slow and steady pace of walking is part of what enables its richness as a critical practice of close reading: you can build up knowledge slowly—step by step, stile by stile, stage by stage. Walking activates hopefulness and a growth mindset: your knowledge of place is not set, you are not a permanent outsider anywhere, you can always learn more about a place.

Long-distance walking is an especially fitting metaphor for my methodology because of its popularity in nineteenth-century Britain. My favorite example of this is a little-known but fascinating text, Walter Thom's *Pedestrianism* (1813), which advocates strongly for the salubrity and art of the sport. In his preface, Thom worries that British soldiers, home from the Napoleonic Wars, are wasting their time in "indolent repose"; he wants them to emulate the republics of

[753] Taylor and Gregory, 99.

Greece and Rome, whose soldiers prepared for duty by engaging in gymnastic exercises.[754] Thom's book might be considered a companion text to Jane Austen's novel *Pride and Prejudice*, published in the same year, which is about militias hanging about idly without enough to occupy them. Perhaps if George Wickham, Captain Carter, and Colonel Forster had been engaged in competitive walking instead of flirting, Lydia Bennet might have had a better outcome. Thom's book catalogs the accomplishments of numerous walkers, with an in-depth look at one notable pedestrian, Captain Barclay (1779-1854). In June 1809, Captain Barclay walked 1,000 miles in 1,000 hours. When he finished, on July 12, there were "thousands of spectators" such that "not a bed could be procured on the previous night at Newmarket, Cambridge" or any of the other towns in the vicinity.[755] The large crowds testify to the popularity of the sport and its athletes. Barclay's feats were so admired that Thom outlines in detail Barclay's extremely specific training regimen so that aspiring pedestrians could emulate his success: an athlete must rise at 5am, run ½ mile at top speed up-hill, walk 6 miles at a moderate pace, eat beef-steaks or mutton-chops with stale bread and old beer for breakfast at 7am, walk 6 miles at moderate pace, at 12pm lie in bed for ½ hour without his clothes, walk 4 miles, eat the same dinner as breakfast at 4pm, run ½ mile at top speed, walk 6 miles at moderate pace, and go to bed by 8pm.[756] (After I defend my dissertation, I plan to take up this lifestyle. I am confident that stale bread and old beer at 7am will do wonders for me.) Though Thom's overwrought admiration for Barclay's exploits is humorous, the publication of his text does illustrate the popularity of long-distance walking in this era.

Framing long-distance walking as my critical practice allows me to introduce a plot twist to my project's claims, bringing together some of the key players who might previously seem to have been at odds. Whereas Part One, "Mapmakers and Map(mis)readers: Two Approaches to Topography" dealt with the diverging treatment of topography by nineteenth-century Ordnance Surveyors and nineteenth-century novels, the distance between mapmakers and literary characters might not be quite as wide if we think of them both as long-distance walkers. Long-distance walking is a kind of close reading that mapmakers, literary characters, and critics can all engage in. In fact, if Chapter Five bridges the real world of Chapter One with the literary world

[754] Walter Thom, *Pedestrianism; Or, An Account of The Performances of Celebrated Pedestrians During the Last and Present Century; With a Full Narrative of Captain Barclay's Public and Private Matches; And An Essay on Training* (London: A. Brown Aberdeen and F. Frost, 1813), iv.
[755] Thom, 127.
[756] Thom, 230.

of Chapter Two by introducing the role of the reader, this coda takes that bridge one step further by bringing the critic (me) into the picture. Long-distance walking is both a literal practice and a critical practice that I share with mapmakers and literary characters alike.

The Director of the Ordnance Survey, Thomas Colby (1784-1852), was a notoriously hardy pedestrian. The details of Colby's expeditions are captured in the journals of his colleague, Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph E. Portlock (1794-1864), who is less enamored with his subject than Walter Thom was with Captain Barclay. In fact, Portlock mostly seems a bit miffed about having to tag along with (or limp along after) Colby on his ambitious walking schemes. Portlock describes Colby's typical style of movement:

> Captain Colby having, according to his usual practice, ascertained the general direction by means of a pocket compass and map, the whole party set off, as on a steeple-chase, running down the mountain-side at full speed, over Cromdale, a mountain about the same height as Corrie Habbie [2,562 feet], crossing several beautiful glens, wading the streams which flowed through them, and regardless of all difficulties that were not absolutely insurmountable on foot.[757]

Colby's style—running full speed up and down mountains, crossing streams, and eschewing difficulties—allowed the group to walk thirty-nine miles that day. The next day, they walked forty miles. The following day, a Sunday, Portlock felt "should have been our day of rest." Instead, Colby had them summit Aonach Beag, a 4,049-foot mountain near Ben Nevis.[758] In total, during that twenty-two-day period, the group walked a whopping 586 miles.[759] On the one hand, Colby's approach was clearly instrumental: he wanted to cover as much ground as possible, not to understand place intimately but to map it efficiently. His pace—grueling and aggressive rather than slow and patient—testifies to his goals. On the other hand, Colby's commitment to having as many close encounters with the contours of the land as humanly possible surely cannot be denied. Colby did not approach long-distance walking in the same way as novelistic characters, who we will see are much more attuned to locality and bodies, but nonetheless understanding him as a long-distance walker does, if not entirely collapse, at least nuance the binaries and oppositions that this project has traced between mapmakers and novelistic characters.

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[757] Joseph Portlock, *Memoir of the Life of Major-General Colby* (London: Seeley, Jackson & Halliday, 1869), 138–39.
[758] Portlock, 142.
[759] Portlock, 148.

The extent to which Colby's long-distance style of walking was available to women in the same period is up for debate. Taylor and Gregory argue that it was not. They write that women "were not afforded the opportunities to develop the same degree of physical or imaginative intimacy with the landscape as their male contemporaries."[760] The example they provide is Charlotte Brontë (1816-1855): when she visited the Lake District for the first time in July 1850, her movements were much more constrained than mine were in 2019. She wrote, "The scenery is, of course, grand; could I have wandered about amongst those hills alone, I could have drunk in all their beauty; even in a carriage with company, it was very well."[761] Taylor and Gregory argue that *types* of walking in the nineteenth century mattered as much as *where* a person walked.[762] Charlotte Brontë, for example, longed to be a pedestrian (a more adventurous and less touristy kind of walking) but she could only ever be an excursionist (moving from point to point, often in a carriage) because of her gender. Trish Bredar might disagree, or at least argue that we have not been attuned to all the available evidence. Bredar seeks to revise the "predominantly masculine canon of peripatetic literature" by bringing "a more focused, fine-grained attention to walking as an everyday experience and pervasive presence in the lives and diaries of little-known Englishwomen."[763] Whereas other mobility studies have focused on the shifting technological landscape[764] or mobility as defiance,[765] Bredar examines a corpus of more than 100 manuscript diaries that show women engaging in "everyday adventure" walks: while they "trace well-known paths through familiar circuits during their daily routines of exercise, errands, and social calls," these routine movements nonetheless "create the possibility for disruption, deviation, and the unexpected."[766] In the final section of her article, Bredar focuses on the journals of one especially prolific walker, Nelly Weeton (1776-1844), who made wide-ranging, twenty-mile-a-day-or-more independent excursions in Wales and the Isle of Man, not to show Weeton's difference from the rest, but to highlight the continuity between her "adventure" and their "everyday." Rather than valorizing Weeton as an outlier, as Walter Thom does for

[760] Taylor and Gregory, *Deep Mapping the Literary Lake District: A Geographical Textual Analysis*, 121.
[761] Elizabeth Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* (London: Penguin, 1997), 334.
[762] Taylor and Gregory, *Deep Mapping the Literary Lake District: A Geographical Textual Analysis*, 100.
[763] Trish Bredar, "'A Voyage of Discovery': Reimagining the Walking Woman through Nineteenth-Century Diaries," *Victorian Literature and Culture* 50, no. 4 (2022): 609–10.
[764] Examples include: Jonathan H. Grossman, *Charles Dickens's Networks: Public Transport and the Novel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Charlotte Mathieson, *Mobility in the Victorian Novel: Placing the Nation* (Basingstroke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Livesey, *Writing the Stage Coach Nation: Locality on the Move in Nineteenth-Century British Literature*.
[765] de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*.
[766] Bredar, "'A Voyage of Discovery': Reimagining the Walking Woman through Nineteenth-Century Diaries," 614–15.

Captain Barclay, Bredar uses Weeton to show that her impressive feats are "contiguous with" everyday forms of mobility.[767]

I take Bredar's point that the "everyday" and the "adventure" walk are not opposites and exist on a spectrum. However, what interests me about what I have been calling the long-distance walk is that it takes place not on "well-known paths" or "familiar circuits" but across unfamiliar territory, possibly via an indirect route, with newfound opportunities for both imagination and error. This kind of walking for women emerges in the novels of this era. One of the earliest examples of long-distance walking comes from Eliza Haywood's *The Fortunate Foundlings* (1744) in which the heroine Louisa escapes a convent in Bologna and walks approximately 400 miles to Loretto then Florence then Leghorn. From Leghorn, she sails to Marseilles and then walks nearly 500 more miles to Paris. Rather than attracting the admiration of Captain Barclay's cheering crowds, Louisa is "wandering alone on foot in the midst of a strange country, —ignorant of the road, or had she been acquainted with it, at a loss where to go to get any intelligence of what she sought."[768] The narrator observes that she is:

> Extremely fatigued… having never even for one day ceased walking, but while she was on board the ship which brought her to Marseilles, for the space of eight months; a thing almost incredible, and what perhaps no woman, but herself, would have had courage to undertake, or resolution to perform, but was, in her circumstances, infinitely the most safe and expedient that prudence could suggest.[769]

Viewed on a map, Louisa's route across Italy is not a direct one. Her journey, much like the heroine Juliet's journey in *The Wanderer*, is driven by desperation, fear, necessity. Yet it is also "incredible," full of "courage" and "resolution," and just as impressive as Colby's marches across Scotland.

Jeanie Deans makes a similar pilgrimage in Walter Scott's *The Heart of Midlothian* (1818), walking 375 miles from Edinburgh to London to beg pardon from the Queen for her sister Effie, who has been sentenced to death for child murder. Part of the reason that Jeanie walks to London is, like Louisa, that she has no other options because of her gender, status, regional identity: "'A coach is not for the like of me, sir,' said Jeanie; to whom the idea of a stage-coach was unknown, as, indeed, they were then only used in the neighborhood of

[767] Bredar, 625.
[768] Eliza Haywood, *The Fortunate Foundlings* (London: T. Gardner, 1744), 309.
[769] Haywood, 312.

London."[770] Like Louisa, Jeanie is vulnerable and desperate, undertaking her pedestrian expedition out of necessity and for survival (in this case for her sister's survival rather than her own). Though she is not quite walking through an outright foreign country like Louisa, she is certainly still an outsider. For her own safety, she is forced to travel indirectly and haphazardly, staying away from the shortest, easiest, smoothest, and most visible roadways. Though this mode has its clear disadvantages, it also offers a unique opportunity for close reading. Ruth Livesey argues that "the sense of nationhood Jeanie represents is built up through contiguity, comparing field by field, step-by-step, rather than abstract transport between two fixed capital points."[771] Though Livesey is more interested in nationhood and national epic here than I am, I agree that Jeanie's steps offer a kind of close reading of the land that would not be possible on smooth and swift wheeled transport. There is also a sense of triumph here, not just despair, because Jeanie is a good walker: when she arrives in London, she tells the Queen that she can walk "five and twenty miles and a bittock" in a day and the Queen responds, "I thought I was a good walker but this shames me sadly."[772]

In most ways, Louisa and Jeanie's desperate journeys are nothing like my own voluntary pedestrian adventures, but, like Jeanie, I can also walk "five and twenty miles and a bittock." In the summer of 2022, I spent 25 days hiking the South West Coast Path: 630 miles from Minehead in Somerset through Devon and Cornwall before finishing in Poole in Dorset. My longest days did not quite exceed Thomas Colby's impressive feats in the Scottish Highlands, but I averaged over 25 miles a day and climbed 115,000 feet of elevation (the equivalent of four times the height of Mount Everest). I was alone and I did not meet a single other American on my entire trip. My long-distance walk on the South West Coast Path, which I completed immediately after writing my fifth and final chapter, was the living embodiment of my dissertation project, not just because I am characterizing my methodology as a kind of long-distance walking, but also because I was reminded of moments and themes from every chapter along the way.

Chapter One was on my mind every time I passed an Ordnance Survey trig point, those stone obelisks on the land that serve as a lasting reminder of the labors of the country's premier mapping organization. Despite rapidly evolving technologies for representing and experiencing

[770] Walter Scott, *The Heart of Midlothian* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 336.
[771] Livesey, *Writing the Stage Coach Nation: Locality on the Move in Nineteenth-Century British Literature*, 40.
[772] Scott, *The Heart of Midlothian*, 368.

place (I was carrying a GPS device, reading on my kindle, listening to audiobooks, and posting content on my Instagram stories), I was acutely aware that all the locals still have their laminated OS maps at the ready. If you ask anyone for directions, they are likely to pull out a well-worn copy and then offer you the same landmark-based advice that Gilpin noticed in the Lake District in 1772—something like, "go over the next stile and then turn left at the big tree and walk until you get to the farmhouse then go up the steps…" This observation about the use and ubiquity of paper maps sounds fairly unscientific, but my evidence is not purely anecdotal. In January 2023, as I was putting the finishing touches on this dissertation, *The Wall Street Journal* reported on the surging popularity of paper maps. They interviewed "a spokesperson for the Ordnance Survey," who shared that "sales of custom-made maps exploded in 2020, with an increase of 144% compared with the year before. A year later, in 2021, there was a further 28% increase."[773]

When I was not asking locals for directions, I was constantly channeling the literary characters of Chapter Two as I walked, whether I was planning where to get my next meal like Tabitha Bramble in *The Expedition of Humphrey Clinker* or bemoaning the fact that the Cornwall coast, unlike David Copperfield's experience of Yarmouth, is not flat. Though my trip was a voluntary vacation, at times I was nonetheless acutely aware that my mode of travel (sweaty, laborious, pedestrian) was not far from the French sense of "travail" as work. With each step, I was, like Fanny Price and Margaret Hale, conscious of the vulnerability and frailty of the human body. At the same time, I shared with them a sense that the most direct route is not always the best one. As the crow flies, the distance between Minehead and Poole—not along the coast, cutting off the entire peninsula—is only 85 miles. By adding over 500 miles to that journey and hugging the coast, I had an entirely different, and incalculably richer, experience.

In fact, walking along the terraqueous border at the edge of the island, I had an experience similar to the characters in Chapter Three. The material conditions, especially the constantly changing weather from rain to sun to an extreme heat wave, reminded me of the impermanence of my situation, inspiring my hopes for what would come next. I was traveling alone but also socializing with my fellow walkers. As I drew closer to Poole, I could see the site of Chapter Four, the Isle of Wight, shimmering in the distance. On misty days, with a lot of moisture in the air, it was easy to imagine Ordnance Surveyors William Mudge and Isaac Dalby

[773] Kate Morgan, "Forget Google Maps: Why Paper Map Sales Are Booming," *The Wall Street Journal*, January 19, 2023, sec. Tech, https://www.wsj.com/articles/why-paper-map-sales-are-booming-11674164824.

watching the hills “dance up and down in a very extraordinary manner” as they witnessed terrestrial refraction.

Throughout the trip, I had glimpses of Thomas Hardy and his characters from Chapter Five. In Cornwall, I stayed in the sixteenth-century Wellington Hotel in Boscastle, where Hardy himself had stayed. In Dorset, I visited Hardy’s adult home at Max Gate and spent time with his papers in the archive. In Devon, as I walked up and down the red cliffs and then the white cliffs, I experienced quite literally what Hardy’s characters and readers do in Chapter Five: seeing the land from above in a way that activates the imagination and getting lost by making mistakes on the ground.

My hikes on the Coast to Coast Path in 2019 and the South West Coast Path in 2022 have left their marks on every page of this dissertation project in ways big and small. For me, walking is a mode of reading and thinking and being in the world. Long-distance walking, as a form of close reading that covers a lot of ground, is the best way that I know to “love the earth so well” no matter where I have come from or where I am going next.

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