PLOTTING MOVEMENT: EPISTEMOLOGIES OF LOCAL TRAVEL
IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND, 1600-1660

by

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(English Language and Literature)
in the University of Michigan
2008

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To Alex, my partner in all journeys.

To my parents, Bernadette and Harry, for assuring a ten-year old girl that "reading all of the books in all of the libraries in the world" was a good idea.

guidance of Bill Ingram, I would be unable to read a stitch of early modern secretary hand, to tell the difference between beer and ale, or to have known the pleasure of interacting with such a knowledgeable, generous mentor. Doug Trevor has also, with good will, provided invaluable professional mentorship. Jan Burgess, a fellow lover of Latin dance, is, without a doubt, the woman who makes *everything* happen. Thank you, Jan. Several more non-UM affiliates also deserve mention for their very helpful conversation and feedback during various stages of the project: Garrett Sullivan (who shared an early enthusiasm for antipodean places), Paddy Fumerton, Farah Karim-Cooper, and Catherine Delano-Smith.

Foremost among my intellectual debts owed are those to Valerie Traub, Mike Schoenfeldt, and Scotti Parrish. I am thankful for Mike's astonishing ability to name the perfect text for any topic or question, for his sharp critical eye, for his contagious enthusiasm for language, and for his wonderful sense of humor. From Scotti, I have derived much: the word "epistemology" (Scotti's own reticence over its jargoniness speaks volumes about her own modest brilliance), compassionate understanding and support, a love things transatlantic, and invaluable scholarly guidance. Valerie has been, without overstating the case, the cornerstone of my intellectual, professional, and personal development over these past six and a half years. Her balance of intense engagement, astute questioning, and willingness to "go there" (even if this meant, as it often did, interpreting my array of crazy dissertation drawings), has been invaluable. I am especially grateful for the time and energy Valerie has poured into my written work, spent listening to me labor through my ideas, and dedicated to aiding me in developing perhaps the most important skill: intellectual self-reflection. In addition to this internal barometer, though, there is, and, I expect, always will be, Valerie's voice in my head prodding me on as I read a page or compose a sentence. I am deeply appreciative.

Graduate school always comes with the promise of intellectual rigor; it does not, however, guarantee one of the most valuable aspects of my time at the University of Michigan—friendship. For this, I am forever grateful to a most brilliant and brilliantly funny group of women: Hilda Halabu Halfon, Elspeth Healey, Lauren LaFauci, Ji-Hyae Park, Latha Reddy, and Marjorie Rubright. Elspeth, Lauren, Ji-Hyae, and Latha: our study sessions, burrito runs, and laughter have meant the world to me. I look forward to many more years of conversations that range from the performative to pop culture. Marjorie, queen of the metaphor, your outrageous sense of humor, brilliant mind, sense of integrity, and balance of spirit, style, and sass have been, and continue to be, the greatest gift. Hilda, my wonderful friend and dancing "partner in crime," from New York to Los Angeles, the salsa world can never equal the one we created in Ann Arbor.

Most importantly, I thank my family. My brothers, Michael and Stephen, have always (sometimes too well) kept me grounded and embraced years of "Laurisms" with good humor. My grandparents, Harry Williamson and Anita and Edwin Broussard, have patiently, proudly, and lovingly supported their book-obsessed granddaughter. To you I owe my intense focus, my strength as a woman, and my flare for the creative. To my parents, of course, the debt is even greater. My father, Harry, who strikes a remarkable balance of integrity, intellect, humor, and compassion, constantly fed my appetite for books and, as would later be the case, maps. My mother, Bernadette, whose own creative and organizational talents continue to amaze me, taught me the importance of details, patience, and commitment—virtues that come for the heart as well as from the head.

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ABSTRACT

PLOTTING MOVEMENT: EPISTEMOLOGIES OF LOCAL TRAVEL IN EARLY
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Chair: Valerie J. Traub

This dissertation argues that local journeys provided the most frequent and salient ways by which the English came to know, understand, and represent travel in their everyday lives. By the turn of the seventeenth century, the geographic, social, and conceptual terrain of travel—what I term England's travelscape—was forever altered as new technologies of transport were introduced alongside developing navigational techniques, cartographic knowledge, and the rise of print. Nonetheless, texts depicting travel within England, Scotland, and Wales have been overshadowed by the period's monumental narrative accounts of oceanic voyaging in the "Age of Discovery" and are largely absent from discussions of early modern travel. My dissertation responds to this absence by assembling an archive of local travel texts (drama, narrative accounts, almanacs, travel guides, maps, and pamphlets) that interrogate the tropes of "distance" and "encounter" derived from the foreign voyage narrative and, instead, represent journeying as a phenomenon of movement.

In their attention to phenomenological aspects of travel, the different genres of local journeying draw on a range of representational modes to "plot" travel. Some, like the accounts of domestic journeying by William Kemp (*Nine Daies Wonder*), Anthony Nixon (*A True Relation of the admirable Voyage and Travell of William Bush*), and John Taylor (*A Voyage in a Paper-Boat*) use narrative to rework the terms of foreign travel for the local domain. The plays of George Chapman, Ben Jonson and John Marston (*Eastward Ho!*), Thomas Heywood (*The English Traveller*), Richard Brome (*The Antipodes*) and Aston Cokayne (*The Obstinate Lady*) plot actual and metatheatrical journeys for their audiences: coach rides, staged trips, and imaginary travels. Others such as John Evelyn's almanac diary and John Norden's travel guide *England. An Intended Guyde* represent travel through a combination of visual, discursive, and numeric elements. My dissertation contends that the spatial, graphic, and narrative "plots" generated by the texts and technologies of local journeying highlight the emergence of an alternative epistemology of travel. Characterized by engagements with space, time, difficulty, and means of transport, this epistemology is deeply indebted to the domestic journey and recognizes travel as a phenomenon of movement.

Introduction:
Cultures of Local Travel

Nosce teipsum, Know thy selfe…
………………………………….
Many of forreign travels boast and vant,
When they, of England, are most ignorant.
                         -- John Taylor, *The Certain Travailes of an uncertain*
                         Journey (1653)

Seventeenth-century England was on the move. While the so-called "Age of

Discovery" marked the rise of oceanic voyages as the English came into contact with and

theorized their relation to their global neighbors and competitors, so too did this period

constitute an age of extensive domestic journeying. Unprecedented numbers of men and

women walked, rode, and ferried across England's growing, though still unregulated,

network of highways, waterways, and city streets.[1] A far cry from the domestic tourism

of later centuries, however, much of this movement was rooted in economic necessity.

The population explosion of 1550 to 1650, coupled with the agricultural crisis of the turn

of the seventeenth century, pushed vast numbers of apprentices, domestic servants, and

other members of the working poor toward urban centers, some walking as many as one

hundred and fifty miles toward the promise of higher wages. Simultaneously, the rise of

cheap print throughout the early modern period employed peddlers who roamed their

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[1] For studies on migration, mobility, and vagrancy, see A. L. Beier, *Masterless Men: The Vagrancy Problem in England 1560-1640* (London: Methuen, 1985); A. L. Beier and Roger Finlay, *London 1500-1700: The Making of the Metropolis* (London: Longman, 1986); Peter Clark and David Souden, *Migration and Society in Early Modern London* (London: Hutchinson, 1987); Steve Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds: Structures of Life Within Sixteenth-Century London* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989); David Rollison, "Exploding England: the Dialectics of Mobility and Settlement in Early Modern England," *Social History* 24.1 (1999): 1-16; Patricia Fumerton, *Unsettled: the Culture of Mobility and the Working Poor in Early Modern England* (Chicago: U Chicago Press, 2006).

local circuits armed with wares, spreading pamphlets, plays, and other popular print to locales across England. Surveyors paced the bounds of individual property lines, measuring, marking, and mapping plots of land. Merchants, fisherman, and watermen traversed England's tidal arteries, sustaining the country's economic lifeblood with the passage of their boats. Pleasure, too, proved a strong motivator for local journeying. Technological advances in modes of transportation enabled gentry, commoners, and nobility to ride to country estates and riverside theaters, leaving horse hooves and coach wheels to clamor along city streets and country lanes. Possibilities for imaginative journeying also increased as the pages of Christopher Saxton's English atlas or a quarto play-book made their way into the hands of increasing numbers of armchair travelers. Similarly, spectators at the Rose, the Globe, or one of London's many indoor theaters witnessed spectacular voyages to the other end of the earth as well as staged journeys to the city's many local sites such as the Royal Exchange, Windsor Park, or the Liberties. Travel, it seemed, was a way of life in seventeenth-century England.

Meanwhile, of course, the English had been journeying abroad and continued to so with increasing frequency, visibility, and interest to Ireland, the Continent, the Levant, Africa, the Americas and the Far East. Tales of encounter and exchange, distant destinations and discoveries, circulated widely back at home in the narrative "I/eyewitness" accounts of travelers such as Thomas Hariot (*A Brief and True Report of the Newfoundland of Virginia*, 1588), Edmund Spenser (*A View on the State of Ireland*, 1596), Sir Walter Raleigh (*The Discovery of Guiana*, 1596), Thomas Coryat (*Coryat's Crudities*, 1611) and George Sandys (*A Relation of a Journey*, 1615). The first-person, "I/eyewitness" narrative account has been the most recognizable form of travel writing

from the early modern period. In this genre, representations of "contact" with unfamiliar people and places in far-off lands simultaneously structures, gives meaning to, and validates the travel experience.[2] These distant discoveries, encounters with the foreign, and oceanic journeys have become the terms by which the reader, and, ostensibly, the traveler, knows travel. Amidst such monumental acts and accounts of voyaging, we might forget that local journeys were the most frequent and consistent ways by which the English came to know, represent, and understand travel in their everyday lives. What, then, of their records of the local travel experience? How did these journeyers make sense of an act of travel without the foreign journey as its structuring trope? And to what archive and new set of questions might we turn to account for the remarkable variety of quotidian journeys occurring with striking regularity within England's shores?

This dissertation posits a set of answers to these questions by assembling an archive of local travel texts and examining the questions raised by its materials. The stage plays, pamphlets, city views, narrative accounts, almanacs, and travel guides of seventeenth-century England, I argue, offer new insight into the variety of ways in which travelers understood their movements. Representations of local journeying took the form of first-person narrative description as well as notational records, tabulations, and cartographic images. In generating an archive of understudied travel genres and reading their various representational modes, this project departs from scholarly studies on early modern travel that have focused almost exclusively on the foreign travel narrative, a genre steeped in discourses of race, gender, sexuality, nationhood, and proto-

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[2] See Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Studies in Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992). While a crucial contribution to studies of travel writing, Pratt's notion of the contact zone risks eliding other representational and epistemological modes.

colonialism.[3] Despite the importance of such work, in turning to the foreign travel narrative as the primary genre of travel writing, scholars have propagated three assumptions regarding early modern travel: first, that travel is a foreign journey which transports one to destinations outside England; second, that travel is known by means of a subjective, I/eyewitness encounter with the unfamiliar; and third, that travel's primary mode of representation is the narrative genre[4]. Local travel proffers a challenge to each of these assumptions.[5] Texts of domestic journeying are neither able to nor interested in keeping alive the firm distinction between familiar and foreign, between here and there (when, for instance, "here" might be separated from "there" by just a few miles), nor are they exclusively tied to the first-person narrative genre. Moreover, in their distance from foreign narrative accounts, local travel texts escape the binary paradigm that imagines travel as that which mediates the distance between two poles: here and there, self and other, familiar and foreign. In turning away from the foreign travel narrative, this

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[3] On the transatlantic see Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*; Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions* (Chicago: U Chicago P, 1992); Louis Montrose, "The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery" *Representations* 33 (Winter 1991):1-41; Mary Fuller, *Voyages in Print* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995); and Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance: 1545-1625* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998). On nationhood see Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood* (Chicago: U Chicago Press, 1992) and Clare McEachern *The Poetics of English Nationhood, 1590-1612* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996). On the East and alterity: Mary Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400-1600* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1988); Jyotsna Singh and Ivo Kamps, *Travel Knowledge: European "Discoveries" in the Early Modern Period* (New York: Palgrave, 2001); Nabil Matar, *In the Land of the Christians: Arabic Travel Writing in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2003) and Daniel Vitkus, *Turning Turk: English Theater and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570-1630* (New York: Palgrave, 2003). More recently, Jonathan Sell [*Rhetoric and Wonder in English Travel Writing, 1560-1613* (Vermont: Ashgate, 2006)] has critiqued interests reading travel texts for ideological formation, arguing for the importance of rhetoric to readings of these texts.
[4] A brief glance at the titles of these publications reveals that even if these specific travel narratives have not served as an archive, tropes of discovery, voyaging, and contact inform nearly all of the scholarly work.
[5] Historical work on local travel in England is rather limited: Thomas Burke, *Travel in England: From Pilgrim and Pack-horse to Light Car and Plane* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1942) and Joan Parkes's *Travel in England in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1925). Anton Maczak's *Travel in Early Modern Europe*, trans. Ursula Phillips (Oxford: Polity Press, 1980) considers the notion of "travel micro-cultures" in various European states, however, Maczak idealizes travel, treating it one-dimensionally. On chorography see: Stanley Mendyk, *"Speculum Britanniae": Regional Study, Antiquarianism, and Science in Britain to 1700* (Toronto: U Toronto Press, 1989); Leslie Cormack, *Charting an Empire: Geography at the English Universities, 1580-1620* (Chicago: U Chicago Press, 1997) and Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*.

dissertation charts a more historically accurate, nuanced account of the ways in which travelers in seventeenth-century England made meaning of their own movements through space and time—from the relatively ubiquitous travels of London's working populations, to coach rides between towns, to the vicarious voyaging of readers, play-watchers and map-readers at home. No longer a means to an end—either in arriving at a destination or in revealing ideologies of race, gender, and nation—early modern travel functions as an end unto itself and a phenomenon worth closer investigation. I contend that the various "plots"—geographic, graphic, and narrative—generated by the texts and technologies of local journeying collectively produce a set of alternative epistemologies of travel and, in so doing, destabilize the binaries by which we have come to know travel itself.

The argument of this dissertation builds on two essential points, both of which are explored in greater detail below: phenomenology and epistemology. In brief, travel is, as I have begun to articulate, a phenomenon of movement rather than an experience of contact, and modes of knowing travel, or epistemologies of travel, were only partially defined by notions of distance and subjective encounters derived from foreign journeys. The local travel archive makes the phenomenological nature of travel especially apparent. Thames river journeys, short coach rides in London, and cross-country trips share equal footing in this project, united less by notions of subjective encounter and distant destinations than by their status as spatial practices and instances of movement. As such, a new set of discourses and representational patterns emerge for examining how early modern travel-as-movement was understood, represented, and known. In the absence of oceanic voyages and foreign encounters, local travelers utilize alternative discourses to account for journeying. Moreover, in employing a non-subjective phenomenological

lexicon of space, time, difficulty, and technology, these texts shed light onto both the semiotic and epistemological bounds of early modern travel. On the one hand, what travel meant was in question—a point I explore in Chapter 1 regarding the importation of new modes of transport into England. On the other hand, how travel was known was also at issue. In other words, if foreign travel provided a distinct set of rules and terms for recognizing and making meaning of one's journey—distant oceanic voyage, encounter with the unfamiliar, eyewitness experience—local travel serves up an additional set of possibilities for knowledge-making about travel. It is this second epistemological concern which drives the project, linking each of the remaining four chapters with one another as a means of discerning how various discursive patterns are signs of a conceptual paradigm—one in which the relative nature of movement makes for a remarkable variety of epistemological possibilities. Indeed, travel is only and always known by relative relationships: changes in time, in space, or in perception. While these epistemological possibilities are not limited to the local domain, it is here, I argue, where they become most evident, where they rise to the surface, and, as I suggest in the chapters that follow, where they are most contested. In their attention to phenomenological aspects of movement, representations of quotidian journeys have a significant and pronounced impact on greater epistemologies of travel in early modern England.

Although my focus in this project is on the body of literary and visual representations of domestic travel produced and circulated in the first half of the seventeenth-century—a period especially fraught with technological, navigational, and social change regarding travel—this focus is by no means a rigid formulation. Throughout the dissertation, I occasionally step outside of these historical parameters to

consider the broader range of influences on and implications of the epistemologies I

identify here. Indeed, in what follows, I move beyond the temporal brackets of 1600 and

1660; first, bounding forward four-hundred years to modern London and its surprising

use of pre-modern navigational devices; second, inching back to the late sixteenth-

century in order to lay the cultural framework for reading England's travel scene. I

conclude with a more detailed articulation of the project's methodology and argument as

it develops through each of the five chapters.

<p align="center">*****</p>

Four hundred years after the migration explosion of the late sixteenth and early

seventeenth centuries, the streets of twenty-first-century London continue to produce

patterns of movement not entirely unlike those detectable by the passage of hooves,

wheels, and the feet of early modern Londoners. London's intricate system of roadways,

bridges, waterways, and underground tunnels flow steadily with the traffic of thousands

of local travelers; hurried streams of commuters, ambling strolls of neighborhood friends,

buses of tourists en route to "must see" landmarks, and the regular circuits of street

merchants, market vendors, and their customers still animate London life. For scholars of

Tudor and Stuart England these contemporary movements can provide insight into the

early modern past even as one confronts the many juxtapositions of past and present.

Traveling modern London on foot is an experience of temporal disconnect—ATM

machines nestle in the facades of Victorian buildings, the Royal Exchange now houses

contemporary designer fashion, and a quick trip across the aptly named Millennium

Bridge links two of the most visible (albeit reconstructed) landmarks of the sixteenth and

seventeenth centuries, the Globe Theater and St. Paul's Cathedral. One of the city's most

significant inheritances of its early modern past is in the ambulation and irregular placement of its narrow streets, alleys, and lanes.[6] Like the Exchange and the Globe, London's streets exist in visible tension with the architectural modernity built up around them; petrol stations, delis, banks, and Underground signs squeeze into the spaces between narrow roads. Experiential tensions are also played out in these streets as their pre-modern, "unsystematic" layout disorients even native Londoners. Displaced as we are by our twenty-first century spatial sensibilities and expectations in a seventeenth-century (or earlier) urban arrangement, travelers need help navigating these markedly un-modern configurations of roadways which leave one feeling simultaneously out of place and out of time. Like the early modern traveler new to London, the twenty-first century traveler must turn to the travel guide, the most well-known of which is the London A-Z street guide (Figure A).[7] Published in innumerable sizes and forms (including digital maps downloadable to a computer or cell phone), the A-Z is one of the most long-standing, significant influences on how modern travelers (domestic and foreign, inhabitants and tourists) see, experience, navigate, and understand London. In directing travelers through urban space with its neatly mapped streets small enough to tuck in one's pocket, the popular A-Z also links its unwitting modern readers to a markedly *early* modern spatial moment.

The lineage of the London A-Z rests in a publication nearly three-hundred and forty years its senior. Although London's early modern cartographic archive includes a

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[6] I am not suggesting that London is unique in this juxtaposition of old and new, ancient and modern. I use these comparisons as an example of how we read urban space (even urban space still markedly un-modern) from distinctly modern perspectives.

[7] The guide is the result of the efforts of Phyllis Pearsall (founder of the Geographer's Map Company, publishers of the A-Z) in the 1930s and the systematic data collected in the Ordnance Survey (first begun in the eighteenth century).

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variety of well-documented views of the city—the lost Copperplate map (1553-9), the

precise Agas map of the early 1560s, and Braun and Hogenberg's colorful 1572 map

(Figures B, C, D)—efforts to systematically represent the city's mess of streets,

landmarks, and waterways took a significant, little recognized turn in the 1590s when the

surveyor and devotional writer, John Norden, published his ambitious cartographic

project, *Speculum Britanniae*. Driven by a desire to replace and update Christopher

Saxton's county atlas (1579) with townscapes as well as new county maps, Norden

published the earliest known "street guide" of London in 1593 as a part of the only

completed portion of the project, *Middlesex* (Figure E). While this map was the first to

include a key with a list of names at the bottom of the image corresponding to various

locations on the map (thus making it recognizable to modern readers as a street guide), it

includes only twenty-two names of landmarks and key streets (i.e., "Cornehill" and

"Thames Streete"). It was the map's subsequent publications in 1623 and 1653 in which

the street names were increased to ninety-five, added below the original twenty-two, and

paired with a new title that made it a more recognizable cousin to the A-Z and a truer

help, as the new title, attests: *A guide for Country-men in the famous Cittey of London, by*

the helpe of wich plot they shall be able to know how farr it is to any street (Figure F).[8] It

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[8] Though subsequent publications of this image of London are often cited as direct precursors to the A-Z,
calling Norden's map a "guide" is perhaps a bit premature, even while considering that he was the first to
deploy the term in its contemporary usage with the publication of *England: An Intended Guyde for English
Travailers* more than thirty years later. In part, this is because the earliest version of the map did not
contain the word "guide" at all; this was a later addition to the title designed to attract a mid-seventeenth-
century audience of users who were themselves only recently familiar with such a navigational device. The
image of the 1653 map on the British Library website calls it "the direct forbear of the modern London A-
Z" (http://www.collectbritain.co.uk/personalisation/object.cfm?UID=007000000000001U00033000). In
his blog on the November 2006 - March 2007 exhibit "London in Maps," curator Peter Barber also makes a
case for the map's place in the London A-Z lineage: "The London A-Z map was *really* invented in 1623 by
John Norden who expanded a list of buildings and street names on a map of London that he had created in
1593 to include all street names. The title of the map made his purpose clear: 'a guide for Cuntrey men in
the famous Cittey of London, by the help of wich plot they shall be able to know how farr it is to any street,

is the "helpe" to which these later maps allude that renders them an early modern precursor to the A-Z. Both the seventeenth- and the twenty-first-century maps aim at practicality, and their geographic navigation is designed to guide travelers through urban space from a bird's eye view. However, the majority of late-sixteenth and early- to mid-seventeenth-century Londoners likely never saw, much less used, a topographical street map of the city. If the 1653 map represents a new way of reading space and directing travelers, how did our early modern counterparts make their way through a noisy, over-populated, and windy-roaded London?

One answer to this question lies in the preface to a 1635 guide for travelers in which the English reader is offered a gentle caution regarding general navigational practices:

> It is a usuall manner in many parts where wayes bee doubtfull, for a Traveller to finde a standing post with a hand to direct men the ready way, but those hands tell thee not how many miles, nor the distance from place to place, whereby many a man, not knowing the distance, or how to cost the Country, is benighted and loseth his way; nay sometimes his life.[9]

Apparently, twelve years after the first printing of Norden's expanded street map and eighteen years prior to its second printing, journeyers still moved with the help of navigational devices on the ground. These navigational aids catered to the perspective of the traveler-en-route, offering them a "standing post with a hand to direct men the ready way." As the text points out, the problem with the directives was that they provided only one part of the necessary equation for travel: direction, not distance. Interestingly, the text itself seems uncertain about what precisely constitutes "distance"; it is at once "how many miles," "distance from place to place," and "how to cost the Country." The various

as also to go to the same without forder troble'."
(http://britishlibrary.typepad.co.uk/londoninmaps/2006/11/the_first_az.html).
[9] Mathew Simons, "To the gentle Reader," *A Direction for the English Traviller* (London, 1635).

descriptions of distance serve as a self-advertisement and justification for the guide, which offered one of the earliest attempts to represent space through geographic distance (rather than time or experience) to popular readers. In another sense, though, this caution to would-be travelers also points to the simultaneous and often competing modes of navigation available to local travelers.

As I wandered the streets of London one fall afternoon, I experienced a moment similar to this in which I was offered a set of competing navigational systems. I had confidently approached the web of streets surrounding London's Picadilly Circus, appreciative of the bird's eye spatial perspective given to me by my A-Z guide and the sense of direction it provided. However, no sooner had I consulted its pages than I discovered that I was lost, pushed along in a swarm of tourists, dazzled by the flashing lights, confused by the angular intersection of multiple streets ["Where (I wanted to know) are the grids of New York?!"]. I had completely lost all sense of direction with no idea of where I was at all. Scanning the pairs of street signs surrounding me, eager for a fixed point to orient myself with my street map, I was aided and humbled by the most helpful tool I had come across all afternoon—two signs shaped like arrows, guiding walkers to their destinations: "Covent Garden Market, 2 Min" and "Leicester Square, 3 Min" (Figure G). I held in my hands the cartographic, mathematical, and scientific "progress" of the past four centuries, yet I stood in the center of contemporary urban chaos and found myself reliant on and grateful for a residual product of *pre*-modern navigation—an arrow on the ground that pointed me in the right direction.[10] Here were

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[10] Discourses of time, of course, pervade our own spatial consciousness, structuring our everyday travel experiences via car, train, or plane. In popular discourse, time remains a more tangible, viable means of understanding movement through space. Rarely do vehicular travelers refer to their passage in measurements of space; instead, we say "two hours from here" or "a six hour flight." Destinations are often

the "standing post[s] with a hand to direct men a ready way" of 1635, still standing in 2006. I closed my A-Z guide and began to navigate London much the same way my early modern predecessors had.

These signs did not indicate, as most modern signs do, relative mileage; instead they expressed distance by means of the experience of moving through space and time: just a two or three minutes' walk. Such directional cues made perfect sense in the midst of the densely packed, highly trafficked site of Picadilly Circus. Early modern paradigms of measurement—in which a day's plow or a half-day's ride served as a means of representing geographic space—seemed also to work in twenty-first century London. Less useful were the fixed markers of place, origin and destination which required me to look down again at my street map. The most helpful markers of space in London were not static, bird's eye points of orientation, but those that spoke to a mobile experience of the urban network on the ground and utilized discourses of time rather than distance. In so doing, these Picadilly Circus signs remind us of an essential, though somehow overlooked, aspect of travel. In the early modern period and today, travel is not simply an act of encounter or that which links and unites origin with destination. Travel is, in its most rudimentary sense, movement through time and space.

I draw attention to my experience walking London's streets to give voice to less familiar (though, as I demonstrate, extant) epistemological discourses of travel through contemporary example. For the modern traveler, the contrast served by the juxtaposition

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"two hours from here" or "just a half hour's drive." Time is both a more familiar (the length of a minute is more implicitly known and knowable than the length of a mile) and a more consciously recognized means of experience (we undergo the passage of time every day, while the passage over space may vary)—both now and during the early modern period. Less common, though, are uses of this means of measurement for foot traffic. It is assumed, of course, that traveling by foot takes too long to measure with time; in the tightly configured layout of city streets, however, this is an especially salient means of measuring space as well as experience in travel.

of the London A-Z and the Picadilly signs, by the differing modes of spatial orientation

Michel de Certeau calls the "map" and the "tour," is itself the product of a remarkably

early modern socio-spatial moment.[11] Indeed, it is the *coexistence* of these distinct spatial

modes in the twenty-first-century which speaks most directly to the seventeenth—one in

which the value of the bird's eye view was far from self-evident, and, instead, was in the

process of negotiating its relationship to a number of equally viable, long-standing

epistemologies of space characterized predominantly by movement. In addition, the

Picadilly signs highlight the analytic potential of broadening the terms by which we

define "travel." Reading travel as an act of movement rather than encounter, as these

signs do, introduces an additional critical vocabulary for examining the range of travel

practices in early modern England. Space and time—essential components of movement

and, thus, travel—emerge as additional discursive markers and conceptual paradigms for

approaching representations of seventeenth-century travel. To the prevalent, well-

researched travel discourses of self and other, the familiar and the foreign, then, I add a

phenomenological lexicon of space, time, technologies of movement, and, an element

examined more closely below, travel's early modern homonym, "travail."

<div align="center">*****</div>

I. "Discoveries of the English Nation"

   One year after the defeat of the Spanish Armada, in 1589, the English voyager

was put on the map. Prior to this moment and for nearly a century, the English trailed

behind their Spanish and Portuguese rivals, European powers which laid claim to

"discovering" the New World, inaugurated the slave trade in Africa, and acquired vast

wealth from the gold found in the New World. Recognizing that "[England's] success

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[11] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: U California Press, 1984).

hath not been correspondent unto theirs," Richard Hakluyt's collection of primarily

English travel narratives, *The Principall Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the*

English nation, attempted to celebrate the "English nation." The text contained "one of

the best general maps of the world…composed by Mr Emery Molineux of Lambeth" (the

basis for Edward Wright's map famously remarked upon in *Twelfth Night*).[12] In breaking

from standard publishing practice, in which maps were expensive and not yet perceived

as natural, logical cousins to the narrative travel account, Hakluyt provided his readers

with a cartographic context with which to compare the many voyages of English travelers

detailed in his book. The world was now in English hands.[13] Furthermore, Hakluyt's

quarto gathered together "voyages [that] lay so dispersed, scattered and hidden in several

hucksters' hands" (32). He made Sebastian Cabot, Sir Humphery Gilbert, Thomas

Cavendish, Francis Drake, and Walter Raleigh, familiar, household names among readers

of travel narratives. While Hakluyt worked to rewrite England's travel *past*, invigorating

it with a sense of valor, national pride, and ancient standing, late sixteenth-century

developments in navigational technology, improvements in cartography, and the rise of

mercantile trade significantly increased the number of journeys abroad in the nation's

present.

In a period of just over thirty-five years—beginning roughly with the year of

Hakluyt's publication and ending with the printing of Samuel Purchas's sequel,

Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas, His Pilgrimes (1625-6)—England produced the

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[12] Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, ed. Jack Beeching (London: Penguin, 1972) 34.

[13] Hakluyt's own status as a "traveller" remains a source of anxiety for him. Unable to travel abroad himself, he casts his book project as itself a vast, wearying voyage: "what restless nights, what painful days, what heat, what cold I have endured; how many long and chargeable journeys I have traveled; how many famous libraries I have searched into; what variety of ancient and modern writers I have perused, what expenses I have not spared; and yet what fair opportunities of private gain, preferment, and ease I have neglected" (35).

journeys of some of its most famous travelers abroad: Thomas Hariot's proto-scientific venture to Virginia (*A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, 1588); Sir Walter Raleigh's "discovery" of Guiana (1596); Edmund Spenser's report of English colonials "gone native" (*A View on the State of Ireland*, 1596); William Strachey's account of a shipwreck off Bermuda (*A True Reportory of the Wrack and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates, Knight*, 1610); Thomas Coryat's widely mocked account of his travels in the Levant (*Coryat's Crudities*, 1611); Sir Anthony Sherley's details of his adventures in Persia (*Relation of his Travels into Persia*, 1613; earlier versions were written and published by others in 1601 and 1607); George Sandys' "relation" of his journey eastward (1615); and John Smith's report following his colonial voyage to the New World (*Generall Historie of Virginia*, 1624).[14] Together with the less popular voyages of the 1550s (undertaken by Sir Hugh Willoughby, Richard Chancellor, and Sebastian Cabot in search of a northwest passage to China), England's "adventures" of the late sixteenth-century tightened the bond between its mercantile and colonial interests. This bond was manifested in the founding of the Muscovy Company (1555), the East India Company (1600), and the Virginia Company (1606). Though born of an era in which foreign voyages were marked by "privateers" and individual adventurers like Cabot, Drake, and Raleigh, these companies ushered in England's subsequent and more widespread presence as a significant power in which distant, transoceanic ventures North, East, and West transpired with increasing frequency.

In print and in practice, early modern England was fashioned to be a nation of voyagers and discoverers. Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries*

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[14] Many more voyage accounts are listed in Edward Godfrey Cox's indispensable reference book, *A Reference Guide to the Literature of Travel*, vol. 1-3 (Seattle: University of Washington, 1935). The narratives selected above serve as reference points as they are some of the most often cited of the genre.

not only popularized the English voyager figure, but it also functioned as a canonizing force, dictating the terms and the genres by which sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English travel would be read. The narrative prose accounts of adventure and discovery that filled Hakluyt's compilation as well as those that followed (Purchas, Hariot, Raleigh, Spenser, etc.) were not unique in their use of tales of danger, distance, and strange encounters to "sell" both the truth of the journey and the publication in which it appeared. Like the romances on which they are loosely based, medieval travel narratives (fictional or otherwise) such as the fourteenth-century texts *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* and *The Travels of Marco Polo* also deploy paradigms of distant voyages and foreign encounters with strange beasts, peoples, and places for their narrative ends. Indeed, the trope of the solitary adventurer-voyager has long-standing roots in epic literature and romance.

What marks Hakluyt's late-sixteenth-century travel book as unique, I would suggest, is its anthologizing influence. His is a book of many travel tales, one which constructed a particular notion of English travel. Hakluyt's journeyers embark on oceanic voyages, experience shipwrecks, discover new lands and routes of travel, account for riches abroad, and interact with unfamiliar, sometimes mythical, peoples. They risk their lives, engage in battles, and venture into unknown lands. In short, Hakluyt's project is one meant to render English travelers in the extreme. Nonetheless, it is this paradigm of the oceanic voyager—leaving England to journey by ship to far-off, unfamiliar lands— which so significantly impacts not only early modern England's travel culture, but also the current critical approach. As I have suggested, the oceanic voyage paradigm and the narrative travel account, whether for purposes of adventuring or, as I explore below,

education, loom large in scholarly discourse. Rather than allowing these tropes to dominate our critical attention, this dissertation project temporarily dethrones the traveler-voyager and his narrative account, imagining instead England's "Principall Navigations,Voyages and Discoveries" as one part of a much broader travel culture.

Indeed, the spirit of travel abroad in early modern England was not entirely one of national and individual adventure-seeking. By the sixteenth century, strong currents of humanism swept through England, touting the importance of individual betterment, education, and civic duty.[15] These principles impacted both attitudes toward and practices of English journeying, often in the form of advice treatises or guides to life and learning. Humanist approaches to education broadened the instructional core beyond matters of theology (the dominant mode in the centuries leading up to the early modern period) and encouraged education through travel, typically to the Continent, in order that young scholars might learn firsthand matters of culture, history, literature, and art. Despite the Grand Tour's increasing popularity among wealthier segments of English society, many rejected the trend of sending youth abroad, citing the risks posed by exposure to Italians, whores, Catholics, sodomites, and Saracens.[16] In his widely read text, *The Schoolmaster* (1571), humanist scholar and tutor, Roger Ascham, outlines his thoughts regarding the "fansie that many yong Jentlemen of England have to travel abroad," explaining that while he does not "despise the learning that is gotten, or the experience that is gathered in strange countries," caution must, nonetheless, be

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[15] For two studies of the relationship between humanism and early modern travel, see Jonathan Haynes *The Humanist Traveler* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson Press, 1986) and Sarah Warneke, *Images of the Educational Traveller in England* (New York: E.J. Brill, 1995). Also see Hartmut Berghoff, Barbara Korte, Ralf Schneider, and Christopher Harvie, *The Making of Modern Tourism* (New York: Palgrave, 2002).
[16] Warneke's *Images of the Educational Traveller in England* offers a thorough study on the precise anxieties and patterns of representation produced by the rise of educational travel in the sixteenth-century.

maintained, as many "men of innocent life, men of excellent learnyng…returned out of

Italie, not only with worse maners, but also with lesse learnyng."[17] Ascham's concerns

were typical ambivalences about the desirability of foreign travel.[18] While travel had the

potential to facilitate the process of knowledge acquisition and learning, it often failed to

deliver benefits and, instead, put the young traveler at risk.

  Indeed, discourses of contamination, anxieties about religious conversion, and

tales of travelers lead astray in Italy, the Low Countries, Spain, Germany, and France

rivaled even those more fantastical accounts of amazons and cannibals in the New World.

In Thomas Nashe's picaresque novel of the "unfortunate" adventures abroad of Jack

Wilton (*The Unfortunate Traveller*, 1594), a exiled Englishman admonishes Wilton of

the limits of what English travelers can learn from these countries: from France, "nought

else have they profited by their travel, save learnt to distinguish of the true Bordeaux

grape, and know a cup of Gascoigne wine from wine of Orleance"; from Italy, travelers

acquire but "the art of atheism, the art of epicurising, the art of whoring, the art of

poisoning, the art of sodomitry"; from Spain, the traveler brings only signs of distateful

fashion, "a diminutive alderman's ruff with short strings like the droppings of a man's

nose…a wide pair of gaskins which ungathered would make a couple of women's riding

kirtles"; and from the "Dane and the Dutchman," all that remains is the risk of falling to

the ways of the Dutch who "do nothing but fill bottomless tubs and will be drunk and

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[17] Ascham, Roger, *The Schoolmaster*, in *Renascence Editions*, University of Oregon
<http://www.uoregon.edu/~rbear/ascham1.htm>; selection near "Italia Roma" marginal gloss.
[18] The notion of a "compleat" gentlemen circulates as advice manuals for travelers frequently emphasize
the importance of gaining knowledge through experience abroad. See Thomas Palmer's epistle in *An essay
on the means how to make our Travailes, into forraine Countries, the more profitable and honourable*
(1606). In light of suspected dangers abroad (contamination by Italians and Catholics, lewd temptations,
war, disease), debates ensue over the ideal form of travel, actual or "armchair." As I discuss below, Bishop
Joseph Hall famously argues for the benefit of staying at home, while others emphasis the importance of
physical travel.

snort in the midst of dinner" (345). Concerns over foreign contamination did not,

however, halt the practice of continental travel. Nearly forty years after Nashe's satiric

critique of the Grand Tour, Thomas Heywood opens his play *The English Traveller*

(1633) with precisely this debate:

> DELAVIL: Oh, friend, that I to mine own notion
>   Had joined but your experience! I have
>   The theoric, but you the practic.
> Y. GERALDINE: I perhaps have seen what you have only read of.
> DELAVIL: …but what I
>   Have by relation only, knowledge by travel,
>   Which still makes up a complete gentleman,
>   Proves eminent in you.   (1.1.1-22)

Delavil's sense that he lacks that which "still makes up a complete gentleman"

underscores as imperative the actual "experience" abroad. Nonetheless, a discourse of

armchair travel or experience through "theoric"—acquired in the warmth, comfort, and

safety of one's own study— began to circulate with increasing frequency in seventeenth-

century England. This was a discourse that competed with and raised questions about the

necessity of the "practic" all together.

     A late sixteenth-century English translation of Jerome Turler's Latin *The*

Traveiler (1575) exemplifies the humanist tradition that instructed readers about who

should embark on an experience of travel.[19] An avid European journeyer himself, Turler

offered his readers a hybrid genre of "practic" and "theoric"—part narrative account of

his own experiences in Naples and part lengthy directive on the perils and benefits of

journeying to the continent:

> Traueill is nothing else but a paine taking to see and search forreine
> landes, not to bee taken in hande by all sorts of persons, or unadvisedly. . .

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[19] Jerome Turler, *The Traveiler* (Gainesville, Fla.: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1951). First published in 1574 in Latin, Turler's book was translated into English and published in 1575 by an unknown translator.

>to see, learne, and diligently to marke suche things in strange Countries, as they shall haue neede to use in the common trade of lyfe, wherby they maye profite themselves, their friendes, and Countrey if neede require (5).

Turler's explication reminds readers of the importance of journeying abroad; it offers a benefit to oneself, friends, and Country "if neede require." The text also carefully casts travel as a right of the privileged, "not to be taken in hande by all sorts of persons." Later in the work, Turler explains the importance of qualifying his earlier definition of "traueill" as journeys to "Foraine Lands" so that he might "distinguish it from small and short journies, which enie man taketh in hande for pleasures sake in his owne cuntrey" (6). Turler's investment in tightening his language and definition mirrors greater efforts at limiting the epistemological, phenomenological, geographic and social scope of "traueill": travel is an experience of "paine" not "for pleasures sake"; it is a distant venture, not "small and short"; and it is the responsibility of the elite, not available to "enie man." I want to suggest that attempts to stabilize the symbolic value of early modern travel (both in Turler's text and in broader humanist discourse) are themselves a reaction to the great variety of travel practices and lexicons circulating in England by the end of the sixteenth-century.

Among the variety of travels practiced and written about during the period, pilgrimage weighed heavily on late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century notions of journeying, despite the impact of the Reformation. Late medieval English pilgrims had frequently journeyed to Canterbury, Compostela, Jerusalem, and Rome; they did so either as a part of the Crusades, as individual journeys, and, more often, as a part of a trip to a neighboring parish. Shrines, the promise of healing, and opportunities to purchase indulgences offered journeying men and women both a destination for their journey and a

site of spiritual contemplation. Their travels were a means of devotion and religious discovery. In their comprehensive collection of work on English pilgrimage, *Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan*, Colin Morris and Peter Roberts remind us that "pilgrimage and crusade were structural parts of the politics of the medieval world," and that, despite the rise of Protestantism, the destruction of a great majority of England's local shrines, and the relative disappearance of English pilgrims in the 1530s, "it was still possible for 'pilgrimage' to survive as an important cultural phenomenon" in the early modern period.[20] To say that pilgrimage paved the way for English travel abroad is not to overstate the case. One of the earliest printed texts to offer directions to travelers appeared in 1498 under the title, *Informacon for pylgrymes unto the holy londe*, and it was followed by another anonymous text that same year.[21] The earliest maps used in conjunction with a voyage were the itinerary maps of pilgrimage routes by Matthew Paris and others, mobilized largely for record keeping or route-planning rather than way-finding. Pilgrim narratives—a precursor to the travel narratives of later centuries—were among the most popular texts in circulation during the late middle ages.[22] And prior to the introduction of regular transport (with timetables and scheduled stops), the biannual pilgrim galleys from Venice en route to Jerusalem served as one of the most impressive examples of a social and technological system designed to sustain and support large numbers of travelers.[23]

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[20] Colin Morris and Peter Roberts. *Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002), 7, 10. See also Grace Tiffany, *Love's Pilgrimage: The Holy Journey in English Renaissance Literature* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2006).
[21] According to Edward Godfrey Cox's bibliography (*Reference Guide to the Literature of Travel*, II, p. 320) Turler's humanist guide to continental travel appears seventy-seven years later.
[22] Morris, 143.
[23] Ibid, 142.

In post-Reformation England, Protestantism shifted the energies of its pilgrim past, redirecting them toward other domains of travel.[24] On the one hand, while pilgrimage itself was seen as a Papist practice, vicarious journeying remained an outlet for devotion wherein the "journey" remained the dominant metaphor for the Christian, Protestant spiritual experience. [25] As N.H. Keeble suggests, Protestant reconceptualization of the "true pilgrimage" as a spiritual journey (rather than a quest for shrines) is what allowed for the production of texts like John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (1675). On the other hand, secular travel also absorbed much of the pilgrim ideology; though not a religious enterprise, the voyages of humanists and "discoverers" perpetuated the notion that one gained something through hardship—a phenomenon apparent in Samuel Purchas's choice to title his collection of non-religious ventures, *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (1625). Furthermore, as a signifier, the homonym travel/"travail" captured the greatest possible range of travel experiences.[26] At once a sign of labor *and* an indication of movement, "travail" could refer to an actual voyage, child birth, great toil, significant sweating, mental pains, or a spiritual journey—semantic possibilities of which early modern writers and printers took advantage in popular and literary texts alike.

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[24] I am not alone in this assertion. Sarah Warneke suggests that pilgrimage became absorbed by "educational travel" and N.H. Keeble remarks that Protestantism in England "does not expel pilgrimage from the religious lexicon; rather, it appropriated it to a new purpose" (242) (" 'To be a pilgrim': constructing the Protestant life in early modern England," *Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan*). Most recently, Grace Tiffany (*Love's Pilgrimage*) examines the place of the holy journey in the English renaissance, focusing on the texts of Edmund Spenser, William Shakespeare, John Donne, and John Milton.

[25] This is not to suggest, however, that vicarious pilgrimage was not already at work in medieval England. Mappaemundi displayed in cathedrals, the Stations of the Cross, statues of saints, and other religious imagery facilitated the imaginary devotional journeys of the less mobile or illiterate members of the parish.

[26] The OED offers multiple meanings of "travail" (v. and n.) in its early modern context: "Bodily or mental labor or toil," "the labour and pain of childbirth," "a journey," "to work as a student, to study," "to move," and "to traverse [a specific distance]." These examples also include the multiple variants of "travail" including "travel," "travell," "travaill," and "travayle."

Would-be English travelers also enjoyed vicarious possibilities for travel by turning to the literary domain. The imaginative "travails" of writers, readers, spectators, and entertainers not only partially secularized this previously Catholic mode of experience, they also spoke to a broader, more flexible notion of what constituted travel in early modern England. In 1666, Margaret Cavendish advocates the benefits of leaving the "pains of travel" behind and "creating a world within yourself, [where] you may enjoy all both in whole and in parts."[27] For proponents of armchair travel, the knowledge provided in reading travel narratives such as Raleigh's *Discovery of Guiana* and Coryat's "crude" ventures in the Levant were "travails" enough for would-be journeyers. Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter, famously writes in 1617:

> I haue knowne some that haue trauelled no further then their owne closet, which could both teach and correct the greatest Traueller, after all his tedious and costly pererrations, what doe wee but lose the benefit of so many iournals, maps, hystoricall descriptions, relations, if we cannot with these helps, trauell by our owne fire-side?...Let an Italian or French passenger walk through this our Iland, what can his Table-bookes carry home, in comparison of the learned Britaine of our Camden, or the accurate Tables of Speed? . . . A good booke is at once the best companion, and guide, and way, and end of our journey.[28]

For Hall, the book is simultaneously "the best companion, and guide, and way, and end" of the travel experience.

Books and maps were not the only alternatives to physical journey. Drama frequently employed a discourse of vicarious travel to describe the play-watching experience. Richard Brome's *The Antipodes*, the anonymously written *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*, and William Shakespeare's *Pericles* and *Henry V* all invite their

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[27] Margaret Cavendish, *The Blazing World & Other Writings*, ed. Kate Lilley (New York: Penguin, 1992) 186.
[28] Joseph Hall, *Quo Vadis? A just Censure for Travel, as it is commonly undertaken by the gentlemen of our nation* (London: Printed by Edward Griffin for Nathaniel Butler, 1617) 33-36.

audiences to journey with them across time and space.[29] Epic romance (with its

wandering knights, quests, and metaphoric battles) regularly thematized the travel

experience in both sacred and secular contexts. Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*

(1590, 1596) interweaves elements of medieval romance, involving knightly quests

across fictional landscapes, with Christian allegory and allusions to national, Protestant

pilgrimage. Spenser's allegorical epic parallels the "travail" of his characters with the

experience of his readers. At the close of Book I, the epic is depicted as a "wearie

vessel" laden with the activity of its characters: "Now strike your sailes ye jolly Mariners,

/ Fore we be come unto a quiet rode, / Where we must land some of our passengers / And

light this wearie vessel of her lode. / . . . And then againe abroad / On the long voyage

whereto she is bent" (42).

English voyagers, then, took many forms: knights, explorers, mariners, Christian

adventurers, and vicarious epic travelers. In his study of literary voyages in Spenser,

William Shakespeare, John Donne, Christopher Marlowe, and John Milton, Philip

Edwards seeks to "explain how the metaphor of the voyage is built into different works

by different writers and why it is essential to the elucidation of the work in question."[30]

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[29] *The Antipodes*: "…we are bound to travel tonight" (Prologue 16); *Pericles*: "Imagine Pericles arriv'd at Tyre, / . . . Now to Marina bend your mind" (3.4.1,5) and "Only I carried winged time / Post [on] the lame feet of my rhyme, / Which never could I so convey, / Unless your thoughts went on my way" (3.4.47-50) and "Sail seas in cockles, have and wish but for't, / Making, to take our imagination, From bourn to bourn, region to region. / By you being pardoned, we commit no crime / To use one language in each several clime / Where our scenes seems to live" (4.4.2-8); *Henry V*: "Can this cock-pit hold / The vasty fields of France? Or may we cram / Within this wooden O the very casques / That did affright the air at Agincourt?" (1.1.11-14), "…let us, ciphers to this great account, / On your imaginary forces work" (1.1.17-18) and "Think, when we talk of horses, that you see them, / Printing their proud hoofs i'th' receiving earth; / For 'tis yoru thoughts that now must deck our kings, / Carry them here and there, jumping o'er times" (1.1.26-29); *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*: "…Now your assists/ To help the entrance of our history. / First see a father parting with his sons; / Then, in a moment, on the full sails of thought / We will divide them many hundred leagues. / Our scene lies speechless, active but yet dumb, / Till your expressing thoughts give it a tongue" (Prologue 25-31).
[30] Philip Edwards, *Sea-Mark: The Metaphorical Voyage, Spenser to Milton* (Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 1997) 2.

The analytic potential of the tropes of early modern travel, though, extends beyond questions of fantasy, allegory, genre, and encounter.[31] Vicarious journeying, this dissertation will argue in its final chapter, is a practice of local travel and, as such, actually pushes against broader epistemological questions of movement in early modern England.

II. "Plotting" a Phenomenology of Travel

Despite the monumental, remarkable nature of the oceanic voyages and continental tours which filled the pages of foreign narrative accounts and ushered England into the so-called "Age of Discovery," by the turn of the seventeenth century, England also experienced a revolution of travel *within*. Before the imperial systematization of space and time took hold in what would become the British Empire, before notions of self/other became firmly fixed with the rise of nationalism, and prior to the advent of regulated transport technologies (such as rail, steam engine, and regular stage coaches) and the introduction of constant rates of travel (miles per hour, scheduled timetables), multiple representational systems circulated simultaneously. The geographic, social, and conceptual terrain of travel—what I term England's *travelscape*—was forever altered as new technologies of transport were introduced alongside developing navigational techniques, cartographic knowledge, and the rise of print. Moving from

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[31] On travel as a trope see: Jowitt, *Voyage Drama and Gender Politics* and Peter Holland " 'Travelling Hopefully': The Dramatic Form of Journeys in English Renaissance Drama," in Jean Pierre Maquerlot and Michele Willems, *Travel and Drama in Shakespeare's Time* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996). On travel, space, and the stage see Anthony Parr, introduction, *Three Renaissance Travel Plays* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1995); Maquerlot and Willems, *Travel and Drama in Shakespeare's Time*; Peter Hulme and Andrew Sherman, *The Tempest and its Travels* (Philadelphia: U Pennsylvania Press, 2000); John Gillies and Virginia Mason Vaughn, *Playing the Globe: Genre and Geography in English Renaissance Drama* (London: Associated University Presses, 1998); Russell West, *Spatial Representations and the Jacobean Stage* (New York: Palgrave, 2002); Garrett Sullivan, *The Drama of Landscape: Land, Property, and Social Relations on the Early Modern Stage* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1998).

London to Cambridge, by coach or by horse, with or without the aid of a travel guide, was a practice fraught with cultural meaning. Travelers struggled through the muck of unreliable roadways, sometimes drowned in the unpredictable, hazardous tides of the Thames, calculated mileage distances in relation to difficulty, and delighted in the ease and social cache offered by coach transport. In a sense, seventeenth-century English travelers theorized their own journeys.

Nonetheless, as I have articulated, texts depicting local travel are largely absent from discussions on early modern travel. Even in fields in which travel texts figure less prominently as sources of evidence—the history of cartography, spatial theory, and migration studies, for example—the notion of the paradigmatic English voyager has persisted, shaping a series of assumptions about movement in early modern England. Studies of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century cartography rarely place their work in direct conversation with work on travel, a curious omission given that travel serves as both the precondition to and likely outcome of the cartographic project.[32] Foundational spatial theorists Henri Lefebvre, Michel de Certeau, and David Harvey have also overlooked the conceptual overlap between space and movement even as they have

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[32] On mapping see J.B. Harley, *The New Nature of Maps* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); Frank Lestringant, *Mapping the Renaissance World* (London: Polity Press,1991); Jerry Brotton, *Trading Territories, Mapping the Early Modern World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Michael Wintle, "Renaissance maps and the construction of the idea of Europe" *Journal of Historical Geography* 25 (1999): 137-65; Valerie Traub, "Mapping the Global Body" in *Early Modern Visual Culture* (2001); John Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference*, ed. Peter Erikson and Clark Hulse (Philadelphia: U Pennsylvania Press, 1994); Gillies and Mason Vaughn, *Playing the Globe*; Rhonda Lemke Sanford, *Maps and Memory in Early Modern England: A Sense of Place* (New York: Palgrave, 2002); Andrew Gordon & Bernhard Klein, *Literature, Mapping, and the Politics of Space in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001); Garrett Sullivan, "The Atlas as Literary Genre: Reading the Inutility of John Ogilby's *Britannia*" (unpublished paper, 1998); Catherine Delano-Smith, *English Maps: A History* (Toronto: U Toronto Press, 1999) and with Elizabeth Ingram, *Maps in Bibles 1500-1600: An Illustrated Catalogue* (Geneva: Droz, 1991).

emphasized the significance of practice to the socio-cultural "production" of space.[33]

Even de Certeau, whose work on walking the city draws out the connection between

environment and practice, reads movement as a practice in the *service* of the formation of

spatial meaning. Several important studies on early modern English culture have built on

this critical work, yet they, too, see movement as a means to an end rather than a site of

critical inquiry in itself.[34]

Attention to movement has also formed a key component of migration studies, a

field which has examined patterns of migration and overall mobility of populations in

early modern England.[35] However, "migration" speaks to a particular form of movement,

defined as a permanent or semi-permanent change in residency.[36] Thus, as a conceptual

and lexical alternative to "travel" in the local domain, "migration" remains limiting.

Nonetheless, I propose that we might profit from attending to certain discoveries made in

migration studies even as I wish to nuance the terms migration and travel. Migration

studies ask us to attend to local movement as a defining and shaping act in culture. These

movements include those that filled England's roadways and waterways. Scholars also

have used "mobility" as a way of imagining the greater array of permanent, semi-

permanent, temporary, and regular travels of the English. The trouble with "mobility,"

however, lies in its imprecision; it carries a strong association of socio-economic

advancement whereby it connotes status as well as movement. In studies of domestic

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[33] de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*; David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990); Henri Lefebvre, translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1974, 1991). While de Certeau does pursue the intersection between movement, mapping, and space significantly more so than Harvey and Lefebvre, his generalizations about the early modern period hinder the effect of his argument.
[34] Cynthia Wall, *The Literary and Cultural Spaces of Restoration London* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998); Steven Mullaney, *The Place of the Stage: License, Play, and Power in Renaissance England* (Chicago: U Chicago Press, 1988); and Sullivan, *The Drama of Landscape*.
[35] See footnote 1.
[36] Clark & Souden, 11.

movement in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, both "migration" and "mobility" have served as substitutes to "travel" for *all* movements that take place within England. In other words, the logic goes, English inhabitants don't travel in England—they migrate. In response, "Plotting Movement: Epistemologies of Local Travel in Early Modern England" develops a more inclusive and more exact terminology for "travel" whereby migration, mobility, and foreign voyaging are specific parts of, rather than substitutes for, early modern journeying.

In using the local as a lens for reading travel's alternative representational systems, I understand "local" to be a dynamic construct, defined neither by particular geographic limitations nor by precise mileage figures.[37] Instead, I work to keep alive the instability of geographic distance as a signifier of travel. If, for example, one's travels by coach over ten miles of muddy roadways are less dangerous than a brief boat ride across the Thames, how would the means of articulating the journey experience compare? Thus, "local" travels include journeys by horseback, coach, foot, boat, and sedan chair as well as those along rivers, country roads, city streets, and open landscapes. Nonetheless, I have limited my archive to representations of travel within England, Scotland, and Wales. I am influenced here by geographic limits (England, Scotland, and Wales share one island) as well as the political ties that bind these three states in this period (particularly after King James I is crowned). Although London figures centrally in many of the texts studied here, rural England, Wales and Scotland are also represented, though often in conjunction with the capitol. Additionally, in the early modern period, "local" did not yet

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[37] Communities with vast cultural, linguistic, and ethnic differences might be separated by mere miles in rural England or by a single street in London. Internal movements were far from strictly familiar experiences for domestic travelers. See Mary Bly, "Playing the Tourist in Early Modern London: Selling the Liberties Onstage," *PMLA* 122.1 (January 2007): 61-71.

collocate with "global" whereby "local" signifies a particular, comparatively small district, usually a community or neighborhood.[38] Instead, local was more of a flexible term. "Local" could mean both located—as in having a position in space—and a locale—though the geographic limits were indeterminate. As such, I find my own more fluid interpretation of the term both appropriate and productive.

Within the archive of texts of local journeying, travel's discursive variety is itself emblematic of generic variety. In exploring genres that are not all explicitly narrative, I free notions of seventeenth-century travel from a strictly narrative notion of plot. The term "plot" is, as Lorna Huston, Martin Bruckner, and Kristen Poole have pointed out, a uniquely early modern, and, indeed, spatial one.[39] Etymologically, the word has roots in surveying practices: measured "plots" of land are then represented in visual "plots" or "plats" (maps). Early modern uses of the word in reference to literature originate in efforts to give form and structure to a text. In arguing that "the terminology and practice of narrative plot developed out of early modern geodectic discourse," Bruckner and Poole also suggest that "audiences literally s[aw] the playscript as a mappable and navigable textual space" (618, 631). Thus the conflation of the dramatic text and narrative plot was also a conflation of story and space. In reminding us of narrative's spatial history, Bruckner and Poole echo de Certeau's postmodern reading of space as something narratively experienced. While correct in their conclusions, in both instances the semantic and conceptual associations between narrative and space, reading and movement, are so

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[38] The OED does not cite a usage of this sort until 1871. "[L]ocall lawes" was used in 1688. Particular places are referred to as "local" during the seventeenth century, though less in the relational terms we now understand; instead, the meaning implied a shared space or place.

[39] Lorna Hutson, "'Fortunate Travelers': Reading for the Plot in Sixteenth-Century England," *Representations* 41 (Winter 1993): 83-103. Martin Buckner and Kristen Poole, "The Plot Thickens: Surveying Manuals, Drama, and the Materiality of Narrative Form in Early Modern England," *ELH* 69 (2002): 617-648.

close as to risk reversal. In other words, there is a danger in assuming travel is an inherently narrative experience—that in recovering the "plat" in plot, travel, too, always has a plot and is always a "story." Whereas Bruckner, Poole, and de Certeau wish to retie the threads that bind narrative to spatial experience, plot to plat, I seek to accomplish the opposite. I consider what happens when we break the undisputed link between not only travel and travel narratives (genre), but also between travel and narrative plot (logic). Doing so enables us to detect the precise ways in which literary texts negotiate the exact relationship between movement and narrative (as simultaneously genre and logic), or as Bruckner and Poole suggest, "undermine the very systems of structural representation" (644). Rather than seek a corrective to narrative readings of early modern travel, I propose a critical awareness of the precise implications of analyzing travel through strictly narrative genres. Methodologically, this move does not deny study of texts that contain narrative elements; plays, satiric pamphlets, and even visual images all tell rich, detailed stories about movement at the local level.

Local travel texts represent movement through a range of genres (narrative to non-narrative) and discursive forms (subjective to non-subjective). For example, non-narrative genres such as the almanac and the travel guide utilize non-subjective discursive forms to "plot" the spatial and temporal aspects of journeying. Almanac-users deploy short non-narrative phrases to indicate the place and time of their travels and the travel guide utilizes a combination of numeric measurement, map, and alphabetic list to represent and anticipate the local journey. Even the domestic travel narrative reworks the first-person subject position of the traditional narrative account to include non-subjective representations of travel as a material technology. How local travelers move—dancing, a

paper boat, or an amphibious boat-car—become as significant as the fact that they move. As such, these texts demand a new methodological approach: that focuses not on a phenomenology of the subject, but on a phenomenology of travel itself. In so doing, these texts make salient the array of representational modes available to accounting for a travel experience. In other words, recognizing travel as a phenomenon of movement rather than a phenomenon of the subject attunes our critical eye to several epistemologies of travel. The possibilities for knowing travel extend beyond a subjective first-person perspective, introducing discourses that attend to *phenomenological* components of movement. In each of the five chapters that follow, I argue that texts of local journeying produce and support the emergence of an alternative epistemology of travel driven not by subjective encounter with the foreign, but instead by articulations regarding space, time, difficulty, and technologies of transport.

III. Alternative Epistemologies of Local Travel

My first chapter, "'The World runnes on Wheeles': Technologies of Transport and England's Changing Travelscape," lays the historical groundwork for the project, examining the social, textual, and material histories of everyday local transport and their impact on a phenomenology of travel. How movement occurred, I argue, was at issue culturally and constituted more than merely the arrival at one's destination. Particular technologies of transport (coaches, sedan chairs, river boats, horses, foot travel) carried literal and figurative codes of value that structured the significance of the travel experience and shaped England's travelscape. The rapid increase in vehicular options in the first half of the seventeenth century, coupled with England's population explosion

and migratory flood toward London, generated an era of travel variety, competition and conflict. Initially, the introduction of vehicular variety ushered in a series of debates over the means and meaning of travel, as is evident in John Stow's *Survey of London* and George Chapman, Ben Jonson, and John Marston's *Eastward Ho!*. The later satiric pamphlets published by John Taylor (*The World runnes on Wheeles*) and Henry Peacham (*Sedan and Coach, Pleasantly Disputing for Place and Precedence*) pick up on these social conflicts and reveal the emergence of discourses of rank and status, gender, and nationhood, which sought to organize, stabilize and give meaning to vehicular practices. In their attention to the technologies of transport, these texts demonstrate the extent to which travel is a phenomenon of movement in which the means of travel, rather than the subjective experience, determines its meaning. Further, the replacement of the subjective experience with the effects of the material technology opens up a space for a series of epistemological questions about what constitutes travel at all.

Chapter two, "'[P]leasure, paines and kinde entertainment': Narratives of Local Travel," offers an extensive critique of the foreign encounter paradigm and its tropes of "discovery," "wonder," and "adventure" by exploring some of the epistemological quandaries raised in the previous chapter, particularly as they emerge in the unique patterns of discursive representation utilized in the narrative prose accounts of English travelers journeying at home. Without the promise of foreign encounter or transoceanic voyaging, many local English travelers represent their journeys in the familiar form of the first-person narrative. The tales of William Kemp (*Nine Daies Wonder*), William Bush (*A True Relation of the admirable Voyage and Travell of William Bush*), and John Taylor (*The Certain Travailes of an Uncertain Journey* and *The Voyage in a Boat of Brown*

Paper) carve a space for local travel in the prose narrative genre. These texts demonstrate that noteworthy journeying not only took place within England's borders, but that the terms by which such journeys were understood were themselves reworked, reimagined and given new meaning as "the local" appropriated "the foreign." While the titles of the texts speak to the travelers' indebtedness to the generic tradition initiated by the voyage narrative, the remarkable nature of these journeys lies in the way that the voyage lexicon is filtered through and juxtaposed with non-subjective, phenomenological representations of movement. In each account, the style of transport (a foot-dance, a hybrid vehicle capable of traveling in air, land and sea, and a paper boat) partially decenters the individual subject, thereby rendering the meaning of travel as something derived from, and dependent on, its means of transport.

In the two chapters that follow my investigation of narrative accounts, I turn to non-narrative modes of representing travel that appear in the pages of almanacs and travel guides respectively. These two textual genres form a logical pair given their own generic history—basic highway information included in almanacs became the foundation of the later early-seventeenth-century travel guide—as well as their shared market—both were inexpensive and increased in popularity throughout the seventeenth century. Moreover, whereas the local journeys of Kemp, Bush, and Taylor were of a remarkable sort, those rendered through the graphic, visual, and notational "plots" of printed almanacs and travel guides are of everyday, ordinary practices of movement over a wide geographic range.

In Chapter 3, "The Form of Travel: Local Journeying and Early English Almanacs," I consider the representational schemas utilized by local travelers in the

empty spaces of the period's most popular texts: almanacs. Despite their status as books of time, almanacs are also books of space. I argue that there is a shared textual history between highway tables and almanac calendars which explains, in part, how and why the almanac becomes a widespread means of measuring movement. Early modern diarists inscribed themselves and their travels in both time and space alongside the almanac's monthly calendar chart, transforming the printed page into a site of personal record. Non-narrative annotations in these almanacs employ brief phrases or simple descriptions of location in time ("the 7 aprill I went to nounsuch" or "October 13th: at gwerne evett with my brother"). I suggest that such "plotting" of local journeys is evidence of the almanac's generic influence on developing an alternative epistemology of travel, whereby the interplay between place and time, rather than a subjective narrative logic of cause and effect, constitutes the travel act.

Chapter four, "Tabulating 'Travail' in English Travel Guides," examines representations of travel in the context of early modern cartographic thought and spatial discourse. It asserts that the unique seventeenth-century hybrid genre, the travel guide, bridges the gap between the cartographic and the phenomenological and, in so doing, introduces an alternative discourse of spatial representation which revises two critical assumptions: that early modern maps were not regularly used in the context of travel and that cartographic history and travel studies fail to intersect (save a few examples of medieval itinerant maps) until the emergence of road atlases in the late seventeenth century. The distance tables of John Norden's *England, An Intended Guyde For English Travailers* and the books born of Norden's guide utilize a unique range of visual modes which represent distance rather than geographic location. These guides "plot" England

through the axes of movement and difficulty. Travel guides collectively produced a nearly century-long, alternative textual, spatial, and cartographic epistemology of travel characterized by a textual interplay between map image and chart, numeric measurement and alphabetic list. In them, representations of the cartographic and the phenomenological share the space of a single text.

My final chapter gestures back to the accounts of Kemp, Bush, and Taylor in that it returns to narrative and the function of foreign travel discourse in a local domain, in this case imaginative contexts. "'[K]nowledge by travel': Imagining Travel in Seventeenth-Century Drama" reads the satiric critiques of voyage tropes in seventeenth-century drama as evidence of early modern England's broader cultural meditation on the meaning of movement. Using evidence drawn from the range of genres explored in earlier chapters, I analyze the ways stage plays narratively plot local travel through discursive and semantic play—satire, parody, and metatheatricality—rather than through representations of exotic locales and cultures. In attending to the discursive shifts and epistemological queries that emerge from plays such as Thomas Heywood's *The English Traveller*, Richard Brome's *The Antipodes*, and Anton Cokayne's *The Obstinate Lady*, I offer a new analytic for reading travel drama that recognizes the range of practices and ways of representing journeying in early modern England. Like the local travel narrative, these plays produce an epistemological critique that self-consciously reworks and troubles the geographic, lexical, and phenomenological bounds of English travel. Instead of using journeying merely as a plot device (the shipwreck, foreign encounter, piracy or adventure), early modern dramatists also interrogate how travel is known. Heywood, Brome, and Cokayne collapse the local journeys experienced by audiences arriving at the

theater with the fictive worldly travels portrayed on stage or those implied in reading the

play-text, thereby offering a new set of vicarious, imaginative possibilities for reading

and knowing travel. In so doing, these seventeenth-century stage plays explore the

implications of travel in its most local context, making explicit the connection between

the epistemology and phenomenology of travel: the mind.

Chapter 1
"The World runnes on Wheels":
Transport Technologies and England's Changing Travelscape

I. The Domestic Travelscape

A curious image from a turn of the seventeenth-century Swiss manuscript depicts a rather unrealistic though telling scene of an early modern landscape inundated with travelers (Figure 1.1).[1] Ships, coaches, riders on horseback, wherry-boat passengers, and a foot-traveler layer the view as they head toward the image's left boundary. The mast of a large ship sits prominently near the top (and centered in the full page), while the sloping angles of the valley draw the eye downward and along a winding road to the remaining four travel subjects—a coach, several horses, a boat, and lastly a foot-traveler who stands closest to the viewer. Although it may seem to depict a kind of mass migration of people, the image functions as an exhibition of the impressive variety of transportation options available in early modern Europe. It is unique in its balance of the more ambitious, lofty ideals of overseas voyaging and trade—represented by the three ships—with everyday movements across land and waterways—embodied in both the elite modes of transport provided by the coach, horse, and river boat as well as the more basic means deployed by one's own feet. In early modern England and on the continent, images of the so-called "age of discovery" tended to focus on transoceanic travels that produced voyages to or

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[1] The image appears facing the title page of Clare Williams's translation of Thomas Platter's, *Travels in England* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1937). Williams titles the image "Modes of Travel," dates it at 1600, and indicates that it is from a manuscript in the University Library at Basel. Despite its German origins, the manuscript image directly intersects with innumerable textual references in England during the same span of time. In addition, Platter references many similar modes of travel in his account of traveling in England.

proto-scientific explorations of far off lands—the West Indies, the Americas, the Levant, Africa, the Far East, and the North. Francis Bacon's frontispiece to *Instauratio Magna* (1620) famously displays an impressive ship sailing through the Pillars of Hercules that stand at the Western edge of the Mediterranean, symbolizing England's movement beyond the spatial knowledge of antiquity.[2] Here, England's epistemological and scientific progress is emblematized as an oceanic journey, a passing from one familiar body of water—the Mediterranean—to other less charted waters—the Atlantic. Seaward voyages, however, were only one of the many modes of travel employed by the English on a daily basis, as this German manuscript reminds us. While the three ships in the background of the image attract one's initial gaze, the array of land and river craft fill the majority of the frame, raising an important set of issues regarding more modest, "everyday" means of travel. If we, too, allow our critical gaze to stray from ships and foreign voyages, bringing England's other travelers into the foreground (landowning elite, yeomen, craftsmen, apprentices, domestic servants, and itinerant laborers), we acquire a sense of the crucial role domestic transport played in forming the material, social, and textual fabric of early modern English travel more broadly.

Between 1550 and 1650 unprecedented numbers of people traveled England's roadways and waterways. While foreign visitors such as Thomas Platter (Swiss) and Horatio Busino (Italian) journeyed there as a part of the increasingly popular European tour, the isle's inhabitants also struck off on their own personal and professional "travails" who formed the majority of England's travelers during the early modern period. Long-distance travelers such as apprentices, domestic servants, journeymen,

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[2] Susan Scott Parrish [*American Curiosity: Cultures of Natural History in the Colonial British Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill: U North Carolina Press, 2006)]notes that Bacon borrowed this image from a Spanish frontispiece (71).

itinerant laborers (peddlers, carriers, entertainers), wage laborers (migrant farm workers, harvest workers), "vagrants," and adventure-seekers took to the road, some traveling as many as two hundred miles before reaching their destination.[3] The rise in population from 2.98 million in 1561 to 5.09 million in 1641, poor crop yields in the 1590s and 1620s, and higher wages in urban areas contributed to the significant increase in internal traffic, especially toward London.[4] One author suggests that one in eight provincial English people would have lived or worked in the capitol (thus, they would have traveled to the city) at some point in their lives between 1580 and 1650.[5] Even amidst an overall decrease in the English population as a result of lower birth rates in relation to deaths, London's numbers virtually exploded—more than quadrupling between 1550 and 1650.[6] John Stow notes this influx of immigrants into the capitol in his *Survey of London* (1598): "…the gentlemen of all shires do fly and flock to this city; the younger sort of them to see and show vanity, and the elder to save the cost and charge of hospitality and house-keeping" (496).[7] Over forty years later, in his guide *The Art of living in London* (1642), Henry Peacham still recognizes the significant population of "fortune seekers" in the city, offering his advice to London's "Gentlemen, Countreymen and Strangers, drawn by occasion of businesse" as well as the "poorer sort that come thither to seeke their

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[3] For an insightful overview of these populations of mobile English workers and a theoretical engagement with notions of mobility and migrancy as both external and internal conditions, see Fumerton, *Unsettled*.

[4] Apprentices traveled an average of 150-200 miles to reach the capitol between 1550 and 1640, and by the early seventeenth century, their numbers totaled nearly 25,000 (about 12% of London's population at the time) (Clark & Souden 269). As early as the 1550s, hundreds of female domestic servants also journeyed to London each year as early as the 1550s, with numbers increasing significantly after the Restoration (Clark & Souden 23). In a study of 2,651 captured vagrants, Paul Slack reports that half had migrated more than 40 miles and almost a quarter had traveled over 100 miles (Slack 59, Clark & Souden). Families or groups might also travel together in especially difficult times of famine or disease.

[5] Ibid, 110.

[6] Qtd. in Jeremy Boulton, "Neighborhood migration in early modern London" in Clark & Souden, *Migration and Society*, 107.

[7] John Stow, *Stow's Survey of London*, ed. H.B. Wheatley (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1956).

Fortunes."[8] Indeed, London had become a kind of magnet, attracting wealthy and poor, noble as well as common, to its expanding neighborhoods.

Long-distance migrants were not the only mobile segment of England's population during the early modern period.[9] Margaret Pelling points out that, internally, London was characterized by a "mode of metropolitan living which was mobile, the effect of constant movement in and out of the city on a periodic, even daily basis."[10] Though urban travelers may not have journeyed far, their daily existence was a highly mobile one, especially for lower-income workers and laborers whose livelihood depended on the traffic of goods. In his late sixteenth-century survey, Stow also comments on the developing mercantile trend in which "bakers of London, and other citizens, travel into the countries, and buy their corn of the farmers, after the farmers' price" (322). The demands of daily life required that Londoners navigate and frequent the city's surrounding streets, lanes, bridges, and ferry systems; however, they were not alone in this mobility. Movement in, around, and between England's many other parishes, towns, and cities was, as Peter Clark and David Souden point out, so ubiquitous as to

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[8] Henry Peacham, *The Art of living in London* (London: Printed for John Gyles; sold by Samuel Rand, 1642) title excerpt.

[9] Betterment migrants, or higher-income movers, traveled much more locally than itinerant laborers or servants as they had less need to travel great distances for income (Clark & Souden 272). Toward the latter part of the seventeenth century, long-distance migration fell way to more local movement, even for those of lower income. This shift is most likely due to the change in apprenticeship systems and a lessening need in London. Even during the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, though, some poorer migrants chose to move to woodland areas (Clark and Souden 29). Regions outside London also displayed notable local mobility in which marriage and kinship ties prompted travel outside one's town or parish though still within a ten-mile radius (Clark & Souden 270). London's great inflow of immigrants also met with some outflow—permanent and temporary (Boulton 113, in Clark & Souden). Jeremy Boulton offers a seemingly opposing perspective on mobility in seventeenth century London, suggesting that the city's householders remained relatively immobile throughout the course of their lives. However, Boulton acknowledges the limitations in his study—householders were wealthier than majority of London's population (apprentices, laborers, servants) who were most certainly more mobile—and offers a compelling argument about the relative continuity of neighborhood community in early modern London. Thus, while the long-distance movements of lower-income workers remains significant, it is critical to recognize the overall mobility of people in early modern England—distant and proximate.

[10] Margaret Pelling, "Skirting the City? Disease, Social Change and Divided Households in the Seventeenth Century" in Paul Griffiths and Mark Jenner, *Londinopolis* (Manchester UP, 2000) 154, 167.

make it a "little-remarked phenomenon."[11] I argue, however, that it is precisely the unremarkable nature of many migrations and movements in early modern England that has caused scholars to imagine them as distinct from travel more generally and, in so doing, to overlook their analytic potential. In fact, local travel in and between England's urban centers was far from "little-remarked" upon; while extensive details of particular journeys may remain frustratingly few in the archive, the cultural and social significance of those travels and the means by which one traveled are extant in a remarkable number of narratives, poems, plays, pamphlets, and images.

As the opening manuscript reminds us, throughout the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, domestic travelers, particularly in London, were afforded an array of options. Besides walking, wagons, carts, and post horses presented travelers with viable and relatively inexpensive options. In addition, ferries across and along the Thames had long served London's inhabitants and visitors, reaching their height when the riverbank was lined with theaters, bear gardens, whorehouses and other entertainment establishments which drew large numbers from the surrounding environs. By the turn of the seventeenth century, though, something began to change. The heyday of river travel faltered as newly imported vehicles from the continent such as sedan chairs and coaches rose in popularity. An economically and socially driven competition around transport options began to take hold. Together with the longstanding modes of walking, horseback riding, and ferrying, the new land-based technologies of transport not only afforded many travelers the opportunity to select how they might travel, but also, as I argue here, to determine the significance of those movements.

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[11] Clark & Souden, 21.

This chapter argues that literary and visual texts actively negotiated and participated in a cultural moment already at work in the material and social practices of English. Throughout the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, representations of local travel mirrored tensions present in the material world in which acts, experiences, and forms of journeying were far from value neutral. The options available to local travelers (land or sea, road or river, vehicle or foot) had not yet formed a symbiotic transportation system in which clear rules of function or finance governed travel decisions;[12] instead, the increasing number of possibilities formed a network of journeying characterized less by harmonious multiplicity and more by intersection, competition, and constant negotiation in which England's inhabitants, rich and poor, strove to make meaning of these many forms of movement (coach, coach for hire, sedan chair, wherry boat, barge, cart, horse). Together, the vehicles, the spatial practices of which they were a part, and the various discourses that underwrite them, constituted the domestic *travelscape* of early modern England—a conceptual and literal domain produced by the intersection of the material and immaterial, the transport technology and its textual representation as well as the muddy, rutted country roads and the danger posed by their unpredictability. The many technologies of journeying at home profoundly shaped notions of English travel.

In the pages that follow, I explore the relationship between the material and textual worlds of travel in England, claiming that the active discursive debates in literature over *the means* of travel are emblematic of a greater socio-cultural moment in

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[12] By this I mean to invoke the assumptions about "logical" transportation that arise in the 19th century with the railroad. The rail system collapsed space and time, transforming both potential travel destinations and the experience of moving through space in time. De Certeau describes it as at once "incarcerational and navigational" whereby rail travel actually removes the action from the traveller (something arguably at work with early modern travel technologies, yet not quite of an "incarcerational" sort) (113). Attention to the railroad (and attention to the monumental oceanic voyages) assumes a relatively "stable" system of travel that local travel throws into question.

which the *meaning* of travel was itself in flux. I begin by examining the physical conditions and limitations of the everyday experiences of traveling England's roadways and waterways, suggesting that the material nature of these environments (muddy, unpaved roads, dangerous tidal waters, crowded city streets) significantly impacted both the lived experience of the journey and the symbolic value of journeying itself. Following this, I turn to London's river Thames as an exemplary site for considering not only the ways in which practices of movement provide a space with meaning, but also how those spaces shape the cultural and social significance of movement as well. The final two sections of this chapter detail the responses to technologies of land travel in the literary realm. I begin by examining and arguing for the emergence of a variety of discourses that develop as a response to coach travel in particular: rank and status, gender, and nationhood. Besides their socio-economic signification, coaches (and sedans) are frequently couched in a gendered language that focuses on the effects of effeminization, reproduction, and desire. So, too, does a proto-national lexicon of belongedness get mobilized as a way of articulating the terms of vehicular transport. Brief readings of John Stow's *Survey of London* and Chapman, Jonson, and Marston's *Eastward Ho!* demonstrate the ways in which coaches were figured in precisely these terms. I conclude with the later satiric pamphlets of Henry Peacham and John Taylor as a means of exploring the breakdown of these discourses of representation and the questions raised regarding the meaning of domestic movement.

What all of these texts demonstrate—historical chronicle, stage play, and pamphlet—is that textual and visual representations of local travel acts and technologies are never fully able to rely on a single paradigm of representation; instead, these texts are

best characterized by the friction, overlap, and disconnect that results when available rhetorics bump up against practices and technologies for which they are unable to account. It is from these symbolic negotiations, from the places in which particular discourses of transport crack beneath the weight of outside critique, that we not only isolate the socio-economic impact of travel on the early modern landscape, but that we also recognize the ways in which definitional questions remain at the core of these critiques: What marked one form of journeying as culturally or socially distinct from another and what were the implications of such distinctions? What role do vehicles of transport play in knowledge-making about travel? In other words, rather than isolate travel's cultural or social value through a stable hierarchy of meaning—where particular forms of transport fall into their "natural" place—the introduction of vehicular variety in early modern England, I suggest, makes travel itself a phenomenon worth questioning.

II. "Travailing" in England

England's road system during the sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries supported an array of journeying men and women—from itinerant laborers to early postal carriers and elite coach riders—and connected most major towns, market centers, and cities, including those in Scotland and Wales. Although many scholars have cited England's lack of a systematic, government-run highway network until the passing of the 1663 Turnpike Act as evidence of the country's relative immobility, travelers of all sorts utilized the available roadways, byways, highways, and passageways with remarkable frequency and regularity.[13] Not surprisingly, London functioned as a central point from

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[13] Cynthia Wall (*The Literary and Cultural Spaces of Restoration London*) cites a critic who claims that the period between 1550-1660 in England had few travelers; from this, Wall suggests that maps of London

which most major roads sprang.[14] Many of the city's most well-traveled, paved roadways

originated with the Romans during their occupation of the isle over a thousand years

previous. These roads had been designed for military purposes, connecting important

towns like London, York, and Dover by cutting through the landscape in straight,

uncompromising lines (at times forcing a road over steep hills and other less ideal

traveling terrain).[15] In practice, though, the traveler's course would often stray from the

original Roman construction to avoid difficult impasses. In *The Drama of Landscape:*

Land, Property, and Social Relations on the Early Modern Stage, Garrett Sullivan

reminds us that English "highways" often meant only a beaten path that, at times,

followed the ancient Roman roads and, at others, wound through private estates, leading

to the trampling of hedges or fences.[16] Virginia LaMar also points out the problem of

travelers moving all over the road, citing George Meriton's complaint in *A Guide to the*

Surveyors of the Highways . . . With a Summary of the Statutes (1694) that "the highways

. . . were grown so foundrous . . . that the owners and occupiers of the land have been

necessitated to suffer their fences to lie down and to permit people to travel over their

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weren't necessary until later when the highway system could support their travels. Catherine Delano-Smith critiques the assumption that England's early roadways were in such disrepair that they prevented mobility, arguing instead that the medieval and early modern periods were marked by substantial mobility ["Milieus of Mobility" in *Cartographies of Travel and Navigation*, ed. James Akerman (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2006)].

[14] The four most widely trafficked routes during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries included the London-Dover/Chester highway (Watling Street) that received most of the foreigners from the Continent and was rumored to be the best road in England, the London-Bristol route, the London-York highway, and the London-Berwick highway (LaMar 15, Parkes 14). The exact number of highways and cross-country roads varies by report: in his *Description of England* (1577) William Harrison finds ten highways and two roads while William Smith lists nineteen highways and eighteen roads eleven years later (*Particular Description of England*) [quoted in Virginia LaMar, *Travel and Roads in England* (Washington D.C.: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1960) 15]. Later in England's history of highway development, John Ogilby claims to have measured "over 40,000 miles of roads" in his "Advertisement" of *Britannia* (1675).

[15] The "ancient" history of some England's roadways received renewed interest during the early modern period given the taste for antiquity. In fact, a quick search on the internet yields a number of contemporary "tours" of England's "old Roman roads."

[16] Sullivan, *The Drama of Landscape*, 166-7.

enclosed grounds."[17] Whether passage outside these established roadways was construed as a nuisance or simply a necessity, England's travel network extended beyond and between the known highway system.

Irregular and unreliable road maintenance lay at the root of England's dynamic and fluid travel network. Until the suppression of the monasteries in 1539, the repair and upkeep of roads fell to the responsibility of the church, as pilgrims constituted a significant portion of the population on the roads. Following Henry VIII's decision to dissolve monastical land ownership, the problem of road upkeep became clear, leading to a number of acts intended to address the issue (in 1523 and 1533). While on the throne, Mary issued The Highways Act of 1555, which deemed it the responsibility of the individual parish to maintain road conditions, followed by several acts during Elizabeth's reign (1563, 1576, 1587, 1589) that extended the period of required highway labor from four days to six.[18] Between Easter Tuesday and the feast of St. John the Baptist (24th June), all landowning men were required to bring their carts "withe Oxen, Horses, or Cattell, . . . & also twoo hable men" to the roadside for repair. Those who did not own land were to supply their labor and supplies (axes, picks, or shovels). In cities and towns, the inhabitants were expected to provide the road service. Outside London, roads varied in width, but typically required ditching or scouring for drainage, cutting back overgrown brush, and filling large holes with any materials that were available—stones, sand, or cinder.[19] In reality, though, the involuntary laborers lacked adequate motivation, resulting in ineffective, incomplete, or erratic repairs that failed to fully solve the problem. In his

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[17] LaMar, 11.
[18] Parkes 7-8, LaMar 8.
[19] The material used to pave roads today originated in the nineteenth century with John Macadam, Thomas Telford, and John Metcalf .

section on England's thoroughfares, William Harrison relates the trouble with the

highway maintenance system in the *Description of England* (1577):

> …albeit that the intent of the statute is very profitable for the reparations of the decayed places, yet the rich do so cancel their portions, and the poor so loiter in their labors, that all of the six [days] scarcely two good days' work are well performed and accomplished in a parish on these so necessary affairs. Besides this, such as have land lying upon the sides of the ways do utterly neglect to ditch and scour their drains and watercourses for better avoidance of the winter waters . . . whereby the streets do grow to be much more gulled than before. . . . And whereas in some places there is such want of stones as thereby the inhabitants are driven to seek them far off in other soils…. [20]

Harrison's account of road repair reveals a constellation of challenges—labor

unaccountability, improper repairs, and a lack of available supplies—all of which

contributed to the cultural climate of local travel where available road networks were far

from reliable, leading travelers to both imagine and create their own means of movement.

In other words, unstable and unpredictable road conditions often necessitated such

movement and were part of a developing culture of local travel in which one's experience

on or near the road played a role in determining the symbolic and cultural meaning of that

journey. Traveling "out of bounds," as many vagrants, itinerant workers, and foot

journeyers did, could itself be a spatially subversive practice.[21]

Though paved, London's own narrow, busy streets and lanes also suffered, often

sitting beneath layers of mud, filth, and dust. Traffic coming into London was so thick

that road-upkeep was nearly impossible, producing a muddy mess of passages in and out

of the city. In his *Survey of London*, John Stow describes the layers of paving material

that made up London's streets:

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[20] William Harrison, *The Description of England*, ed. Georges Edelen (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1968) 443.
[21] Sullivan, *The Drama of Landscape*, 159-93.

> On this north side of Fleet street, . . . I observed, that when the labourers had broken up the pavement . . . and had digged four feet deep, they found one other pavement of hard stone, more sufficient than the first, and therefore, harder to be broken, under the which they found in the made ground, piles of timber driven very thick, and almost close together, the same being as black as pitch or coal, and many of them rotten as earth, which proveth that the ground there (as sundry other places of the city) have been a marsh, or full of springs.[22]

These details of London's long history of road maintenance—and the variety of materials used to this end (pavement, stone, timber, earth)—reveal Stow's interest in the historical origins of the city (built and natural). They also bespeak a subtle sense of awe in the longevity of London's paving techniques and, most notably, the challenges travelers faced during their movements, even within the city's walls. In an attempt to control the growing challenges surrounding road conditions, the justices during James I's reign implemented a tax on the annual value of land to raise revenue. Later, a 1635 proclamation issued by Charles I (intending to control the growing number of hackney coaches in London, Westminster, and the suburbs) addressed some of these difficulties: ". . . the streets themselves were so pestered and the pavements so broken up, that the common passage is thereby hindered and made dangerous, and the price of hay and provender, &c., thereby made exceeding dear. . . ."[23] The dry, absorbent quality of hay and oats may have temporarily solved the problem of muddy, cracked streets, but, as the statue suggests, the system for repair was unable to keep up with the growing popularity of wheeled transport such as coaches and sedan chairs—a phenomenon I explore below. Only in 1663 was an official turnpike act passed to address the cost of road repair. The nature and condition of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century roadways significantly

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[22] Stow, 351.
[23] Quoted in *History of the origin and progress of the Company of Watermen and Lightermen of the river Thames, with numerous historical notes, 1514-1859*, ed. Henry Humpherus (Great Britain: Regent Printers Ltd, 1981) 227.

influenced both the individual travel experience and the set of attitudes toward local travel that developed in response to various social tensions; economic conflicts, congestion, and damaged roadways all affected the "common passage" of travelers, thereby altering the practices that inscribe these city spaces with meaning. For these journeyers, their "travails" were acts of movement and experiences of work closely tied to their etymological roots in which "travail" might refer to any exercise of labor— mental difficulties in writing, tedious strain en route, or difficulties during childbirth.

In his *Description of England*, Harrison also reminds us that without a stable system of road improvement in place, highway travel presented a number of challenges, if not dangerous ones: the winter months brought ice and frozen, uneven roadways such that "clay or cledgy soil [that] are often very deep and troublesome in the winter half";[24] summer tended toward flooding and mud which, minimally, became an annoyance, but could also cause a horse to fall or a coach to turn over; and the spring and fall seasons might bring dust or deep ruts in the roadway from wagon, cart or coach wheels. The Midlands region was particularly afflicted by poor weather as the highways and by-ways were largely made of a clay-based soil that quickly turn to mud and rutted very easily. In addition, the increase in road use during the seventeenth century only intensified the intolerable conditions of the roads. Those travel bound with carts, wagons and coaches found themselves at the mercy of road conditions. Narrow, muddy highways poised a threat to a traveler's safety not only with the risk of accidents, but also in the hazard of "highwaymen" who could easily rob an immobilized individual or group. Harrison, too, speaks of this problem:

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[24] Qtd. in LaMar , 9.

> …whereas some streets within these five and twenty years have been in
> most places fifty foot broad according to the law, whereby the traveler
> might escape the thief, or shift the mire, or pass by the loaden cart without
> danger of himself and his horse, now are they brought unto 12, or 20, or
> 26 at the most, which is another cause also whereby the ways be the worse
> and many an honest man encumbered in his journey.[25]

The risk of the road—whether from poor travel conditions or the threat of thieves—constituted a significant portion of the local travel experience, adding a crucial dimension to the semantic connections between "travel" and "travail." Whether its labor might be achieved by the sweat of one's brow or the danger inherent in cross-country journeying, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century local "travail" retained essential elements of its linguistic roots.

While extensive accounts of England's roads by domestic travelers remain scarce, the journeys of foreigners such as the Swiss visitor, Thomas Platter, in turn-of-the-seventeenth-century England offer valuable insight into the material conditions and practices that contributed to this early local network of travel. What marks the experiences of these particular travelers as "foreign" is simply the initial oceanic voyage from, in Platter's case, the continent to the British Isles. Thus, what has the potential to be read as local travel often remains a part of the larger body of narratives by distant voyagers. That notwithstanding, I suggest, Platter's experiences moving across England in 1599 mirror those of the English themselves.[26] In his account (originally written in German), Platter offers insight into the relative difficulty of riding sixteenth-century

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[25] Harrison, *Description of England*, 444.

[26] Platter's *Travels in England* in *The Journals of Two Travellers in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England*, ed. Peter Razzell (London: Caliban, 1995). Platter's account does not suggest that the localized experiences of travel are the *same* as foreign travel. In fact, in a famously quoted line he claims that the English "learn at the play what is happening abroad; . . .since the English for the most part do not travel much, but prefer to learn foreign matters and take their pleasures at home" (31), suggesting that their movements at home are precisely not "travel." What interests me about the narrative, however, are the levels of detail he provides his own local travel—these proximate travels are significant enough to Platter to necessitate recording.

English roads, complaining on two occasions about the discomfort of English saddles, which are "very small and covered with sheer hide, leather or cloth and hence are very wretched and hard to ride or post upon" (6, 104); he compares a "waggon with five horses, having like all such waggons in England only two wheels" to "coaches abroad" for their carrying capacity (6); and he relates with frustration an incident in which his coachman refused to drive him from Oxford to Cambridge because, as the coachman explained, the "road was too boggy and difficult to find, for that neighborhood was uninhabited and rather deserted, further it had been raining, so that he did not wish to take the risk, especially since one wheel of his coach was damaged. . . .Adding that the coach was very expensive and belonged to a great lord from who he had hired it" (88). While it is possible simply to read the detail Platter provides as evidence of his profound irritation and impatience, we might also attune our critical eye to the intersection of the various factors that produced Platter's predicament. Road conditions not only presented a serious safety risk to both driver and passenger (with the hazard of an overturned coach or highway robbers in the "uninhabited and rather deserted" roadway), but they also threatened the economic stability of the driver who hired his means of "very expensive" coach from a "great lord." The proliferation of material details in Platter's account— uncomfortable rides on horseback, difficult road conditions for coaches—achieve far more than narrative detail. These brief moments offer insight into the complex and dynamic network of transportation and movement in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. Platter's text, like so many other accounts of local voyaging, suggests that particular practices of travel held distinct relationships to the needs, social rank, and economic status of travelers in England.

Platter's journeys in England were not entirely land-bound. In one of the most famous excerpts from his account, Platter describes his experience watching a play in what many believe to have been the Globe Theater (which opened the same year Platter arrived in London). Of particular note are the details he provides the reader regarding his means of transport:

> On September 21st after lunch, about two o'clock, I and my party crossed the water, and there in the house with the thatched roof witnessed an excellent performance of the tragedy of the first Emperor Julius Caesar with a cast of some fifteen people; when the play was over they danced very marvelously and gracefully together as is their wont, two dressed as men and two as women. (27)

This insight into the world of early modern theatrical performance is undeniably valuable for scholars of literary studies, history, performance studies, and theater history. In the space of just a few lines, Platter offers details about the physical environment of the theater, the acting company, performance elements, the title of the play itself, and one aspect that tends to escape significant critical attention—how he and his acquaintances *arrived* at the theater. Platter informs us that they "crossed the water"—a seemingly incidental detail that nonetheless is consistent with an earlier moment in the text in which he remarks with delight upon English travel practices: "it is customary to cross the water or travel up and down the town . . . by attractive pleasure craft . . . . The wherries are charmingly upholstered, and embroidered cushions laid across the seats, very comfortable to sit on or lean against" (12). When taken in context with the remainder of his narrative account, this brief trip across the Thames reveals the potential impact of local travel practices on one's experience of urban space—both lived and conceptual. Indeed, for Londoners, river transport was both an everyday occurrence driven by mercantilism and entertainment as well as a source of symbolic power for state and civic officials who

utilized the Thames as a space of performance for mayoral progresses and other civic entertainments.[27]

III. "Vulgo Temms"

Land journeying constituted only a portion of England's, and especially London's travel network. Unlike Platter's passing encounter with river transport, Londoners were attuned to the vitality and importance of the Thames to civic life. Crossing the Thames was a frequent, if not daily, occurrence for many of the city's inhabitants and visitors; fishermen, merchants, playgoers, royal visitors, and general travelers all trafficked its waters. Contemporary texts and images often reference the multitude of boats, barges, and ships on the river, which, at times, were so multitudinous as to hinder safe, swift passage.[28] As one of London's most significant spaces—socially, culturally, and economically—the Thames also functioned as the geographic and mythic center of the city. Stow offers a reminder in the first paragraph of *Survey of London* in which he explains that the Romans chose to establish their capital city of Troynovant on the Thames, thereby laying London's historical foundation alongside the river. Scholars, too, have noted the critical importance of the river's geographic separation of London and Southwark, whereby suburbs developed a distinct relationship to the laws and daily practices of the walled city.[29] Michel de Certeau, in *The Practice of Everyday Life*, has famously articulated the impact of such seemingly insignificant acts as "Walking in the

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[27] For more on the performance of civic and state power in urban space, see Andrew Gordon's "Performing London" in *Literature, Mapping, and the Politics of Space in Early Modern Britain*, 69-88.

[28] See, for example, Anthony Nixon, *True Relation* (1607): "but for the misbehaviour, and unrulyness of the boates, that with such a multitude and throng prest so neere the Pynace, that shee could not any way have free passage" (17).

[29] Mullaney, *The Place of the Stage*

City" to the formulation of a civic space—a place infused with and given meaning through the practices of its "everyday" inhabitants.[30] So, too, might we imagine acts of "Rowing in the (early modern) City" as equally formative for developing a sense of London as a space to its seventeenth-century travelers. As such, and in order to more fully comprehend the impact of new transport technologies in the early seventeenth century, I offer brief readings of two views of early modern London—Visscher's panoramic perspective from 1616 and John Norden's 1597 *View of London Bridge* – which draw attention to the Thames as a critical civic space alive with and given meaning by its many daily traffickers.

Visscher's view of London—often cited for its rare, detailed rendering of the Globe Theater and the Bear Garden and cautioned against for its potential errors (including the spire for St. Paul's which had burned prior to the year of the view's printing)—presents viewers with an image of the city and its suburbs, separated by the Thames (indicated with the caption "Thamesis Fluvius" imprinted in the body of the river), with London Bridge stretching downward across the right side of the panoramic image (Figure 1.2). One of the most striking aspects of Visscher's image, however, is its representation of congested river traffic.[31] Short of a careful inspection (which reveals the presence of spectators lined up outside the Globe and vendors at the Southwarke side of London Bridge), the river boat traffic, passengers, and rowers provide the most pronounced and active sense of London life: fisherman collect their daily catch on the "Eell Schipes," merchant ships arrive to unload their goods, watermen row passengers on

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[30] De Certeau, 91-110.

[31] Many "views" of London might be mistaken as views of the Thames (see discussion of Norden below). This may be the result of practical or geographic factors (the cultural imaginary of London was not limited to the neighborhoods within the city walls but included the suburbs and liberties across the river) or it may suggest something about the rivers' role in the socio-cultural imagination of early modern London.

a variety of covered and uncovered vessels, and barges transport elite citizens downriver toward Whitehall or Westminster. Like the many important architectural landmarks of the city labeled by name or location, watercraft and docking stairs also acquire textual markers. "Blackfryers staires," "The Galley fuste," "The Eelle Schipes" and "Paul's Warfe" join the list of important London sites, marking the Thames and its travelers as central to both the function and representation of England's capitol. Taken together with the static representations of London's cityscape, for example, the detailed renderings of the Thames itself have tended to be overlooked, imagined like their firmly placed architectural counterparts, static and stable—frozen in time. However, the boats, travelers, and fishermen peppered along the river's banks and its waters are monuments to movement, not stability. Both visually and symbolically, Visscher's view of London locates the Thames within its lived social context of practice—spatializing rather than *placing* the river. As such, Visscher's London is an emblematic rendering of the Thames-as-London, wherein the river functions as a sign of the city's inescapable mobility and vitality.

Such mobility was made possible, of course, by a variety of watercraft that offered passengers choices regarding the price of travel and the nature of their waterborne experience. Options included barges (large vessels with four to six rowers, sails, and about twenty-four passengers), tilt-boats (smaller, more expensive craft with a canopy and competition for barges) and wherries, lighthorsemen, or tide boats (smaller still, these boats were less pricy than the tilt-boats, carrying anywhere from five to twelve passengers).[32] Like the more expensive barges, wherries catered toward the passenger's comfort, often with, as Platter describes them, "charmingly upholstered and embroidered

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[32] Parkes, 96-7.

cushions laid across the seats, very comfortable to sit on or lean against, and generally

speaking the benches only seat two people next to one another; many of them are covered

in, particularly in rainy weather or fierce sunshine."[33] Public barges made regular trips

from London to Gravesend each day, weather permitting, while the smaller tilt-boats and

wherries traveled by demand, similar to a waterborne taxi service. Competition for

transporting would-be travelers increased as boatmen increasingly acquired watercraft

and sought paying passengers. Platter also notes of the transport custom:

> …a number of tiny streets lead to the Thames from both ends of the town;
> the boatmen wait here in great crowds, each one eager to be first to catch
> one, for all are free to choose the ship they find most attractive and
> pleasing, while every boatman has the privilege on arrival of placing his
> ship to best advantage for people to step into.[34]

Despite Platter's observation that passengers were "free to chose the ship they f[ou]nd

most attractive and pleasing," many patrons complained of the crude, aggressive

demeanor of "yelping watermen" and the dangers of riding with intoxicated,

inexperienced boatmen who might leave their passengers flailing in the Thames after a

boat capsized.[35] In 1595, official regulations were set to combat the "multitude of tilt

boats, lighthorsemen, and wherries used," which competed with the regular barge ferry,

as well as the rising prices that left "the poorest passengers not able to pay six pence for

their passage, …constrained to come and go on foot."[36] Similar limitations were set in

1603 by an Act of Parliament designed to address the problem of unskilled watermen and

the risks of water travel:

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[33] Platter, *The Journals of Two Travellers in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England,* 12.
[34] Ibid, 12.
[35] Parkes, 99. Parkes also cites several accounts of drownings on the Thames during the seventeenth
century. The crude behavior of watermen and bargemen is referenced in Anthony Nixon's *True Relation*
(1607): "a kinde of people by nature, and education immoderate, barbarous, and uncivil" (13).
[36] Humpherus, 150.

> …divers and sundry people passing by water upon the Thames, between Windsor and Gravesend, have been put in great hazard and danger of the loss of their lives and goods, and many times have perished and been drowned in the said river, through the unskillfulness, or want of knowledge or experience, in the wherrymen or watermen.[37]

Such new attention to safety required that watermen hold a five-year apprenticeship followed by seven years service to a master on the river. Collectively, the variety of transport options available to those wishing to cross the Thames as well as the potential dangers inherent in such an act produced a particular culture of water travel in which a set of socially (and later Parliamentarian) determined rules organized and governed the patterns and practices of daily local travel in turn-of-the-seventeenth-century London. These very practices and rules, though, would begin to undergo significant changes only twenty years later with the public introduction of coaches and sedan chairs.

In addition to the services provided by watermen, London Bridge offered an alternative to those wishing to cross the Thames. However, the bridge's nineteen arches rising out of the water also posed challenges for river traffic. London Bridge's location between Old Swan Stairs and Billingsgate prevented easy passage from the Tower or St. Katherine's Hospital to Bankside, Blackfriars, or Whitehall, leading many river travelers to dock, walk to the other side of the bridge, reenter the river, and continue on their journey. More brash, skilled boatmen attempted to "shoot the bridge" or skirt beneath the archways, though these efforts many times resulted in accidents or death.[38] On the one hand, London Bridge entered the cultural imaginary as a crucial land-based conduit connecting London proper to its important suburbs and liberties south of the river. On the other, it structured and determined the nature of spatial practice on the river itself.

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[37] Humpherus, 159-60.

[38] In 1554 Princess Elizabeth's conveyance to the Tower by water was delayed because they were unable to "shoot the arch" (Humpherus 98).

Aside from its impact on travel practices, the bridge served as an extension of the city itself, akin to a monument, busy street, and commercial center. During his travels to London in 1617, Horatio Busino notes, "on each side are convenient houses and shops, so that it has rather the air of a long suburb than a handsome structure such as a bridge."[39] In his *View of London Bridge From East to West* (1597), John Norden, the surveyor and cartographer, describes the bridge in a similar fashion (Figure 1.3): "Ther inhabite upon this bridge above 100 householders where also are all kinde of wares to be bought and sewlde. The houses are on eyther side are so artificially combyned As the bridge seemeth not only a contynual street But men walke as under a ferme vaute or roofe."[40] Like many of the city's other architectural sites (St. Paul's and the Royal Exchange, for example), London Bridge shaped and was shaped by spatial practice. It was simultaneously a roadway, a commercial center, a cultural symbol, and a physical determinant of river passage. Norden's visual rendering of London Bridge underscores this point (Figure 1.3). The undulation of house and church roofs at the horizon line resemble a cityscape more than a bridge. If not for the presence of many arches just above the waterline and two gaps in the line of buildings, the bridge would appear indistinguishable from London's riverbank.

Despite its seeming independence as a London monument and an architectural marvel worthy of the foreign traveler's note, the bridge remains inexplicably linked to the river beneath it and to practices of movement. This tension is inherent in the contrast

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[39] Musino in *The Journals of Two Travellers in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England,* 131.

[40] This copy is an actual version of the plate from 1597 (as the use of Elizabeth's modo suggests). However, Norden's V*iew of London Bridge* was not published until 1624 because, as he famously complains, he was forced "to re-publish the moderne modell of the most famous Monument (for a Bridge) in the world. I described it in the time of Queene Elizabeth, but the Plate having bene neare these 20.yeares imbezeled and detained by a Person, till of late unknowne, and now brought to light" [1624, BL Maps *3540. (5.)].

between Norden's claimed intent—"So by this picture It [London Bridge] may appeare to such as have heard of it and not reallye Beheld it to be no lesse praiseworthy then it hath been sayd to bee"—and the visual message communicated by the image itself. Here, the bridge itself acts as a kind of framing device for the scene below on the Thames. The viewer's eye falls away from the bridge toward the river and an artificial arrangement of five empty boats facing west in the foreground of the view. Several other watercraft with passengers row around the five vessels, encapsulating them as if to place them on display for the viewer. Beneath the bridge, three wherries shoot under archways while one boat has overturned, its three passengers thrown into the Thames, arms waving in despair. In juxtaposing this "natural" scene of river travel where accidents occur and passengers are ferried to their destinations all with a highly stylized placement of watercraft at the center of the image, Norden positions the Thames and its traffickers as both the visual and the thematic center of the image. In a way, the "true" monuments that Norden presents are the boats – allied to the bridge in their function (travel across the Thames) yet dramatically distinguished from it by their simple, *un*monumental form.[41] The boats, their boatmen and passengers were common fixtures of early modern London life, and in Norden's image, their transience, simplicity, and small size stand, at first glance, in contrast to the fixedness of the city's ancient, "famous monument." However, the central, artificial placement of the five boats, their relatively substantial size (the boats have been rendered larger than the buildings on London Bridge for perspective), and the flurry of river craft at the perimeter produce a sense of vitality, activity, and importance that overshadows the static and undifferentiated nature of the "monument" in the distance.

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[41] As if to further the point, the words "Tame-Isis Fluvius" and "Vulgo Temms" appear directly above the five boats at the center of the image.

Norden's juxtaposition of the bridge and the river (and its travelers) is allied with a similar textual pairing. A flowing banner above the bridge identifies the scene as "The View of London Bridge From East to West" and also proclaims Elizabeth's famous motto, "Semper eadem" ("Always the same"), as if to underscore the profound permanence of "this London Bridge" (and, by extension, London itself). Any suggestion of sameness as stasis, however, is quickly undermined by the ever-changing fluidity of the river, whose title "Tame-Isis Fluvius" (River Thames) balances the image with the floating emblem above. An additional descriptor—"Vulgo Temms" ("the people's Thames" or "Thames of the common multitude")—qualifies the text above ("Tame-Isis Fluvius"), much like "semper eadem" provides the bridge with additional meaning. This "vulgar" river and the activities experienced between its banks are noteworthy particularly because of their affiliation with everyday practices of city life; the Thames owes much of its social, cultural, and historic value to the journeys, patronage and even accidents of London's citizens and visitors. As such, Norden's view of London's "praiseworthy" monument offers a telling perspective of the central importance of the city's river, its daily traffic, and the culture of local water travel in London. It is with this in mind, then, that I consider the economic, geographic, and socio-cultural impact of the importation and increasing popularity of vehicles of land transport during the 1620s to 50s. Coaches and sedan chairs offered more than a costly alternative to foot or boat travel; these vehicles introduced a series of questions and lively critiques concerning both the geographic and semiotic bounds of travel in England. [42]

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[42] While the first official hackney stands for coaches and sedan chairs did not appear until 1634, evidence exists to suggest that, in practice, coaches-for-hire were in use much earlier (LaMar 20). John Taylor's complaint in *The World runnes on Wheels* (London: Printed by E. A. for Henry Gosson, 1623), for example, cites the "hyrelings" as having "undone my poore Trade."

IV. "[L]onging for a coach"

The choices between modes of transportation were not equally available to all English men and women, nor were all options equally desirable. A decision of how to travel might reflect one's socio-economic status, geographic location and destination, employment, gender, age, or physical health. The overall role of each form of transport, then, was not permanent, natural or obvious to many local travelers; instead, it relied on a variety of factors. Socio-economic discontinuities, whether as a result of class, status, gender, ethnicity, or geographic location, produced a climate—the "raw stuff"—from which seventeenth-century England's vehicular travelers and critics grabbed a hold. For example, walking to a neighboring market town might afford a traveler the freedom from cost and damaged roadways but was significantly more laborious than riding by wagon, and hiring a coach to Salisbury Court relieved journeyers of the dangers of river ferries but was costly and resulted in the risk of traffic and muddy streets. As if in response to the overlap or tension that arose between local travel practices, various discourses of rank and status, gender, and nationhood emerged in an effort to define the parameters, conditions, and criteria of each travel option. The surfacing of these discourses, I suggest, is symptomatic of the *lack* of stable, permanent systems of meaning.

Following a brief historical overview of coaches and their impact in London, I turn to a series of texts that span a thirty-eight year period from the turn of the seventeenth century onward in which the significations of local transport are most wrought with conflict and change. Collectively, these texts provide insight into early modern England's travelscape, demonstrating the ways in which movement gains

signification through particular technologies of travel. John Stow's *Survey of London* (1598) and Ben Jonson, George Chapman, and John Marston's *Eastward Ho!* (1605) serve as examples of the ways in which the discursive domain picked up on and responded to the conflicts inherent in the lived, material realm. I conclude with a more detailed consideration of the implications of textual representations of vehicular travel in the satiric critiques of Henry Peacham's *Coach and Sedan Pleasantly Disputing Place and Precedence* (1636) and John Taylor's *The World runnes on Wheeles: Or Oddes, betwixt Carts and Coaches* (1623). For it is in the critiques of these vehicles and the discourses used to define them where seemingly stable signs of socio-cultural meaning fall victim to a kind of definitional deconstruction in which both vehicle and spatial practice are called into question. The literature of seventeenth-century England not only provides glimpses into these discourses at work, but it also reveals moments in which they become subject to a kind of crisis, where the terms that define the vehicular movement as "travail" are themselves available to questioning. Moreover, it is in these moments of instability in which the literary demonstrates its power to shape as well as reflect the local travel culture.

Although the Dutch introduced the coach to England in 1565, coach travel began to noticeably affect local mobility at turn of the seventeenth century (Figure 1.4). For Stow, the situation was a despairing one and represented an assault on the city's ancient, traditional English customs. London had become, to his dismay, a "world run on wheels":

> I know that, by the good laws and customs of this city, shodde carts[43] are forbidden to enter the same, except upon reasonable cause, as service of the prince, or such like, they be tolerated. Also that the fore horse of every carriage should be lead by hand; but these good orders are not observed. Of old time coaches were not known in this island, but chariots or

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[43] Carts bound with iron or, according to the OED, "Of cart wheels: Furnished with tyres."

> whirlicotes, then so called, and they only used of princes or great estates, such as had their footmen about them; . . . but now of late years the use of coaches, brought out of Germany,[44] is taken up, and made so common, as there is neither distinction of time nor difference of persons observed; for the world runs on wheels with many whose parents were glad to go on foot. (77)

Remarkably, Stow acknowledges the presence of coach-like vehicles in England's past, taking care, however, to sever the tie between wheeled vehicles by distinguishing the coach from its more noble, ancient ancestors – the Romanesque "chariots or whirlicotes" only used by "princes or great estates." London has gone awry, Stow claims, in not only welcoming this continental stranger into England, but in embracing a vehicle which effectively erases signs of class and social status. His concern centers on an issue of regulation – the vehicles are now "so common" that they no longer provide a mark of distinction. In late sixteenth-century London, coach use had not only fallen from the seat of privilege but had also lost its "good orders" and rules of practice that limited coach use to a "reasonable cause." Here, his fear of the onslaught of coach travel is driven less by practical concerns over the increase of wheeled traffic than by issues of class; coach transport is no longer "reasonable" expressly because it has extended beyond the realm of "princes" to those whose "parents were glad to go on foot." As Stow suspected, it was this newer, turn of the seventeenth-century generation of Londoners that began to produce and function within a "world run on wheels," forever changing England's social and topographic landscape.

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[44] The exact origins of the coach vary by report. In *The World runnes on Wheeles* (1623), John Taylor claims, "For in the yeare 1564 one William Boonen a Dutchman brought first the use of Coaches hither." There are several other references to the coach's Dutch history (Humpherus 120). Competing accounts also cite the word's etymology as from Hungary, thereby claiming it originated there (Peacham, *Coach and Sedan Pleasantly Disputing*, 17). John Stow claims the coach was "brought out of Germany" (*Survey of London* 77).

A humorous scene from Jonson, Marston, and Chapman's *Eastward Ho!*,

published only seven years after Stow's chronicle, highlights similar social anxieties. As

Gertrude, daughter of a goldsmith and newly married to a (supposed) wealthy, country

gentlemen, stands among friends and family to see her off to her new country estate, she

can hardly contain her excitement and ballooning pride at the thought of traveling to her

castle in a coach:

> GERTRUDE. Thank you, good people. My coach for the love of heaven,
>   my coach! In good truth, I shall swoon else.
> HAMLET. Coach, coach, my lady's coach!
> GERTRUDE. As I am a lady, I think I am with child already, I long for a
>   coach so. May one be with child afore they are married, mother?
>   (3.2.30-35)

Gertrude's emphatic insistence on her fashionable transport and her sudden claim that she

is "with child already" allude to, in part, the tendency for sick or pregnant individuals to

use coach travel to avoid overexertion. Unmistakably, however, Gertrude's obsession

with the coach also has an erotic bent – her need is not one of mere liking, she "*long[s]*

for a coach" (my emphasis). Her mother, Mistress Touchstone, continues this suggestion

by responding to Gertrude with her own sexual joke (at her new son-in-law's expense):

"Ay, byrlady, madam a little thing does that. I have seen a little prick no bigger than a

pin's head swell bigger and bigger, till it has come to an ancome. . ." (3.2.38). The erotic

undertone transforms what was once a simple interest in social status and fashionability

to the realm of the ridiculous—her interest in the coach verges on uncontrollable, sexual

desire for an object, a vehicle, and a sign of status. In these lines of unrestrained longing,

there lurks a possibility that the coach somehow has played a role in her suspected

pregnancy. The sheer impossibility of the circumstance does not, however, relieve the

coach of its associations with bodily desire – a connection that allies *Eastward Ho!* with a

wider moral discourse that imagine coaches as beds of moral deprivation, sinfulness, prostitution, and other "lewd" behavior made possible by their enclosed, private spaces.

Gertrude's "coach love" also represents a strong desire for social mobility. In her eager search for a wealthy match, she mistakes the promise of a coach as a sign of her husband's financial security and social standing. Knowing that Gertrude's husband Sir Petronel Flash has sold all of her inheritance and that her trip to her country "castle" will be met with disappointment, the play's malevolent orchestrator, Quicksilver, unsympathetically comments on her situation: "So a woman marry to ride in a coach, she cares not if she ride to her ruin. 'Tis the great end of many of their marriages; this is not the first time a lady has rid a false journey in her coach, I hope" (3.2.209-13). Here, the actual experience of riding in a coach is equated with social aspirations – one act of mobility (physical movement) stands in for another (social advancement). Quicksilver's tongue-in-cheek comment and the thick irony surrounding Gertrude's "journey" throw the codes of local travel into relief. The play produces an additional thematic twist in developing parallels between Gertrude's local travels into the countryside and her husband's intended journey abroad. Both involve financial risks, errors in perception, an overvaluation of the significance of the travels, and, ultimately, failure. Gertrude and her coach become somewhat of a spectacle, attracting bystanders who wouldn't "lose such sight," suspecting that "here will be double as many people to see her take coach as were to see [the new ship launched yesterday] take water" (3.2.19-20). Smitten with her coach, Gertrude's fixation on her means of local travel trumps even the monumental launch of ship.[45] However, the spectacle of her embarkation achieves its impressive effect precisely

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[45] This tongue-in-cheek comparison is particularly interesting given that the ship was likely bound for a foreign travel venture while Gertrude's travel is localized.

because of the discourses of status and rank that inscribe coach travel with its meaning—in this case, misguided social aspirations.

In 1623 John Taylor (England's famed "water poet") laments this very demand for wheeled transport, complaining about coaches' vast numbers and aggravated at their ability to seemingly self-perpetuate: "for so a Coach doe [seem] to be a dead or sencelesse thing yet when I […] consider how they doe multiply and encrease: I am doubtfull but that they are male and female, and use the act of generation or begetting, or else their procreation could never so have over-spread our Nation."[46] Indeed, in the years surrounding Taylor's complaint, over 6,000 coaches were reported to be in London alone,[47] and the legislative bodies were bombarded with complaint after complaint regarding the traffic, noise, and overall problems produced by this new "world run on wheels." Once a mark of royalty used by Queen Elizabeth and other nobility (as Stow points out), coaches had become commonplace by the early decades of the seventeenth century. Sheer competition for transporting the city's highly mobile populations produced a climate ripe for the emergence of "rules" for travel to provide order to this new variety. While London Bridge had always afforded the opportunity for the city's inhabitants and visitors to walk or ride over the river,[48] the option to ferry across at any point along the Thames typically proved more convenient to many, including the royalty. The many launching points or "stairs" along the river often offered direct access to the street. The advent of coaches, however, enabled passengers to travel quickly on land from

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[46] *The World runnes on Wheels*, 18.

[47] See Henry Peacham's *Coach and Sedan Chair Pleasantly Disputing* (London: Printed by Robert Raworth, 1636): "When in London, the Suburbes, and within foure miles compasse without; [coaches] are reckoned to the number of six thousand and odd" (20).

[48] John Norden offers an account of the wheeled vehicles crossing the river in a later 1624 publication of his *View of London Bridge*: "it seemeth more than an ordinary Streete, for it is as one continuall Vaute or Roofe, except certaine voyde places, reserved from buildings, for the retire of Passengers from the danger of Carres, Carts, and droves of Cattell, usually passing that way" [BL Maps * 3540.(5.)].

several points or stops in London and in the suburbs. As a result, coaches came under

strong attack from the Watermen's Company, whose very livelihood depended on the

ferrying of customers across the river. Indeed, the various concerns the members of the

Watermen's Company responded to a real take over—one that developed over a period of

less than seventy years. No longer a novel means of transport for royalty and nobility, the

coach had become a fixture of English urban life, for better or for worse.

Economic concerns first became matters of state when the Watermen's Company

introduced an act to Parliament in 1601 to "restrain the excessive and superfluous use of

coaches" that was subsequently rejected in the House of Lords.[49] A similar attempt was

made in 1614 against the "outrageous coaches," but it, too, was rejected, though by the

House of Commons.[50] The coach troubles only heightened for its critics when Charles I

made hackney coaches or "coaches for hire" available to the public in 1625.[51] Even those

who owned a private coach began to employ the city's many hackneys or "the

Catterpiller swarme of hirelings" for transport to plays and other entertainments, much to

the lament of the many watermen used to carrying playgoers across the Thames.[52]

Recognizing the challenges this began to pose to city street traffic, a royal proclamation

was issued in 1636 banning hackneys in London and Westminster from carrying

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[49] Humpherus, 157.
[50] Ibid, 191.
[51] Ibid, 212. Theaters began to make special arrangements to accommodate the rise in coach travel. Salisbury Court, for example, built a special place for coaches to drop off playgoers when it was built in 1629. The theater, like others, also included public stairs to the Thames for those traveling by water (see Humpherus, 220).
[52] Quote from Taylor, *The World runnes on Wheeles*, epistle dedicatorie. In Peacham's humorous dialogue between the various "players" of local travel (*Coach and Sedan*), Coach also expresses concern with the hackney coaches: ". . . [my concern] is chiefly for the suppressing my neighbours of Hackney, who are a Plauge to Citie and Countrey" (25).

passengers on any journey *shorter* than three miles.[53] Similarly, the increasingly powerful

Star Chamber issued an order in 1633:

> As to stoppage of the streets by the carriages of persons frequenting the play-house of the Blackfriars; their lordships remembering that there is an easy passage by water unto that play-house, without troubling the streets, and that it is much more fit and reasonable to that those which go thither should go by water, or else on foot, do order all coaches to leave as soon as they have set down, and not return till the play is over….[54]

Though the order was drafted out of practical concern with street blockage, it asks for

visitors to the theater to seek a more "fit and reasonable" means of travel. In determining,

or advising, what constitutes reasonable journeying, the Star Chamber exposes an

interesting tension. The notion that Thames travel is in fact *more* reasonable seems odd

given the number of accidents and drowning incidents that frequently occurred as a result

of bad weather, incapable (or drunk) rowers, and the overloading of boats with

passengers. This claim to naturalness reveals a discourse or code of local travel that does

not rely on notions of distance, safety, or cost; instead, the traditions (& familiarity)

inherent in London's two most longstanding forms of local mobility—river crossing and

foot travel—form the kernel of what constitutes "fit and reasonable" movement to

Blackfriars. These particular efforts to control and define the nature of coach movement

are, on the one hand, simple matters of civic order: the streets had become clogged and

overcrowded. On the other hand, the way in which the order argues the position through a

language of naturalness and the suggestion of tradition reveals the way in which travel

options are themselves subject to shifting civic needs and significations.

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[53] Cited in Bernard Capp, *The World of John Taylor the Water-Poet* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).
[54] Ibid, 224.

The coach's very appearance also drew criticism. Drawn by horses and driven by a blue-coated driver,[55] the coach offered riders pampered protection from the elements with a domed roof, leather or broadcloth covered windows, and decorated interior.[56] In a published complaint, John Taylor reveals the extravagant dressing of many coaches when he regrets the "waste" of "our best broad-cloath of all colours" and the "spoyle of our Velvets, Damasks, Taffataes, Silver, and Gold Lace, with Fringes of all sorts" that were used on coaches.[57] Specific complaints directed at both the riders and the vehicle from a range of writers included excessive noise produced by the clammering of wheels on city streets, traffic jams outside theaters where coaches stood so close they resembled "Mutton-pies in a Cookes oven,"[58] worsening road conditions both in London and in the countryside, motion sickness or general discomfort in riding such that it was "enough to put all the guts in their bellies out of joint,"[59] drunk, dangerous or sleepy drivers, as well as accusations toward passengers' lewdness, effeminacy, corruption, and sloth.[60] For Taylor, the coach represented a threat to the current system of water transport, necessitating, as it were, critiques along economic (the "waste" of expensive fabrics) and moral (effeminate, lewd passengers) lines. The general noise, motion sickness, and worsening road conditions merely added fuel to Taylor's rhetorical fire.

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[55] In Jonson, Marston, and Chapman's *Eastward Ho*!, Sindefy hurriedly asks Potkin to "put off [his] tankard, and / put on [his] blue coat and wait upon Mistress / Touchstone into the country" (3.2.9-11).

[56] Peacham's scholar notes: "they defend from all injurie of the skie, Snow, Raine, Haile, Wind &c." (*Coach and Sedan* 16).

[57] *The World runnes on Wheeles*.

[58] Peacham, *Coach and Sedan*, 21.

[59] In Taylor's *The World runens on Wheeles*, he describes the experience as one "wherein men and women are so tost, tumbled jumbled, rumbled, and crossing of kennels, dunghills, and uneven-wayes" (17, C2).

[60] In his letter to the reader, Peacham (*Coach and Sedan*) explains his motives for writing the satiric pamphlet: "onely in Mirth I tried what I could doe upon a running subject, at the request of a friend in the Strand: whose leggs not so sound as his Judgement, enforce him to keepe his Chamber, where hee can neither sleepe or studie for *the clattering of Coaches*" (my emphasis). In the text itself, the coach is also critiqued for his "noyse" (8).

While coaches attracted the most fervent and consistent critique, they were not the only alternative available to early modern travelers. The sedan chair, like the coach, originated abroad and arrived in London in the sixteenth century (Figure 1.5). While privately owned coaches and sedan chairs had populated city streets for decades, 1634 marked the beginning of a kind of culture of land-based vehicles for hire. Like coaches, "hackney chairs," as they were called, first appeared for hire in 1634 as a result of an enterprise by Sir Sanders Duncombe, exclusive rights holder of the hackney sedans. The sedan provided a pleasant substitute to walking or riding horseback.[61] Similar to its predecessor, the horse-litter, the sedan chair functioned as a kind of fusion of foot travel and wheeled transport in which the rider sat in an upholstered windowed box, carried by two sedan-men (or four, as Henry VIII was rumored to need). Smaller in size than a coach, sedans could negotiate narrow alleys and avoid the traffic congestion, though their human-powered energy restricted their mobility to in and around London. However, unlike its cousin in vehicular traffic, the sedan chair was neither the product of wheeled transport nor was it driven by animals; more akin to the river boat, the sedan chair employed the labor of two men for the comfortable, protected transport of its passengers. It is this fact, coupled with its geographic limits, which most likely shielded sedan chairs from the onslaught of critique wielded at coaches. Nonetheless, the collective presence of multiple forms of vehicular transport within early modern England—wherry, barge, coach, sedan chair, cart, and horse—both reflected and responded to various socio-economic conflicts.

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[61] References to sedan chairs in Italy and other European regions appear in the accounts of English travelers, Fynes Morrison (1597) and John Evelyn (1644-50), for example.

V. "Disputing Place and Precedence"

In 1636, and only two years after coaches and sedan-chairs for hire began to fill London's streets, Henry Peacham, son of the Elizabethan rhetorician by the same name and author of the popular book of manners, *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622), published a satiric and entertaining octavo entitled *Coach and Sedan, Pleasantly Disputing Place and Precedence, The Brewers-Cart being Moderator* (Figure 1.6). In the course of just over fifty pages, we are introduced, as the title suggests, to a number of colorful characters who regularly travel and trade amidst seventeenth-century London's network of streets, alleys, and waterways. Personified versions of a coach ("a thick burly square set fellow, in a doublet of Black-leather, Brasse-button'd downe the brest"[62]) and a sedan chair ("in a suit of greene, after a strange manner, windowed before and behind with Isen-glase, having two hansome fellows in greene coats attending him"[63]) engage in a debate over their status on the city streets, all the while moderated by a beer-cart ("lustie tall fellow . . . an old blew cap all bedaub'd, and stincking with yest, and the spurging of beere"[64]). During the course of the witty dialogue, additional participants in London's travel "conversation" enter to voice their stake in the dispute; Carman, Countryman, Waterman, Vicar, and Surveyor all weigh in to offer their own unique perspectives on which vehicle, Coach or Sedan, deserves "place and precedence" in London. Collectively, they cite a variety of factors that influence these choices—overall travel details (How far/fast can the coach or sedan travel?), length of time established as a mode of transport in London (Which is the "auncienter" of the two?), and type of customer (Who rides? A drunk apprentice returning from a night at the tavern? A gentleman? A pregnant woman? A

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[62] Peacham, 6.
[63] Ibid, 6.
[64] Ibid, 21.

scholar? A whore?). Allegorically speaking, then, these "two fellowes [who] justle for the wall" (much like Gertrude's exchange with her mother) also jostle for a stable space of meaning—geographically and socially—among London's rapidly growing and increasingly crowded system of domestic transport. In Peacham's dialogue, the many "pleasant disputes" between vehicles give voice to the very socio-economic conflicts and discourses that undergird them.

Early in their debate, matters of practical concern drive the conflict between Coach and Sedan: Coach accuses the Sedan of having "no leggs to stand upon, [such that he] is faine to be carried betweene two [men]" and unable to "go above a mile in half an hour" whereas he, the Coach, "as grosse as [he is], can run three or foure in halfe an houre" (6). This notion of speed, however, fails to trouble his opponent, who explains, "Nay, whereas you, five or sixe houres together, are faine to stand wayting at the Court-gate, Play-house, or you wot where; I am many times admitted into a Ladies chamber, had to the fire, dried, rubb'd, and made cleane both within and without" (6-7). Here, the sedan's smaller, less physically substantial construction, rather than limiting its mobility as Coach seems to suggest, enables a different sort of spatial movement. Sedan has privileged, eroticized access to the interior of a "Ladies chamber" where he is "rubb'd…both within and without."[65]

Notions of vehicular access—geographic and otherwise—bring Scholar to remind Sedan of the terms of his own freedom: "…you are made a free denizen, and may safely passe where you please without any controule, or question about your freedom, and think your selfe as good as Coach, saving that he hath more libertie then you, going abroad in

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[65] Sedan's comment about accessing a Lady's chamber does refer to actual practice where sedans were small enough and to be carried into the interior of a home so that a passenger might entirely avoid exposure to the weather.

the Countrey at his pleasure" (7). In using a proto-nationalist language of citizenship to articulate the rights and privileges of movement, Peacham mobilizes notions of foreignness and familiarity to represent the spaces and acts of travel. In other words, stranger status is yoked to a rhetoric of technical practicality—Sedan must stay near London both because of distance (he is powered by two walking men) and because he is but a denizen, an immigrant of London. In a sense, Sedan's foreignness restricts his local mobility – though he is free like the coach, he does not have true liberty. The freedom to travel outside London lies within the power of the "English" coach, whose wheels (and citizen status) allow for journeying over longer distances.[66] Thus, basic travel details and technological limitations are couched in a language of civic belonging.

National identity, like civic identity, cannot entirely account for the nature of these travel "characters." Sedan, or "Mounsier Sedan" as Coach patronizingly refers to him, explains, "It is "true, my name is Sedan, and I am (I confesse) a meere stranger, till of late in England," but "hath not your countrey coach of England beene extremely enriched by strangers?" (6) To further his claim, Sedan continues with a series of questions that receive the following marginal gloss by Peacham: "The benefit this land hath by Strangers." Thus, the coach's "Englishness"—and possibly Englishness in general—is called into question by its very reliance on products made by foreigners. Ironically, rules of hospitality further destabilize this seemingly stable paradigm whereby Sedan's continental origins inhibit his physical mobility. Sedan conveniently reminds his listeners that, while he is "a meere stranger, till of late in *England*," if the "Law of Hospitalitie bee observed (as *England* hath beene accounted the most hospitable

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[66] Bernard Capp cites a proclamation from 1636 which stipulates that coaches must carry passengers over three miles (*The World of John Taylor*, 16).

Kingdome of the World) I ought to be the better entertained and used" (6). In strategically citing the English custom of hospitality, Sedan reverses the argument of citizenship whereby his "denizen" status limits his true mobility outside London. Countryman seems to agree with the "denizen," explaining, "Sedan, because you are a stranger you shall be the welcomer of the two; for as yet you were never seene in our parts" (15). Here, rather than restrict movement as before, Sedan's status as a stranger is precisely what gives him access to regions outside London.

Absent until this point, the "lustie" brewer's cart contributes to the debate, offering evidence of his own travel credentials: "…but I would have you know, I am of auncienter standing in England then both of you, I came into England in *Henry* the Seventh's time, …: my brother Ale is farre auncienter then I, and was in *England*, as I have beene told by Scholars, in the time of the *Britanes* and *Romans*" (22). Rhetorically, Brewer's cart extends beyond notions of citizenship in favor of a kind of traditional, historical authenticity—he is truly "English" not because of mere citizenship laws but because he claims familial roots in the pivotal period of Tudor history marked by Henry VII's ascension to the throne.[67] Though, in so doing, Brewer's Cart's nonetheless relies on a racialized notion of national origin; thus, his "auncient" Englishness is also tied to notions of national belonging, establishing his "place" among the vehicles of London, and enabling him to occupy the role of moderator. In using an ale cart, however, to serve as the cornerstone of English authenticity and reason, the text destabilizes the very sense of certainty and authority it purports. A kind of double edged sword, the figure of the ale

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[67] As the first Tudor king to end the War of the Roses between Lancaster and York, Henry VII's rise to power holds a mythic status (especially during the Elizabethan period) in English history.

cart both substantiates and undermines stable codes of Englishness and, by extension, a singular "English" mode of journeying.

Peacham's travel characters, then, in this "pleasant dispute" colorfully voice the many tensions inherent in a cultural moment infused with rapid technological and social change. By employing, tongue-in-cheek, categories and rhetorics already circulating in English culture (national belonging and gender) to organize rules of travel, Peacham exposes both the internal instability of those categories as well as the culturally symbolic potential of both new and old local travel practices. That is, Peacham's pamphlet demonstrates that the vehicles of early modern England not only attracted a kind of discursive coding, but simultaneously exposed the insufficiency of those codes. Less a kind of show-and-tell of social discourse that finds itself mapped onto a material practice, texts like *Coach and Sedan, Pleasantly Disputing* exhibit the profound difficulty of articulating the nature of travel experiences that were themselves in the process of semiotic upheaval. In other words, vehicular movements were not only *available* to meaning-making processes—subject to the social codes in circulation in English society—but they also *generated* critical inquiries around the very nature of travel itself: of what constituted an act of travel especially if that experience was, as Taylor points out in the text that follows, merely a ride.

As the series of proclamations drafted in the early years of the seventeenth-century suggest, Peacham's Coach and Sedan weren't the only voices in England's local travel dispute. As evidenced above, London's Watermen's company and its most famous advocate and one-time Master, John Taylor, composed a series of pamphlets, petitions, and diatribes against what Taylor called the city's "hyred Hackney-hell Carts," "wheel'd

Tortoyses," "Bawdy-house[s] of abhomination," and "Engines of pride,"[68] among other choice phrases.[69] Economically speaking, land transport, especially of the hired sort, significantly detracted from the revenue and livelihood of Thames watermen. Though technically a dispute between two landcraft, Peacham's text introduces a character, Water-man, who echoes this spirit of intense competition when he unapologetically retorts, "they [Sedan and Coach] deserve both to bee throwne into the Thames, and but for the stopping of the channel I would they were; for I am sure, where I was woont to have eight, or tenne Fares in a morning, I now scarce get two in a whole day."[70] In his own published complaint against coaches, *The World runnes on Wheel*s, Taylor cites this battle between transport companies: "they [coaches for hire] have undone my poore Trade whereof I am a Member, and though I looke for no reformation, yet I expect the benefit of an old Proverbe (Give the loosers leave to speake:)." In identifying with the proverbial "loosers" of this battle, Taylor both seeks sympathy from his reader and highlights the economic underpinnings of transport culture.

Nonetheless, the emblem which opens the pamphlet complicates Taylor's modest claim that his text is merely informative, demonstrating Taylor's reliance on notions of gender as well as status and economics (Figure 1.7).[71] Here, the figure of a whore (or "the Flesh") and the devil pulling a globe resting on two sets of wheels presents an image that literally as well as figuratively enacts the social codes of effeminacy and immorality that define it. As if its meaning might be lost on readers, Taylor includes a short poem entitled

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[68] Taylor, *World runnes on Wheeels*.
[69] Both Peacham and Taylor explain that these critiques do not refer to "Persons of rancke and qualitie" (Peacham 16) who own coaches, but the coaches themselves; for Taylor, "Persons of worth or qualitie" are not his target, merely the "Catterpillar swarme of hyrelings" available to the common sort (3).
[70] Ibid, 10.
[71] The visual image can also serve as a substitute for the text, particularly for those how have limited literacy.

"The meaning of the Embleme" in the facing page, instructing viewers in the second half of the poem to recognize "But for the *World*, as 'tis the *World*, you see / It *Runnes on Wheeles*, and who the Palfreys bee."[72] By the end of the pamphlet, Taylor returns to this image and its gendered argument, elaborating on the ways in which coaches are not just fit for whores, but emblematic of them: "a Coach may fitly be compared to a Whore," for they are both "painted," "common," "costly," "lac'd and fring'd," as well they "may be turn'd any way." Discursively, this works to effeminize and demonize wheeled transport, highlighting the ways in which the coach is charged with immorality.

Elsewhere in his text, though, Taylor invokes London's "famous whores" in a kind of lament, asking "why all the Whores have forsaken us [the watermen]" (9). Whereas the prostitutes' "ancient Lodgings" were previously near the Thames (a convenient location for those whose business it was to ferry paying customers across the river), the coaches have "hurried all our Hackney customers quite out of reach towards the North parts of the Citie, where they are daily practiced in the Coach" (9). Thus, according to Taylor, coaches not only negatively affected the income of the watermen who no longer transported passengers en-route to whorehouses, but they also altered the social and cultural geography of London itself by freeing the sex trade from the banks of the Thames so that they may "practice" on the road within the private interior of a coach. In lamenting the loss of "vile" establishments and the rise of coaches, Taylor also reveals the power of *local* travel practices to shift the codes that define city space. If the practices (of travel, trade, or pleasure) that inscribe a space or city neighborhood with meaning are altered, then that space too changes. At first glance the address to London's "famous whores" appears to be a mere, perhaps even dismissible, contradiction: symbolically, the

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[72] A palfrey is a horse used for riding or, in this case, drawing a coach.

figure of the whore demonizes the coach, casts it with an air of impurity, while, in

practice, Taylor acknowledges that the Watermen's Company was itself at one time

deeply implicated in the economic and spatial network of this illicit "trade." This seeming

contradiction, I would argue, actually highlights the instability of Taylor's own discourse

of morality, one that buckles beneath the pressure that spatial practice introduces. No

longer, it seems, do vehicles obtain their meaning simply along economic lines in which

the coach signifies as a material object. Where, why and how coaches move becomes as

critical as the fact *that* they move.

This feature of the developing early modern travelscape becomes especially

salient in the many moments in which Taylor utilizes a discourse of status (or labor vs.

leisure) to explore the effects of travel on the body. Predictably, Taylor begins his

consideration rather humorously, claiming coach travel "makes people imitate Sea Crabs,

in being drawne side-wayes, as they are when they fit in the boote of the Coach",[73] a

condition of grave concern because those "that have beene so often in their youth, and

daily in their maturer or proper age, drawne aside continually in a Coach, … makes men

forget to goe upright naturally" (13). The comical image of "sea crab" movement that

makes it difficult for passengers to go "upright" later in life certainly serves, as Taylor's

writing often does, to invoke a chuckle from his reader. This discourse of bodily health is

not entirely satiric, however. Echoing John Stow's frustration at those "whose parents

were glad to go on foot," Taylor explains: "And in former times when they used to walke

on foote, and recreate themselves, they were both strong and healthfull; … but to goe

without leading, or Riding in a Coach is such an impeachment and derogation to their

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[73] The boot of a coach was fastened to the outside uncovered portion of the coach where passengers stood
sideways.

Calling, which flesh and blood can by no means endure" (14). Taylor's caution seems almost anachronistic in its insistence on exercise, oddly reminiscent of a kind of "ride your bike to work" day where the labor expended is both somehow good for you and an effort to draw attention to lazy tendencies. Of course, early modern London was a far cry from the grip of a health-crazed culture, thereby raising questions about the resonance of these lines to seventeenth-century readers. Would the notion of travel-as-exercise mean anything to Taylor's readers? Interestingly, what Taylor's nostalgia for "former times" invokes and what Stow's look to the past leaves out is an emphasis on the benefit of laborious movement. While Stow focuses on the social disarray that results from such widespread access to vehicular travel (where coaches no longer signify royalty), Taylor, by contrast, laments the loss of a different element—laborious travel. Without labor, he seems to suggest, the terms through which we might understand coach transport as *travel* are absent and therefore uncertain. Peacham's Water-man expresses similar concerns: "[W]ee [watermen are] the first chiefe in getting our livings honestly (and as God commandeth) with the sweate of our browes . . . and being the most strong of body, and skilfull upon the water, wee are able (and as ordinarily wee doe) to serve our Soveraigne. . . many of us being Westerne men. . . who are esteemed the strongest, and most active men of England; when take one of your common, or hackney coach-men from his boxe, hee is good for nothing" (10). For Water-man, it is the "sweat" of his brow, the physical hardship involved in rowing the "liquid element" that marks his travels as worthwhile, in contrast to the coachman who merely sits in a box while his horses do the real work. In this line of logic, for the leisurely coach riders and drivers, the only true traveler-as-laborer would be the horse pulling them along.

If, as Stow lamented in the late 1590s, England had begun to become a "world run on wheels," it was also a world run on the discourses underlying and driving those wheels. Vehicles were sites of social struggle, evidenced in the discourses of gender, rank and status, and national belonging which come to articulate their significance. The discourses utilized by literature, however, proved a poor fit, unable to fully capture the essence of coach travel (or sedan travel). With its rise in the first two decades of the seventeenth century, the coach carried a mixed bag of signification: high socio-economic status as well as effeminacy. As the numbers increased even more into the 1640s following the licensing of coaches-for-hire, coaches were transformed from *signs* of socio-economic status reflected in discourse to sites of critical inquiry, *generating* questions regarding the phenomenological nature of travel itself—movement and mode of material transport. Indeed, amidst such conflict in society and in print, the terms by which travelers understood their journeys became subject to questioning. It was, as Peacham's character, Vicar, proclaims, "a world altered"—a world which suddenly saw the "scape" and scope of local travel available to multiple modes of representation.

Chapter 2
"[P]leasure, paines and kinde entertainment": Narratives of Local Travel

[W]e are much to admire strange, and contemne our owne…
Anthony Nixon, *A True Relation…of William Bush*
(1607)

As the material, cultural, and geographic terrains of early modern England shaped its domestic travelscape, discourses borrowed from first-person narrative accounts of journeys abroad also impacted travel at home. Among these include Ben Jonson's satiric epigram, "On the Famous Voyage," an especially memorable poem both because of its delightfully disgusting portrayal of London's Fleet Ditch and its partial reliance on a lexicon derived from foreign travel narratives. In it, Jonson claims to "Sing the brave adventure of two wights," Shelton and Heyden, as they "goe to Hol'borne in a wherry" (21). Theirs is a waterborne journey fit for the poem's title—one which invokes notions of voyaging and fame. The terms "voyage" and "adventure" are, of course, intentionally satiric and used as a means of exaggerating an already ridiculous experience of two amoral "adventer[s]" making their way down the filthy Fleet River. Nonetheless, amidst his critique, Jonson reveals a telling fact: "[there are] those/ that put out moneyes, on returne / From Venice, Paris, or some in-land passage / Of six times to, and fro, without embassage, / Or him that backward went to Berwicke, or which / Did dance the famous Morrisse, unto Norwich" (32-36).[1] Both sets of travelers here—those to "Venice, Paris or

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[1] While the "dance" to Norwich clearly refers to William Kemp's *Nine Daies Wonder* (1600), examined below, the former reference is unknown. Bruce Boehrer explains, "The precise identity of 'him that backward went to Berwicke' is no longer clear, although references to the exploit survive, as testimony to the public notice it elicited, not only in Jonson's poem but also in Rowley's A Search for Money"

some in-land passage" and those that went locally to Berwicke and Norwich—participate in a familiar practice of using travel for financial gain. Early modern travelers often placed wagers on themselves in which they would collect two, three or even five times their initial "investment" upon returning home safely. William Kemp references this practice as well as the challenges it poses to the financial collector in his *Nine Daies Wonder* (1600) when he declares, "True it is I put out some money to have threefold gaine at my returne: some that love me, regard my paines, and respect their promise, have sent home the treble worth; some other at the first sight have paide me. . . others I cannot see, nor wil they willingly be found, and these are the greater number" (33). John Taylor also wagered several of his domestic journeys including a trip to York in 1622, which he published as *A very merry wherry-ferry voyage, or to Yorke for my money.*

Despite Jonson's scorn for this practice, his mention of the travelers who "backward went to Berwicke" and "[d]id dance the famous Morrisse, unto Norwich" highlights both the existence of and the apparent popularity surrounding such fantastic local journeys—enough for them to serve as a cultural referent for Jonson's readers. Indeed, Jonson's wherry-boat riders are simultaneously indebted to and grotesque mockeries of England's own local adventurers. One is left to wonder, though, if local travelers like those to which Jonson alludes imagined themselves, as Andrew McRae also suggests, as mere opportunistic travelers on fantastic "commercial ventures."[2] Or, as I argue here, if the publication of first-person narrative accounts of "dance[s]" and other such remarkable journeys marked, instead, the emergence of an alternative means of

("Horatian Satire in Jonson's 'On the Famous Voyage'" *Criticism*, Winter 2002, http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m2220/is_1_44/ai_94130271/pg_1).
[2] Andrew McRae, "'On the Famous Voyage': Ben Jonson and Civic Space" *Early Modern Literary Studies* Special Issue 3 (September 1998):.1-31. <http://extra.shu.ac.uk/emls/04-2/mcraonth.htm>

engaging with dominant tropes of foreign travel—"voyage," "wonder," and "travel knowledge"—at home.

Neither Jonson's "famous" Fleet voyagers nor the actual travelers he critiques represent the extent of England's local journeying public. Compared to foreign travel narratives, the relatively low number of narrative accounts of domestic journeying has lead literary critics to assume that the English either weren't traveling domestically or that local travel failed to garner enough interest to deserve recording. On the contrary, as Jonson's poem at least partially demonstrates, foot journeys to market towns, river crossings to The Bear Garden, and trips on horseback between country estates constitute some of the most frequent, familiar acts of travel for vast numbers of the English population throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[3] Moreover, though not extensive relative to their foreign counterpart, records of several of these local journeys appear in the first-person narrative genre so familiar to readers of foreign narrative accounts. For example, only one year after Richard Hakluyt published his compilation of narratives of England's "principal voyages and navigations," Richard Ferris printed an account of "The most dangerous and memorable adventure" in which he details his attempt to ride a small wherry from London to Bristol by sea (1590). Over the next two decades, William Kemp and William Bush each embarked on their own domestic journeys; Kemp by way of dance (*Nine Daies Wonder*, 1600), Bush by way of an amphibious boat-car (*The True Relation*, 1607). John Taylor began publishing accounts of his domestic journeys in 1617 and continued doing so until his death in 1654. Collectively, then, the accounts of Ferris, Kemp, Nixon, and Taylor roughly span the same sixty-four year period that saw the emergence of some of the most well-known

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[3] Jonson also famously traveled by foot to Scotland in 1618-19.

foreign travel narratives of the period.[4] In the pages that follow, I examine a selection of these texts in light of the foreign travel narrative genre: beginning briefly with William Kemp's *Nine Daies Wonder* (1600) then moving to more extensive analyses of Anthony Nixon's *A True Relation of the admirable Voyage and Travell of William Bush* (1607) and John Taylor's A *Voyage in a Paper-Boat* (1620) and *The Certain Travailes of an Uncertain Journey* (1654). Together, these texts demonstrate that noteworthy journeying not only took place within England's borders, but that the terms by which journeys were understood—"voyage," "wonder," "travel knowledge"—were themselves reworked, reimagined and given new meaning as "the local" appropriated "the foreign" to its own ends.

In the early modern period, the most recognizable textual manifestation of travel has been the first-person, "I/eyewitness" narrative account. In their subjective retellings of experiences amidst unfamiliar lands and peoples, long-distance travel narratives rely on the binary oppositions—of self and other, familiar and foreign, here and there—inherent in the foreign encounter. Narratives of local journeying, however, trouble this paradigm. Unable and uninterested in keeping alive the firm distinction between familiar and foreign, between here and there (when, for instance, "here" might be separated from "there" by just a few miles), the texts studied here adapt and alter the foreign narrative and its genre conventions. Some of these conventions, like the first-person perspective in which claims to difficulty and reports of the arduousness of travel abound, remain consistent. Others, such as the attention given to the mode of travel—foot dance,

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[4] See, for example, Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations and Voyages*, Samuel Purchas's *Purchas, His Pilgrims*, Sir Walter Raleigh's *Discovery of Guiana*, Thomas Coryat's *Coryats Crudities*, George Sandys's *Relation of a Journey*, Thomas Hariot's *A Brief and True Report,* Edmund Spenser's *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, William Strachey's *A True Reportory of the Wreck.*

amphibious vehicle, or paper boat—mark a divergence from traditional foreign accounts. It is this last pattern of attending to the manner in which one travels, I argue, that enables local travelers to render their accounts unique yet simultaneously consistent with the kinds of tales told in narratives abroad of wonder, surprise, and remarkable, sometimes dangerous adventures.

I. Performing "Travail"

At the turn of the seventeenth century, Shakespeare's well-known stage clown, William Kemp—an actor famed for his theatrical jig—embarked on his "Nine Daies Wonder," dancing, "tripping," "frolickly foot[ing]," and jigging the distance between London to Norwich over a period of four weeks.[5] The published text of this remarkable journey, which Kemp describes as the "first Pamphlet Will Kemp offred to the Presse," appears, at first glance, to be the result of an Elizabethan actor taking his role as a traveling player rather literally (Figure 2.1). His was, as the title explains, a "kinde entertainment,"[6] a journey "performed in a daunce." A figure, presumably Kemp, appears in the woodcut of the opening page, dressed in traditional morris dancing attire—ribboned arms, be-belled ankles—following a boy drumming ahead.[7] Like Andrew McRae's reading of the fantastic journeys referenced in Jonson's poem, Max W. Thomas

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[5] Edmund Goldsmid, ed. *Kempes Nine Daies Wonder, Performed in a Journey From London to Norwich.* (Edinburgh, 1884) (Original publication 1600). Goldsmid refers to the text as an "interesting novelty, if such a term can be applied to a work more than two hundred years old" (vii). My sense is that this perspective hasn't changed much over the subsequent one hundred and fifty years.

[6] The word "entertainment" carries multiple meanings in the text. It both refers to the performance he offered in his dance and the hospitality he received at inns, from strangers, etc. At the close of his text he expresses "thankefulnes [for] the kind entertainment I found" (34). While I don't explore the resonances of hospitality in connection to the etymology of "entertainment" [see Daryl Palmer, *Hospitable Performances* (West Lafayette: Purdue UP, 1992)], I see the relationship between the two as further evidence of the overlap between theater/home, performance/travail that I explore in Chapter 5.

[7] For an extensive study of the history of morris dancing, including costuming, see John Forrest, *The History of Morris Dancing, 1458-1750* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999).

reads Kemp's dance in light of its commercial appeal, pointing out that Kemp's solo

performance "signaled a willful departure from medieval revels toward the sober

professional world of Renaissance mercantilism" (513).[8] While Thomas and McRae are

right to point out the economic forces influencing Kemp's performance and his

subsequent authorship of the tale of that performance, I would like to suggest that

Kemp's self-fashioning of himself as a traveler—not simply a dancer-performer-actor—

is of equal importance.[9]

  According to the narrative account, Kemp succeeded in dancing the entirety of the

distance between the two cities (citing only occasional instances in which he "took

horse," always returning, though, to the previous place the next day to retrace his journey

by foot), often interacting with his audiences directly, inviting or daring them to join him.

At times, these numbers reached "above fiftie in the company, some of London, the other

of the Country thereabout, that would needs, when they heard my Taber, trudge after me

through thicke and thin" (12). Of this parade of followers, several did actually participate

in Kemp's bizarre adventure: the young "Mayde" of Chelmsford who "a whole hour …

held out"; "two pretty plain youths" who "somewhat hindred" him with their slow pace;

"a lusty Country lass" who "shooke her fat sides, and footed it merrily to Melfoord" only

to soon after collapse in a "pittious heate'"; and his "good true fat-belly" guide who tired

after crossing just two fields. While Kemp's interactions with these "audience" members

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[8] Max W. Thomas, "*Kemps Nine Daies Wonder*: Dancing Carnival into Market" PMLA 107.3, Special Topic: Performance (May 1992): 511-523. McRae ("On the Famous Voyage") agrees with Thomas's largely socio-economic reading: "In a manner typical of the genre, Kemp's morris dance transforms a cultural form of rural festivity into a commercial venture, while his subsequent pamphlet translates the exercise in self-promotion into the realm of literary culture" (paragraph 9).

[9] Thomas points out that "Kemp later attempted to dance to Italy" as result of the commercial success of his local adventure. While Thomas interprets this fact in light of Kemp's economic motivations, I read Kemp's decision to go to Italy as directly connected to a culture of travel in early modern England in which trips to Italy were becoming increasingly essential components of a humanist education.

remind us of his status as an entertainer who attracted dancing hopefuls throughout his journey, the inability of his participants to keep up with the physical demands of the entertainment also underscores Kemp's role as a traveler. This "nine daies" journey was in fact a dance, rigorously exercised over twenty-seven days (nine of which were jigged) across many miles of country roads, through muddy fields, and along dangerous highways, according to Kemp's own account.

The many moments of belabored movement and "travail" are critical to Kemp's rendering of his journey; such moments distinguish between the "traveling player"—a performer who traveled out of necessity—and the "a player who *traveled*"—the one-time actor who intentionally fashioned his performance as a remarkable act of travel. In Kemp's account of the second day's journey we learn of these "travails" directly: "at Romford townes end I strained my hip, and for a time indured exceeding paine; but being loath to trouble a Surgeon, I held on, finding remedy by labour that had hurt mee, for it came in a turne, and so in my daunce I turned it out of my service againe" (11). Kemp's self-reliance, resilience, and willingness to "indure exceeding paine" not only position him among England's long list of troubled travelers, but these traits sustain the sense that his dance is indeed a journey. In other words, without obstacles, without "travail," Kemp risks representing his "nine daies wonder" as merely an elaborate, lengthy jig rather than the wondrous journey his text strives to portray.[10]

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[10] The choice of the word "wonder" for the title, I would suggest, is also noteworthy due to its strong resonance with travel narrative discourses of discovery. Claims to encountering strange and unfamiliar people, lands, and climates that invoke "wonder" abound in narratives to the Americas, the Levant, and Africa. For Kemp to call his journey itself a "wonder" suggests that the adventure lies in the act itself. See Lorraine Daston and Katherine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature 1150-1750* (New York: Zone Books, 1998). Daston and Park make a compelling argument for the wider circulation of this discourse in natural philosophy, science, and natural history, i.e., not one confined to the realm of marvelous, monstrous discoveries in travel (though they suggest that the voyages of the early modern period reinvigorate the term in this regard, 149).

The resonances with travel narratives also extend to the form of the text itself. Kemp structures his account as a traveler would; the chapters proceed with each day's journey, accounting for miles traveled, landmarks, notable highways, and hospitable (and sometimes inhospitable) interactions with inn-keepers and local populations. The title itself invokes the notion of "wonder," a word that holds strong resonances with narratives of discovery, particularly of those accounts of the strange, unfamiliar, and even monstrous. In calling his own journey a "wonder," Kemp enacts a curious turn which renders both his travels and his text as the focus of investigation, curiosity, and marveling. In a sense, Kemp brings the wondrous home. He invokes a variety of travel discourses (labor, time traveled, wonder) to articulate his own experiences of moving between London and Norwich. As scholars, if we read Kemp's account as a kind of (mock) local travel narrative-meets-entertainment, we are left to wonder what's at stake for a famous stage actor who not only in embarks on such a curious journey, but publishes an account of his "performance" as a record of travel.[11] For Kemp, "travel" carries symbolic weight even on English soil. Rather than strict foolery and jest (mere "entertainment" for money), Kemp's performance and, perhaps even more so, his concerted effort to represent his performance as travel in his text, serve as evidence of a greater, more active cultural engagement with making sense of travels, even those danced, at home.

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[11] Kemp references his journey as a money-making venture: "True it is I put out some money to have threefold gaine at my returne" (33). Rather than imagine this as a clear claim to purpose (i.e. money for a bet), I would suggest that this furthers the connection of Kemp's text to conventional travel narratives as wagering oneself was a common practice for those traveling abroad.

II. "Experiments & Practises of . . . knowledge"

Only seven years after Kemp published his Nine Daies Wonder, Anthony Nixon produced a similarly curious account of local travel. The journey that he describes is neither his own nor is it typical of the seventeenth-century; his is *A True Relation of the admirable Voyage and Travell of William Bush Gentleman: who with his owne handes without any other mans helpe, made a Pynace,*[12] *in which he past by Ayre, Land, and Water: From Lamborne in Bark Shire, to the Custom house Key in London.* Nixon's claim that William Bush traveled by "Ayre, Land, and Water," as well as his insistence that Bush accomplished this feat alone places the narrative on the verge of the fantastic. According to the text, Bush, "by serious industrie," built his small vessel, fitted it with wheels for land travel,[13] and hoisted it onto two cables for its "three score yards" airborne journey, all with the intention of perfecting his knowledge of cosmography and navigation through "practice and experience" (when he had only previously read of it). Despite such claims, historian John Chandler would later allude to Bush's travels as a "nonsense journey."[14] This dismissal of Bush's voyage by sea, land, and air, is, however, too quick. Are these journeys, in fact, nonsense? Would early seventeenth-century travelers, spectators, and readers have perceived them as such? In a period in which wonder cabinets displayed "an African charm made of teeth" alongside "the horn and tail of a rhinoceros," "a unicorn's tail," and "a small bone implement used in India for scratching oneself"[15]—where travel narratives to the newly discovered lands gave reports

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[12] The OED defines a pynace (or pinnace) as "a small light vessel, generally two-masted, and schooner-rigged; often in attendance on a larger vessel as a tender, scout, etc."

[13] Wheeled watercraft weren't entirely unfamiliar to Londoners. During street pageants, boats were often fitted with wheels (covered by curtains much like parade floats today) to float down the street in a manner like that of the river pageants.

[14] *John Taylor's Travels Through Stuart Britain*, 54.

[15] From Thomas Platter's description of a wonder cabinet in London (*Travels in England*, 35).

of strange people, customs, and creatures—notions of the nonsensical might more accurately be conveyed as wondrous. Furthermore, like Kemp's dance-as-travel, what is at stake for Nixon in claiming travel over land, air, and water? I would like to suggest that, far from nonsense, Bush's "admirable Voyage" participates in a larger discourse of local travel in which the experimental, the "nonsensical" and the traditional combine and overlap to account for an experience of traveling that finds itself at tension with travels both at home and abroad.

As if to emphasize the most bizarre and wondrous aspect of Bush's "travails," the opening page of Nixon's pamphlet presents the reader with a striking woodcut of the navigator riding in his pynace, strapped onto two cables, and suspended in the air between the church tower and a pair of trees (Figure 2.2). Upon initial glance, the ship appears to come from the sky, immediately inviting a viewer's fascination, curiosity, and doubt. Elaborately decorated, the vessel heads downward at a forty-five degree angle while Bush waves proudly at its bow. A group of three wheels sit beneath the boat on the ground both as a kind of reminder of the land travel ahead and the mastery Bush achieved over all three mediums of transport (air, land, and water). Nixon describes the rigging of the boat's journey through air as "Art joyned with industrie and labor, turnes to good effect and purpose, exercises of most ambiguous doubts and difficulties" (4). The "Art" to which Nixon refers—mathematics and navigation—are communicated visually to the viewer through the near perfect isosceles triangle formed by the cables, church tower and ground. The image also achieves a sense of balance through the pairing of multiple elements—trees, wheels, cables, windows, and tower pinnacles. Although the ship lies precariously suspended in the air, the woodcut's careful, systematic and balanced visual

rendering of the "exercise" inscribes it with a sense of rationality and technical accomplishment.

The same year that Nixon published a narrative of Bush's accomplishment, he also received payment for his account of Thomas, Anthony, and Robert Sherley's journey to Persia. *The Three English Brothers*, as the pamphlet was titled, was produced to garner public attention and support for Thomas Sherley who had returned in 1606 while his brothers remained marooned abroad.[16] Two texts on travel—one a foreign adventure in the Levant, another "an adventurous and strange voyage" in England—were written and published by the same person in a single year.[17] While it is unclear which text, *The Three English Brothers* or *A True Relation of the admirable Voyage and Travell of William Bush,* appeared to the public first, the mere proximity of their publication suggests that these texts shared a similar market. The market for travel narratives, pamphlets, and books was ripe and continued to be for the next four decades, inspiring would-be English travelers to try their hand in this domestic market.[18] In *A True Relation*, Nixon compares Bush's travels to the famed discovery voyages, going so far as to suggest that this local journey was the superior travel venture "[those who have] conferred with the skillfullest Navigators of our land: with such as have been principall Actors in our furthest North-east, and North-west Discoveries: with such as have been in the South-Sea, and at the Cape of Bona Speranza, could never report of such a performance as this gentleman's, which for *rareness*, hath the wonder and approbation of all men, and for *trueth*, the

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[16] A play under the same title was also performed in 1607. Anthony Parr provides helpful details concerning the complex relationship between the two texts (*Three Renaissance travel plays*, 7-9).

[17] Nixon also publishes *Newes from sea, of two notorious pyrats Ward the Englishman, and Danseker the Dutchman* (1609).

[18] Chandler says that Taylor's most popular texts were the travel ones, and Taylor himself notes how many publications his pamphlets went through in *Taylor's Travels and Circular Perambulations* (London: Printed by A. M., 1636).

confirmation of many thousand eye-witnesses" (my emphasis, 3). Here, Nixon is careful to identify two common elements of travel narratives—"rareness" and "trueth"—within Bush's travels. Furthermore, Nixon suggests that Bush's journey deserves similar, if not greater, repute to those of England's great navigators. Though this "Gentleman's" travels would not find their place among tales of newly discovered lands, Nixon suggests that they are, nonetheless, the first to explore newly discovered modes of passage.

Given the wide circulation of a rhetoric of foreign travel in early modern England, it is not entirely surprising that narratives of local journeys like Nixon's might borrow from an available lexicon of difference, encounter, and the "wondrous strange." Writers of such texts, however, also had to account for a lack of the marvelously strange in England; without unicorn tales and rhinoceros horns to boast of, local travelers and travel writers sought their oddities elsewhere. In the case of Bush's travels, Nixon riddles his text with references to the "strange and unheard of," "incredible and strange," "barbarous and uncivil," "crosses and impediments" and "dangers" of travel as if to give credence to his own "true relation" (4, 7, 11, 15).[19] The ultimate effectiveness of these rhetorical borrowings is, however, complicated by the nature of Bush's travels. In his effort to render Bush's travels "true," Nixon employs the trope of foreign encounter; however, these encounters with the "barbarous and uncivil" occur when several local bargemen "with long Pike staves, some with long hookes, and other weapons" destroy Bush's craft to prevent it "from travailing any more, either by land or water" (13). Here, the English bargemen (also travelers in a sense) are rendered unfamiliar, brutal, and savage in an ironic twist of rhetoric. Similarly, the so oft referred to "strange" and "unusual" also

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[19] The title's use of the phrase "A True Relation" furthers this connection. Sandys titled his account "A true relation" as well.

allude to Bush, the English traveler, not the land or the people he observes. Instead of providing him with a means of encountering the foreign abroad, his boat-car and its local movements deliver the wondrously strange at home. Bush's journey reveals one of the basic truisms of accounts of local travel: these narratives render the strange familiar and the familiar strange.

Like Kemp, Bush frequently suffers from the intense difficulty and labors of his "travailes." In a common rhetorical move used in texts of foreign travel, Nixon plays off of the semantic doubleness of "travail" by consistently referencing Bush's "painefull labor [a]ll of which he did by his owne toyle and industry" (14). Bush must push his wheeled-boat up hills almost a mile long and "endure the most painefull toyle and travell, that he had in all his journey, by reason of the deepnesse of the myre in the streete, wherein the wheels pierced a foot deepe" (12, 16). Nixon's insistence that Bush accomplishes his strange feat alone (despite an entourage of musicians and the swarms of tag-along travelers that follow him throughout the journey) furthers the sense that Bush's "travails" substantiated his "travels." In other words, the critical factor in this journey is both the industriousness of his travel and the experience of laboring through it, rather than the amount of distance traveled. In this text, distance and mileage stand as a measure of labor rather than a measure of foreignness and displacement.

In his opening letter to the reader, Nixon compares "this Travellors labours" to "Experiments & Practises of . . . knowledge" (1). A humanist discourse that advances the importance of physical travel or "practice" clearly informs Nixon's statement, and, in many ways, is consistent with a discourse of "travail" which also emphasizes manual or physical exertion. Nixon explains that the "Traveller" "beframed and fashioned a Pynace

by his cunning and skill Mathematique and Geometricall . . . only by his own industry, and labor" (3). The inherent value of Bush's local travels is registered through his practice of mathematical and geometrical knowledge, as the text employs an experimental discourse to communicate the remarkable nature of Bush's local journey. In a sense, experimentation functions *as travel*—Bush travels through his experiment (the wheeled boat is the *means* of his travel) even as he experiments through his travel (his journey over water and land *enables him* to experiment, to test his amphibious vehicle). In other words, the "trueth" of Bush's travels and his status as a true "Traveller" does not lie in a distant location; instead, it rests in the experimental process and the arduous experience of traveling "threescore yards in the Ayre, Sixe and Twentie myles upon the Land, and an hundredth miles upon the water" (3).[20] Further, while the text's insistence on Bush's self-sufficiency intensifies the sense of "travail," it also raises the possibility for future experimentation-as-travel in England.

The experimental aspect of Bush's travels is closely allied to a second purpose: performance. Like Kemp's text, *A True Relation* provides ample evidence for imagining Bush as a traveler-performer. Throughout the experimental journey from Lamborne to London, tens, hundreds, even thousands of people accompany Bush as he pulls, rows, and rides his boat across the countryside. Two thousand people bear witness to the boat-car's inaugural launch from the top of the church tower in which Bush himself, claiming to not want to disappoint his audience, rides in the vessel until it safely touches ground. Later, the crowd grows, delaying the voyage's beginning and resulting in an accident in which two "pynnacles" fall on a group of people in the tower (8). Throughout the journey itself

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[20] In fact, Bush typically traveled to a particular spot, left his boat, and walked back to an inn or house to lodge for the night. Kemp also did this, further proving the point that the show or the gimmick was very much at stake.

this great "multitude of people . . . did followe and pester him" for several miles and contribute to the traveler's difficulties (9). Nixon refers to them as "very painefull and irksome unto him . . . as by meanes of the infinite company of people, which greedile followed after him in such great troupes" (12). The presence of so many spectators, participants, and would-be travelers suggests that Bush's local travels also functioned as a kind of entertainment or mobile performance in which the "audience" could also directly participate by traveling alongside.[21] The possibility that these spectators might themselves be rendered travelers in their tag-along adventures is, however, undermined by Nixon's insistence that Bush's traveler-status is determined by invention, experimentation, and performance—aspects not available to the followers. Despite the supposed disruptions caused by these followers, Bush, like Kemp, interacts with those around him, involving them in his experimental performance. Several times along his voyage Bush "performs" his boat's wonders; once, he removes the boat from the water to show a group of knights "the manner of his travell by land" (16); a second time, at the conclusion of his journey, he provides several demonstrations for the "better sort" of Braineford as to "the manner of his travell both by Land and Water" (17). As a traveler, then, Bush's "travails" emerge through entertainment as well as experiment.

Bush's relationship to these many spectator-participants, however, remains ambivalent. While Nixon seems to recognize the importance of their presence as eyewitnesses, he also strives to produce a narrative of solitary journeying whereby the many men and women who traveled alongside Bush [both those entertained by him and

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[21] Nixon directly refers to Bush's travels as a performance: "the whole performing of the journey" (17), "for it behoved him to extend his care in a case of such danger, where he had so great a wager, as the venture of his life, in the performance of this undertaken voyage" (8), "spectator of this strange enterprise" (11), and "they wanted no spectators to attend her coming" (17).

those who – as Nixon cryptically alludes to at the end of his text – accompanied him as "divers witnesses for the performance of his journey" (18)] are rendered absent. An essential characteristic of this remarkable journey stipulated that Bush do so "without more helpe then his owne" (2). The resulting tension between the traveler's need for eyewitness proof and the symbolic power in claiming a solitary, new experience is, indeed, a familiar one to readers of foreign travel narratives. What makes the tension especially felt here, though, are Bush's simultaneous, overlapping roles as traveler-experimenter and traveler-performer.

Upon the completion of his journey and arriving in London, Bush lands at the Custom House "between the houres of 12 and 1 of the clocke that night," anticipating his ultimate performance, only to realize that his stage is vacant and he must re-arrive the next day, "intending to prepare his Pynacce and his company in some better fashion, understanding the people's expectation of his coming to London, and of his landing at the Custome house Keye" (17). As promised, Bush rows down the Thames toward London the following day, accompanied by "Drummes and Instruments of Musicke" (17). The strategic, lavish plan to arrive at London's Custom House—an epicenter of commercial and cultural exchange—and the "people's expectation" of such pomp and circumstance layers Bush's domestic travel with a sense of monumental, theatrical importance. Undoubtedly, the city's yearly mayoral pageants, often exercised as a procession on the Thames in which the new mayor's guild supplied the decorative theme, provided context for reading the final leg of Bush's amphibious trek as a performance. His carefully orchestrated arrival at the Custom House one month after he began his "adventurous and strange voyage" carried both a mark of local or civic significance and an aura of national

commercial importance. Ironically, however, Bush soon finds his pynace among "such a multitude of all sortes of boates, that neither shee, nor any of her company could rowe, or stirre any way, buy [sic] reason of their rude thrusting upon her: So shee was constrayned to presse by all means she could to Sumerset Court at the wall, not beeing able to come neere the staires, at which place she was drawne up by roapes with force of men, and by them carried into a house in the Strande, where we now leave her untill her further proceedings" (18).[22] Bush's trip to the Custom House is not entirely thwarted, however; later that day it is described, rather ambiguously, in the following manner: "commaunder of the foresaid Pynace shap't his course to the Custome-house of the Citie of London" (18). Bush reaches his ultimate destination; however, his final "course" was most likely one on foot.

In the end, and despite the supposed distractions of the crowd, the ultimate success of Bush's voyage/experiment/entertainment works through its performative and participatory aspects; it relies on its proximity to its audience—its locality—for both its "rareness" (a journey on land and water through England's rural landscape) and its "trueth" (witnessed by the array of spectators, participants, and standers by). Even in the final lines of Nixon's text, Bush's journey remains entangled in issues of authenticity. He must rely on the accounts of "divers witnesses for the performance of his journey," bringing these individuals with him to the Custom House for the purpose of swearing an "oath of the performance of the voyage" (18). Nixon accounts for this exchange, claiming that a "certificate of what he had effected" was drawn up and "willingly granted" to Bush

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[22] There are, of course, other contexts for reading these lines. Phrases such as "their rude thrusting upon her" such that "shee was constrayned to presse" close the wall until "she was drawne up by roapes with force of men, and by them carried into a house in the Strande" not only highlight the gendering of the pynace, but they also reveal a language of sexualized violation or helplessness ("thrusting upon her," "constrayned," "by force of men…carried").

for his efforts. In combination, the troupe of eyewitnesses, the oath, and the certificate of travel work to inform readers that the pynace and its "commaunder" *actually* traveled. What marks Bush's need for proof as distinct from an account of foreign travel, though, is its insistence on the very act of travel rather than the result of travel. In other words, unlike many voyage narratives to the New World and other distant lands which purport eyewitness experience of strange encounters and dangerous, far off adventures, for Bush, the strange and adventurous lie in the mere act of travel itself. Bush need not prove interactions with foreign people, beasts, or landscapes; instead, his journey in a pynace and the subsequent need for particular types of evidence suggest that Bush's local travel achieves its remarkable stature through its self-conscious experimentation with and manipulation of what is (for the most part) already known—travel by wheels and water. The initial performance of "travels by aire" function less as proof of the possibility of human flight and more as an early indication of the kind of journey Bush undergoes—one notable for its "industrie," experimentation, and innovation with the local and the familiar. As such, Nixon's text reimagines, reconstructs, and challenges the existing socio-cultural and geographic terrain of quotidian journeying in early modern England.

III. "Know they selfe"

    If in the early years of the seventeenth century the English enjoyed the performative, experimental "travails" of Kemp and Bush, in the five decades following they delighted in the adventures (part experiment, part performance, part personal quest) of England's famed Waterman, poet, and traveler, John Taylor. Throughout the first half of the seventeenth century, Taylor traveled England's rivers, coastal waterways, roads,

and marshes with surprising frequency and equally impressive documentation. By the time he published an account of his last journey in 1654, Taylor's reputation as the boisterous, outspoken "voice" of the Watermen's Company and witty pamphleteer was firmly established. A numerous and diverse collection of pamphlets, tracts, and poems were in wide circulation long before his final journey (many of which had been published in 1630 in his collected works).[23] His entertaining titles range from "Against cursing and swearing" and "A Whore very honest" to "A briefe of the Chronicle from the Norman Conquest to this present" and "Laugh and be fat." In addition, Taylor published over a dozen accounts of various journeys—domestic and foreign, by land and by water— beginning with a trip to Scotland in 1617 and ending with his travels through southwestern England almost forty years later.[24] Indeed, Taylor's life was, in many ways, consumed by travel. He, like so many in search of work during this period, came to London from Gloucester to apprentice as a waterman early in the 1580s. His early life's work not only required frequent trips across the Thames, but also lead to his being pressed into the royal Navy in the early 1590s where he traveled as a soldier and fought in Cadiz.[25] Following his naval service, Taylor returned to his career as a waterman and

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[23] With the exception of Ben Jonson who publishes a collection of his works in 1616, John Taylor is unique in this endeavor. Combined with his many inexpensive publications (pamphlets, tracts, etc.), the book, *All the Works*, enabled Taylor to reach a surprisingly wide, diverse readership.

[24] In a recent edition of Taylor's travel texts, John Chandler lists twelve journeys. These don't include, however, *The Circular Perambulations through London* (1636) or *The Carriers Cosmographie* (1637) – two less conventional travel texts. The first describes Taylor's "perambulations" and survey of the city's taverns while the second guide-like text (the first of its kind) offers detailed information concerning the departure and arrival schedule of wagons/coaches for mail and passengers. I raise this point to suggest that Taylor's notions of a travel experience and a travel text were notably more fluid than our own contemporary definition. In addition, Bernard Capp (*The World of John Taylor the Water-Poet*, 1994) notes that the travel writings were among the most popular of Taylor's publications and were printed in Roman font (not the typical blackletter for pamphlets) (67).

[25] Watermen were frequently required to serve in the Navy as a result of their navigational skills. In *Certain Travailes of an uncertaine Journey* (1654), Taylor reminds us: "Seven times at sea I serv'd Elizabeth, / And 2. kings forty five years…" (lines 83-4).

served as the King's Waterman in 1613.[26] He began to both write and travel extensively

during the early 1610s, journeying to Edinburgh, Queenborough, York, Salisbury,

Oxford, Leicester, Hereford, Gloucester, the Isle of Wight, the Mount of Cornwall, East

Anglia, Wales, Hamburg, Bohemia, Sussex and Kent. Notably, Taylor's "travails" in

employment, naval service, and solitary journeying transpired almost entirely within

England's shores—on the road, along rivers and coastline, and, as I will argue in my

exploration of imaginative journeying in Chapter 5, at his writing desk.

Though he is sometimes mentioned alongside Thomas Coryat (known for his

eccentrically written foreign travel narrative, *Coryat's Crudities*), Taylor is most often

compared to Kemp and to Bush for his penchant for the unusual, money-making travel

stunt.[27] As I have demonstrated, such comparisons and their focus on the nonsensical risk

evacuating from these narrative accounts their connection to travel. In Warren Wooden's

study of what he calls John Taylor's "peculiar peregrinations," Wooden explains that

"Taylor's accounts of his travels around Britain suggest less the works of contemporary

travel writers than the unabashedly patriotic descriptions found in Michael Drayton's

Poly-Olbion…" (12).[28] Although Wooden considers Taylor's writings *travel* writing, he

nonetheless finds them, "in spirit if not form," closer to non-travel texts. Thus, even while

Wooden clearly imagines Taylor's work as part of the corpus of seventeenth-century

British travel literature, his reading of these same texts as "patriotic," I would suggest,

distances domestic travel narratives like Taylor's from broader investigations of early

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[26] Chandler explains that the royal watermen (about forty officials) were responsible for transporting members of the royal family and court across the river (vi).

[27] Chandler, 54. In the *Voyage in a Paper-Boat*, Taylor berates "those that doe his coyne from him detaine" (60).

[28] Warren Wooden, "The Peculiar Peregrinations of John Taylor the Water-Poet: A Study of Seventeenth-Century British Travel Literature," *Prose Studies* 6.1 (1983): 3-20.

modern travel. Taylor, like Kemp and Bush, responds directly to popular foreign travel narratives in representing his many local adventures.[29]

Notable among these narratives is a *Voyage in a Paper-Boat from London to Quinborough*.[30] Over a period of one and a half days in July of 1619, Taylor, along with Roger Bird (a vintner in London), rowed a boat "having no kinde of mettle or no wood" nearly forty-five miles eastward down the Thames. Though within "one halfe houre [their] boat began to rot" and flood with river water, the eight inflated bladders surrounding the vessel prevented the two from having "tasted of deaths fatall cup" (56). Taylor details their continuing dangers as they were subjected to the "surges up and down" of the Thames, "drencht" while they "puzzle[d] and toile[d]" amidst "rotten paper and in boisterous weather" (58). Taylor's choice to utilize a language of trial and tribulation distinguishes this act from the merely nonsensical, bringing it, instead, in line with the adventurous and risky. The graveness with which Taylor presents their journey—dangerous, deadly, and difficult—qualifies it not only as an exploit worthy of the wagers put on it, but also as a brave act of travel. Lines eight and nine of the rhyming travelogue inform readers that the two "boldly ventur'd downe the River Thames, / Laving and cutting through each raging billow, / (In such a boat which never had a fellow)" (55). This bold venture, Taylor reminds us, was also a unique one, never practiced before and, given its logistical failure, likely never again. Taylor's paper boat, like Kemp's jig and Bush's boat-car, bears the symbolic weight of his travels; it is the

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[29] Joanne E. Gates ["Travel and Pseudo-Translation in the Self-Promotional Writings of John Taylor, Water Poet," *Travel and Translation in the Early Modern Period* (New York: Rodopi, 2006)] writes of Taylor's engagement with foreign narratives as a satiric project in which "the literary manifestations of foreign travel became objects of parody" (267). Gates cites Taylor's indebtedness to Thomas Coryat's foreign journeys as a means of reminding us that while the majority of Taylor's published journeys were domestic ones, he was profoundly influenced by Coryat, especially in the two accounts of his own foreign journeys.
[30] The short narrative originally appeared in the larger publication *The Praise of Hemp-seed* (1620) in which Taylor defends hemp and its products, including paper.

remarkable mode of transport which not only ascribes meaning to the journey (and thus a sense of how one knows its value), but also opens up questions regarding travel's relationship to other forms of knowledge: knowledge about movement, about science and experimentation, about England, and, as Taylor suggests in his last narrative account, knowledge about self.

Just months before his death in 1654, at nearly seventy-five years of age, Taylor set off on what would be his last journey—a two- to three-hundred mile trek on horseback from London to Sussex and Kent. For three weeks, Taylor rode through several towns near the southwestern shores of England (Billingshurst, Petworth, Lewes, Eastbourne, Rye, Hythe, Dover, Canterbury, and Gravesend) relying on the hospitality of strangers and relatives or the accommodations provided by inns along his way. Of the over four hundred lines of verse Taylor expends on the telling of this journey, more than two thirds offer comments, acknowledgements, and critiques of his lodging experiences, sometimes in direct address to the (in)hospitable host or hostess, while the remaining third serve as a reflection of his life's many "travails." Taylor undertook his last voyage to Kent, like so many of his others, not simply "to pleasure himself, and to please his friends in the first place" (as he claims), but also in hope that he would earn financial returns. As I discussed in Chapter 1, the swift rise in wheeled vehicles throughout the seventeenth century severely hindered the livelihood of the city's watermen who ferried customers across the Thames. For Taylor, his travels and their subsequent publications served as a source of income. For this last journey, several "divers gentlemen and friends" (or patrons) had "subscribed" to a bill before Taylor embarked on his travels, essentially promising to pay him upon his return. He includes the "merry bill of an

uncertaine journey" with the full text of travel (perhaps as added incentive for full payment), reminding them that "When I this unknowne walke have put in print, / Each man to's pocket, put your fingers in't." While this "unknowne walke" and "uncertaine journey" most obviously refer to Taylor's lack of a particular destination at the time the bill was drafted and underwrite the account with financial necessity, the questions of knowledge, certainty, and travel that these lines raise allude directly to the title of the published text of his travels, *The Certain Travailes of an Uncertain Journey*.

Many of the water poet's later journeys and publications include lengthy metacommentary on his "travailes" alongside details of the actual journey; *The Certain Travailes* is no different. The first one hundred and twenty lines (roughly a third of the overall text) take us beyond the inns and alehouses of Rye or Canterbury to extensive ruminations on cosmography, astronomy, geography, history, and cartography. Taylor reflects on the function of these "Arts" in travel—on the knowledge one gains in reading books of astronomy and using the "geographique art" (maps)—curtly remarking in his charmingly simplistic rhyme on his own life's journeys: "And thus through thick and thin, ways hard or soft, / Thousand and thousand miles I travel'd oft" (284). Taylor's own journeys, he implies, were enabled by the knowledge imparted *through* geography and the "description of all lands and parts . . . in severall maps and charts" (27-8). In addition, he suggests that knowledge or "certainty" might be gained through travel itself, whether "with maps, compass, and indifferent weather" or, as some do "travel in their contemplations, / In reading histories and strange relations" (35, 39-40). The two possibilities of travel raised here in (actual journeys and imaginative ones), both rely on the acquisition of knowledge—a process by which his "uncertain journeys" might

become "certain." As such, Taylor participates in a larger humanist tradition invested in imagining travel as an educational experience, whether in its practical or theoretical domain. Taylor's travel text moves rapidly through a number of potential journey experiences ("beyond the moon," "land and seas / Each coast, and opposite Antipodes," "through thick and thin, ways hard or soft," or "in reading histories and strange relations") listing them line after line in a cumulative rather than hierarchical manner. In so doing, the texts resists being consumed by the terms of the debates between practical and theoretical knowledge or lived and imagined travel. These are subordinated to other alternatives. Here, in his own seemingly straightforward account of actual travel, Taylor reminds us of the multiplicity of travel experiences in early modern England.

Key to this multiplicity is the humanist notion of travel as knowledge, or, in Taylor's terms, an insistence that English travelers, "know thysel[ves]." In a rhetorical shift, Taylor reverses the terms so often mobilized by humanist proponents of a continental "tour" or distant voyage in which travel abroad bestowed irreplaceable knowledge on the journeyer. He explains, "Some do disdain, and hold it in high scorn / To know thatcht cottages where they were born / Some crosse the sea to see strange lands unknown / And heer, like strangers, do not know their own" (53-6). The irony Taylor captures is that in journeying overseas to see "strange lands unknown," English travelers lack knowledge of their own country's "thatcht cottages." Thus, English travelers fail to recognize the "unknown" at home. Embedded in Taylor's critique of his fellow journeyers is the assumption that these "thatcht cottages" and emblems of one's origins remain "unknown" unless processed or experienced in an act of *travel*. To merely be of a place does not constitute knowledge of that locale; instead, Taylor suggests, knowledge

happens through an active engagement—physical or mental—with the world around us. Thus, in the clever titling of his final publication, "The Certain Travailes of an Uncertain Journey," Taylor invokes the humanist notion of travel knowledge gained abroad as a means of reflecting on that which is most local—the self (individual and geographic). Taylor uses this particular narrative account as a reflection on his life's journey, thus, the emphasis on knowledge gained in travel is intentionally paralleled with both England and Taylor himself. In so doing, he highlights the overlap between actual and vicarious experiences of travel.

What is especially compelling about Taylor's text is the way in which it combines, inverts, and moves between multiple discourses of travel to imagine the local journey. When he remarks in *The Certaine Travailes* upon the "well pen'd relations / Of foreign countries, and their situations" and the knowledge gained from "histories, and learn'd cosmographers, / And diligent acute geographers" in the space of just five lines, Taylor combines a set of discourses, disciplines, and textual traditions. Humanism (travel knowledge), the mathematical sciences (surveying, astronomy, cosmography, geography), cartography, local chorography, historical description, the imaginative, and the labors of one's livelihood ("I travell hard, and for life's supply") collectively combine in the first third of Taylor's narrative to produce a virtual cocktail of travel experiences in which no single discourse or mode of travel suffices. Rather than suggest that this discursive layering is unique to Taylor, I contend that these multiple registers point to a cultural moment in which various representational modes or epistemologies of travel were at play. Moreover, it is the local domain and the theoretical questions that this

relative proximity generates that makes Taylor's text, as well as those of Kemp and Bush, so compelling.

Collectively, the narratives of Kemp, Nixon, and Taylor use discourses of travel to give meaning to their respective experiences—travel as performance, travel as experiment, and travel as the acquisition of knowledge. Like the satiric pamphlets examined in Chapter 1, these narrative accounts introduce questions regarding the socio-cultural, geographic, and theoretical domains of travel in England. They do so, however, through direct engagements with and intentional reworkings of notions of travel-as-foreign-venture. Kemp's renders his "nine daies wonder" as an experience of travel by utilizing discourses of "travail" and wonder borrowed from foreign narratives. Nixon's tale of Bush's amphibious travels calls up conventions of long distance adventure-travel, wonder, and encounter. In his paper boat journey and two-hundred mile trek, Taylor, too, mirrors a great many of the tropes found in tales of foreign journeys: encounter, discovery, and difficulty. Despite their appropriation of the terms and tropes of foreign travel narratives, these domestic journeys are remarkable for the way that the voyage lexicon is filtered through and juxtaposed with non-subjective representations of movement. Even though Taylor's plea for readers to "know thy self" in his last narrative account—one which privileges the subject, the "self"—his emphasis on the overlap between actual and imaginative journeying renders the subject both traveler and vehicle, (a crucial doubling explored in Chapter 5). In narratives of local journeying, representations of the mode of transport (a foot-dance, a hybrid vehicle capable of traveling in air, land and sea, and a paper boat) achieve a partial decentering of the traveler subject, drawing attention to the means of travel itself. In this epistemology of

movement, the phenomenological and the subjective experiences of travel both find representation in narrative. In my next chapter, the subject's individual imprint on representations of the travel act is even less evident. Rather than narrative accounts, many of England's local journeyers turned to the pages of their annual almanacs as a site of travel record, responding less to discourses derived from narrative travel genres than from the form of the almanac itself.

Chapter 3
The Form of Travel: Local Journeying and Early English Almanacs

By this large margin did the Poet mean
 To have a comment wrote upon the Scene?
 Or else that Ladies, who doe never look
 But in a Poem or in a Play-book
 May in each page have space to scrible down
 When such a Lord or fashion came to Town;
 As Swains in Almanacks their counts doe keep
 When their cow calv'd and when they bought their sheep?
                          Richard Brome "Upon *Aglaura* Printed in Folio" (1-8, 1658)[1]

In his playful piece of miscellany critiquing fellow Caroline playwright, Sir John

Suckling, Richard Brome targets the appearance, rather than the substance, of Suckling's

newly published play-text, *Aglaura* (1638). The space left by the book's "large

margin"—a result of Suckling's decision to fund and publish the play in folio rather than

the standard, less expensive quarto—leaves the page, as Brome describes, like "a room

with one side furnished, or a face / Painted halfway" (11-12). Though Brome later

characterizes his frustration with "this new fashion" as one of concern for wasted paper

and limited use ["…her giant bulk this only gains -- / Perchance in libraries to hang in

chains" (35-6)], the lines included above suggest otherwise. Here, rather than address the

problem of the book's excess or uselessness, Brome mocks Suckling through predictions

of misuse. He imagines the book's expansive margins as an unwelcome invitation to

armchair critics eager to include their comments "upon his scene" or, perhaps worse, as a

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[1] *A Critical Edition of Richard Brome's The Weeding of Covent Garden and The Sparagus Garden*, Donald S. McClure, ed. (New York: Garland Publishing, 1980), 42. Sasha Roberts [*Reading Shakespeare's Poems in Early Modern England* (New York: Palgrave, 2003, 51)] points out that the poem was first published in 1655 in the commonplace book, *Parnassus Biceps*, "a Royalist miscellany that reproduces many erotic poems circulating in manuscript" (51). Though Brome's poem wasn't published until 1655, it circulated in manuscript prior to this date. I believe it is a safe assumption that Brome wrote the poem at a date much closer to 1638 than 1655.

"space [for female readers] to scrible down" the latest gossip. In their hands, the folio no longer functions as the text of a performed play but as mere surface subject to redefinition by its users. Their engagement with the text, it would seem, is unwelcome, unrefined and, ironically, a complete reversal of the perceived intention behind publishing an expensive folio edition. The cumulative effect of this satire comes to a head when Brome invokes the most widely-printed but also disposable publication in seventeenth-century England: the almanac. Users of Suckling's oversized play-book suddenly find company with "swains" who use the spaces of their "Almanacks" to keep track of accounts and record livestock. The base concerns of these country folk ("[w]hen their cow calv'd and when they bought their sheep") are meant to seem ridiculous even when compared to the frivolous interests of gossips ("[w]hen such a Lord or fashion came to Town"). Brome's image of country folk detailing the quotidian speaks to a remarkably widespread, popular practice in which readers regularly used the blank pages of annual almanacs as diaries, journals, and account books throughout the late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Far from mere hilarity, then, the journaling habit of this rural farmer functions as a textual and cultural trope. On the one hand, the "Swain" and his "Almanacke" are meant to appear silly, ridiculous, and simple as a means of slighting both female readers and Suckling; on the other, they represent a possibility lurking, quite literally, at the periphery of all printed texts—practice, not content, shapes and defines the cultural and social value of a book.

The semi-literate scribbling of Brome's swain as well as those of more educated almanac users in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England are the subject of this chapter. As both a textual genre and a site of cultural practice, almanacs performed a

critical role in early modern English literature and culture. Despite the suggestions of

Brome's poetic portrait, printed almanacs and prognostications circulated extensively

through all social levels and regions of England, extending far beyond the bounds of

country fields and satiric miscellany to the hands of political players, university scholars,

and gentry. Extant sixteenth- and seventeenth-century almanacs include evidence of

ownership and use by a Cambridge Commissioner, lawyers, a baroness, and an Oxford-

educated gardener and member of the Royal Society. In all cases, printed almanacs

pushed against closed systems of use, encouraging an exchange between reader and book

whereby notions of authorship and original text were more fluid and, as Adam Smyth

argues in his recent book *Profit and Delight*, "not the principal means of literary

definition they were to become."[2] Almanacs were, by nature, an open, mutable form; one

part calendar, one part prognostication or list of predictions, these cheap annual

publications are peppered with tables, charts, and lists that invite a reader's input and

annotation. Users frequently amended predictions throughout the year regarding weather,

the sea, and farming conditions, many times utilizing the same system of astrological

symbols contained in the tables. By the late sixteenth-century, the pages of yearly

almanacs contained discursive details as readers transformed the printed page of the

calendar into a place of personal record. The everyday details of individual lives—

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[2] Adam Smyth, *Profit and Delight: Printed Miscellanies in England, 1640-82* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004) 71. For more excellent work on notions of book use and writing practices, see: Peter Stallybrass, Roger Chartier, J. Franklin Mowery, and Heather Wolfe, "Hamlet's Tables and the Technologies of Writing in Renaissance England" *Shakespeare Quarterly* 55.4 (Winter 2004): 379-419; William Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Writing and Reading in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995); William Sherman, "What Did Renaissance Readers Write in Their Books?" *Books and Readers in Early Modern England*, eds. Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002) 119-137; Bradin Cormack and Carla Mazzio, *Book Use, Book Theory: 1500-1700* (Chicago: University of Chicago Library, 2005). For an interesting treatment of alternative writing surfaces such as the body, see Juliet Flemming, *Graffiti and the Writing Arts of Early Modern England* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001).

medical ailments, births, deaths, marriages, baptisms, legal disputes, finances, purchases, debt, neighborly visits, and, of course, "cow[s] calv'd"—worked their way in amidst lunar phases, images of the zodiac, and brief chronologies of England's history.

Early printed almanacs have served as crucial sources of evidence for historians and literary scholars working on popular literature, the English calendar and time, astrology, political and religious history, social history, diary writing, early modern subjectivity, women's writing, medical theory, and representations of the domestic— contributions I will explore below. Curiously absent from these conversations, though, is a study of one the greatest preoccupations of almanac owners throughout the early modern period: travel. Of the many uses almanac calendars offered readers, their function as local travel diaries (records of where, when, who, and how one traveled in England) remains among the most common. Almanac diarists such as John Dee, Thomas Byng, Walter Powell, John Greene, Isabella Twysden, Henry Oxinden, and, of course, John Evelyn made frequent, near obsessive reference to movements to and from various locations in England in the pages of their pocket almanacs. Because the entries themselves lack the topographical, architectural, or cultural observations so standard in narrative travel accounts abroad, they have escaped the critical attention of scholars working on early modern travel. In addition, generically speaking, the almanac diary is atypical as an autobiographical literary form. Traditionally, the diary connotes the existence of semi-regular, self-reflective entries of prose narrative from the perspective of the individual writer. Ostensibly, diaries give perspective on the inner-workings of a writer's mind in short, digestible, story-like sequences written in "real time." Memoirs, too, rely on narrative and a single, first-person subject position, though these texts have

the benefit of retrospect as they are written months or years later, many times based on entries recorded first in diaries. By contrast, the almanac diaries studied here rarely proceed with narrative regularity; instead, they consist of short phrases and descriptions, often inscribed with days, weeks, or even months separating them. More than a conventional diary or memoir, then, the early modern almanac entry resembles a personal record made up of several brief annotations. Despite the absence of a cohesive narrative structure, I will continue to refer to these texts as almanac diaries, as their function as a place of individual record remains essential. As I argue below, such generic distinction from the more familiar, reflective form of the diary or the memoir is far from a limiting discursive technique. Rather than *lacking* narrative, these entries make evident the *presence* of a unique, alternative epistemology of movement based on the interplay between place and time, rather than the logic of cause and effect implied in narration.

This chapter situates the early printed almanac and its practices of use within the culture of local travel in early modern England. Methodologically, it utilizes discursive analysis to examine the significance of a series of non-narrative, spatially configured notations and historical details. I explore how a book of time comes to stand in as a means of measuring movement in space and vice versa. While the relationship between time, space, and subjectivity might seem a logical one—whereby one's self-knowledge begins with an orientation in time (minute, hour, date, year) and space (home, street, city, etc.)—early modern England was in the midst of a period of significant change in both the temporal and spatial domains. Throughout the period, England utilized two distinct calendrical systems (the Julian or English calendar and the Gregorian or Roman calendar). In addition, cartographic developments were in the process of rapid change

both globally and locally as traversable boundaries continued to expand and geographic

regions (new and old) were surveyed and made mathematically "known." If we

understand travel to be the act of moving through space in time, then almanacs—like

maps, navigational treatises, advice texts, and voyage narratives—offer critical insight

into the process by which English travelers came to know and understand their

movements at home.

Three discourses circulate in conjunction with the almanac: first, the language,

text, charts, and figures included within the book itself;[3] second, the manuscript notes

included alongside and among these pieces of text; and, third, the many references to

almanacs and their users in contemporary literature. Notable among this last group are a

number of stage plays, pamphlets, and prose satires: Bottom's urgent call for Quince and

Snout to "Look in the almanac" for a forecast of the moonlight on the night of their play

(*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 1594-1595, 3.1.40); Weatherwise, the almanac-obsessed

suitor to Lady Goldenfleece in Thomas Middleton's *No Wit, No Help Like a Woman's*

(1611-12); Ben Jonson's character, Almanac, in *The Staple of News* (1626); John

Taylor's acknowledgment that "Millions of people would this knowledge [of time and a

daily schedule] lack / Except directed from the almanack (*The Certain Travailes of an

uncertain Journey*, 1653); and a number of satiric almanacs such as those by Thomas

Dekker (*The Raven's Almanacke*, 1609) and Thomas Nashe (*A Wonderfull Strange and

Miraculous Astrological Prognostication*, 1581). Rather than trace the connections

between these literary texts, I look to the voices within the pages of almanacs themselves,

both printed and written, to gain perspective on the role of the almanac in relation to

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[3] I refer to almanacs in this chapter as "books" because those used as travel diaries were often bound. Of
course, as I explain below, many almanacs were sold in single sheets and posted in the walls of taverns and
homes.

travel. In so doing, I do not presume that these discourses of representation are any more "authentic" or original than those in the literature of the period; instead, the dynamic interaction between almanac and reader, print text and written note is what drives this project. The literal and discursive intersect between the modes of representation on the almanac page and the way the early modern reader engages with that page remain the most critical aspects of understanding how the almanac mapped movement in time. Early modern practices of almanac travel writing can be understood through two distinct inquiries: Why do early modern travelers utilize *the almanac* to represent their local travels? And, what drives almanac readers and diarists to not only record *acts of local travel*, but to do so with such regularity and in the manner they do? Using the first question as an initial guide, I begin my investigation of early modern time, space, and travel with a more detailed explanation of the history of the almanac genre, its readership, standard content, and treatment in scholarship. I then explore the many compelling links between these books of time and books of travel, suggesting that almanacs are as much a part of the genealogy of space in early modern England as they are of time. Finally, by way of exploring answers to my second question, I consider the accounts of several seventeenth-century diarists, namely Walter Powell (1603-54), John Greene (1635-57), Isabella Twysden (1645-51) and John Evelyn (1631-1706),[4] to examine the ways in which these writers plot, rather than narrate, their movements through time and space.[5]

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[4] In E.S. De Beer's edition of Evelyn's diaries [*The Diary of John Evelyn* vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955) 10] De Beer notes that John Evelyn began to take notes in the pages of almanacs from the age of eleven (1631): "in imitation of what I had seene my Father do, I began to observe matters more punctualy, which did use to set downe in a blanke Almanac." However, only three of the almanacs are known to exist (1636, 1637, and 1647), the rest likely having been discarded after Evelyn began the process of rewriting his diaries in 1660 and 1694 into two manuscripts titled, *Kalendarium* and *De Vita Propia*. As such, I have limited my analysis of Evelyn's diary to the few almanac entries from these extant volumes.
[5] The bracketed dates indicate period of writing. I use the same notation to indicate the period in which almanac writers compile and publish their texts. I have consulted transcribed editions of the manuscripts

I. "My almanac told me true"[6]

> …To'the Authors Throne who sits above the Text
> And view's his works, though angry much to see
> Mortals deprive it of i'ts dignitie,
> ……………………………………
> What doe we owe to thee then that from high
> Dost stoop thus humbly to each vulgar eye?
> Know that thy fame shall live: And spight of jarrs
> Thy worth shall place thy Name above the Starrs,
> While others blush to see what Art they lack
> They write their follies: thou, the Almanack.
> John Booker, opening poem of his almanac, *Uranoscopia* (1649)[7]

The printed almanac was immensely popular. Following the Reformation and its subsequent denouncement of the ecclesiastical calendar (based on holy days and Catholic practices of time reckoning), almanacs and their secular, astrological methods of timekeeping and time-prediction offered a ready alternative to the "idolatrous" Book of Hours which organized daily time by canonical hours and prayer.[8] In addition, while almanacs circulated in manuscript prior to the invention of movable type, the printing press enabled the spread of large numbers of cheap print throughout England. Surpassing such popular religious texts as the Bible, the Book of Common Prayer, and John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, the printed almanac graced the tables and walls of more homes, studies, and taverns in early modern England than any other text. Eustace Bosanquet has

with the following sources: Joseph Alfred Bradney, ed., *The Diary of Walter Powell of Llantilio Crossenny in the County of Monmouth, Gentleman. 1603-1654* (Bristol: John Wright & Co, 1907); E. M. Symonds, "The Diary of John Greene (1635-57)," *The English Historical Review*, 43.171 (1928): 385-94 and 43.172 (1928): 598-604 and 44.173 (1929): 106-117; Reverend F. W. Bennitt, "The Diary of Isabella, Wife of Sir Roger Twysden, Baronet, of Royden Hall, East Peckham, 1645-51," *Archaeologia Cantiana* 51 (1939): 113-36; E. S. De Beer, ed., *The Diary of John Evelyn*, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955). For the diary of Isabella Twysden, I have also consulted the original manuscript at the British Library [Add 34169].
[6] Weatherwise in Middleton's *No Wit, No Help Like a Woman's* (1.1.299)
[7] Booker, in an effort to prove the literary and scientific worth of his genre, included a Latin and Greek version of the poem as well at the front of the almanac.
[8] Bernard Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press: 1500-1800* (London: Faber and Faber, 1979) 27, 41. Capp has tied the popularity of almanacs to a resurgence in astrological interests in general, suggesting that astrology offered laymen a kind of substitution for the mixture of religion, astrology, and magic more prevalent before the Reformation (20). Also see Alison A. Chapman, "The Politics of Time in Edmund Spenser's English Calendar" *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 42.1 (2002): 1-24.

estimated the circulation of these publications at (minimally) three to four million for the

seventeenth century alone, remarking that "no book in the English language had such a

large circulation as the annual Almanack."[9] In her study of "small books" and their role

in non-elite culture in seventeenth-century England, Margaret Spufford estimates that

nearly one in three families could purchase an annual almanac.[10]

Beginning most noticeably in the 1550s, various editions flooded London,

Cambridge, and Oxford bookshops each autumn in anticipation of the flurry of yearly

sales.[11] Pedlars roamed their circuits, announcing the "newest" copy of Pond's, Dove's,

Booker's and Langley's "almanacs and prognostications." For as little as a penny or as

much as six, Londoners and country consumers alike could own almanacs in a variety of

forms: as broadsheets to hang on the wall (1d) (Figure 3.1), as a series of almanacs bound

together, and as "sorts" (the small book almanacs in the popular octavo or the pocket-

sized sextodecimo costing 2d to 6d).[12] Still others included empty pages and open tables

in bound editions (for personal record keeping and diary entries) and were called

"blanks" (Figure 3.2). In 1565 Joachim Hubrigh produced the first of this type by

including these empty pages in his almanac, likely responding to rather than initiating a

practice of note-taking in the pages of annual "sorts."[13]

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[9] Eustace Bosanquet, "English Seventeenth-Century Almanacks," *The Library* 4th ser. 10.4 (March 1930): 365. Bernard Capp (*Astrology and the Popular Press*, 45) also notes that John Booker's edition of 1640 had a print-order of 12,000.

[10] Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1981), 2.

[11] Caroll Camden, "Elizabethan Almanacs and Prognostications," *The Library* 4th ser. 10 (1930): 361-97. Camden explains that "nearly every bookseller in London published them" (84).

[12] Capp notes that single sheet almanacs cost one penny in the sixteenth century, while bound copies ran about two pennies each (*Astrology and the Popular Press*, 41). By the seventeenth century, he notes that the price increases to as much as six pennies for a bound copy by astrologers and mathematicians such as William Lilly and Captain George Wharton.

[13] "Blanks" also have telling connections with writing tables or coated blank pages often bound together for erasable note-taking. See Stallybrass, Chartier, Mowery, and Wolfe, "Hamlet's Tables and the Technologies of Writing in Renaissance England."

With the exception of the more expensive, mathematical editions published in the middle of the seventeenth century, each bound almanac contained a standard of twenty to twenty-four leaves (around forty pages). Inside, readers encountered two main sections: the yearly calendar or series of calendars organized in a chart by month; and prose predictions regarding the upcoming seasonal conditions and, particularly during the politically charged period of the 1640s-60s, England's political future (Figures 3.3 & 3.4).[14] Additional practical information such as lists of local fairs, highway distances, currency exchange, interest tables, medical advice, weather predictions, brief chronicles of England (or the world), the reigns of Kings and Queens, units of measure, and the infamous "zodiacal man" might fill the remaining opening or closing pages of the book (Figure 3.5). The precise nature and combination of these extraneous details, though, depended on one's audience. Almanac compilers often directed their addendums specifically to their readership, all the while maintaining many of the genre's necessary conventions. Thus, Edward Pond (1601-12, 1625),[15] a mathematician, appealed to those seeking financial information (the weight of gold, interest tables); John Woodhouse (1610-50s), also a mathematician, offered his readers advice in husbandry and gardening; Captain George Wharton (1641-66), a Royalist, was well-known for compiling editions with small bits of military history; John Booker (1631-67) and William Lilly (1644-82),

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[14] Capp explains: "Political prophecies were extremely vague in most Elizabethan almanacs, and they were often wholly absent from early Stuart editions. But this trend was reversed by the outbreak of civil war in 1642. Astrologers were able to give free rein to speculation and controversy, which quickly reached unprecedented levels. Though a degree of governmental control was gradually restored, political speculation remained an important feature in the more popular almanacs throughout their later history" (*Astrology and the Popular Press*, 67).
[15] Editions published under the title "Pond's Almanack" continued into the middle of the seventeenth century, long after Pond's death. Bernard Capp notes London's Company of Stationers' practice of publishing post-humus editions and the frustration of almanac makers, quoting John Tanner (1660) as saying, "[almanacs] from dead carcasses are raised like flies, … / Whose fathers thrice ten years were dead and rotten / Before their feigned offspring were begotten" (*Astrology and the Popular Press*, 45).

Republican rivals to Wharton, produced almanacs for the more refined, astrologically-minded reader (often in longer, more expensive copies). Editions targeted to particular locales (often evidenced by the references in the increasingly common "list of fairs" included with the calendar) consistently found their way into the hands of laborers, citizens of provincial towns, country landowners, and rural inhabitants. Almanac compilers Jonathan Dove (1627-52) and John Swan (1657-84) produced copies especially for the Cambridge market. Thomas Hill's single sheet almanac, *A new almanack for the year of our Lorde God MDLXXII* (1572), and his bound prognostication for the same year announce that these texts were "calculated for the meridian of Oxenforde" and "exactly calculated for Oxenforde," respectively (Figure 3.1). Other publications make specific reference to their London audiences while those living in Ireland, Wales, Scotland, and the colonies had editions designed for their "meridian" as well.[16] Variance among almanacs allowed the genre a certain degree of malleability and the ability to respond to its broad readership.

Such flexibility, though, had its limits. Throughout the early modern period, pressures to conform to particular conventions were exacted from above as well as below. In 1571 Richard Watkins and James Roberts (members of London's Stationer's Company) were given a monopoly in printing almanacs, an arrangement which continued until 1603 when James I granted the monopoly to the Company itself. In 1623 and 1632, Cambridge and Oxford, respectively, acquired minimal rights for printing almanacs, though the vast majority still fell under the control of London's Stationer's Company.[17] Year to year much of the detail remained the same—not only for different editions by the

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[16] Bosanquet, "English Seventeenth-Century Almanacks," 365.
[17] Ibid, 362-3. For a treatment of the almanac monopoly in the eighteenth century, see Cyprian Blagden, "Thomas Carnan and the Almanack Monopoly" *Studies in Bibliography* 14 (1961): 24-45.

same author, but across authors, as well.[18] On the one hand, the genre itself dictated and

demanded the use of certain formal elements in each and every edition (the tables for

each month, for example). On the other, as Donald Hodson argues in his doctoral thesis,

the monopoly of the Stationer's Company significantly contributed to the surprising lack

of development in the printed almanac over the one hundred years between its initial rise

in the 1550s and the reign of Charles II.[19]

      The formulaic appearance of the early modern printed almanac was not entirely

the result of the Stationer's Company. Pressure from below caused many printers to

include standard elements, even if the almanac's writer objected. Bernard Capp notes

that George Wharton's omission of a chronology and "other such trumperies" in 1642

was overridden by the printer who inserted the chronology before publication. Readers, it

seemed, welcomed variety, but only if that variety came in a recognizable form. In

Pond's Almanack for the yeare of our Lord Christ 1648, Edward Pond includes a short

seven-line poem beneath one of the most standard elements of the early printed almanac,

the zodiac or "The Anatomie of Mans body, as the parts thereof are by Astrologers

attributed to the 12 signes of the Zodiack" (Figure 3.5):

> Should I but dare to omit the Anatomy
> Which long enough hath gull'd my countrey friend
> He with contempt would straight refuse to buy
> This book, and 't is no Almanack contend.
> Ask him its use, he'll say he cannot tell;
> No more can I: yet since he loves 't so well
> I'll let it stand because my book should sell.   (A2, verso)

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[18] Editions might share images of the zodiac man or title plates ("A New Almanacke and Prognostication for the yeare of our Lord God"), only altering the year and the secondary title to follow (see, for example, John Woodhouse's *A New Almanacke*, 1636 and Thomas Langley's *A New Almanack*, 1637 – both "printed by M. Dawson for the Companie of Stationers"). Capp notes that "print for tables of fairs, highways, weights and measures was kept standing and used year after year in the cheap and stereotyped 'sorts'" (*Astrology and the Popular Press*, 42).

[19] Donald Hodson, *The Early Printed Road Books and Itineraries of England and Wales*, diss., U Exeter, 2000 (Exeter: University of Exeter, 2000).

Here, the country reader wields economic power over the almanac writer. Pond suggests that generic conventions such as the inclusion of the "Anatomy" provide the almanac with a crucial symbolic value such that without it, the consumer would "straight refuse to buy / This book." Pond's complaint exhibits the dialogic relationship between the almanac and its reader. However minimally, these annual publications responded and were subject to the demands of their readers, even if those demands meant perpetuating seemingly obsolete elements. To say that the "Anatomy" is useless would be erroneous; beneath the surface of its critique, Pond's poem recalls that sixteenth and seventeenth-century almanac-users developed their own relationships, practices of use, and systems of meaning for these publications. Like the anatomical man, the almanac's increasingly interactive monthly calendars came to serve as standard elements of the texts—elements which developed their own unique, reader-driven function as travel journals, simultaneously functioning as records of and guides for readers' movements through time and space. How is it, then, that these texts come to support such an epistemological undertaking in which time is used to make sense of space in the travel records of almanac users?

II. "[A] necessary connexion"

> …Tyme [is]…but the Measure of Motion
> John Donne, *Devotions*

Late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England followed two calendars referred to as the New Style (January 1 start) and the Old Style (March 25 start), though both shared the basic yearly system derived from the Julian calendar which was itself based on the solar year (365 ¼ days). The Old style began its year on March 25 so as to align its

calendar with the spring equinox and, in the Christian tradition, Easter. Throughout the

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, then, a hyphenated notational system appeared in

which dates falling in the first three months of the year often reflected a double year (17

February 1647/8, for example). A second important factor of England's calendrical

history includes the Gregorian Reform, or Pope Gregory's proposal in 1577 to correct the

inadequacies of the Julian calendar by eliminating ten days and establishing January 1 as

the official start to the year.[20] Thus, throughout most of Europe, in 1582, October 4th was

followed by October 15th—except in England. Given its Protestant leanings, England

refused to heed the change until 1752.[21] In the early modern period, calendar reform was

not simply a matter of state or religion. Almanac readers were faced with the

manipulability of temporal measurement and representation in a chart as standard as the

anatomical man which converted important dates between the "Julian or English

account" and the "Gregorian or Romane account" by simply adding 10 days. In addition,

many of the diary entries themselves indicate an engagement with the two systems

through the hyphenated date from January to March.[22] Sitting squarely at the impasse of

many of these temporal conflicts was the printed almanac—account of things past,

present, and future; secular astrological calendar supplemented with the dates of sacred

feast days; systematic record of solar as well as lunar motions (celestial cycles which are

themselves in conflict). Moreover, as a calendar as well as a diary, the almanac

functioned as a means of individual time reckoning, encouraging readers to think about

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[20] Namely, the Julian calendar had "drifted" by ten days by 1582. The Gregorian Reform attempted to align the calendar more closely with the seasons. In addition, differences in Easter's computation (ecclesiastically speaking, the Sunday after the full moon after the lunar equinox (on or near March 21, though in England this was March 25) cause difficulties.

[21] In her doctoral thesis, Chapman suggest that, given the conflicts over the calendar year in England, almanacs act as a barometer for the social, religious, and political upheaval in early modern society.

[22] For example, "the 3 of aprill a littell before 3 in the morning my sister Twysden was brought a bed of a girle…it was chrissened the 5 and named Ann…being Thursday 1644/5."

themselves in direct relation to time—month, day, and sometimes hour. The diary entries on the margins and blank pages of these printed almanacs not only function as evidence of use, but they also reveal critical details about how early modern English readers imagined and represented their own relationship to temporality and, in the texts I examine, the spatial realm as well. Along with month, date, and the occasional hourly notation, the *place* where one traveled began to offer users a means of tracking of time. The almanac's calendrical structure, it seems, fostered spatial as well as temporal reflection.

In the early modern period, motion and temporality were virtually inseparable categories. Celestial *movement*, either of the sun, stars, or moon, allowed time to be reckoned with on earth; natural phenomena such as daylight and the changing shape of the moon offered visible, perceivable signs of time's passage. The calendar and early instruments of measurement (sundial, astrolabe) were developed in direct response to these cyclic phenomena. In addition, calculating the position and the movement of the heavens enabled early modern astrologists and almanac-makers to look forward in time and predict (however well) weather conditions, sunrise and sunset, "moonshine," tide tables, medical conditions, and even the outcome to wars. Semantically, time, space, and movement functioned as analogues and as points of reference. Distance was articulated in terms of time—a three hour's ride or a day's plow. Conversely, time was described through language of movement and space—time passed, the space/length of two hours. And latitude and longitude (measures of space) were recorded in degrees and "minutes." Indeed, changes in time and space serve as registers of movement, allowing one to know that one has, in fact, traveled. It was the clock, though, that introduced the notion of

linear time—time that progresses and is measured independently of the cyclic motions of the sun and moon.

In 1690 John Locke critiqued the presumption of a relationship between temporality and motion in *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*:

> …Men in measuring the length of time, having been accustomed to the ideas of minutes, hours, days, months, years, &c…all which portions of time, were measured out by the motion of the heavens, they were apt to confound time and motion; or at least to think, that they had a necessary connexion one with another: whereas any constant periodical appearance, or alteration of ideas in seemingly equidistant spaces of duration…would have as well distinguished the intervals of time.[23]

Locke's accusation that current methods of time reckoning "were apt to confound time and motion" marks the shift from cyclic, astrologically based notions of time to linear, mathematically determined ones in which "any constant periodical appearance" could function as a means of time measurement. Despite Locke's dismissal of the possibility that time and movement "had a necessary connexion one with another," his critique stands as a reminder that the two worked in tandem – conceptually and discursively – in early modern England. To what extent did early modern almanac readers and diarists also "confound time and motion"?

Work on early printed almanacs has, thus far, failed to consider the intersection of time, space and travel. Although almanacs have received increased scholarly attention in the past ten years, scholars have focused on their ties to astrology, politics, popular print, and the calendar. Among the earliest scholars interested in almanacs and prognostications, Eustace Bosanquet and Caroll Camden helped to lay the historical and bibliographic groundwork for study of these texts, pulling them from the archive and

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[23] Book II, Ch. XIV, paragraph 19.
<http://oregonstate.edu/instruct/phl302/texts/locke/locke1/Book2a.html#Chapter%20XIV>

offering critical context for understanding their multitudinous content and, as Bosanquet explains, indicating "some points which make these small annual publications of the past of interest to us, who live in the present" (362). Marjorie Nicolson and Bernard Capp place the genre in conversation with the political and scientific climate of early modern England; Nicolson considers the role of the almanac in the "new science" while Capp, in his extensive book-length investigation, explores the intersection of the genre with astrology, politics, and religion.[24] Scholars such as Margaret Spufford and, more recently, Adam Smyth invoke the almanac in their work on popular print and reading practices, while Alison A. Chapman argues for the almanac's role in developing English national and religious ideology.[25] Despite increased attention to its potential as a source of historical and cultural analysis, however, the almanac remains on the outskirts of academic research.

Almanacs were the earliest printed texts to include highway tables or lists of distances between English towns, many even advertising themselves as of particular use to "traveilers that coast the Kingdome."[26] Previous scholarship on almanacs has either disregarded or dismissed these tables as "extraneous matter," much like the bits of medical advice, farming predictions, and tables for calculating interest that fill its pages.[27] Rather than operate in distinct spheres, sixteenth and seventeenth-century notions of space, time, and travel were overlapping, mutually constitutive categories of experience which derived meaning from one another. The early printed almanac, its history of publication, and its practices of use demonstrate that the temporal and the spatial were in

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[24] Marjorie Nicolson, "English Almanacs and the 'New Astronomy,'" *Annals of Science* 4 (1931) : pp. 1-33; Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press*.
[25] Spufford, *Small Books*; Smyth *Profit and Delight*; Chapman *Reforming Time*
[26] Thomas Gallen, *A New Almanack* (1647)
[27] Bosanquet, 366.

constant conversation—conversations that hinged on acts of travel understood as movement through space and time. We thus need an alternative genealogy of the almanac genre in which travel and space, as much as time, play a role. By examining the overlapping textual history of almanacs and travel guides, I show that discourses of movement emerge in the content of the almanac itself. Rather than circumstantial detail, travel records occupy a logical place in the pages of early almanacs, building off of (rather than working separate from) a conceptual paradigm already at work in the pages of the book itself.

In 1570, the printer Richard Grafton published his long duodecimo volume *Abridgement of the Chronicles of Englande*, a text originally printed seven years previous.[28] To an already four-hundred page book, Grafton added a number of elements: "A Calendar, with the length of dayes and nights for every Moneth in the yere," "A rule to knowe the beginning and endyng of the Termes," and "A note to shewe what signe the Sunne is in every Moneth of the yere," among others.[29] The almanac-like content of this material precedes the original "abridgement" itself, while lists such as "The names of all the Shires, Cities and Boroughes in England" and "A note of the Monethes and Dayes of all the Principall Fayres in the yere" follow it. Though the decision to include these materials may have been strictly financial (almanacs drew a large market), other compelling possibilities remain. The chronicle rests sandwiched between pages of temporal calculations and systematic lists of geographic places, as if history itself requires grounding in present time and place. Rendering Grafton's volume especially notable is a short list omitted from the book's own brief table of contents—"The high

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[28] Richard Grafton is responsible for the phrase, "Thirty days hath September, April, June, and November. All the rest have thirty-one."

[29] Listed in "The Contentes of this booke."

waies to London, Howe a man may journey from anye notable towne in Englande, to the

Citie of London, or from London to anye notable towne in the realme."[30] This itinerary-

like list was, as H.G. Fordham has pointed out, among the first of its sort in print.[31] Much

like medieval itinerary maps, each stop along the route appears beneath the previous in a

vertical arrangement in which geographic orientation is nonexistent and, ostensibly,

unimportant. The experience of travel and its representation on the page is rendered as a

linear, temporal progression (first, next, last). Such is the case with Grafton's first route,

"The waye from walsingham to London" in which nine pairs of destinations are listed,

one beneath the other, with corresponding mileage calculations for each leg of the

journey: "From Walsingham to Pickna. xii.mile / From Picknam to Brandonfery.

x.mile…" (Figure 3.6). Though these vertical sequences of distance may function as mere

figures of reference, their representation on the page and the way in which they

encourage a user to read them (top to bottom, in a linear progression) mirrors an

experience of travel on the ground in which the sequence of landmarks signifies one's

passage. Equally as important, these lists strongly echo the linear arrangement of days,

numbers, and symbols which appear in the almanac-like information at the front of the

volume. Reading the "waye from walsingham to London" parallels an experience of

travel, but it also parallels the passage from January 1 to January 2, March to April. As

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[30] Grafton's text contains no page numbers. The table of highways appears last in the volume and seems to have been, in early editions at least, a last-minute addition as it appears after the word "Finis" in the list of fairs and without reference in the table of contents.

[31] Fordham, *Road-Books and Itineraries of Great Britain* 1. Daniel Birkholz claims that "the first printed almanac with itineraries was compiled by John Judson and published in 1542, followed by William Middleton's *A chronycle of yeares from the begynnynge of the worlde* (London, 1544)" ["The Gough Map Revisited: Thomas Butler's The Mape off Ynglonnd, c. 1547-1554," *Imago Mundi* 58:1 (2006), 23-47]. Donald Hodson also cites the first printed list of highways from 1542 (*The Early Printed Road Books*, 517). The difference between the claims of Birkholz and Fordham is a matter of terminology; Fordham defines tables of highways more selectively.

such, moving from one town to the next or from one day to the next, readers proceed forward in their "journey"—through space and time.

Grafton's later publications, *A litle treatise, contenyng many proper Tables and easie rules* (1571) and *A brief treatise, conteinyng many proper Tables and easie rules* (1573), were, in fact, almanacs, absorbing and expanding the addendums from the *Abridgement*, especially the highway tables, now "in a more larger and better manner then heretofore it hath bene."[32] Indeed, the almanacs contain many more distance figures as well as the occasional bit of advice: "There is also an other way from Exceter to Bristowe, and nerer by five mile, which is to Bridgewater…but no man can well travell it except be in Sommer, or els when it is a great frost."[33] Here, the itinerant list of distances between towns is aligned more closely with the travel experience as it takes on a phenomenological aspect—anticipating as well as reporting on past experiences of movement without a narrative overlay.

Other almanacs had more explicit ties to travel. In 1581 Frank Adams published an edition of his almanac, *Writing Tables with a Kalendar for xxiiii.yeres* in which he included road distances of the sort Grafton used. As the title suggests, though, the volume also contained writing tables or blank pages coated in a substance which allowed the owner to jot down erasable notes, usually to be transferred to a commonplace book or more permanent form later.[34] In their work on this early modern writing technology, Peter Stallybrass, Roger Chartier, J. Franklin Mowery, and Heather Wolfe claim that "the association of tables with traveling is commonplace," citing its usefulness to travelers on

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[32] *A brief treatise*.
[33] Under "From Exceter to Bristowe."
[34] See Stallybrass, Chartier, Mowery, and Wolfe, "Hamlet's Tables and the Technologies of Writing in Renaissance England" *Shakespeare Quarterly* and H.R. Woudhuysen, "Writing Tables and Table-Books" *eBLJ* 3 (2004) <http://www.bl.uk/eblj/2004articles/article3.html>.

the move and away from their usual writing materials (405). This combination of calendar, highway list and writing table not only furthers the association between the almanac and travel, but it also highlights possibilities of an almanac's use—portable, temporary travel notebook or, as I will turn to later, site of semi-permanent individual record of travel.[35]

Over forty years after Grafton's series of publications, John Rudston published his almanac, *An Almanacke & Prognistication, for the Yeare of our Lord God, 1615*, introducing an innovation in the highway table in which mileage is indicated for each leg of the journey as well as for one's overall progress (Figure 3.7).[36] Like Grafton's small pieces of advice, Rudston's new design spoke more directly to an experience of journeying (whether on the road or in the reader's imagination) in which the traveler not only knew the distance between two places, but also had a general sense of spatial orientation (how far to go, how far traveled, etc.). In the same almanac, Rudston begins his prognostication with an appeal to "those that travell long voyages [who] are a long time out, so that they may have occasion to use an Almanacke for the space of two or three yeares." Thus, Rudston's book of time makes both indirect (the inclusion of highway tables) and direct (address to "those that travell") reference to its usefulness to travelers. Other almanacs by Philip More (1571, 1573), Walter Gray (1589, 1595), Arthur Hopton (1612, 1615, 1616), Peregrine Rivers (1638), Thomas Gallen (a.k.a. Thomas

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[35] Only sixteen years earlier Joachim Hubrigh first included blank pages in almanacs which allowed readers space to record, correct, or comment on the information within. Neither Hubrigh's "blanks" nor Adams's tables necessarily prove that almanacs were expressly designed for travel records (either on the move or in retrospect); instead, I suggest that the readers develop an ease with the discourses of the almanac and, as such, naturally turn to its blank spaces as a diary for recording their movements.

[36] The symbols Rudston uses in these new tables (the parenthetical arrow) are also used in the Prognostication such that on the opening page of "The Geographicall description of waies from one notable Towne to another," the recto (prognostication) and verso (highway table) pages seem related.

Langley, 1647), Thomas Porter (1655),[37] Schardanus Riders (1656), John Woodhouse (1659) and others continued to include versions of these tables long into the seventeenth century—sometimes to a fault, as many of the details tended to repeat rather than improve on previous editions.[38] Other scholars have used this point as evidence that road-books must not have been used by seventeenth-century travelers. Donald Hodson cites the monopoly of the Company of Stationers as the reason for this lack of improvement:

> It seems apparent that highways were seen by the Stationers as nothing more than a useful commodity to fill out the prognostication, where their purpose was to project a spurious air of familiarity with far-off places and with travel, to flatter and beguile the purchaser, and were certainly not for practical use. This interpretation is strongly supported by the willingness of the Company to allow the road information to deteriorate steadily, as a consequence of careless copying which, in turn, implies that they were used by the public to a very limited extent.[39]

In other words, the embeddedness of the road-book within the Stationers-controlled almanac genre, Hodson suggests, restricts its development. While Hodson's accusation regarding the inaccuracy of the highway tables is true, his conclusion that this "implies that they were used by the public to a very limited extent" relies on a prescriptive notion of "use" whereby highway tables might only function as way-finding or route-planning technologies. Book use in early modern England was, as Carla Mazzio and Braden Cormack explain, less a prescribed category than a derivation of "the relationship between a book's social functions and the textual and technical aspects that made the material book and its contents usable and knowable."[40] Regardless of accuracy, highway

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[37] Porter does not call his text an almanac; his is *A New Booke of Mapps, Being a ready Guide or Direction for any Stranger, or other, who is to Travel in any part of the Comon-wealth of England, Scotland, & Ireland*. I explore the implications of this title/genre classification below.

[38] Fordham, *Road-Books*. John Stow's table of roads from *A Summarie of the Chronicles of England* (1575) served as the basis for many future texts including Holinshed's *Chronicles* and arguably Grafton's as well.

[39] Hodson, 518.

[40] Bradin Cormack and Carla Mazzio, *Book Use, Book Theory 1500-1700* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2005), 5.

tables reached an incredibly large number of readers who consistently "used," absorbed, and reacted to the information on pages of almanacs. Recognizing this vast and varied community of "users" makes clear the impact of this dualistic epistemological system—a table for travelers juxtaposed repeatedly, almost mechanically, with representations of time.

This brief bibliographic history of almanac publication demonstrates the inextricable connection between the almanac and the rise in guide-like information for travelers – between duration of time (calendar) and distance in space (the itinerant list of distances). Notably, the rise of the almanac genre in the late sixteenth century directly parallels the emergence and development of highway information for travelers in 1570. Road information and distances only begin to appear less frequently in almanacs toward the middle of the seventeenth century, after the emergence of the portable travel guide which was, at first, also only a book of distances.[41] Later versions of these guides included small maps and lists of place names, but the distance table was the dominant mode of representation for travelers until the last quarter of the seventeenth-century.[42] Even with the decrease in almanac road-tables in the mid-seventeenth century, the temporal and spatial discourses remained entwined. In 1655, cosmographer and author, Thomas Porter, published a curious volume, *A New Booke of Mapps, Being A ready Guide or Direction for any Stranger, or other, who is to Travel*, which, despite its title, bares stronger resemblance to an almanac than to a map. The text includes tables of longitude and latitude, highway tables of England, Wales, and Ireland, tables "as easie as

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[41] The first travel guide was John Norden's *England: An Intended Guyde for English Travailers* (1625), followed by various republications of it by Matthew Simons and Thomas Jenner until the 1670s. See Chapter 4 for more information.

[42] And only then after the adaptation of John Ogilby's monumental atlas of England's roads, *Britannia* (1675). Ogilby was the first to produce maps of roads, though it first appeared in a large folio volume.

an almanack," and small fold-out maps at the back. Despite such connections, Porter is careful to distance his text from the almanac genre: "I am in no way ambitious of the Title of an Almanackmaker, much less of an Astrologer; the meanesse of the former, and ignominie of the latter, being sufficient to keepe back my desires from running after either."[43] Porter's disdain of the base almanac does not, however, prevent him from including nearly all of the tables one might find in one (save, perhaps the individual months and the "anatomical man"). He explains: "This I did because I my selfe have oftener desired to know the time already past, then that which is to come, and perhaps some others may bee of my minde in this particular; and for such as care not for that, here is neare Fifty years to come, which I take to bee a competent time for a thing of this nature." Though more interested in "time already past" and, ostensibly, details for travelers and strangers, Porter feels obligated (for the sake of his readership) to include tables of time for "Fifty years to come." Amidst his critique, Porter is, nonetheless, unable to fully distance his text of travel from a book of time. Porter's reluctant inclusion of the almanac calendar echoes Edward Pond's complaint in his almanac seven years earlier regarding the use of the anatomical man. Both authors suggest the power early modern readers had in shaping the content of popular publications. With the case of Porter, his recognition that the reader of a "new booke of mapps" would also expect a table "for 100 yeares" speaks to the sustained epistemological overlap (and consumer expectation of such) between texts of time and space. Even after the travel guide begins to pull away from the almanac genre in the mid-seventeenth century, readers and users continue to imagine the two in relation to one another. This is especially crucial to recall when considering the height of almanac publication in the 1640s-1660s. Even when

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[43] "To the Reader", A2, verso.

travel guides began to circulate in England, almanac users found the blank pages of these books ideal sites of record—records which were often themselves accounts of travel.

It is not surprising that the almanac genre gave birth to the practical geographic detail of the travel guide. Inexpensive and pocket-sized, riddled with practical references and advice, the almanac was a natural medium for such information. On the other hand, given claims to the relative inutility of highway information for actual travelers, the combination of almanac calendar and highway table may not seem the most likely coupling. Guides to travel and representations of England's roadways, one might assume, would have had a more natural place among the period's growing collection of navigational treatises, chorographical texts, cartographic images, and geographic instructional manuals. Nonetheless, early modern readers received their information on local travel routes amidst lunar calculations, tide tables, and predictions of frost, leaving the modern road atlas equally indebted to temporal and spatial representational histories. As such, to suggest that early modern almanacs and prognostications were strictly temporal genres misses the essential overlap between discourses of time and space in early modern England. [44]

III. "[T]o observe matters more punctualy"

Evidence of almanac-journaling stretches back to the latter half of the sixteenth century. [45] John Dee, the Elizabethan astrologer, mathematician, and advisor to the Queen,

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[44] Other incidental connections include the following: Greene used Thomas Gallen's 1647 almanac "Usefull for the Kingdome of Great Britain: Containing Directions to such that use Marts and Fairs, also to traveilers that coast the Kingdome." This almanac appears no different from other almanacs – it is almost exactly the same as one from 1643 that is not advertised to travelers, thereby supporting the notion that the overlap was ever present; William Bourne wrote an almanac (1581-90) and advertised for his navigational guide, *A Book Called A Treasure For Travailers* (1578) at the back.

[45] The majority of extant almanac diaries from the early modern period are from the seventeenth century.

kept his records in the margins of almanacs and other texts.[46] Thomas Byng, a

Cambridge commissioner, wrote his almanac entries in a combination of Greek and

English (1587-1592).[47] A copy of Thomas Gallen's 1652 almanac is filled with the

personal notes of Sir Edward Bagot.[48] The original almanac diaries of Henry Oxinden

(1646) and Edward Nicholas (1663) are also extant.[49] Oxinden's diary is composed of a

series of brief notes, though, even in its brevity, the journal makes consistent reference to

the comings and goings of its owner and his family (only equaled by records of weather

conditions): "January 16: Mr. Love & my sist: Eliz went from my house to Feversham,"

"February 16: I was att Feversham & Charth," "March 12: Tho: cam home," "July 13

Tho: went to wie," and "November 12: The Ladie Oxinden went to London." Oxinden's

entries, unlike the more extensive narrative accounts of Samuel Pepys and John Dee, for

example, are emblematic of the great majority of extant notations included in the spaces

alongside almanac calendars.

Similar travel details appear in the almanacs of the four diarists to which I will

now turn. The memoranda of John Greene, Isabella Twysden, Walter Powell, and John

Evelyn span several years (rather than one or two as in some of the previous examples),

providing a broader archival range with which to detect patterns, trends, and particular

discourses over time. I have also chosen examples that appear entirely in the pages of

[46] See James Orchard Halliwell, ed., *The Private Diary of Dr. John Dee* (London: Printed for the Camden Society, 1842) and Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Writing and Reading in the English Renaissance*.
[47] Frank H. Stubbings, "A Cambridge Pocket-Diary 1587-1592" *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographic Society* V (1971): 191-202. Stubbings is very selective in his transcription of the diary, including only brief excerpts as they pertain to the identity of the owner. Nonetheless, he does acknowledge that typical entries include "dates of journeys and their stages" and that these "journeys start or end at Cambridge, or at Grantchester" with two examples of longer travels: "we find him visiting Wrotham in Kent, in January 1588 and June 1592" (193). While I read these as further evidence of the kind of diaries I explore here, I do not have access to the diaries or their full transcription for analysis here.
[48] Bernard Capp, "The Potter Almanacs" e*British Library Journal (e*BLJ*)*, Article 4 (2004): 1-11. Also see Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press*, 60-2.
[49] BL Add. 54333 and Add. 62927. Nicholas's account appears in cipher, much like the work of the period's most well-known diarist, Samuel Pepys.

annual almanacs rather than, as was the case with John Dee, in a variety of texts. Finally, I have been restricted by the accessibility of the diaries themselves. With the exception of John Evelyn, all of the diarists' work has been edited and published within the last one hundred years. Although E. S. De Beer's remarkable edition of Evelyn's diary continues to serve as the essential text for work on Evelyn, De Beer points out that only two of the original almanacs used by Evelyn have survived. The bulk of the diary, then, is actually a self-edited transcription begun by Evelyn in 1660. As such, I limit my analysis of Evelyn's text to entries from the two extant diaries, Dove's almanac in 1636 and Langley's 1637 volume, both of which were transcribed and edited by De Beer.[50] Collectively, the diaries of John Greene, Isabella Twysden, Walter Powell, and John Evelyn cover over one hundred-years of British history, spanning the seventeenth century. Three of the diarists wrote through the 1650s, while Evelyn kept records until his death in 1706. All four were of prominent socio-economic status: Greene lived and worked as a barrister in London; Twysden, a baroness, moved between homes in Kent and London; Evelyn, a native of Wotton, was one of the first members of the Royal Society and worked closely with Charles II; and Powell, a Welsh country gentleman, worked as a lawyer for the first half of the seventeenth-century. That these particular diaries survive is no doubt a function of the elite status of their owners. Despite being a disposable publication, the almanacs and their manuscript notations likely attracted the preservation efforts of family members, archivists, and collectors.

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[50] My choice to limit my analysis has also excluded the content of Evelyn's diaries that he used en route in his journeys abroad. During his travels in Europe in 1641 and 1643-6, he recorded his experiences as well as those of contemporaries, in his diary. De Beer notes, "Evelyn used printed and manuscript materials in his accounts of the places which he visited during his travels on the Continent and for notices of contemporary events in the later part of the Diary," adding, "That Evelyn should have drawn on other men's writings so largely was natural. In the seventeenth, as in earlier centuries, originality was valued far less than accuracy in what were intended as objective descriptions" (*The Diary of John Evelyn*, vol. 1, 85-6).

As evidenced in the brief bibliography above, many more almanacs than these were used as places to record thoughts, events, and quick calculations in early modern England, and even more have been lost to the four hundred year gap in time.[51] Nonetheless, the memoranda of these four writers offer substantial insight into the ways in which early modern English inhabitants moved through and made sense of their spatial and temporal environments. Amidst the pages of "note" and seemingly quotidian detail, a representational pattern emerges that is both evident in and driven by the organizational system at play on the pages of the almanac. Readers turn to the temporal schema of the calendar as a way of giving meaning and order to their own lives; simultaneously, the readers' entries infuse the almanac with an additional layer of significance. The give and take between almanac and reader, monthly table and marginal notation, generates two separate possibilities: first, that the local *traveler* finds the empty spaces of the almanac a suitable place of record (as a modern diarist might seek out the perfect journal, one that appeals to his or her needs and expectations as a writer); and, second, that the *almanac user* is somehow driven by the calendrical schema itself to the process of travel writing (as a modern diarist might produce a particular sort of entry based on the size or design of the journal in hand). The first possibility provided the analytic framework for the first two sections of this chapter. There I argued that the inexpensive, accessible nature of the almanac as well as the longstanding correlation between time and movement, between "books of time" and developments in local travel knowledge, rendered the almanac a logical choice for representing movement. It is the second which drives the remainder of

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[51] Though illegible and likely unidentifiable, many memoranda and marginal jottings appear on the pages of almanacs scanned and placed online on *Early English Books Online*. For example, see EEBO copies of Richard Grafton, *A litle treatise* (1571) and *A brief treatise* (1573). In his article, "What Did Renaissance Readers Write in Their Books?" William Sherman estimates the practice of marginal note-taking at higher than 20 percent (Andersen and Sauer, eds., *Books and Readers in Early Modern England* , 122).

the chapter as I inquire into the formal and conceptual elements of the local travel records themselves. Far from mere miscellany, these marginalia contain an underlying structure and produce an epistemology of movement governed by the temporal schema of the early printed almanac itself. With date and empty space juxtaposed on the page, the almanac calendar encourages the diarist to literally place him or herself in time (monthly chart) as well as in space (page and geographic location). It is this second placement, geographic location, which consumes so many of the writers, subsequently leading them to include entry after entry detailing their local movements—where and when, how long and how far.

The diary has been the subject of renewed interest in literary studies. Most recently, Dan Doll and Jessica Munns's collection, *Recording and Reordering: Essays on the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Diary and Journal*, seeks to reckon some of the critical neglect to which the diary has been subject through a series of articles that consider the diary as "a constructed form that draws upon various models from works of devotional practice to romantic novels, through which the writer's perceptions are filtered and by which they are shaped."[52] Doll, Munns, and their contributors draw on the earlier work of Rachael Langford and Russell West whose book on marginality in European history highlights this lack as well as the four trends in diary criticism: "diary as form of subjectivity, as a practice in everyday life, as an historical document and as a fictional form."[53] Indeed, the field of early diary writing more generally has largely fallen into

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[52] Daniel Doll and Jessica Munns, eds., *Recording and Reordering* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2006) 16.
[53] Rachael Langford and Russell West, eds., *Marginal Voices, Marginal Forms: Diaries in European Literature and History* (Atlanta: Rodopi, 1999) 6.

those categories.[54] For instance, Stuart Sherman's work on the diurnal form in eighteenth-

century literature, though an innovative approach to the genre, privileges narrative and

the post-Pepysian universe, suggesting that pre-Pepys diarists imagined their entries as

mere records of occasion rather than a means of tracking the passage of abstract,

continual time.[55] Although his conclusions regarding the diurnal form are convincing,

Sherman's notion that sixteenth- and seventeenth-century diarists inscribe "occasions"

rather than events in time implies a lack of structure or purpose in the entries themselves.

Critical scholarship on the almanac diary is far more limited. General historical

approaches to the almanac genre either in individual studies or through editorial work

entirely overlook the analytic potential of the texts.[56] Several scholars have noted the

existence of the travel record amidst the pages of entries: Frank Stubbings says of the

"more typical entries" in Thomas Byng's late sixteenth-century diary, "dates of journeys

and their stages" are a part (193); Bernard Capp notes, "They include accounts, travel

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[54] Robert Fothergill's book-length study on English diaries [*Private Chronicles: A Study of English Diaries* (London: Oxford University Press, 1974)] begins with the diary of Samuel Pepys and argues for the genre's literary merit, making general claims to form and literary trends. For example, Fothergill titles his chapters "The Diary as Literature," "Motive and Manner," and "Style, Tone, and Self-Projection." Other scholars writing on early modern diaries have largely tended to focus on questions of subjectivity and selfhood. Sara Heller Mendelson's important work on Stuart women's diaries and memoirs ["Stuart women's diaries and occasional memoirs," *Women in English Society, 1500-1800*, ed. Mary Prior (London: Methuen, 1985) 181-210] utilizes these texts as a way to move beyond mere historical record and in order to "learn about women from the female point of view," while more recent essays on women's diaries have refined this approach, though remain within binaries of public/private, self/other, and power/powerlessness. See: Elaine McKay, "The Diary Network in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England" *Eras Online Journal* 2 (November 2001), <http://www.arts.monash.edu.au/eras/edition _2/mckay.htm>; Effie Botanaki, "Early Modern Women's Diaries and Closets: 'Chambers of choice Mercies and beloved retirement,'" *Recording and Reordering*, Avra Kouffman, "Women's Diaries of Late Stuart England: An Overview," *Recording and Reordering*. One exception to this is Aaron Kunin's work on Lady Anne Clifford ["From the Desk of Anne Clifford" *English Literary History* 71.3 (2004): 587-608] in which he points to the fact that Clifford's diaries were mediated by servants who collaborated with her by writing down her thoughts as she dictated them. In addition, with the exception of Sherman, none of these studies considers the diary's material form as a factor in its production.

[55] Stuart Sherman, *Telling Time: Clocks, Diaries, and English Diurnal Form, 1660-1785* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996) 50.

[56] Bosanquet examines the notes in almanacs, explaining that they "give us an insight into the life and manner of the times" ("English Seventeenth-Century Almanacks," 391) while the editors of these manuscripts (Stubbings, Bradney, Bennit, and DeBeer) fail to analyze the text of the entries, many times exercising their power of omission as well.

notes, jokes and miscellaneous comments" (62). However, the "travel notes" or "dates of journeys" are, as evidenced above, typically only mentioned in long lists characterizing the content of the journals, they rarely are granted more specificity. E. M. Symonds describes some of John Greene's brief descriptions of location as mere "jottings," valuable only for "the light they throw upon the amusements and occupations of a young man about town at that period."[57] The only sustained analysis of the entries themselves appears in Alison A. Chapman's doctoral thesis in which she argues that the almanac facilitates a process of reincorporating the body into experiences of time.[58] Chapman's investment, though, is in the ways in which evidence of corporeal change (ailments, aches, and bodily pains) recorded in the almanac diary chart "how the body moves through time"—not through time *and* space. In part, the lack of critical interest in the almanac's accounts of local journeys is a direct result of the form of the entries themselves, which often only offer minimal detail in short, fragmented phrases. They lack a discernable narrative structure created through complete sentences and helpful transitions (grammatical and temporal). Even when accounts of local travel are more descriptive and reader-friendly, they do not engage in the dominant discourses of early modern travel—discovery, encounter, difference—and, as such, have failed to foster critical attention and a place in the travel archive. Nonetheless, I want to suggest that diary accounts of local journeys, however brief and however tersely articulated, produce their own epistemology of movement—one figured through *placement* rather than subjective experience.

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[57] Symonds, "The Diary of John Greene (1635-57)," no. 171, 386.
[58] Alison Chapman, *Reforming Time: Calendars and Almanacs in Early Modern England*

Of the twenty-two year period accounted for in the pages of John Greene's

almanacs, eleven of the original volumes survive.[59] They begin in 1635 when Greene was

nineteen and attending Lincoln's Inn (one of the four Inns of Court), trace through his

career as a barrister in London and conclude just two years before his death in 1659.

Through the course of the diaries, Greene mentions various means of transport (barge,

ferry, coach, and foot) as well as destinations across England (Cambridge, Oxford,

Bristow, Greenwich, Westminster, Farndon, Lancaster, York, and "the country"). Upon

the completion of a trip to Cambridgeshire in September 1644, Greene describes his

journey with striking similarity to the highway table:

> I went to Cambridge, the next night to Ely, and on Thursday to Lynne,
> where I stayed until Wednesday, and returned in one day by Ely unto
> Cambridge and the next day unto Boys. Nota: it is from Boys unto
> Cambridge full 34 miles or rather 35. It is from Cambridge accounted but
> 10 miles to Ely, but it is rather 12, whereof Denny Fen is a mile and a
> halfe very bad way, and if it be bad wether unpassable. It is also
> accounted from Ely to Lyn but 20 miles, but these are long miles, whereof
> 4 or 5 miles are over the fens betwixt Littleport and Southery Ferry, and in
> bad weather or when the spring tides are high, it is unpassable; much of
> the way beside in winter is extreme bad. The farther way from Cambridge
> to Lynn is 44 miles but a very good way.[60]

Despite its seemingly descriptive nature, Greene's account of his journey offers a limited

range of detail: location (Cambridge, Ely, Lynne), time and sequence (Thursday, "next

night," Wednesday), and distance ("full 34 miles," "a mile and a halfe very bad way").

Reading through the passage mimics an experience of reading an itinerant highway list of

destinations and distances: Greene's entry seems like a discursive rendering of the

numeric table. Even the words of caution about bad weather or road conditions are

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[59] The extant manuscripts include the years 1635, 1644-1649, 1652, and 1657. Symonds ("The Diary of John Greene (1635-57)") indicates: the 1635 almanac was by Richard Allestree; the 1643 was one of Booker's editions; and the 1647 copy was compiled by Thomas Gallen (a.k.a. Thomas Langley).
[60] Symonds, "The Diary of John Greene (1635-57)," no. 172, 601. A quick glance at John Norden's tables of distance (*England: An Intended Guyde*, 1625), examined in Chapter 4, confirms Greene's figures.

derivative of similar advice in the tables. In articulating his passage this way, Greene reveals the discursive overlap between the almanac bearing his notation and the highway table that may have been a part of it, or at least a part of past editions familiar to Greene. The travel experience—*the phenomenology of the traveler*—remains strikingly absent as even the descriptions of poor travel conditions are simultaneously invoked and distanced from his own journey: "if it be bad wether" "it is unpassable." Grammatically speaking, in both instances, dangers function as a condition of place ("is," "be"), not an element of past experience. In other words, poor travel conditions are not elements of a narrative telling; instead, they are descriptors of being, of the danger inherent in a particular locale. Greene's brief gesture toward his particular subjective experience quickly dissolves with his passive sentence construction.[61]

The impetus behind such a passage also remains telling. Amidst his account of the past, Greene gestures toward the future. He simultaneously reports on his travels and feels compelled to correct (either for himself or for other travelers) misinformation—information likely provided by the very genre he used to record his account. Several times he offers a reported distance ("10 miles to Ely," "Ely to Lyn but 20 miles") and follows with a correction ("but it is rather 12," "but these are long miles"). Presumably, Greene imagines his corrections are necessary ones—to whom, though? Himself? A future reader? Or is he merely following a convention invited by the genre itself? Regardless of his exact motivation, Greene's account of travel carefully positions the

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[61] Evidence for the intentional nature of this entry exists in a later notation in which Greene describes a travel experience of his "cozen Brockden" who, along with four fellow travelers – one of whom was "70 yeeres of age" – traveled by foot from London to "Bristow" in two days, "which is accounted 99 miles" ("The Diary of John Greene (1635-57)," no. 172, 601). In other words, here, Greene utilizes narrative sentence construction to relate a subjective experience – the difficulty involved in traveling that far by foot. Though, tellingly, the travel is not his own.

reader/traveler through a triangulation of time (date), place (town or city), and distance (miles). Greene locates, rather than tells, his journey for ease of future use. These essential coordinates of time and place, duration and distance, are of more value to a traveler (either recording past journeys or locating them for future ones) than an account of individual incidents, encounters and impressions.

On one occasion in 1647, Greene does include information regarding the subjective experience of his passage. Upon returning to London from the "Northerne circuit,"[62] he remarks, "Wee had indifferent seasonable wether, but I observed that the wether here in the South was many times very different from that wee had in the Northe, and we could many times observe that in a day's journey in some places they had very much wet, and in other places great drought."[63] In contrast to the passive construction of earlier entries, Greene offers uncharacteristic detail about the nature of the journey and weather conditions, using active, subjective descriptions such as "Wee had," "I observed" and "we could many times observe." Nonetheless, the experiential aspect of the journey remains secondary to Greene's impulse to locate. The weather does not serve as a way to color the account of his "circuit"; instead, it offers a point of comparison with which to process the result of travel. In other words, in marveling at the fact that "some places they had very much wet, and in other places a great drought," Greene communicates a fascination with the implications of his "one day's journey." In only one day he traveled far enough and at such a rate as to experience two contrasting climates. Weather is a register of movement through space in a remarkably short period of time; it indicates the *implications* of passing through temporal duration and spatial distance. As such, "wet"

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[62] Greene refers to his travels as "circuits" several times. These journeys are those taken in the context of his job as a barrister.
[63] Symonds, "The Diary of John Greene (1635-57)," no. 173, 108.

and "drought" (like August 11 and September 27) do not function as signs of experience or "travail," but they serve as additional loci or points with which Greene can place himself in space and time.

One of the most remarkable entries of a travel act in the four memoranda examined here appears in Lady Isabella Twysden's six-year collection of diaries (1645-51).[64] Although the entry itself appears to have been written on loose paper and bound with the remaining almanac volumes (thus, not written on an almanac per se) it remains consistent with the pattern evident in the remainder of the diary:[65] "the 8 febri, I came to peckham great with child, and ride all the waye a hors back, and I thank god had no hurt."[66] Twysden was, as this very brief account of her journey while "great with child" demonstrates, a highly mobile individual. Despite living in East Peckham (Kent), Twysden had a number of familial connections in Surrey and a second residence in Westminster which required that she, as well as her many family members, frequently travel between locations. Although Twysden's almanac diaries are known for their content related to the Civil War,[67] the volumes also record the movements of Twysden's own community with striking regularity in the empty spaces of the calendar's facing page. For each of the four extant volumes, between thirty and seventy percent of the entries pertain to the local movements of Twysden or her sisters, children, servants,

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[64] BL Add 34169. The almanacs which contain Twysden's diaries include John Booker's *Mercurius Coelicus: Sive Almanack et Prognositcon, vel speculum* (1647), Pond's *Almanack* (1648), John Booker's *Uranoscopia or An Almanack and Prognostication* (1649) and Capt. George Wharton's *Hemeroscopeion, or a Meteorological Diary, etc.* (1651).

[65] In addition, some of the notes on these opening pages are dated after the period in which she uses almanacs (June 1647 when she begins the almanac entries in February 1647). In other words, it appears as though Twysden may have gone back and forth between the two journal resources.

[66] Bennitt, "The Diary of Isabella," 117.

[67] Her husband, Sir Roger Twysden, a Royalist, was imprisoned in 1642-1647 by Parliamentary forces for supporting the Petition of Kent: "the 5 august my husband came to peckham where he had not ben in 5 yeare before having ben a prisoner most of that time by the parle:" (Bennitt, "The Diary of Isabella," 121).

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husband and even the King (who she refers to as K.).[68] Notations referencing these

circuits are so frequent that, in reading the diaries, it seems as though mentions of births

and deaths, accounts of troop developments, and records of debt owed and paid are mere

interruptions to the calm, consistent way in which Twysden tracks her movements as well

as those close to her.

Like John Greene, Twysden does not render the travel act as a personal

experience of movement. Her notations vacate the travel experience of a sense of process

and occurrence, focusing instead on *locating* the traveler in time and space. In 1647 she

notes: "the 7 aprill I went to nounsuch to see my father and sister and bro: Warham and

stade there tell the 12 and then I came back to our lodging in S^ت Anns Strete westmester"

(120). Occasionally, as with the account of riding horseback eight months pregnant,

Twysden also offers the means of travel: "the 18 June 1647 I came to peckham I came to

gravesend by water, and wrid home, nan and Jamme came with me" (120). In both cases,

the destination ("nounsuch," "westmester," "peckham," or "gravesend") and the dates of

travel serve as the dominant means of orientation. Arriving at Gravesend "by water" and

returning on horseback are descriptors employed to distinguish this passage from

previous ones in which she may have traveled entirely by land. As with Greene's

itinerant account of his trip to Cambridge, Twysden's record of her river/land travel

reproduces the route—one location followed by another—of her journey. The notations

are united by a sequential, though not narratively constructed, logic.

While the accounts of Twysden's local journeys appear dispersed throughout the

diaries, at times they occur with such frequency as to produce, within themselves, a list-

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[68] Travel records were as follows: for 1647, approximately 12 out of 28 or 42%; for 1648, 16 out of 50 or 32%; in 1649, 13 out of 38 or 34%; and in 1651, a surprising 38 out of 53 or 71% were travel records.

like quality. Of course, the diary's modern printed form removes the monthly divisions

between entries and exacerbates this linear, sequential effect. Nonetheless, from April to

December of 1651 Twysden writes thirty-five separate entries (1 in April, 5 in May, 4 in

June, 1 in July, 1 in August,[69] 8 in September, 6 in October, 7 in November, 2 in

December), of which thirty-three report the departure or return of a family member (the

two exceptions being an account of a storm and of the defeat of Scottish troops). For

example, for a period in September-October 1651 she writes:

> the 3 sep: my sis: cho: maide came hether and roger hir man.
> the 8 sep: my 2 neces cho: came hether from maling and there maide.
> the 16 sep my bro: cho: and his man roger dickison went to London.
> the 18 sept: my bro: cho: came home to peck: and my nephew Hugh cho:
> the 3 oct: my nephew Hugh cho: went to London.[70]

The list form highlight the repetitive nature of these entries. It simultaneously reads as a

timeline and a careful register-like record of the precise location of various individuals.

Even on the monthly divisions of the almanac where only one page is visible the

repetitiveness would communicate; four of the five lines are from September alone.

Furthermore, this grouping appears out of chronological order; it follows an earlier

sequence of dates concerning the arrival of different cousins, ending on the 27th of

September. In other words, Twysden has carefully arranged these accounts: rather than

strictly adhering to a diurnal temporal logic, she has clustered related journeys of the

Cholmley family (or Cho:).[71] The result is a sense of containment and order (or an effort

at such). In the constant circulation of members of Twysden's community, the almanac-

as-diary enables the diarist to stabilize this mobility, to still the motion of bodies by

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[69] The entry for August appears after September because she enters it upon the return of her sister in September.
[70] Reverend F. W. Bennitt, "The Diary of Isabella," 134.
[71] The abbreviation "Cho:" refers to the Cholmleys, relations of the Twysdens through Rogers's sister's husband.

locating them in space and in time on the printed page. Because the empty pages of the almanac follow a monthly rather than daily order, the diarist is left free to manipulate and arrange events as she sees fit.

In this case, the nature of Twysden's travel records respond to two separate schemas. The temporal logic of the calendar (which encourages the diarist to locate the time of an event) works in conjunction with the open spatial logic of the blank facing page (which allows for linear as well as grouped relationships). As such, Twysden is yielded the freedom to organize travels by three intersecting points: time, place, and *topic*. It is this last coordinate which takes precedence in the page for September 1651. Temporality is not absent, though; Twysden has only stepped outside the bounds of a *diurnal* logic. She continues to work within the calendrical form of the almanac to group her entries in a logical, partly chronological order. Similarly, she lists the geographic destinations (London, Peckham and Maling) for each of the Cholmley travelers.On the one hand, Twysden's record of local travel reveals the way in which the form of travel writing—a non-narrative plotting of time, place, and topic—is shaped by the form of the almanac itself—monthly calendar juxtaposed alongside an open page. On the other hand, the journeys of the Cholmely family highlight the importance of the non-narrative almanac travel record—not merely as a source of historical evidence, but as an archive with its own unique history and representational modalities. The early modern almanac encouraged writers to employ a particular kind of notational form that placed one in, rather than narrating one through, time and space.

The manipulation of almanac entries by the diarist is perhaps most evident in the process of revision as exhibited in the work of John Evelyn. An acquaintance of fellow

diarist, Samuel Pepys, Evelyn extensively edited, rewrote and expanded on his almanac diaries over a period of forty years, compiling two separate versions of his memoirs (*Kalendarium*, begun in 1660, and *De Vita Propia*, begun after 1697), though neither was ever fully completed.[72] The content of both editions mainly consists of Evelyn's travels in Europe in the 1640s, though each offers brief accounts of his early life based, as he explains in *Kalendarium*, on the notations in almanacs: "1631: …in imitation of what I had seene my Father do, I began to observe matters more punctualy, which I did use to set downe in a blanke Almanac."[73] Of the two remaining original diaries (in almanacs for 1636 and 1637, Evelyn aged 16 and 17), E. S. De Beer has transcribed their brief notations and included them with his impressive edition of Evelyn's revised diaries. The ability to compare the almanac entries with both *Kalendarium* and *De Vita Propia* allows a better understanding of how "blanks" served their users. The original entries for 1636 are scant. Just three brief notations fill out the year: on the title page, "This yere the Pestilennc was at London and at maney othe places neer / this was a ny verey drey yeare"; opposite July, "I payed my master my quartridge for me my Brother and I my selfe"; and, for the 31st of October, "my Fathr came to Lewes."[74] The entries in *Kalendarium* remain equally brief, with a view additions, the use of complete sentences and an indication of when his father left Lewes, "the 5t of November following." By contrast, in Evelyn's second attempt at a memoir, *De Vita Propia*, he makes no mention of the specific notations from the almanac; instead, he seems to have used them as skeletal elements with which to produce a short narrative description of his early years at

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[72] De Beer, "Introduction: The Diary," *The Diary of John Evelyn*, vol. 1.

[73] De Beer, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, vol. 2, 10.

[74] De Beer indicates which entries were original, deleted, and rewritten later by Evelyn. For the lines above, all were original entries with the exception of some illegible letters that I have excised for purposes of clarity. For more information, see vol. 1, 75-77.

the "Midle Temple" (*De Vita Propia* 12). The absence of his father's travels—a journey

actually expanded upon in the earlier edition—suggests that the event, place, and date

were enough to serve as a memory cues with which to base his later narrative.

Evelyn's notations in Langley's 1637 almanac are more extensive than the

previous year, though they involve significantly more revisions, edits, and deletions. Of

the original nine entries, Evelyn appears to have omitted six; five of which are references

to his local travels including "To Wotton…to Lewes" (April), "I came thence to go to

Oxford" (April), and "I cam downe in the country fro oxford wth my Tutor my brother

1637 went to Ins of court" (July) (Figure 3.8).[75] In removing these accounts of travel,

though, Evelyn does not erase them from the record; he rewrites the original terse

phrases, replacing them with more descriptive ones for a reader's ease. For example, in

place of the first two deletions in April ("To Wotton…to Lewes," "I came thence to go to

Oxford"), Evelyn writes, "The third of this month I went from the Free-Schole of Lewes

(where Mr Snatt was Master) to Wotton, in order to my going to Oxford."[76] A like pattern

of elaboration and clarification continues for the remaining entries. In *Kalendarium*,

Evelyn expands on his notations even more, filling in narrative details such as "I was sent

for from Schoole; where till about the last Yeare I had been extreamely remisse in my

studies; so as I went to the Universitie, rather out of shame of abiding longer at Schoole,

than for any fitnesse" (*Kalendarium* 16). A similar version appears in the later memoir.

Where the prepositions serve as signs of movement in the almanac diary ("to," "at"), here

they are supplemented with elements of cause and effect and insight into subjective

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[75] This figure shows the month of July, specifically the line, "I cam downe in the country fro oxford wth my Tutor my brother 1637 went to Ins of court." However, because Evelyn crossed out early entries, they are almost entirely unreadable. Nonetheless, De Beer has transcribed them and included them in his edition of the diaries.

[76] De Beer, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, vol. 1., 76.

experience—being "remisse in my studies" and feeling shame. In other words, Evelyn's reliance on his own brief accounts of journeys for his memoirs offers some perspective on the implications of this notational practice (as resources for later writings) and the functionality of almanac diaries as substitutes to subjective, narrative travel writing. Evelyn's three step process of editing and expanding his almanac notes into two memoirs demonstrates the importance of the non-narrative almanac travel record—not merely as a source of historical evidence, but as an archive with its own unique history and representational modalities. The significant contrast between almanac record and memoir excerpt allows us to see that the early modern almanac encouraged writers to employ a particular kind of notational form that placed one in, rather than narrating one through, time and space.

Like Evelyn's diaries, the archive of Walter Powell, a Welsh country gentleman, reveals elements of the relationship between the almanac diary and the memoir; here, though, the patterns emerge through suggestions of similitude rather than contrast between the two texts. In 1606 and at the age of twenty-four, Powell began a record of his life in the pages of his "blank Allmanacks."[77] For the next fifty years, Powell continued to diary the births, deaths, marriages, baptisms, medical ailments, relocations, financial transactions, and, of course, travels of himself and his family members, which he transcribed later into a "booke of ould remembrances." Though the almanacs themselves appear to be no longer extant,[78] the manuscript memoir informs us, for example, that Powell's "sonne Tho: [was] borne 21 august half an hower after 6 in ye

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[77] Joseph Alfred Bradney, ed., *The Diary of Walter Powell of Llantilio Crossenny in the County of Monmouth, Gentleman. 1603-1654* (Bristol: John Wright & Co, 1907) 5.
[78] The manuscript of the memoir is held at the National Library of Wales. Librarians at the library had no knowledge of the original almanac diaries, where they might be held, and if they still existed.

morning x'p'ned 27 Aug."; on 1 December 1617 he "road to London…& stayed there

wth my lord [The Earl of Worcester] 19 days"; on 8 November 1643 he "received 2d rent

of M'gret Rynaldes at Banney"; and that the weeks leading up to and including the entire

year of 1652 left him plagued with illness, "December 1, my right eye began to faile & I

fell sick shortly after and was like to dye at Christmas. January, I was sick all the while.

ffebruary [sic], I was sick. March, Still sick" and so forth.[79] Thus, in a series of brief

notational entries, Powell succeeds in producing a collection of what he calls

"memorandu's" or entries selected as a quick snapshot of the events of his life.

Numbered among these are Powell's local journeys in Wales. Notably, like Greene and

Twysden, Powell records only the place and time of his travels, foregoing any

experiential, narrative details like those found in Evelyn's later memoirs. In fact, the

accounts of Powell's early seventeenth-century manuscript offer the least detail of the

almanac diaries considered here; annotations are often articulated in short noun phrases

such as those for the 13th and 17th of October 1623, respectively: "at gwerne evett with

my brother, and w'th Hodge Powell" and "at Monmouth wth Wm Prich: d'd, my knee

hurt cominge home neere tavarne baughe" (12).[80] The terse locational preposition "at"

and the absence of active verbs highlights the discursive pattern used by Greene and

Twysden, whereby the travel act is reduced to its essential plot points: time and place.

Unlike Evelyn, whose memoirs served as narrative expansions of his brief diary

entries, Powell imagines his manuscript a "short breviat" or a reduction of his life as it

was recorded in his annual almanacs. The opening gloss to the manuscript explains:

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[79] The entries quoted here, as I will explain below, are from the printed manuscript, not the almanac.
[80] In complaining about a pain in his knee, Powell does not attempt to describe his experience of travel. Instead, this pain report remains consistent with his investment in tracking bodily ailments.

a booke of ould remembrances
collected by me Walter Powell
of the ages of me & my ffrindes [sic]
and children.
and of other matters happening
in my occasions, collected out of
my ould Almanacks, wch I have
filed togeather from yeare to
yeare, as in the blanks thereof
they are written more at large.
of all wch, this booke is a shorte
breviat to be carried about me
to helpe my memorie concerning
those things & upon al occasions.[81]

The inverse of Evelyn's texts, Powell's "booke of ould remembrances" shortens, rather

than expands, the annotations of his original almanacs. Powell's assertion that he has

"filed togeather" the almanacs containing his original entries is a claim he makes several

times throughout his manuscript, often referring to the almanacs, as he does here, as a

place in which his notes are "written more at large."[82] The book is, as Powell notes, "to

be carried about" suggesting that the events of Powell's life have been condensed to

allow them to fit inside the pages of a portable text. The manuscript's individual entries,

too, contain very little circumstantial, descriptive, and narrative detail. While the minimal

nature of these notations might be interpreted as evidence of Powell's editing process,

another possibility remains.[83] Given the similarities between Powell's syntactical pattern

(simple noun phrases opened with locational prepositions) and those found in the

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[81] Bradney, *The Diary of Walter Powell*, no page given (placed after the introduction and before the diary). Bradney includes "MSS. p.1" above the passage.
[82] For example (Bradney, *The Diary of Walter Powell*): "see this yeare's allmanack 4 novemb'r & 20 Jan'arij" (10); "soe in a leaf annexed to the almanack of 1621" (11).
[83] Because the actual almanacs have not survived, discursive analysis offers a way to link the memoir to its predecessor.

almanacs of John Greene, Isabella Twysden, and John Evelyn, it is likely that Powell maintained the integrity of the almanac entries themselves, preserving their distinct discursive patterns in the later manuscript. Less a reflective, reader-friendly narrative memoir of the sort Evelyn produced, Powell's "booke" proceeds solely for the purpose of its author (and possibly members of the Powell family) and, as such, omits narrative details that would instill the entries with a sense of cause and effect, context, and subjectivity. Powell's "short breviat," like his almanac diaries, sufficiently and successfully tracks its owner's travels across England and Wales—not as a "traveler" per se, but as a sequence of places and dates that, over the course of the manuscript, map a life-long pattern of travel rendered through geographic and temporal location. Powell, like other almanac diarists, forgoes the experiential in favor of plotting the components of movement itself. Powell's travels are, as his manuscript notations indicate, evidenced through changes in place ("at gwerne evett" then "at Monmouth") that are mediated through changes in time (October 13 then October 17). Reading these together— time/place A and time/place B—represents and even mimics an experience of movement for the reader, moving from one time and place to another as Powell himself traveled.

In both form and content, the local travel notations of Walter Powell, John Evelyn, Isabella Twysden, and John Greene substantiate two claims: that the empty spaces of almanac calendars served as fitting sites for recording travel; and that the form of the page itself—organized by monthly chart, often with a facing blank page— structured, guided, and governed *particular* discourses of travel which plotted, rather than narrated, instances of local movement. The pairing of time and place on the calendar page renders the almanac diaries less a reflection of a subjective experience (as "diary" might

connote) than a unique product of discursive mapping more akin to the chart, historical record, or map. Such representational patterns ask us to shift the terms of value by which we imagine almanacs "disposable" and almanac diaries as imperfect records of occasion or windows into daily life. Evidence of early modern almanac diary writing revises the teleology that assumes a natural progression from note to narrative, almanac notation to commonplace book or memoir. However, it is precisely the conspicuous absence of narrative detail in the diaries of Powell, Evelyn, Twysden, and Greene that has acted as a deterrent, discouraging scholarly analysis of these texts. Notwithstanding that lack, the interaction of almanac book, calendar, writer and reader yields rich representational detail and insight into the ways in which available discourses of time and space shaped records of travel. Far from the mere scribbling of Brome's "swains," almanac notations produced an alternative epistemology of travel—one not mediated through narrative progression and individual perspective, but instead through a discursive practice that highlights movement over experience, and travel over the traveler. In a similar vein, the seventeenth-century travel guide—a genre that was itself derived from the almanac—utilizes a distinctive, non-narrative mode of representing travel. These guides, like almanacs, plot the journey by pairing individual coordinates; unlike books of time, however, travel guides focus on space, measuring the geographic distance between locations as a means of charting, or tabulating, travel.

Chapter 4
Tabulating "Travail" in English Travel Guides

I. "[T]he true use of Mappes"

Thomas Blundeville's address to his readers in *A Briefe Description of Universal Mappes and Cardes, and of their Use* (1589) offers a terse though telling perspective on both the growing popularity and increasing frequency of map-reading practices in Tudor England: "I Daylie see many that delight to looke on Mappes, and can point to England, France, Germanie, and to the East and West Indies, and to divers other places therein described" (A3, verso). The ability of these "lookers" to identify nearby European kingdoms as well as the map's more recent additions (the West Indies and "divers other places") reminds us of the spread of a new kind of literacy in late sixteenth-century England—cartographic literacy.[1] By 1589, the map's newly "discovered" regions and

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[1] In England, Christopher Saxton published the first set of county maps in 1574 (in service of the Elizabethan—or Lord Burghley's—project of surveying the entire kingdom), producing the first atlas by an Englishman five years later with *An Atlas of the Counties of England and Wales* (1579). Saxton's county maps had greater reach and impact than any other English maps to date, extending outside London into University centers, towns, and villages with unprecedented influence for nearly one hundred years from their original publication date. Though the extensiveness of map circulation and ownership remains unclear, the socio-cultural impact of such rapid and widespread dissemination of cartographic and geographic knowledge is certain. Catherine Delano-Smith (*English Maps: A History*) has suggested that the 1570s acted as a kind of turning point in British cartographic history, marking the publication of the first English atlas, great royal interest in measuring and surveying the land of the entire kingdom, the printing of wall maps of Saxton's images, as well as the greater European developments begun by Mercator and Ortelius. P.D.A. Harvey suggests that "Saxton's maps achieved a crucial breakthrough in general understanding," as they were sold all over England (Midlands, Wales, London) and reprinted in a number of different forms, including playing cards and tapestries [*Maps in Tudor England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993) 64]. Delano-Smith also notes that Saxton's pricey atlas and map of England (though not his less expensive county sheet maps) were part of a map collection owned by Cambridge scholar, Andrew Perne, in the late sixteenth century ["Map Ownership in Sixteenth-Century Cambridge: The Evidence of Probate Inventories" in *Imago Mundi* 47 (1995): 67-93]. The influence of Saxton's maps also extends far into the seventeenth-century; his work was resized or used as the basis for maps in William Camden's *Britannia* (1607), John Norden's *Speculum Britanniae* (1593), John Speed's *Theater* (1611),

lands of burgeoning commercial enterprise were not only already recognizable to many, but they were also consumable by a sizable public.[2] Improvements in nautical technology coincided with the increasing systematization of cartographic knowledge, which found a ready market of consumers as a result of the printing press and emergent trade networks. Blundeville's map-lookers were part of a greater cultural moment of late sixteenth-century mathematical, geographic and navigational development.

Left unaccounted for, however, are what map-viewers actually saw when they "delighted" in visual representations of England's counties, European states, bodies of water, and the islands of the West Indies. While Blundeville reminds us that they did, in fact, recognize these regions—enough to "point to England, France, Germanie, and . . . to divers other places"—his complaint (and justification for the publication of this "briefe description") that follows suggests that early modern map-reading also produced a crisis of knowing. Blundeville explains: "but yet for want of skill in Geography, they knowe not with what maner of lines they are traced, nor what those lines do signifie, nor yet the true use of Mappes in deed" (A3, verso). English map-"lookers" may have confidently identified their native island on the two-dimensional page, but, according to Blundeville, they "kn[e]we not" its significance nor the "true use" of the map. Looking, Blundeville seems to suggest, pales in comparison to other modes of informed engagement. Readers of maps had to bring a certain degree of mathematical and geographical expertise to the

Michael Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* (1612), Thomas Jenner's republication of John Norden's travel guide (1643), Hollar's "Quartermaster's Map" also printed by Thomas Jenner (1644), and Robert Morden's *A Pocket Book of all the Counties of England and Wales* (1680).

[2] My sense of the map-reading public is more broadly defined than the elite, highly educated and literate users of atlases and maps. Rose Mitchell has recently argued that map-use in sixteenth-century law courts and legal practice suggests a much broader geographic wake of map literacy among a wider range of people. She notes that village elders and neighbors of citizens involved in legal disputes were often asked to witness or even produce maps of the land in question. See "Maps in Sixteenth-Century English Law Courts," *Imago Mundi* 58: 2 (2006): 212-219.

image in order to fully grasp its significance. Thus, Blundeville imagines his text's purpose as pedagogical: "to instruct those that have not studied Geographie . . . I thought it good to write this little Treatise" (A3, verso). As this chapter will demonstrate, Blundeville's effort to school his readers in the meaning and use of maps is not unique; rather, it is part of a larger body of early modern map texts that reveal—through their own attempts to concretize and isolate "true [map] use"—how remarkably unstable and malleable a map's meaning and form was to its late-sixteenth and seventeenth-century "lookers," viewers, readers, and, as this chapter explores, travelers.[3]

Blundeville's text does not offer, of course, a "true" sense of how maps were or were not used in early modern England; rather, his initial complaint draws attention to the existence of multiple, possibly competing practices of map-reading, map use, and spatial understanding that are especially salient when considered in the context of movement. Blundeville's representation of the *problem* of map-looking offers a compelling and likely possibility—that practices of map use, like travel, developed unique and significant relationships to their socio-cultural contexts and users. Expanding our notion of map literacy to include the practices of those "wanting" in geographic or mathematical skill, local travelers, passing lookers, and the generally curious allows us to ask a different set of questions regarding how early modern people represented, read and moved through their spatial environments. In the seventeenth century, travel and mapping had not yet

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[3] In isolating Blundeville's use of the word "looking," I do so simply to draw attention to the nature of his critique and efforts to stabilize the significance of an inherently fluid representational system – spatial mapping. However, because this project is invested in broadening our notions of how maps were used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, particularly in relation to travel, I avoid taking on discourses which reassert hierarchical notions of "proper" map use. As I will demonstrate in my analysis of early modern travel guides, "reading" and "viewing" cannot connote as distinct processes as the guides employ a number of different textual and imagistic discourses – map, table, list, and description. I argue that recognizing map-use more generally as a process that involves various types and degrees of conceptual engagement is critical to a closer understanding of how maps functioned within and spoke to early modern English society.

formed a natural alliance. Despite the seemingly obvious relationship between cartographic image and geographic journey–whereby maps served as aids and references during the actual trip–pocket sized, accurate maps of a traveler's route did not begin to circulate in England until late in the seventeenth century. As Catherine Delano-Smith and Donald Hodson have pointed out, owners of bound atlases, world maps, regional images, and even early road books and travel guides rarely brought these texts with them on the road; instead the "practical" limits of these texts lay in their occasional use as references before embarking on a journey.[4] Despite the seeming use*less*ness of early modern maps in the act of travel, this chapter examines the close epistemological and representational overlap between spatial images and movement.[5]

The seeming divorce between maps and travel had not always been the case. By the turn of the seventeenth century, many of the monsters, sea creatures, ships, and other signs of voyaging that filled the spaces of fourteenth-, fifteenth-, and sixteenth-century

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[4] Catherine Delano-Smith, "Maps and Travel" in *English Maps: A History* (University of Toronto Press: Toronto, 1999), 142-78 and "Milieus of Mobility" in *Cartographies of Travel and Navigation*, ed. James Akerman (The University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 2006), 16-68. In his doctoral thesis, *The Early Printed Road Books and Itineraries of England and Wales*, Hodson says that the road books' persistent use of dated information suggests that they were used "as nothing more than a useful commodity to fill out the prognostication, where their purpose was to project a spurious air of familiarity with far-off places and with travel, to flatter and beguile the purchaser, and were certainly not for practical use…. [T]hey were used by the public to a very limited extent." Here I will argue that his notion of "practical" and utility is limiting and prevents recognition of the significance of these texts to alternate travels, those not intended to be on the road, but at home.

[5] In his chapter on chorography and narrative in *Maps and the Writing of Space in Early Modern England and Ireland* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), Bernhard Klein also asks "What, from a contemporary perspective, was the use value of a map?" In answering this question, however, Klein focuses more on the informational aspects of early modern maps, citing Cyprian Lucar's description of what a map should contain (local detail) (139). Klein then uses this description to make a compelling connection to narrative, specifically chorography, arguing that it is a genre that "contains much of the type of information Lucar claimed to belong to the domain of the map" (140). While I agree with Klein's nuanced way of seeing different voices in maps and of getting away from the singular ideal of a map, I ask questions regarding map use to focus on what representations of map-use and map-*users* tell us about travel, rather than arriving at an argument about chorography and space.

maps began to disappear.[6] Lines of latitude and longitude, compass roses, map keys, and, in some cases, the empty space of land and sea replaced these visual artifacts of "pre-scientific" map production. Scholars such as J. B. Harley have argued that these "silences on maps" speak as loudly as filled spaces: "[M]aps … exert a social influence through their omissions as much as by the features they depict and emphasize."[7] While Harley's argument here focuses largely on representations of the North American landscape (and the erasure of Native Americans from it), his idea of the significance of *absence* speaks to all regions of the map. In remarking on the phenomenon of growing absence in *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Michel de Certeau explains, "But the [late seventeenth-century to modern day] map gradually wins out over these figures; it colonizes space; it eliminates little by little the pictural [sic] figurations of the practices that produce it."[8] De Certeau reads the omission of "pictural figurations" of boats, ships, and travelers as a sign of the map's power over space—it has created a fiction of absence by removing the conditions of its possibility. These "practices that produce[d]" maps, though—whether the transoceanic travels of pre-modern voyagers or the journeys on horseback and foot by

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[6] For example, many sixteenth-century maps included ships in the waters of the map. Anthony Ashley's translation of Lucas Waghenaer's *The Marriner's Mirrour* (1588) offers several maps of important waterways in Europe, each riddled with images of (Dutch) vessels. The manuscript maps in Lord Burghley's collection of Saxton's atlases in the British Library have a number of vessels surrounding the coastline. Sir Frances Drake's voyage to Cartagena in 1589 (manuscript map, Newberry Library) not only depicts groups of ships in the Atlantic Ocean, but it also includes a large fish in the lower left-hand corner. Portolan maps produced by the Portoguese, the Italians, and the English are riddled with small ships, particularly as they enter ports and navigate dangerous sand bars (National Maritime Museum). The early seventeenth-century, however, began to emphasize geographic detail and mathematical accuracy, thereby, as de Certeau claims, removing the travel from the map (consider Speed and Norden for example). One exception to this trend is the images of river nymphs on Drayton's maps in *Poly-Olbion*, 1612. While England's rivers functioned as critical passageways to all regions of the island, the river nymphs functioned more as a mark of the nation's historio-mythic past than a sign of river travel. Other exceptions are the many views of London that are published from the 1580s onward in which the Thames traffic, arguably, dominates otherwise static scene of London buildings and streets.
[7] Harley, J. B., "Maps, Knowledge, and Power," Paul Thaxton, ed. ,*The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2001), 67-9.
[8] *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 121.

English cartographers—were not entirely absent from the cartographic product itself. While many more ornate seventeenth-century maps and atlases favored the line over the ship, tending toward the "colonization of space" that de Certeau identifies with modern cartography, "travail" and mapping remained tightly yoked—discursively, conceptually, and visually—in the maps, guidebooks, and advice tracts of seventeenth-century England. The interaction and intersection between cartographic discourse and travel evidenced in these texts suggests more of an exchange than de Certeau's genealogy allows. If the erasure of travel images on seventeenth-century maps indicates the process by which maps begin to eliminate the "practices that produce[d]" them, and if maps had not yet found their way into the pockets of English travelers, the travel guide stands as a means of examining the ways in which map-texts engaged with—rather than distanced themselves from—movement in early modern England. I argue that John Norden's 1625 *England. An Intended Guyde For English Travailers* and the books born of Norden's guide collectively produce a nearly century-long, alternative textual, spatial, and cartographic history. The unique seventeenth-century hybrid genre, the travel guide, bridges the gap between the cartographic and the phenomenological and, in so doing, introduces an alternative discourse of spatial representation which revises two critical assumptions: first, that early modern maps were not regularly used in the context of travel; and, second, that cartographic history and travel studies fail to intersect (save a few examples of medieval itinerant maps) until the emergence of road atlases in the late seventeenth century, and only then in very limited contexts. In addressing these lines of inquiry, I begin in reverse, first considering the travel guide's representational schemas which are, as its genre implies, directly implicated in notions of movement, concluding

with what this revised history tells us about map (or guide) use in the context of travel
and a growing national consciousness in early modern England.

II. "[T]he Direction of Travellers"

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, guides to travel—texts that
purported to offer guidance (however loosely) to travelers of various sorts—assumed a
number of different guises: advice treatise, anti-travel tract, itinerary, almanac,
chorography, road book, and satiric pamphlet, among others.[9] Many of the earliest
publications emerged out of humanism, focusing on general advice-giving and
suggestions for what to look for and avoid during one's travels. These texts omitted
information such as distances between towns, landmarks, and route directions.
Publications such as Jerome Turler's *The Traveiller* (1575, translated from German),
Justus Lipsius's *A Direction for Travailers* (1592, translated from Dutch/German), Sir
Thomas Palmer's *An Essay on the Meanes how to make our Trauailes, into forraine
Countries, the more profitable and honourable* (1606), and Francis Bacon's "Of Travel"
in *The essayes or counsels, civill and morall* (1625) speak to a highly educated, if not
elite, readership of would-be journeyers. For Turler, travel is an exercise "not to be taken
into hand by all sorts of persons, or unadvisedly, but by such as are meete thereto";
Bacon's "young man" traveling abroad must have previous knowledge of the language
and a tutor or servant to quiz him on his daily experiences in "Travaile" (102); and
Palmer answers the call of "the yonger sort of such noble gentlemen [travelers]" by

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[9] The trouble with categorizing the travel guide genre is evident in the British Library's catalogue system.
John Norden's guide is in the rare book collection while the subsequent editions of his guide are listed are
categorized as "road atlases" (despite the fact that most make no reference to any route or road) and stored
as a part of the map reading room's collection of materials (probably because they contain pictorial maps).

offering a "perfect rule for Travailing" such that their experiences will be "more profitable and honorable" ("To the Reader"). The "travails" of these readers, though, are of an elite—in actual practice they have the privilege of foreign journeying and in reading they prepare themselves for their own humanist education. All evince little interest in "mapping" travels for their readers.

Navigational texts such as William Bourne's *A Booke called the Treasure for traveilers* (1578) and Anthony Ashley's *The Mariner's Mirrour* (1588, translated from Waghenaer's 1583 Dutch edition) also purported to offer pedagogical-like guidance on the use of navigational instruments (astrolabes, compasses, cross staffs) and skills (measurement, wayfinding) by combining practical instruction with map images and charts.[10] Though, as Bourne states in his own book of treasures, navigation refers specifically to experiences of "sayling on the Sea" rather than journeying by land within England's shores (***iii, recto). Moreover, while these navigational guides may have been marketed to English travelers, England's locales were far from their focus. The maps included in Ashley's book were still in the original Dutch, and Bourne's list of sites of longitude and latitude balance the cities in England and Scotland with "principall places in Europe, as in Spaine and Portugal, and France, and Italie and Germanie, &c."[11]

Nonetheless, there existed a number of more modestly priced, widely varied texts invested in "mapping" England for its local travelers. As I argued in Chapter 3, the itinerant lists of highways, distances, and towns so familiar to general sixteenth-century

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[10] This "wayfinding" is in contrast to the travel treastises of Bacon, Turler, and others which emphasized the effects or benefits of travel. It is important to note that while the navigational texts represent themselves as being of use to "actual" travelers and seamen, the exact use of these texts remains less clear. I would argue that for many users of geographic/travel texts such as these, reading is both a process of learning about navigating one's journey and an experience of travel in and of itself – much like map-use.

[11] Bourne, Book II, cc.iii, recto.

almanacs continue into the seventeenth century, eventually finding their way into texts

specifically designed for local travel. By the beginning of the seventeenth century,

encyclopedic lists of market towns, post routes, streets, and inns near and around London

also began to circulate, claiming to be the traveler's, stranger's and countryman's "true"

help.[12] "Road books"—a genre described by Sir Herbert George Fordham in his

extensive early twentieth-century bibliography—offered readers details and distances

regarding England's well-traveled highways and thoroughfares.[13] These books comprised

of an amalgamation of textual mediums: almanacs, guides, atlases, tables, and treatises.

Though many of these texts do not feature topographical maps, they all participate in a

general culture of "mapping" through their use of charts, lists, text, and image.

The most well-known example of a road book is John Ogilby's *Britannia*—a

massive collection of itinerant road maps published in 1675 for King Charles II. Often

cited as the first English road atlas, Ogilby's text was likely never used as such. As

Garrett Sullivan has convincingly argued, the utility of this "road atlas" is misleading

and, indeed, anachronistic. Its considerable size alone would have prevented users from

taking the massive collection of maps on the road.[14] As Sullivan explains, "If *Britannia*

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[12] In 1637 John Taylor publishes *The Carrier's Cosmographie* in which he lists, in alphabetical order, the regular stops of post carriers and wagons. The text was the first of its kind, though not a first for Taylor who printed his *Travels and Circular Perambulation* through London the year before. While this text does not directly reference an audience of travelers, it offers, much like *The Carrier's Cosmographie*, an "Alphabeticall Description, of all the Taverne Signes in the Cities, Suburbs, and Liberties." Cartographic listing also emerged around the same time as Taylor's pamphlets. In 1633 and 1640, two maps or views of London offered "The Countrey-mans, or Strangers ready helpe, in his finding out of Streets, Lanes, or Places in *London*; they being Alphabetically plated with figures directing to them where they are in the Mappe" [*The Cittie of London*, 1640, BL Maps 184.g.2. (1)].

[13] Fordham, *Road Books & Itineraries of Great Britain, 1570-1850*, (Cambridge University Press: London, 1924) and "The Earliest Tables of the Highways of England and Wales, 1541-61" (*The Library*, vol. 8, 1928: 349-54).

[14] Additionally, Ogilby's own claim of purpose – that he "attempted to Improve Our Commerce and Correspondancy at Home"– is duplicitous. On the one hand, "Commerce and Correspondancy" might function pragmatically by alluding to the rising frequency and increasing regularity of England's network of post riders, one which relied heavily on established roadways. On the other, Ogilby's aim to "improve"

does not respond to the claims of utility that we want to make of a road atlas, it is still multiply efficacious, its uses merely being located elsewhere than we might expect to find them" (26).[15] Interestingly, years after *Britannia* was published, an advertisement appeared in a smaller, less expensive publication of the material from *Britannia*, citing the limitations the atlas posed for its potential consumers as reason for this newer edition: "the Charge of Engraving the Maps had so Enhanced the Price of the Book, that it came into few Hands and especially the Bulk of it rendred it unfit for the use it seems to have been purposely Compiled, I mean the Direction of Travellers" (*The Traveller's Guide*, 1699). Where *Britannia* has served as the inaugural text for many studies of early modern English cartography and journeying, in my genealogy it functions as an end point.[16] Rather than figure Ogilby's work as the beginning of a long tradition of travel map-making, this chapter steps back from the road as a conceptual focus to consider a number of earlier map-texts that were engaged in equally compelling questions of space, measurement, and movement.

It is these texts—an archive of guide publications addressed to the working classes, laborers, and strangers of England rather than the elite—that form the evidentiary core of this chapter. Moreover, in reading early travel guides, I work against the notion of

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these communication networks is also a stately one, designed for King Charles II as a sign of England's economic and political potential. However, the first "portable" version of Ogilby's text did not actually contain any of his topographical maps; these did not appear until 1699 (*The Traveller's Guide*). The earlier "useful" version of the atlas, *Mr. Ogilby's Tables of his Measur'd Roads* (1676), contained the distances and orientation of towns from *Britannia* in table form (like Norden fifty years earlier).

[15] Sullivan, unpublished article, "The Atlas as Literary Genre: Reading the Inutility of John Ogibly's *Britannia*"(1998). I am grateful to Garrett for sharing this earlier work with me.

[16] Although Delano-Smith speaks to an exhaustive array of cartographic texts related to travel from the medieval period to the twentieth century—manuscript itineraries, portolans, rutters, topographical maps, plans, and road books—the historical nature of her work on the development of these texts suggests a kind of linear progression from itinerary to topographical map and road book to road map. While it is clearly not the intent of the chapter to articulate such a historical argument, the overall effect—in looking for and reading roads on maps—highlights (rather than distancing, or broadening) the association between cartography, roadways, and travel.

a singular historical trajectory of travel maps that moves from medieval itineraries (such as those produced by Matthew Paris) to early modern road maps;[17] instead, I seek a wider, more variant genealogy of the relationship between mapping, space, and journeying. Anachronistic assumptions whereby we imagine the highway as sole carrier of issues related to local journeying and mapping have narrowed our scholarly attention, leading us to focus on road or route, rather than texts equally invested in spatial representation and travel. Of particular interest are those many early modern map images, map books, and "guides" which purport to be of extreme use, "very necessary" (Jenner 1657), or a "direction" (Simmons 1635) for travelers, yet lack the kind of bird's eye view or direct invocation of the road that one might expect out of a travel map.[18] These texts expand our notion of map users as well as map uses. Indeed, some even challenge familiar notions of what maps look like. Particularly prolific in the years leading up to Ogilby's publication, distance tables, charts, and non-narrative description such as that found in travel guides figured in equally critical ways in forging the relationship between movement and space in early modern England.

With the rise in surveying practices and mathematical discourses throughout the seventeenth century, attempts to systematize the social and geographic landscape of England through guides that included maps, charts, numbers, and alphabetic lists are not entirely surprising; however, both the variety of methods employed and ways in which travel guides responded to contemporary cartographic representations of space reveal a

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[17] While the itinerant tradition remains influential throughout the early modern period in narrative as well as visual texts , it also undergoes a number of critical changes, many of which are seen in Ogilby's atlas. *Britannia* takes the spatial orientation of the itinerary, lining each page of the folio with numbers of vertical strips or routes along roadways. However, where itineraries outlined general *routes* – typically omitting specific highways – Ogilby's maps are of *roads*.
[18] It is these same texts that also claim to be for a different readership than Saxton, Speed, and Ogilby: "for strangers, countrymen….".

more complex and self-conscious engagement with the mapping of *movement* than has been previously attributed to these less expensive, non-narrative publications intended for "every man." As such, while prose advice manuals and navigational treatises offer important insight into English travel more generally, non-narrative, *local* travel guides combine prose text with chart and map to produce their own unique representations of three-dimensional space on the two-dimensional page. While the earliest manifestation of these guides (1625) deploys a tabular arrangement of numerical calculations to represent the space of England, later editions in 1635, 1636, 1643, 1657, 1662, 1668, and 1677 juxtapose these tables with pictorial maps and alphabetical lists, creating a discursive and sometimes literal overlap between modes of representation. By tracing the publication history of these guides in conjunction with representations of their use-value, we approach a clearer understanding of how sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English travelers may have used their maps, whether tabular, textual, and topographical. John Norden's *England. An Intended Guyde* not only initiates and inspires a uniquely phenomenological cartographic tradition; its particular representational mode derives from the guide's "intention" to serve "English Travailers" *in* England.

III. "[T]he distance you may finde"

While London's sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century printing houses published a vast array of texts, pamphlets, and images claiming to offer "direction," "description," "ready help," and "guidance" to travelers, none actually brandished the name "guide" in their title until John Norden published *England. An Intended Guyde, For*

English Travailers in 1625.[19] Although its use as a descriptor of a printed book may have

been relatively new, "guides" were familiar to early modern English people. Human

guides had long been associated with the journey experience, both foreign and domestic.

Medieval pilgrimages to sites in England, Spain, and the Middle East typically involved

the employment of one or more guides as roads were not always clearly marked,

maintained, or even existent along the routes to holy places. These practices continued

well into the seventeenth-century, including in England, where one's knowledge of the

geography of a place was often specialized and focused on a neighborhood, town, or

familiar routes between places. Norden's "guide" to England would seem to imply that,

as the author, Norden enjoyed a knowledge-based authority over the kingdom's

geography and his book's information. However, he references his own status as a

"stranger in so many parts of the Kingdome," revealing that it was impossible for him to

represent all regions of England with perfect accuracy.[20] By 1625, England's own

unfamiliar places, it seems, necessitated the creation of a *textual* (rather than human)

guide to travel.

As an accomplished surveyor, chorographer, and mapmaker, Norden created his

guide at the close of a long and, as he often defined it, arduous life-journey.[21] The middle

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[19] The OED does not offer an example of the use of the noun form of "guide" (as a book) before 1617. The verb form, however, in which "guide" refers to the act of guiding has references from the fourteenth century. Similarly, the noun "guide," referring to a person or a subject position, was first used in 1362. In other words, Norden's innovations in the text begin with the very naming of it; his text was not only one of the first to be called a "guide," but the book's name also played on the use of human guides during journeys.

[20] John Norden, *England. An Intended Guyde*, "To all kinde Gentlemen and Others." None of the travel guides contains page numbers. I will reference the corresponding county, table, or address as a way to indicate page location.

[21] For a useful summary of Norden's life and career, see Frank Kitchen's "John Norden (c. 1547–1625): Estate Surveyor, Topographer, County Mapmaker, and Devotional Writer," *Imago Mundi* 49 (1997): 43-61. Kitchen includes an appendix in which he lists these dates and other details concerning Norden's county maps (60): Northamptonshire (1591), Surrey (1594/6), Essex (1594), Hampshire (1595/6), Sussex (1595/6), Kent (1595/6), Hertfordshire (1598), and Cornwall (1604?).

decades of Norden's career were spent in a delicate though ultimately losing battle with royal patrons. William Cecil (Lord Burghley) had initially supported Norden's desire to succeed Saxton's monumental collection of county maps by updating them and adding chorographical descriptions, but, as Norden quickly discovered, Burghley's support lacked financial backing, leaving him to fund his endeavor with estate surveying and devotional writing.[22] In the end, while Norden only completed the first part of *Speculum Britanniae* (the portion on Middlesex), he published his study of Hertfordshire in 1598 and is responsible for creating a number of county maps (many of which were used by Camden and Speed). These county maps were also the first to include visible roadways. At the age of seventy-eight and in the same year of his death,[23] Norden succeeded in publishing, if not an extensive chorographical and cartographic representation of England, a guide to its "perticular Townes, and their severall distances."[24] Norden chose to portray the "shire-townes," "cities," and "principall Townes" of England and Wales through a tabular, rather than pictorial arrangement—leaving out the very county maps he himself produced. Tables of distance, Norden seems to suggest, are of more *use* to "vulgar" audiences than bird's eye views of highways, rivers, and geographic elements.

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[22] Lord Burghley was one of England's earliest and most important patrons of maps. With the increasing threat posed by the Spanish and the possibility of invasion, Burghley recognized the potential usefulness of the information maps provided for military purposes. He encouraged and financially backed the county-map efforts of Laurence Nowell in the mid-sixteenth century and Christopher Saxton a few decades later in 1579 with *An Atlas of the Counties of England and Wales* which marked the publication of the first Enlgish. Copies of the Nowell-Burghley (Add MS 62540) and the Burghley-Saxton (Royal MS 18.D.iii) atlases are at the British Library.

[23] As Frank Kitchen notes, Norden's exact birth date is unknown, though it is assumed to be sometime around the year of Henry VIII's death, 1547 (43).

[24] Norden, *England. An Intended Guyde*, "To all kinde gentlemen and others, who have occasion to make use of these Tables or any of them."

Modestly sized (the three quarto editions held by the British Library range from 7

½" - 8" by 9" - 10"[25]), *England. An Intended Guyde, For English Travailers* opens with a

brief address "To all kinde gentlemen and others, who have occasion to make use of these

Tables or any of them" and follows with a series of triangular tables resembling a modern

train or bus schedule (Figure 4.1). Each of the thirty-nine county tables as well as the two

larger folded tables of England and Wales list their towns on the vertical and horizontal

axis.[26] Numbers stand at the point of intersection between each pair of locations to

represent the distance between them. In a thorough study of the history of cartography

and its relationship to journeying, Catherine Delano-Smith cites Norden's guide as

evidence of the distance table genre, briefly contextualizing it within the larger tradition

of itinerant distance mapping: "The distance tables were not itineraries…and the

information presented was not geographically sequential but discrete, a scatter of isolated

points" (57).[27] While Delano-Smith rightly notes the absence of a distinct geographical

orientation in the tables, her dismissal of them as "a scatter of isolated points" misses a

crucial order underlying their construction. That these points are isolated, geographically

speaking, is true. However, far from "scattered," the numeric points are united by a

unique relational logic governed by the mapping of travel. In using distance

measurements to represent the geographic space of each county, Norden's points record

movement *through* space over time rather than locating a town *in* space and time (as

almanac diarists did). In the county of Lancashire, for example, twenty-six miles marks

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[25] BL, C.77.d.16; G.15961; and 577 h.27 (1.). For purposes of continuity, I focus on C.77.d.16. Pages are printed back to front with the pull-out maps secured on the appropriate page. I mention this printing technique because the later editions include several blank pages or were only printed on one side, much like almanacs, in which blank pages were designed to encourage interaction, diary writing, record-keeping, etc.
[26] The county of Yorkshire is also printed on a larger folded piece of paper.
[27] Delano-Smith, "Milieus of Mobility." By contrast, Fordham considers them "near enough to itineraries to be grouped with them" (*Road-Books of Great Britain*, viii).

the distance separating Lancaster from Bolton (Figure 4.2). On Norden's table, the boxed

number "26" in the first column, twentieth row, casts these two towns in relation to one

another on the space of the page and in the imaginative space of England's landscape,

regardless of exact, accurate geographic placement. Lancaster and Bolton become part of

a different spatial equation in which origin and destination, rather than geographic

orientation, establish a sense of order. Norden's notation "26" is the result of (and

potentially the impetus for) travel, movement between Lancaster and Bolton recorded

through a numerical "discourse" of mileage. The lines of the table provide guidance

toward a "destination," much like the physical assistance a human guide might offer a

traveler.

Should this logic have proven challenging to readers, Norden also included brief

instructions on "The use of this Table" on each page:[28]

> …the distance you may finde in the names of the Townes in the upper part
> and in the side, and bring them in a square as the lines will guide you: and
> in the square you shall finde the figures which declare the distance of the
> miles…It is familiar and easie. / Beare with defectes, the use is
> necessarie. // Invented by JOHN NORDEN.[29]

While Delano-Smith has noted Norden's error in claiming that he invented this particular

tabular arrangement, the use of repeating distance tables as a means of representing

England's cities, shires, and towns was nonetheless likely to have been a new visual

experience for English viewers.[30] It was not so new, however, as to prevent readers from

finding the tables, as Norden puts it, "familiar and easie." The familiarity of this

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[28] The order of the tables varies in each of the three editions, though all follow a general alphabetical order.
[29] Sample of instructions included with each county page. The tables of England and Wales have their own
specific versions.
[30] Delano-Smith points out that German mapmakers had been using the triangular distance table for nearly
a half-century before Norden learned about the practice from his friend, William Smith, who had lived in
Nuremberg ("Milieus of Mobility," 55-6).

representational mechanism likely derives from genres such as the almanac in which the use of tables, charts, and symbols were common practice for organizing relevant, practical information such as tide changes, the lunar calendar, and astrological data.[31] Further, given that these popular publications were also among the earliest texts to include information regarding distances between places in England, the overlap between the two genres and reading communities remains especially likely. Readers of almanacs, too, would be accustomed to "defects" in calculation—predictions regarding weather, farming conditions, health and other astrological data struck a careful balance between fact and fiction. Like the almanac, Norden anticipates that his guide "shall fall into the hands of many, of all partes of the Kingdome."

Norden's publication was also unique in both the nature of its guide-like content and its convenient size. In his address to the "kind gentlemen and others," he expresses regret at not being able to enlarge "the generall" and the "particular Tables" with more "copious" lists of towns and shires, explaining, however, that doing so enabled him to avoid "cutting in Copper…which would which would be more tedious and more chargeable." Instead, Norden circulated a "portable book." Whether the readers had enough familiarity with printing practices to understand the significance (and expense) of the copperplate, as customers it seemed they responded to a book less "chargeable" and also "portable." Keeping this broad readership in mind, Norden recognized that his guide book required literary as well as literal accessibility: "If it [the guide] were deepe

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[31] In *Road-Books and Itineraries of Great Britain*, Fordham includes several almanacs that printed lists of highways: Philip More's *An Almanack & Prognostication* (1573), Walter Gray's *An Almanacke & Prognostication* (1589, 1595), Arthur Hopton's *A Concordancy of Yeares* (1612, 1615, 1616, 1635), and John Rudston's *An Almanacke & Prognostication* (1615, 1619), among others. For a concise summary of the almanac genre, see Bernard Capp, "The Potter Almanacs," *Electronic British Library Journal* 4 (2004). Also see Capp, *Astrology & the Popular Press: English Almanacs 1500-1800*.

Divinitie, high *Astrologie*, or intricate *Geometrie*, It could be subject but to such as have, or pretend to have, either perfect skill, or uncertaine speculation in the Arts. But this is so vulgar, and so plaine, that every *Eye* may see it, every *Minde* may conceive it, & every *Tongue* may censure it." The depth, height and intricacy of the great "Arts" of divinity, astrology, and geometry initially seem to belittle the text as "vulgar" and "plaine"; however, Norden formulates his address in such a way that the vulgarity and plainness speak more to the guide's wide-reaching potential than to its lack of specialized readers, some of whom only "pretend to have" skill. Anatomizing his audience—they are but "Eye[s]," "Minde[s]," and "Tongue[s]"—Norden parallels his earlier triangulation of the arts, thereby replacing them with the *practices* of his readership; his guide is designed for use by eyes, minds, and tongues – not philosophical or mathematical discourse or "speculation." Further, the "kinde gentlemen and others" that Norden refers to in the title of his address are not only readers that might appreciate his mild castigation of intellectual elites, they are of such geographic variety that they must "beare with defectes" in his measurements. He explains, "for it is not possible for a stranger in so many parts of the Kingdome, to be so well acquainted with Townes and Parishes." Norden's self-identification as a stranger in a land he knows more extensively than most English subjects–geographically and historically–simultaneously positions him among this population of England's readers (he is but one of many) and highlights the imperfection of his knowledge (readers may know about any particular locale than he does). The tension between Norden's awareness of the particular and his ambitious efforts to tabulate the entire kingdom mirrors a tension implicit in the very act of mapping, surveying, and measurement–the limitations of knowledge systems. His

admission of the bounds of his own knowledge gestures at a larger question at the core of

geographic representation: What does it mean to know England? Who can and does hold

this knowledge? In attempting to measure movement as much as space, Norden places

his guide directly at the point at which these queries and conceptual uncertainties come to

a head.

The connection between the text's mileage annotations and travel becomes

especially salient when considered alongside Norden's several disclaimers regarding the

problem of measuring the "travails" of travel. The tables for Lincolnshire, Lancashire,

Yorkshire, Wales, and England contain accounts of Norden's own difficulties journeying

across the kingdom. With Wales he explains:

> It is to be considered that by reason of the multitude of Hilles, Mountaines
> and Dales, and the bending of the Sea, betweene St. Daniels and the point
> neere Bradley Iland, causing passages and highwayes in many places so to
> curve and crooke, that the distances betweene the Townes, may be
> something differing from this Table: but not so, but that good use may be
> made of it.

The "crook[ing]" of roadways proves to be a challenge for Norden as it complicates

surveying practices that rely on straight lines, angles, and geometric calculation. In his

table for England, Norden extends this apology by accounting for the trouble of traveling

over water: "It is to be understood, that by reason of the Severne, that divides Wales fro

[sic] Cornewall, Somerst, &c that the distances betweene the Townes of either side,

cannot be precisely set downe, for that there is great difference, betweene the land

travaile, and passages by water, as men take according to their liking." Here Norden

reveals that his measurements are closely tied to the travel choices he himself made

moving through the landscape; a "passage by water" would certainly have been shorter

than a journey around the water by land, but Norden never reveals which route he himself

took. Because of this, measurements such as "26" miles between Bolton and Lancaster no longer sustain the myth of absolute mathematical truth implied by lines on a map and its abstract representation of space—they remain particular to and the direct result of a specific mobile experience.[32]Though Norden fails to disclose his exact travel routes, he attempts to account for the variation that travel presents in the distance table itself. For Lancashire, he notes that "in regard of the Ferries [that travelers must take to travel from the county's east to west part], I have added some thing more then the miles make, by a right line."[33] Interestingly, Norden's admission of his doctored findings enters the text as a kind of afterthought, driven less by an anxiety over what readers might think of such a move than by a general investment in accounting for an experience of travel. Working within the guide's mathematical discourse, Norden chooses to increase the numerical distance to reflect a particularly difficult travel practice, suggesting that figures of "travail" are somehow *more* accurate than mere mathematical distance and abstract measurement.

While the use of mileage might seem an inherently practical geographic notion of space (and thus only useful to those on actual journeys), the statutory mile was a relatively recent unit of measurement and may have been unfamiliar or irrelevant to people who traveled with a temporal barometer in which time served as a measure for distance traveled (the "space" or "length" of five hours walk, one day's plow, or a half-

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[32] I am careful to distinguish here between a specific experience of movement as Norden represents it here and a subjective articulation of that experience as one finds in travel narratives. Though particular and the source of his findings, Norden's past travels were in the service of an objective rather than subjective representation.

[33] Norden uses a similar line in his table of Yorkshire: "Travailers must be inforced to passe by Boate, at Whitegift, Hasell, or Hull. The distances therefore of these places may be uncertaine. And for that, the passages by water are troublesome, and often hindred, I have little encreased the distances, more than the right lines gave."

day's ride, for example).[34] In this light, then, the numbers filling the lines of Norden's

tables acquire meaning only when compared to one another on the page. The distance

between London and Oxford (46) develops meaning relative to the distance separating

Oxford from Cambridge (94)–double the length of the London-Oxford stretch. Readers of

the guide need not understand the precise length of a mile to understand the relative

distances between these three locations. The relative nature of these figures echoes

Norden's earlier manipulation of the mileage findings to reflect a sense of relative

difficulty. In both cases, mathematic figures become a discourse (rather than an absolute

truth) used to signify a relationship or experience. For the actual journeyer, these changes

might be misleading on the road (Norden never identifies which specific distances he has

changed); for the vicarious "travailer"-reader, however, these alterations achieve their

desired effect–they guide the user by communicating an experience of travel, a mapping

of movement, in relation to the experience of the surrounding cities, towns, and figures.

The hundreds of numerical calculations arranged throughout the guide's pages do more

than plot a stable, static mathematical calculation of geographic place; they offer a spatial

system based on experiences *in* space. And while a distance figure alone implies passage

over space, it is Norden's direct acknowledgment that his figures account for difficulty

which transforms them from mere tables of distance to tables of "travail." Mapping

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[34] In one edition of Thomas Jenner's 1662 reprint of Norden's guide, housed in the British Library (BL c.7.b.7) (on Early English Books Online this text is erroneously listed as a 1668 edition), the opening page of the text contains a handwritten notation entitled "Of divers measures" in which the author carefully explains "The Measures of Differing Nations and Especially those of the Distances of Places, being very various, It's necessary to premise something about them, in the following work." Though the writer acknowledges his information is based on "Eachard's dictionary," his sense that such an explanation was necessary for the reading of a travel guide suggests that, even among the educated and literate, mileage remained somewhat uncertain, particularly when, as he explains, the Dutch, Danish, Italian, Hungarian, German, and Arabian miles all differ from that of the English.

movement through space, Norden suggests, is of more use to travelers than mapping space alone.

Precisely what these would-be travelers did with the guide, however, remains uncertain. Nearly every page of Norden's text contains a reference to its "use": how readers are to "make use of it" (in the address to the reader), directions on "the use of this table" (on a county page), how readers might "finde the conceit usefull and necessarie" (England), acknowledgements that "good use may be made of it" (on the page for Wales), assertions that "the use is necessarie" (on a county page), and the title page's inscription ("Voluntas pro facultate") which asks readers to use the guide as they desire. This repetitive insistence on the usefulness of the guide serves to emphasize its importance and innovation, while also distinguishing the text from more lofty, expensive, and aesthetic artifacts of the cartographic enterprise—tapestries and wall hangings of maps, large folio atlases, or hand-painted, colored charts.

Despite his repeated evocation of a discourse of utility, Norden overlays his text with several potential travel practices. In the table for Wales, the sense of overall usefulness gives way to more specific articulations as Norden "intreat[s] all such as per*use*, or *use* it" (my emphasis). Here, acts of reading or perusal become syntactically and linguistically paired with the guide's other "uses" (presumably for actual travel). At the same time, references to the variable terrain of the English landscape and the troubles that it might cause a traveler, as well as invitations for readers to "reform" the work, anticipate and encourage actual journeying. Norden's proud identification as "[him]selfe a Travailer" of nearly all of England and Wales furthers the reader's sense that the text

stirs the urge to journey.[35] Nonetheless, he first addresses his audience as "Eye[s],"

"Minde[s]," and "Tongue[s]" who engage with the travel guide through sight, thought,

and speech rather than physical movement. The instructions for table-reading reprinted

with each county plate encourage a vicarious engagement with them as a substitute for

actual travel. The lines refer to readers' "desire to know" (not to go) and explain how to

"carie" one's eye such that "the lines will *guide* you: and the square you shall *finde* the

figures which declare the distance." The act of guidance occurs by the line not the hand.

Such multiple possibilities of use speak to Blundeville's concern over proper map

engagement—looking vs. reading. Indeed, though a collection of tables, Norden's

publication straddles the line between two distinct cartographic traditions – one, the birds

eye view, and the other, the medieval itinerant map. As a set of county maps titled,

"England," the guide strongly resembles an early English atlas much like Christopher's

Saxton's *An Atlas of the Counties of England and Wales*. Also, though, the arrangement

of cities in the table echoes the itinerant map, systematically listed and positioned in a

tabular rather than geographic arrangement. Thus the distance table maintains elements

of both–the part-to-whole relationship of the bird's eye view (each table represents the

"whole" county, with its particular towns listed inside) as well as the sequential logic of

the itinerary (where geographic accuracy and orientation are manipulated in service of a

compact, readable page). In Lancashire, the convergence between Lancaster and Bolton

that produces "26" means that it is far from a scattered point; Norden's table produces a

logical, meaningful relationship between the two cities born out of an experience in space

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[35] Norden admits having used the maps he and others created to tabulate distances for those regions he did not actually travel to. In the large table for Yorkshire he explains, "The distances that for the most part are observed in this Table, are according to Mr. Saxons Map of this spacious County, wherein I intreate them that shall make use of it, to consider, that the curving of the wayes, may make some, though little difference from the Table, being taken by right lines."

– travel. As a result, Norden's distances bespeak a tension between the myth of the static cartographic point (inherently stable and permanent) and the act of moving between two points (a practice implied by notations of *mileage*). Reading Norden's tables for the presence, rather than the absence, of an alternate spatial and, indeed, cartographic order is akin to recognizing the meaning inherent in so-called "empty spaces" of a pictorial map where the emptiness bespeaks a different sort of presence and cultural significance. Thus, Norden's guide is not a mere collection of distance tables; it is also a map of travel, which imagines and represents travel as an epistemological mechanism for representing England. Travel, the text suggests, is how one knows England—geographic entity, textual product, or, as I suggest below, construct of a collective imaginary.

IV. "Look in the small map"

Given the considerable popularity of Norden's text, London printers Mathew Simons, Thomas Jenner, and others published various editions of the distance tables over the course of the next fifty-five years, during which time they implemented a number of changes to the original: the inclusion of small maps beneath the distance tables of England, Wales, and their respective shires; the use of new or additional title pages; a decrease in book size from an average of 7 ¾" x 9 ½" to 5 ½" x 7"; the placement of blank pages at the back of the book; the addition of "high waye" distances to and from London; and the inclusion of alphabetical lists of each shire's hundreds (sub-divisions within each county) and towns. The impressive publication history and the various aesthetic, conceptual, and literary changes undergone by these travel texts serve as evidence of a developing epistemology of travel in which the relationship between map

and movement, travel guide and traveler, finds itself in a process of renegotiation, reconception, and, most obviously, recirculation into print for readers across England.[36] While the demand for a "direction" for English travel seemed to continue throughout the period (requiring new editions to be published, on average, every six and a half years), shifts in readers' demands required that the newer editions respond appropriately, establishing a kind of continual conversation between printer, text and reader—one to which many of the more obvious changes in these editions most likely speak.[37] In focusing on three of these particular guides (1635, 1643, and 1657) and a select set of differences between them, I do not aim to articulate exhaustive, bibliographic account of the early modern publications related to Norden's text. Instead, I work to extend my earlier analysis of *England. An Intended Guyde* and to further probe my questions regarding the multiplicity of "map" uses and methods by contextualizing the guide within its own extended period of publication. This more than fifty-year period witnessed the development of multiple discourses (textual, numeric, and visual) that produced and supported an active negotiation of the relationship between travel and maps in the seventeenth-century (leading up to and including Ogilby).

When Mathew Simons decided to reprint Norden's distance tables ten years after their first appearance, he decreased the book's size by nearly three inches in both height

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[36] The British Library, the English Short Title Catalogue and EEBO list editions from 1625 to 1677–one each in 1635, 1636, 1643, 1657, 1662, 1668, and 1677. Fordham cites one edition from 1680 in *Road Books of Great Britain*, viii.

[37] I do not intend to suggest that every change in these texts is, in fact, in direct response to readers. Printers, engravers, map-makers, and patrons, among other influential parties, may have all played a part in the alteration of particular elements. Hodson (*The Early Printed Road Books*) reveals the extensive influence the Stationer's Company had over the publication of almanacs in early modern England, resulting, he argues, in a kind of stasis in which new almanacs included extremely dated and oftentimes erroneous information. In my reading of the travel guides, however, I am less interested in determining their accuracy; instead, I find the overall process of epistemological layering all the more telling for how maps and map-texts may have been used by early modern English travelers.

and length (producing a truly pocket-sized edition smaller than an octavo) and changed

the title, promising "direction" rather than "guidance":[38] *A Direction for the English*

Traviller By which he shal be inabled to Coast[39] about all England and Wales. / And also

to know how farre any Market or noteable Towne in any Shire lyeth one from an other,

and whether the same be East, West, North, or South from y[e] Shire Towne. As also the

distance betweene London and any other Shire or great towne: with the scituation thereof

East, West, North, or South from London. / By the help also of this worke one may know

(in what Parish, Village, or Mansion house soever he be in) What Shires he is to passe

thorough & which way he is to travell till he came to his Journies End. Aptly titled,

Simons's guide builds on the distance tables of Norden's text and offers readers a variety

of "directions" that are divided into three general categories of instruction: "To know the

distance…," "To know whether you are to travell East, West, North, or South," and "to

know what market townes lie in your way."[40] Only the first, "To know the distance,"

directly mirrors the text's predecessor. The remaining two—establishing a sense of

geographic orientation and determining the relative importance of possible destinations—

ostensibly provide Simons access to a new niche market of readers eager for such

"useful" information.

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[38] While Norden's guide has been called "pocket-sized," its actual size resembles a large journal (less a modern "pocket" book). Simons's book, however, consistently appeared in an especially small size. In his "To the gentle reader" (an excerpt that appears only in its first edition in 1635), he likens his text to "a messenger which will goe with thee, and direct thee from place to place, without any great charge." While Simons's insistence regarding his guide's portability remains interesting, it alone cannot be taken as proof that the book was used "on the road." Rather, it exists alongside the collective possibilities of map use that this article seeks to open up.

[39] Simons's use of the word "coast" in this instance refers to a practice of traveling extensively, rather than its modern connotation of traveling with ease and comfort (according the OED, this meaning developed in the nineteenth-century). In its list of references for the definition, "To make the round of, traverse all parts, explore, scour" when introduced with "about, through, over, etc.," the OED cites a 1643 edition of *A Direction for the English Traviller*.

[40] In "The use of all the insuing Tables" placed at the front of the book as kind of directive to readers.

In service of his three-part mission, Simons included small, sketch-like maps in the open space created by the triangular table of each county (Figure 4.3). In so doing, he produced what may have been the first portable bound collection of English topographical maps drawn from a bird's eye perspective.[41] Simons published the first English travel guide with an explicit and immediately recognizable link to the products of early modern cartographic thought. The inclusion of these small topographical maps suggests that Simons's guide participates in a kind of linear progression toward modern map use in which maps are integral elements to way-finding, route-planning, and geographic orientation. Simons (one might argue) "improved" Norden's guide. What remains particularly remarkable about this guide, however, are the ways in which the maps engage, rather unexpectedly, with the distance tables above them. In Simons's *Direction* the two modes of representing geographic space—one a systematic chart of measured distance and another a simple bird's eye view indicating locations of important market towns—combine and interact with one another, producing a collective rather than oppositional or substitutive notion of geographic space.

The visual representations of England's counties on each page of the guide serve as complements to the systematic configurations of distance, (constituting only a small part of the reader's overall reading experience. The maps are not direct replications of the tables (they do not cross reference each town listed in the table) nor do they function as entirely recognizable topographical images (the outlines of the counties are of a sketch-like quality and exist without greater geographic context). Simons instructs his readers on

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[41] Excluding, of course, the maps of the itinerant tradition in which one destination leads to another in a linear, vertical design (such that cardinal orientation is irrelevant). Though compelling, their particular uses (en route as way-finders, prior to travel for route-planning, a simple record of past travel, or at home as a vicarious pilgrimage experience much like that provided by the medieval mappaemundi) fall outside the bounds of this study.

the nature of this relationship: "turne to the tables of those Shires [that you must pass through] and at the foote of ech [sic] of them you shall have a mapp wherein the [market] townes are signified as they lie in every Shire by the first letter of every towne." He also includes a more precise notational system by which market towns are signified with "greate" or capital letters and "ye shire townes hath a crosse on the top to distinguish it from the other." In other words, Simons's thumb-nail maps have a specific, supportive function; they do not replace the distance tables as a representational model, but, instead, they enhance it with information designed to "direct" readers toward towns worth traveling to.

Nonetheless, the qualification offered by these maps is enacted through spatial means. For a reader, discerning whether a particular town is a market center requires that s/he locate this town in geographic space, relative to the towns and shires surrounding it– a way of reading England's locales that differs from that offered by the distance tables. Each small map (on average they measure a mere 1 ½" in diameter) appears with eight lines radiating from its perimeter representing the cardinal directions–north, northeast, east, southeast, south, southwest, west, and northwest–of which four are labeled (north, south, east and west) with a neighboring county. These de facto compass roses along with the small meters of scale at the bottom of the maps link Simons's table maps to standardized cartographic images which emphasize mathematical proportion and direction. In addition, they orient the reader (and the tables of distance) spatially within the particular county (allowing readers to discern whether, for example, London is west or east of Oxford). Despite the sense of geographic direction that these maps offer, their potential value for way-finding is limited by their small size, particularly in relation to the

large tabular arrangements of mileage hovering above them. Though heavily indebted to Norden's distance tables, the numeric grids that Simons prints with his guide were also altered so that they included abbreviated cardinal directions following each town name; for example, while Norden's first town for the county of Barkeshire lists "Oxforde," the corresponding notation on Simons's table reads "Oxforde N.W." (Figure 4.3). This small addition to each name serves as a textual link to the small map below, directing and orienting the reader to the particular town in question, whether it is a market town and thus represented in the map itself.

The connection between map-texts (table and map image) within each county is only one part of the three-step cross-referencing process Simons designed for his readers. Along with knowing "the distance betweene any two Cities or Townes in any of theis [sic] Tables" (through the mileage tables) and "what market townes lie in your way" (with the thumb-nail maps), users of the guide might also "know whether you are to travell East, West, North, or South, from the place where you are to the place whither you intend to goe, & through what Shires you must passe."[42] Readers are directed to "Look in the small map of England placed before the great table of Shire townes" in order to see "whether [their] Journie be East, West, North, or South." (Figure 4.4). This "small map of England," like Norden's "Table shewing the distances betweene all the Cities and Shire Townes of England," opens the guide and presents the reader with the broadest spatial perspective. Both texts offer the reader a grasp of the whole before it is broken down into its constitutive parts. For Simons's guide, though, this relationship between part and whole acquires additional meaning. The circularly framed map of the British Isles enables guide users to determine the direction of their travel—to know where they are

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[42] In "The use of all the insuing Tables."

going as well as how far: "draw a straight line from the next Shire towne lying in yo[r] way to that Shire towne w[ch] is next the place whither you desire to goe and you shall imediately see whether your Journie be East, West, North, or South, and what Shires the line brings you through those Shires you must passe." Knowing the general direction of travel and what "Shires you must passe" is a prerequisite to table-reading: first, guide users must refer to the opening map to determine their overall route; second, they develop a list of shires that they will travel through; third; they reference the tables of the respective shires to determine the length of their journey. In using this "small map of England" in conjunction with the tables of distance and the rough shire maps, users "travail" through the use of three distinct, intersecting systems of spatial representation. In other words, these maps are not independent spatial systems but require the information and the representational logic provided by the distance tables. The emergence of pictorial maps in these travel guides is not a sign of cartographic "progress." These "travel maps," I argue, offer an alternative strand of early modern English cartographic thought in which topographic image is neither totalizing nor static but, instead exists in a dynamic, active interaction with the representational modes around it. In the seventeenth-century travel guide, maps function as part of an open, dialogic cartographic system.

Although Mathew Simons published his guide once more in 1636, future printings fell into the hands of Thomas Jenner (the London printer also responsible for the reprinting and resizing of Saxton's county maps into six smaller maps able to fit into saddlebags).[43] Jenner's copies of Simons's guide circulated under two different titles, *A*

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[43] For a concise description of the Quartermaster's map, see Delano-Smith, "Milieus of Mobility," 65 and Sir Herbert George Fordham, "A Note on the 'Quartermaster's Map' 1644," *The Geographical Journal*

Direction for the English Traviller (1643) and *A Book of the Names of all Parishes,*

Market Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and smallest Places, In England and Wales (1657 and

1662). While his 1643 edition uses many of the same plates as Simons's text from eight

years earlier, his copy is not without its own notable changes. Like Simons, Jenner chose

to offset the distance tables with small maps placed in the available space below; unlike

the earlier 1635 text, though, he used more complex, detailed topographical maps which,

rather than remaining confined to a small 1 ½" square, fill all available space, sometimes

even overlapping with the information from the table above it (Figure 4.5). Jenner's shire

maps maintain the logic of their predecessors (distinguishing between market towns and

regular towns), though they do so through the use of different symbols in which a small

building represented, through its single or double tiered image, the status of the town it

stands for.[44] Consistent with medieval as well as early modern mapping traditions,

Jenner's town symbols were likely a familiar visual image to readers of the guide.[45]

Jenner's innovation regarding map-placement in the guide is especially apparent

in his table/map of England (Figure 4.6 and 4.6b).[46] Rather than include a small circular

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(July 1927). The British Library contains several copies of the map: BL c.7.c.7, c.39.e.32, and c.7.b.13. The map's title describes it as "portable for every Man's Pocket, . . . useful for all comanders for Quartering of Souldiers, and all sorts of persons that would be informed where Armies be." I am grateful to Peter Barber, head of Map Collections at the British Library, for directing me to this map.

[44] Jenner's maps also used full town names rather than their first letter. Interestingly, Jenner used the original Simons text on the use of the "insuing Tables" which describes the use of "greate letters" and "crosses" standing above the first letter of the town–directions now clearly irrelevant with the insertion of new maps.

[45] See for example Matthew Paris's itinerary from London to Jerusalem (BL Royal 14 CVIII), the Hereford Mappamundi, and John Speed's map of Britain (*The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*, 1611). Christopher Saxton also used building symbols, adding to them a series of small houses, square buildings and castles.

[46] The particular figure that I refer to above appears in a 1657 edition of the text at the British Library. Two copies of the 1643 edition that I consulted at the British Library (c.7.a.13 and c.7.a.31) do not contain this table; however, EEBO lists a 1643 edition (from the British Library) with this table inserted. Reasons for missing tables are numerous, particularly for enlarged folding tables such as ones of England, Wales, and Yorkshire which could easily tear out of the book. To add to the complication, though, the 1643 EEBO text also contains large maps sold by John Overton (who also sold the Quartermaster's map) which are dated from 1673, suggesting that the EEBO text is in fact a much later edition (that somehow maintained the

map of England prior to the tables as Simons had, Jenner combines Norden's "Table shewing the distances … of England" with a more updated map, creating a large fold-out version of the smaller table-maps that follow. This "card, or platt, of all the shire townes in England, shewinge how farre they are distant one form another & how scituate fro London E.W.N. or S[th] wth a small Mapp of Engl[and] wherein e[ch] To:[wne] is signified" mimics the discursive interchange exhibited by Simons's table-maps where tabular arrangements of distance work in conjunction with (rather than in opposition to) the image below. Here, however, the mathematical and the topographical interact in a particularly delicate balance. In Jenner's general view of England, it is less clear which representational mode dominates—the elaborate, detailed geographic map or the impressive array of mileage figures listed in the grid of the table above. The interplay between these two spatial "mappings" finds additional resonance in the title wherein Jenner refers to the table as "A Card, or Platt"—descriptors frequently used to refer to topographical maps.[47] The juxtaposition of table and image produces an experience of reading that requires the reader to move between two seemingly distinct representational systems; however, their proximity on the page (unlike Norden's single table and Simon's separated table and map), speaks to their compatibility and mutual dependence. In addition, the practice of moving between a topographical image and a grid of distance mimics, in some ways, the experience of travel itself. Readers first locate themselves in the map of England by selecting points of origin and destination on the map (for example,

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1643 title page). Given that all later copies of Jenner's edition of *A Direction* and *A Book of the Names* (the next version of the guide) have this table, and given that EEBO lists two 1643 texts that include the table (though one is doubtful), I believe it is relatively safe to assume Jenner included this table in copies of the 1643 text.

[47] See inventory of Cambridge maps in Catherine Delano-Smith, "Map Ownership in Sixteenth-Century Cambridge."

London and Cambridge), noting which cities they must pass through on the course of their journey (in this case, "Hartforde"), after which they consult the distance tables to determine how far they will travel: London to Hartford, 18 miles; Hartford to Cambridge, 22 miles. Unlike points of latitude and longitude which also function as measurements of space and reflect the overlap between mathematics and geography, mileage is a measurement that implies movement *through* space. In moving back and forth between the tables and the map, the readers read movement into the map itself. Rather than use these measurements to locate place, the reader utilizes the map image to locate, contextualize and give space to acts of travel. Here, England–as geographic landscape and cartographic image–simultaneously serves as the space of bodily movement (in past and future travels) and of embodied movement (in one's body and mind).

Fourteen years after Jenner revised Simons's guide he printed the text again under yet a different title: *A Book of the Names of all Parishes, Market Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and smallest Places. In / England and Wales* (1657).[48] In addition to the distance tables and map images of the earlier guides, this edition offers what its title implies: a list of "the Names of the Hundreds in which they are, and how many Towns

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[48] A copy at the British Library (c.7.b.6) published in this year has the new title page followed by the earlier one for *A Direction for the English Traviller*. This is the only copy that has both titles–all future editions are published with the *Book of the Names* page only. Also, the 1643 edition (*A Direction*) lists the text as being "sold by Thomas Jenner at the South entrance of the Exchange." The first edition of *A Book of the Names*, however, describes it as "Printed by M.S. [Mathew Simons?] for Tho: Jenner, at the south entrance of the Royall Exchange." While the possible relationship between Simons and Jenner with later editions is compelling, I refer to editions between 1643 and 1668 as Jenner's for sake of clarity. The later 1677 copies list "printed by S.S. for John Garret" and are categorized as "anonymous" on EEBO. A final point: The 1662 edition of Jenner's *A Book of the Names* contains an advertisement in the back for the "books Printed and sold by Thomas Jenner." Included in this list is "A Book called *Direction for the English Travailer*, shewing the distance of miles from one Towne to another all England over, with a Mapp in it directing what Towns you must passé through to the most eminent Towns in England." While the 1657 copy contains title pages for both texts–suggesting a progression from one to the next–this advertisement seems to suggest that *A Direction* was also being sold as a different book (which explains its appearance in 1677 and, according to Fordham, in 1680).

there are in every Hundred."[49] The alphabetical listing that structures these "names" finds

mention three times on the title page alone: we learn that they are "alphabetically set

down," "you may presently in the Alphabet find it [any place in England and Wales],"

and "the Shires lie Alphabetically." Even a brief glance inside the book (sized somewhere

between Norden's guide and Simons's pocket text and oriented vertically to

accommodate the long lists of hundreds) reveals a proliferation of alphabetical lists

resembling a modern index (Figure 4.7). Each list opens with a numbered, non-

alphabetical record of the hundreds within each county or shire, followed by alphabetical

groupings of the towns within those hundreds (indicated as such by an abbreviated

notation at the end of each town name). Taken directly from the plates used to produce *A

Direction*, the table maps for each shire consistently appear on the top half of the recto

side of each double-page spread and are surrounded by three columns of town names,

many of which are capitalized indicating that they are locatable in the small

corresponding maps. The result, I want to suggest, is the integration of a third system for

structuring England and Wales in an accessible, easily consumable format. As the title

alludes, Jenner's text is a book of *names*—a book in which alphabetized hierarchical

relationships (country, shire, hundred, town) replace, and nearly overwhelm, any

semblance of geographic ordering (whether through the map or the table of paired cities).

Thus, the linear lists of places that fill the book arguably emerge as the dominant spatial

system for, as the title page announces, "Travellers, Quartermasters, Gatherers of Breefs,

Strangers, Carriers, and Messengers with Letters, and all others that know the name of

the place, but can neither tell where it is, nor how to goe unto it." These readers use the

various spatial mappings offered by the text—topographic, tabular, and indexed—to

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[49] Hundreds are county subdivisions, larger than towns but smaller than counties.

direct their own "travails," whether these entail knowing "where it [a place] is" or "how to goe unto it."

In light of seventeenth-century England's rapidly expanding geographic perspective and the unprecedented increase of movement within its borders, it is no surprise to find a body of texts directed toward growing numbers of "English travailers." Less evident, though, are the unique ways in which these early travel guides structured, anticipated, and imagined not only the journeys of their readers, but also the spaces of "travail." Travel and travelers in seventeenth-century England allowed for the development of a distinct means of spatial representation to develop and flourish—one which plotted movement rather than stasis, change rather than permanence, experience through space rather than place. As such, the emergence of pictorial maps in the pages of early travel guides signals a process of epistemological layering or a multiplication of ways to read and experience space. The interaction between these spatial schemas— between map and table, list and text—and the active role of the reader in this process serve as evidence of a dialogic rather than a monologic cartographic imaginary. Far from not being used at all by travelers, map-texts were printed, sold, and used readily throughout the seventeenth century. More than advice books, directives, and treatises on where and how to journey, English travel guides recognize that travel, like the map, functions as an epistemology of space; it structures and gives meaning to the knowable expanse of early modern England. As such, choices regarding the nature of one's "travails," whether experienced as imagined or actual ventures, dictate and determine one's knowledge of England itself.

Practices of reading, viewing, or spectating, as I will explore in the final chapter, provided travelers opportunities to not only "point" with recognition to the places described in a book, map, or stage play, but to also travel themselves. That English readers not only understood but "delighted" (to borrow from Blundeville's critique almost one hundred years earlier) in the ways early travel guides allowed them various kinds of use—actual or imagined—is perhaps nowhere more evident than in the closing pages of the latest extant edition of these guides, *A Book of the Names* (1677). The book's owner, William Gay, left a telling example of the multiple ways in which a reader might know England. Directly facing the conclusion of Yorkshire's list of towns, Gay has designed his own list of especially important towns: "Gaton, Gayton - Cheshire, Gaymton, Gaynford, Gaiton marsh, Gaiton would, Gayton – Northamptonshire, Gayton thorp, Gaywood, and Gaton – Staffordshire."[50] All are, as he joyfully announces in the title of his list, "Townes [..] Related to the Gayes" (Figure 4.8).

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[50] BL c.7.b.9.

Chapter 5
"[K]nowledge by travel": Imagining Travel in Seventeenth-Century Drama

> Think of the long trip home.
> Should we have stayed at home and thought of here?
> Where would we be today?
> Is it right to be watching strangers in a play
> In this strangest of theaters?
> > Elizabeth Bishop, "Questions of Travel" (1956)

Sometime between 1625 and 1627 Thomas Heywood offered London's play-going public a new play which he titled *The English Traveller*.[1] Those in attendance at the Cockpit Theater may have expected, as the title implied, an exciting tale of England's voyagers, sailing adventures on the seas, "discovery," and colonial riches. Such expectations would not have been unfounded given the fifteen years previous to Heywood's production which repeatedly featured such images in plays like the anonymously written *The Travels of the Three English Brothers* (1607), Richard Daborne's *A Christian Turn'd Turk* (1609-12), William Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (1611), and John Fletcher and Philip Massinger's *The Sea Voyage* (1622).[2] Indeed, two of Heywood's own most popular plays, *The Fair Maid of the West, Part I* (1603) and *The Captives* (licensed 1624), recycled similar scenes of travel—shipwrecks, encounters with North African kings, slavery, and troubles at sea. What a surprise it must have been for

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[1] Richard Rowland ["'Thou teachest me humanitie': Thomas Hewyood's *The English Traveller*," *English Comedy*, Michael Cordner, Peter Holland, and John Kerrigan, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994)] suggests the date is closer to 1627, while Alexander Corbin Judson, editor of Thomas Heywood's *The Captives* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1921) offers a date of 1625 or shortly thereafter (10).
[2] Many of these plays were based on recently published narrative accounts: Daborne relies, in part, on an account by Barker account in 1609 (Vitkus 24); *The Travels of the Three English Brothers* likely has some connection with the pamphlets published by Anthony Nixon in the same year (1607); and William Strachey's *A True Reportory of the Wreck* (1610) may have provided *The Tempest* with some of its contemporary context.

these spectators, then, when no such plot developed on stage. Instead, *The English Traveller* stages England alone, and, while reference is made to a mercantile voyage abroad, none of the play's action takes place onboard a ship, in a far off land, or amidst foreign characters. Nonetheless, the play's title holds out on its promise. The five acts are riddled with practices, discussions, and references to English travel both actual and imagined: a young gentleman returns from his Grand Tour, an armchair traveler considers the validity of his own travel knowledge gleaned from books, two ladies take pleasure in hearing stories of foreign travel, several characters frequently journey between residences in Barnet (12 miles northwest of central London) and between London and Barnet, a fictional "trans-marine" ghost haunts the scene of his murder, and a night of debauchery leaves a group believing their own London location has transformed into a ship, lost at sea in a (drunken) tempest. If the audience never witnesses the characters venture more than twelve miles from home, encounter a foreigner, or step upon distant, newly "discovered" lands, how would they make sense of this as a travel play? Moreover, how do we understand a play that at once self-consciously titles itself after a figure of English travel, yet refuses to stage what would seem to be the most recognizable and dramatic representation of that figure—the foreign voyage?

Although *The English Traveller* lacks oceanic voyages and cross-cultural encounters, it remains, nonetheless, indebted to the traditions and tropes that shaped what has alternately been called "travel drama," "travel plays," "adventure drama," "voyage drama," "geographic drama" and "sea plays." Less a specific and direct reaction to individual dramatists or stage productions (as, for example, Chapman, Marston, and Jonson's *Eastward Ho!* was to Dekker and Webster's *Westward Ho!*), Heywood's play, I

argue, responded to the kinds of conventions so typical of this genre. Indeed, accounts of journeys abroad found new life in the theaters of early modern England as narratives of cultural encounter, exchange, and discovery were reworked into a number of dramatic plots on stage. In their introduction to *Travel and Drama in Shakespeare's Time* Jean-Pierre Maquerlot and Michele Willems note this generic influence, remarking that "[t]he concepts of travel and drama…are essentially productive through their confrontation; a whole range of interconnections emerges from the exploration of the rarely visited domain of voyage accounts and foreign relations in Shakespeare's England, on the one hand, and the more familiar ground of drama in Shakespeare's age, on the other."[3] Anthony Parr offers a similar synopsis of the relationship between travel texts and early modern drama in his introduction to *Three Renaissance Travel Plays*: "The travel play is an offshoot of this vigorous, confused and fluid project" to "discover the variousness of the world and its inhabitants."[4] While I agree with Parr, Maquerlot, and Willems that foreign travel narratives profoundly influenced early modern dramatists such as William Shakespeare, Christopher Marlowe, Ben Jonson, Philip Massinger, and Richard Brome, I find that critics' characterizations of the intersections between early modern travel and drama have come to rely on assumptions that the drama is necessarily preoccupied with figurations of difference and distance.[5] The critical lexicon itself—"voyage drama," "adventure drama," and "sea plays"—highlights this tendency. Rather than function as subsets of a larger domain of travel drama, these terms have become substitutes for it. For

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[3] *Travel and Drama in Shakespeare's Time*, 1-2. Twelve years ago when this collection was printed, the connections between voyage narratives and drama were, as they say, "rarely visited." Now, of course, this line of inquiry has been fruitfully and fully explored in a number of studies including those discussed above.

[4] *Three Renaissance travel plays,* 4.

[5] Together they cite *The Spanish Tragedy, Doctor Faustus, Eastward Ho!, The Tempest, The Travels of the Three English Brothers, A Christian Turn'd Turk, The Sea Voyage*, and *The Antipodes.*

instance, Fenella Macfarlane's work on seventeenth-century plays in relation to tropes of

adventure and the mercantile interests of a developing middle class leads her to use

"adventure drama" interchangeably with "travel drama."[6] In her book *Voyage Drama and*

Gender Politics, Clare Jowitt refers to her archive of stage plays as "voyage drama,"

"geographic drama," and "travel drama," arguing that they "all engage with foreign

locations, yet are diverse in terms of their choice of settings and their treatment of exotic

tropes."[7] Jowitt's focus on "foreign locations" and "exotic tropes" in the context of this

subgenre unwittingly collapses travel with foreign journeying.[8] Thus, early modern travel

drama, I would suggest, continues to be read in much the same way audiences may have

done in 1625-7: with an expectation of oceanic voyaging, foreign encounter, and the

exotic. As a result, plays which represent travel in non-exotic, local contexts have been

excluded from the genre, and thus critical attention. Even a play such as Heywood's, with

a title that virtually begs inquiry into its representation of journeying, has failed to attract

the sustained attention of scholars concerned with early modern travel.[9]

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[6] *The Adventurous Stage: Constructions of Overseas Endeavor in Early Modern English Drama*, diss., Columbia U, 2000 (New York: Columbia U, 2000).

[7] Jowitt, *Voyage Drama* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2003) 4.

[8] More examples include Robert K. Turner's introduction to *The Fair Maid of the West*, The Regents Renaissance Drama Series (Lincoln: U Nebraska, 1968): "…[adventure drama] replace[s] subtlety with simplicity, and …obliterate[s] grey with vivid primary colors, often blood red. Instead of reaching for a metaphysical or psychological fourth dimension, adventure drama deals in length and breadth only" (xv). "Sea plays" is used by Maquerlot and Willems to describe Daborne's *A Christian Turn'd Turk* (4). See Edwards *Sea-Mark: The Metaphorical Voyage* for more examples.

[9] An exception to this is Norman Rabkin's article, "Dramatic Deception in Heywood's *The English Traveller*" (*Studies of English Literature*, 1, 1961: 1-16). Rabkin also asks, "Who is the English traveller?" (13), pointing out that the title unites the play's plot to subplot (as many characters could be seen as *the* traveler). However, Rabkin concludes that "Who the traveller is remains an unresolved question" which reflects the play's "theme of life as a mystery, the solution to which lies hidden behind any none of a number of appearances" (14). In other words, Rabkin's interest in the play's treatment of travel and shipwreck centers on travel as a metaphor for life and for "the disparity between things as they seem and things as they are" (16). While I agree the that Heywood's disruption of dramatic conventions is a crucial element of the play, I read the multiple figures of English travel less as a vehicle for exploring the nature of appearances than as a means of questioning the conventions of travel itself. For Rabkin, travel is still a plot device, a means of exposing life's uncertainties and the title is a convenient way for Heywood to tie these together. For this project, travel is the plot and the subject of the play's questioning. While Richard

The English Traveller marks a shift in the dramatic landscape of travel. As I explored in Chapter 1, by the time Heywood wrote his travel play in the 1620s, the terrain, techniques, and tools of English journeying were undergoing significant change. And on the stage, the voyage plot had become a clichéd trope—an expected, predictable motif to London playgoers.[10] Much like the writers of local travel narratives examined in Chapter 2, though, Heywood and other seventeenth-century dramatists responded to this new travelscape, not so much by abandoning the conventions of "voyage drama," as reworking them and using borrowed elements as a platform for exploring journeying in its local contexts. Thus, instead of deploying the journey merely as a plot device or as a metaphor for contemporary socio-economic and moral issues, seventeenth-century dramatists made English travel the subject of extensive epistemological inquiry. Rather than a question of *who* most embodied the figure of the English traveler,[11] the issues driving a number of later early modern stage plays were, instead, *what* constituted travel and *how* did one know travel itself.

London dramatists were attuned to the movements of the city's highly mobile population—new and old. In her recent book, *Theater of a City*, Jean Howard explores how late Elizabethan and early Jacobean London and its theaters made sense of the city's rapid physical and demographic expansion. The flood of both English and foreign

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Rowland's more recent treatment of the play mentions the character's seeming knowledge of travel narratives, these details are circumstantial and used to contextualize Heywood's method of characterization and plot development. Wendy Wall, in *Staging Domesticity: Household Work and English Identity in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002), offers an interesting reading of the violent domestic kitchen scene in *The English Traveler* in her last chapter; however, Wall's investment lies outside the realm of travel studies.

[10] Anthony Parr, in his introduction to *Three Renaissance Travel Plays*, suggests a similar point in reference to the audiences of *The Sea Voyage* (1622): "It was some such understanding, I think, that the Blackfriars audience in 1622 took to *The Sea Voyage*, a sense of familiarity with the issues that a play about voyaging would be likely to raise, and an expectation that the standard topoi of 'colonial' writing—wilderness, promised land, cannibalism, gold hunger, savage customs—will be deployed to create a deft and topical entertainment" (31).

[11] Rabkin, 13.

strangers, she argues, left dramatists in a "messy struggle to come to terms with a complicated and changing city," such that "each sequence of plays participates over time in rendering the city ideologically knowable" (22, 23).[12] If London's theaters serve as a guide to city life, rendering it "ideologically knowable," they did so by responding with interest to the current condition of London: movement. Travel into and out of, within and without, the city was at the core of seventeenth-century London's identity as a developing metropolis. Less a process of rendering these journeys "knowable," though, Jacobean and Caroline drama, I argue, reversed this process, exploring the ways in which travel might be *un*knowable. Many dramatic representations of local travel practices—brief journeys between neighboring households, trips to the theater, and vicarious voyages—render the travel experience itself uncertain and surprisingly unstable. While, as Fenella Macfarlane has argued, seventeenth-century comedies staged *overseas* ventures to engage a developing middle class audience with a taste for the exotic, stagings of *local* ventures clouded, rather than clarified, England's travel picture.[13] In the plays studied here, travel functions less as a means of bringing the exotic home (either on stage or in the fiction of the drama) than as a central epistemological quandary.

In the pages that follow, I examine Heywood's *The English Traveller* (1625-7), Richard Brome's *The Antipodes* (1638, 1640) and Aston Cokayne's *The Obstinate Lady* (1657-8) to demonstrate the importance of attending to early modern England's broader cultural meditation on the meaning of travel. I begin by isolating moments in which the plays trouble notions of travel knowledge—knowledge derived from travel and knowledge of travel itself—and move to consider how these epistemological questions

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[12] Jean Howard, *Theater of a City: The Places of London Comedy, 1598-1642* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania P, 2006).
[13] See Macfarlane, *The Adventurous Stage*.

impact audiences and readers.[14] *The English Traveller*, *The Antipodes*, and *The Obstinate Lady* thematize travel as a way of critiquing the tropes derived from foreign travel narratives; travel-as-encounter and travel-as-distant-journey, these stage plays suggest, are insufficient means to represent English travel. The critiques themselves are doubly constituted: first, the foreign travel tropes are satirized, laughed at and made ridiculous; second, and most important, these satiric inversions are themselves complicated by the appearance of multiple modes of travel, many of which intersect, overlap, and contradict one another. On its own, the satiric critique would function only by means of inversion: merely flipping rather than destabilizing the terms of a binary model. Here, though, the binary itself is rendered insufficient as an epistemological system. Indeed, it is precisely the lure of the self/other, domestic/exotic paradigm which poses a problem for so many of the plays' characters: Thomas Heywood's aged Wincott has never left England and obsesses, even amorously so, with the youthful touring-traveler, Young Geraldine; Richard Brome's melancholic wanderer, Peregrine, is similarly love-struck by the narratives of travelers to far off lands (rather than his wife at home); and Aston Cokayne's rich widow, Vandora, pines after a "fantastic gallant" simply because he deftly relates tales of foreign adventure—tales, unbeknownst to her, gleaned from play-watching. In these plays, metatheatrical moments work in tandem with a litany of local travel acts to produce an epistemological critique of the binary terms by which "travel" was being constituted.

Theirs is not merely a project of undoing, however; these plays also offer an alternative. Like the narratives of local journeying discussed in Chapter 2, *The English*

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[14] *The Dramatic Works of Sir Aston Cokain* (London: H. Sotheran & Co, 1874). Aston Cockain's play was first published in 1657 without his knowing and missing several closing lines. The editor of this edition says it is "doubtfull" that the play was ever performed.

Traveller, *The Antipodes*, and *The Obstinate Lady* shift the terms of travel by reconstituting the possibility of *how* one travels. Unlike the texts analyzed in Chapters 1 and 2, which revel in vehicular invention and innovation, these plays focus on the most localized mechanism of movement: the imagination. Heywood, Brome, and Cokayne collapse the local journeys experienced by audiences arriving at the theater with the fictive worldly travels portrayed on stage or those implied in reading the play-text, thereby offering a new set of vicarious, imaginative possibilities for knowing *and* experiencing travel. Vicarious voyaging, they suggest, like riding in a coach, walking along a street, and rowing across a river, is a phenomenological experience that transports audiences and readers by means of cognitive processes; for these playwrights, to imagine travel *is* to travel. Yet, to imagine travel is also to think about travel, to understand it and know it. In vicarious, imaginative journeys, the ways of knowing travel have something in common with the means of travel: the mind becomes a means of transport, whereby knowing and doing become shared processes. *The English Traveller*, *The Antipodes*, and *The Obstinate Lady* self-consciously trouble the geographic, lexical, and phenomenological bounds of English travel in such a way that the imagination is at once offered as a mode of knowing and a mode of transport.[15]

I. "[B]y relation only"

The opening scene of Heywood's self-described "strange play"—one which uses "no drum, nor trumpet, nor dumb show; / No combat, [or] marriage…to bombast out a

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[15] There are many moments of vicarious voyaging in early modern drama that predate this moment. We might argue, as I have suggested earlier, that the prologue in Henry V invites audiences to fly across the fields of France less as a rumination on the epistemological and phenomenological bounds of travel than as an invocation of something akin to developing a national perspective, both for England's soldier-king and the theater's audience.

play"—presents audiences with *two* English travelers: one, Delavil, schooled in "the theoric," the other, Young Geraldine, "the practic" (1.1.3, 157).[16] Young Geraldine's recent return from a tour abroad has prompted his friend, Delavil, to reflect on his own lack of "experience." As the touring traveler, Young Geraldine has "seen what you [Delavil] have only read of" (1.1, 157). Delavil duly responds with a litany of seemingly sub-status sources of travel knowledge:

> A scholar in his study knows the stars,
> Their motion and their influence, which are fixed
> And which are wandering, can decipher seas,
> And give each several land his proper bounds;
> But set him to the compass, he's to seek,
> When a plain pilot can direct his course
> From hence unto both the Indies; can bring back
> His ship and charge, with profits quintuple.
> I have read Jerusalem, and studied Rome,
> Can tell in what degree each city stands,
> Describe the distance of this place from that—
> All this the scale in every map can teach;
> …………………………but what I
> Have by relation only, knowledge by travel,
> Which still makes up a complete gentleman,
> Proves eminent in you.   (1.1.6-23)

Delavil's invocation of the "complete gentleman" as one who leaves England for a period of study and travel abroad calls up both the popular publication of Henry Peacham's book of manners, *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622), as well as the longstanding humanist debate regarding the place of travel in education.[17] Nonetheless, Delavil's complaint does not merely serve as an indication of comparative social status or of who makes the

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[16] In the Mermaid edition of the play (A. Wilson Verity, ed., *Thomas Heywood*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903), no line numbers are given. In place of lines where it is difficult to discern, I provide page numbers indicated by a comma (rather than a period).
[17] See Dissertation Introduction.

"complete gentleman."[18] This list of travel reading—astrology, surveying, navigation,

mercantilism, travel narratives, and maps—serves up a point of comparison for Young

Geraldine's comparatively terse response: "I must confess / I have seen Jerusalem and

Rome, have brought / Mark from the one, from the other testimony, / Known Spain, and

France, and from their airs have sucked / A breath of every language" (1.1, 158). The

young traveler stoically agrees he has "seen," "known" and even "sucked" of the various

places on his tour. However, despite the vivid, almost bodily image of Young Geraldine

taking in his surroundings abroad, the qualification of what it is he has "sucked"—"a

breath of every language"—seems disappointing when compared to Delavil's more active

description of disembodied travel.[19] If the actual traveler, he who has the "practic,"

describes his experiences in vague terms (as that which he has "seen" and "known"), it is

the traveler-theoric who details the action and the energy of journeying with language

that bespeaks mobility: "motion," "influence," "direct," and "bring back." Where Young

Geraldine's narration of his travels abroad lacks syntactical and semantic force, his

"theoric" companion deploys discursive pairings like "wandering" and "fixed," "set" and

"seek," which convey earnestness and energy. Moreover, Delavil's travel knowledge

yields him the ability to speak of "degree" and "distance" and of the compass; his friend,

however, remains reluctant, refusing details and instead offering a familiar, if not

formulaic, list of place names: Jerusalem, Rome, Spain, and France. Ironically, Delavil

offers a fuller, more robust image of both travel's variety and its realm of practice in his

account of travel *books*.

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[18] Rowland reads this opening scene on travel as a means of character development: "…[In the debate over the practic and the theoric] Hewyood establishes a rank and social style for his characters: these are sophisticated if self-conscious young gentlemen…" (139).
[19] I will return to the image of "air" being sucked later in my discussion of Old Wincott's affections for Young Geraldine and his travel experience.

The tension set up by this early exchange between two English travelers bespeaks, on the one hand, a familiar pairing of actual adventures with armchair journeys. On the other hand, audiences also heard contrasting accounts of an English traveler abroad and an English traveler at home. In both instances, the tone suggested by the speaker's diction ("wandering" and "motion" versus "seen" and "known") belies the semantic content of the lines. Delavil's vicarious travel should contain, the logic goes, far less excitement and less energy than Young Geraldine's "true" experience abroad. Here, however, the contrast created by the familiar travel trope—in which journeying by "theoric" in England implies stasis whereas travel by "practic" abroad implies activity—is rendered unstable. In just the first few lines of the play, Heywood offers audiences immediate insight into the ways in which *The English Traveller* destabilizes notions of travel at home and abroad. "Theoric versus practic," it seems, is a binary built to be broken.

The precarious binds that tie imaginary travel to reading and actual travel to physical activity reach a breaking point in the play's second act when Young Geraldine reports on a strange disturbance at the household of Wincott's neighbor in London, the merchant Lionel. It appears the merchant's son, Young Lionel, with the aid and encouragement of the servant, Reginald, took full financial liberties in his father's absence, inviting a "full table['s]" list of guests for drink, feast and music (1.2, 173). The resulting "giddy wildness" left the "unthrift youth" and his guests shipwrecked on land—not only, as many characters comment, in a figurative sense (having spent the money his father strove to earn while risking actual shipwreck at sea), but also in a literal sense.[20]

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[20] In her essay, "Shipwrecks in the City: Commercial Risk as Romance in Early Modern City Comedy" *(Plotting Early Modern London: New Essays on Jacobean City Comedy*, Ashgate, 2004) Anne-Julia Zwierlein suggests that shipwrecks in the city signify a rewriting of the adventure plot to reflect new mercantile concerns related to travel. While I agree with Zwierlein (financial discourse abounds in *The*

These carousers, Young Geraldine explains, "all their brains / Warmed with the heat of wine" and after when "discourse was offered / Of ships, and storms at sea," believed themselves victims of a storm, mistaking their drunken "unsteadfast footing" for a "turbulent sea and tempest" (2.1, 179). The alcohol-induced chaos intensifies as one proclaims, "Fly…/ Up to the main-top, and discover" while others "hoist into the street, / As to the sea, …/ Stools, tables, trestles, trenchers, bedsteads, cups," and "one lies struggling / Upon the floor, as if he swum for his life" (2.1.179). Far from mere hilarity, though, these lines offer a parody of the shipwreck at sea. The prologue's promise that this play contains no tricks of the stage (music, dumb shows, combat, marriage, or dancing) has remained, for the most part, true. The trope of the staged shipwreck has been only partially breached. Rather than serve as a plot device and the vehicle (literal and figurative) of the play's adventure and intrigue, the raucous adventure in Lionel's homestead parodies voyage drama. In Heywood's play, adventurous voyaging is rendered ridiculous through the intoxicated antics of imaginary "travail." As such, the boundaries between the real and the imagined, the local and the distant momentarily collapse on one another, albeit in a satiric pile-up of bodies, "stools, tables, trestles, trenchers, bedsteads, [and] cups."

The shipwreck-at-home is not simply an inversion or a satiric shift of binaries utilized as a way of discrediting mercantile ventures abroad. The scene Young Geraldine describes has a more nuanced purpose as it also functions as a reminder that *The English*

English Traveller), I would refute the notion that these narrative moments can be summed up as plot devices, metaphors for economic anxieties about the risks of mercantile ventures. Instead, in Heywood's play, the metaphoric combines with broader questions and practices of travel to produce a multi-dimensional notion of early modern English travel. The shipwreck bespeaks concerns about England's financial investments abroad, but it also troubles stable notions of what does and does not constitute the experience of an "English traveller."

Traveller is what Richard Rowland calls "Heywood's own most theatrically self-conscious play," "a play concerned with the instability of generic conventions" (137, 139). Though no "dumb show" or play-within-a-play graces its pages, *The English Traveller* is as "theatrically self-conscious" about genre as it is travel. The metatheatricality is especially evident in the fourth act following Lionel's discovery of his son's treachery. The morning after the drunken shipwreck in London, Young Lionel awakes to discover his father had returned early from sea. By way of delaying his arrival, Reginald agrees to orchestrate a series of fictions to keep Lionel away from the house. When the plot against the merchant is revealed, Lionel approaches his conspirators who quickly repent—all, except, for Reginald. Instead, he refuses to come down from the house-ship, exclaiming, "I'll rather stand here / Like a statue, in the fore-front of your house, / For ever, like the picture of Dame Fortune / Before the Fortune play-house" (4.6, 237). Though the characters on stage ignore Reginald's theatrical allusion, the early modern audience is likely to have caught the insinuation. If Reginald's presence atop Lionel's house renders him comparable to Dame Fortune, then the entire scene of imaginary voyaging aboard the ship-house would have taken place in a playhouse. Such imaginary voyaging, of course, was experienced by London audiences all the time when the stage literally became (as it does in *The Tempest*, for example) the deck of a ship about to be swallowed by raging seas. In this scene, Heywood does not simply invoke, as he had earlier, the dramatic *trope* of the shipwreck; instead, he invokes the spectators' *experience* of it. Imaginary travel—in a house or a theater—the play suggests, is not entirely a disembodied, passive experience. It is grounded in a physical reality as well as a metaphysical one. And if, as others have suggested, there are many English travelers in

this drama,[21] the full potential of this variety is voiced when the imagined and the lived collide, where, as Heywood himself was reminded, "The world's a theatre, the earth a stage."[22] In the realm of the dramatic (and metatheatric), "theoric" and "practic" lose their distinctions.

While metatheatrics help to blur the boundary between the imaginary and the actual, the theoric and the practic, the topography of the play and the local journeys of its characters further this process. Shortly after the opening scene in which Young Geraldine and Delavil discuss the differences between their travel experiences, they arrive at the home of Old Wincott, neighbor to the Geraldines and eager supporter of Young Geraldine's excursions in Europe and the Levant. Delavil and Young Geraldine's conversation occurs at the end of their own local journey in Barnet. That the two are guests at Wincott's house, visitors from a neighboring location, is made especially clear through the language of hospitality that surrounds their visit. Old Wincott informs Young Geraldine repeatedly that he is "welcome" in a house "never private," "neighbor," "loved," told they "must not be strangers" and to "think this your home, free as your father's house, / And to command it, as the master on't / Call boldly here, and entertain your friends, / As in your own possessions" (1.1, 160). The earnestness of the travelers' host emphasizes his hospitality, and, thus, notions known to foreign travelers in which "stranger" and "neighbor" are recognizable terms. Discursively speaking, even moving from one household in Barnet to another requires such language. As London's inhabitants often recognized when "stranger" communities (from abroad or rural England) lived

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[21] See Rabkin who asks, "Who is the English traveller?" (13).
[22] *Apology for Actors* (1612).

alongside native Londoners, great distance alone does not determine one's stranger—and thus, traveler—status.

A stranger/neighbor terminology is also deployed as a means of articulating interpersonal relationships and desires. Wincott's enthusiastic welcome of this "neighbor" sounds excessive, especially when considered alongside Young Geraldine's earlier characterization: "He studies to engross me to himself, / And is so wedded to my company, / He makes me stranger to my father's house, / Although so near a neighbor" (1.1, 159). Without a son and heir, Old Wincott has recognized Geraldine's son as the inheritor of his (Wincott's) property. Young Geraldine's frequent travels to Wincott's residence have actually shifted his own status as a stranger/neighbor in relation to his father's home and his familial affiliation: he is now "stranger to [his] father's house." Moreover, the description of Wincott's affections as "wedded" to his neighbor's son calls up the Prologue's claim that the play would use "No combat, [or] marriage." Why "wedded"? Wincott's affection for Young Geraldine causes the traveler pause—not on the grounds of male-male love, but on the grounds that it has alienated him from his father's house and altered his paternal affiliations. The potential trouble with Old Wincott's overindulgent, amorous affections for this young traveler is rendered in terms of a familial relationship. Though he has just returned from abroad, Young Geraldine remains marooned from his own father at "home."

The English Traveller's conflation of travel desire with misplaced desire delivers a critique of the overindulgent imaginary traveler. However, the very terms of that critique—imagination, not actual travel, is the problem—soon falter. Wincott's suggestion that Young Geraldine's *experience* makes him an ideal traveler-narrator

echoes Delavil's earlier wish that he "to [his] notion [of travel] / Had joined but your

experience" (1.1, 157). Precisely what qualifies as "experience," though, comes under

question. Prudentilla, Wincott's sister-in-law, poses a question to the foreign traveler:

> PRUDENTILLA. In your travels
>   Through France, through Savoy, and through Italy,
>   Spain, and the Empire, Greece and Palestine,
>   Which breeds the choicest beauties?
> Y. GERALDINE. In troth, lady,
>   I never cast on any in those parts
>   A curious eye of censure, since my travel
>   Was aimed at language, and to know;
>   These passed me but as common objects did—
>   Seen, but not much regarded.   (1.1, 161)

Young Geraldine's strategic avoidance of the question of the world's "choicest beauties"

suggests a degree of morality and restraint that English youth were often cautioned to

keep in mind while abroad. However, Young Geraldine's insistence that his "travel / Was

aimed at language, and to know" such that women were "seen, but not much regarded"

casts doubt on the full extent of his "experience." Again, travels are couched in general

terms: "to know," "seen." Following a bit more goading by Prudentilla, Young Geraldine

relents, explaining, "being an Englishman, / 'Mongst all these nations I have seen or

tried, / To please me best, here would I choose my bride" (1.1, 162). Nonetheless, such an

assertion appears after a long list describing the world's women that itself sounds

borrowed from a travel narrative.[23] Young Geraldine's answer—part polite gentleman,

part borrowed from books?—further destabilizes the divide that separates knowledge

gleaned from books and the sort gathered en route.

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[23] See for example, George Sandys' *A Relation of a Journey* (1615) and Thomas Coryat's *Coryat's Crudities* (1611).

II. "Speak like traveller"

Richard Brome's comedy *The Antipodes* (1638, 1640) tells the story of Peregrine Joyless, a young country gentleman whose obsession with reading travel narratives has left him deeply melancholic, delusional and neglectful of his husbandly duties—sexual and otherwise—with his wife of three years, Martha. Indeed, this is a stage play consumed by travel, actual and imagined: the initial local journey from the English countryside to London, mental wanderings inspired by over-indulgent readings of travel narratives, a visit to the home-theater of a London lord, the prologue's warning that "we are bound to travel . . . tonight" (15),[24] and, most centrally, a drug-induced theatrical-journey to "anti-London." While the many journeys throughout *The Antipodes* shape the narrative, these travels by no means function as a means to an end, theatrical or otherwise. Instead, representations of English journeying in Brome's stage play generate a series of meditations on the meaning of travel in early modern England. Indeed, discourses inherited from popular foreign travel narratives are the subject of parody, critique, and puns throughout the play, a point demonstrated early in Act One in which Peregrine is under the care of a curious doctor, Doctor Hughball, who treats patients "not so much by bodily physic . . . / As medicine of the mind" (1.1.21-3).[25] The doctor devises an elaborate theatrical plan to cure Peregrine of his "travelling thoughts" by producing a staged trip to the antipodes of London, "anti-London." Supposing Hughball to be an esteemed traveler, Peregrine agrees to participate in what he believes to be a real voyage to the other end of the world. Once they have arrived at their antipodean

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[24] Though not alone in relating the play-watching experience to that of a journey, Brome's play adds an additional dimension and level of semantic play to this dramatic trope.

[25] I use Anthony Parr's edition of the play published in his collection, *Three Renaissance travel plays* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995): 217-326.

destination, Hughball asks Peregrine to recall his experience of sailing halfway around the world, demanding that his patient "speak like a traveller" (2.2.24). This command triggers a moment of clarity for Peregrine. He suddenly shifts from feeling unsure about where he is and how long he has been traveling to utter confidence in his circumstances:

> I do remember, as we *passed* the verge
> *O'th'upper* world, coming *down*, *downhill*
> The *setting* sun, then bidding them good night
> Came gliding easily *down* by us and struck
> New day before us, lighting us on our way,
> But with such heat that till he was got far
> Before us, we even melted.   (2.2.25-31, my emphasis)

Relying on images he has come across many times in his past reading, images wrought with references to directional language and movement from one climate to other less temperate ones, Peregrine does as he is told. He speaks as a traveler would speak. Despite the fact that he has actually been in a drug-induced sleep for only a few hours, Peregrine confidently deploys these idioms of up-down direction and solar orientation to recall his fictional eight-month voyage. In this discourse, Peregrine assures us, lies evidence of his journey – it is how he *knows* he has traveled. The audience, however, is in on the joke: despite having only moved from one London household to another, Peregrine has convinced himself that he has sailed to the opposite end of the world. We are meant to laugh at the way he invokes simplistic discourses of travel (passed, upper, down) and a relative sense of spatial orientation (I was up, now I'm down). As modern readers of this play, then, we are left with a number of questions: If Peregrine's travel talk is parodied, if it bears the brunt of an inside joke, what *does* it mean to "speak" like a traveler in seventeenth-century England?

First performed in 1638 on the heels of the theater closure from May 1636 to

November 1637 due to a plague outbreak, *The Antipodes* offered its audiences a satiric

look at the suspicions surrounding disease and the theater (Brome's play-within-a-play

heals its patients), political and literal inversions of London life (the play stages anti-

London as the "world upside down"), and clever comparisons of the theatrical experience

to the travel experience. These political and gendered inversions have, understandably,

attracted a great deal of scholarly attention as literary or dramatic tropes that enable us to

read implicit elements of early modern English culture.[26] Marina Leslie convincingly

points out that Brome's play enacts a "misogynist tradition of antipodal inversion" in

which it rights the wrong of Peregrine's wandering mind (the disease of travel and, by

extension, ignorance of his patriarchal duties) by inverting the travel paradigm, bringing

"fantasies of foreign conquest" home.[27] While I agree with Leslie's reading, I suggest

that in pathologizing a patient for wandering "far" and for failing to recognize his marital

and patriarchal roles at home, the play moves beyond tropes of inversion. The play's

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[26] See Ian Donaldson, "'Living backward': *The Antipodes*," *The World Upside-Down: Comedy from Jonson to Fielding* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970); Martin Butler *Theatre and Crisis: 1632-1642* (London: Cambridge UP, 1984) pp. 214-20; Marina Leslie, "Antipodal Anxieties: Joseph Hall, Richard Brome, Margaret Cavendish and the Cartographies of Gender," *Genre* 30 (Spring/Summer 1997): 51-78; and Valerie Traub in her reading of the play's rendering of erotic knowledge in *The Renaissance of Lesbianism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002), pp. 60-62. More recently, scholars have begun to note the centrality of travel to the play: Anthony Parr included *The Antipodes* in a his valuable *Three Renaissance Travel Plays* (1995), Julie Sanders published "The Politics of Escapism: Fantasies of Travel and Power in Richard Brome's *The Antipodes* and Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist*" (in *Writing and Fantasy*, eds. Ceri Sullivan and Barbara White, 1999), Claire Jowitt added *The Antipodes* to her list of "voyage dramas" in *Voyage Drama and Gender Politics: Real and Imagined Worlds, 1589-1642* (New York: Manchester UP, 2003), and Matthew Steggle, in *Richard Brome: Place and Politics on the Caroline stage* (New York: Manchester UP, 2004), says of the play, "It is clearly a specimen of travel writing of some sort" (109). To varying degrees, however, each of these writers treats travel as a conceptual means to an end, a literary trope with which to hang ideas about colonialism, inversion, politics, drama, or comedy. Jowitt goes so far as to say in her conclusion, "Brome's text refuses to engage with real experiences of travel" (224) while Sanders mentions, "Brome's play too is characterized by the absence of authentic travellers" (141). Such impulses, I argue, risk closing down a number of fruitful analytic possibilities regarding the nature and representation of travel in early modern England—one of which, rests, quite "real," in Brome's antipodean drama.

[27] Leslie, 75, 66.

engagement with issues of travel extends beyond the home/abroad paradigm, virtually driving the narrative and conceptual energies of the play throughout all five acts.

Unlike the neat, contained humor of the ideological inversion—where Peregrine's propensity for *foreign* travel maps onto a cure at *home*, where his travels "far" bring him to that which is most proximate—the trouble underlying Peregrine's travels pose a set of discursive and symbolic problems that expose the insufficiency of reading his travels through a binary model.[28] Pairings such as "upper"/ "down," simplistic affirmations of near and far, and an over-reliance on tropes of difference not only combine to produce the humor of Peregrine's condition, but also serve as critical sites for thinking more carefully about the moment these binaries crack beneath the pressure of the local. Even in moments where the play seems to reproduce binary notions of travel, using them to move various aspects of the plot forward, it also works to destabilize them, to render them incomplete, insufficient, and partial for accounting for that experience. Brome's play does not simply throw into question the impetus behind traveling abroad (whereby, as Leslie suggests, travel effeminizes the voyager). It also challenges two particular terms used to define travel: travel as a distant journey and travel as an experience of cultural encounter. In looking to various moments in the play—when origin and destination conflate, encounters with the familiar suddenly become unfamiliar, passage across space is neither distant nor entirely measurable, and the experience of travel is more of a cognitive experience than a physical one—I argue that *The Antipodes* enacts an

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[28] In the tradition of Joseph Hall's *Munds Alter Et Idem* (1605, 1609 English translation) in which the satire of the "other world" (distopia) merely inverts rather than destabilizes tropes or social norms. Satire critiques through inversion, but those critiques rarely destabilize the binary itself; it is merely flipped: i.e. claiming that lawyers are honest in the Antipodes doesn't change the terms by which we imagine lawyers, it merely comments on their *dis*honesty through satiric inversion. For a modern edition of Hall's text, see *The Discovery of a New World*, ed. Huntington Brown (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1937).

extensive, albeit funny, epistemological critique of early modern travel practices whereby

knowing travel, particularly in its local domain, remains an unresolved, compelling

problem throughout the play.

From the play's opening scene, audiences learn of the troubles plaguing the

Joyless family – namely, Peregrine's proclivity for things "far." Peregrine's father,

Joyless, explains the root of his son's troubles:

> In tender years he always loved to read
> Reports of travels and of voyages
> And when young boys like him would tire themselves
> With sports and pastimes, and restore their spirits
> Again by meat and sleep, he would whole days
> And nights (sometimes by stealth) be on such books
> As might convey his fancy round the world. . . . .
> When he grew up towards twenty,
> His mind was all on fire to be abroad. . . .
> . . . . His mother and
> Myself opposed him still in all and, strongly
> Against his will, still held him in and won
> Him into marriage, hoping that would call
> In his extravagant thoughts. But all prevailed not,
> Nor stayed him – *though at home* – from travelling
> So far beyond himself that now, too late,
> I wish he had gone abroad to meet his fate.   (1.1.130-151, emphasis mine)

Peregrine's travel sickness is a product of physical inactivity, excessive reading,

imaginative wandering, and a burning desire to be abroad. In particular, though, his is a

problem of location: "though at home" he has traveled "far" (149-50). Rather than use

physical exertion or labor (something other children did when they "tire[d] themselves

with sports and pastimes"), Peregrine's means of transport has been his books.[29] They

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[29] The question of Peregrine's transport is made all the more salient through the exact phrasing his father chooses to describe his mental journeys: "he would whole days. . . be on such books / As might convey his fancy round the world" (1.1.134-6). The use of the words "be on" clearly implies Peregrine's stationary practice of reading yet it also toys with and sense of materiality and the possibility that these books are literal vehicles of mobility. They produce an image of Peregrine riding "on" his books in a kind of magic carpet (or book) ride to other regions of the world.

have had the ability to "convey" him around the world. While the language of travel in this passage relies on familiar tropes of measurable distance – words like "beyond," "far," and "convey," for example – they nonetheless present a problem. Peregrine has traveled far, but the *distance* he has traveled cannot be measured in geographic terms. Peregrine's degree of mental illness, the extent he has gone "beyond himself," now marks the evidence of his travel. Nonetheless, Joyless employs terms which invoke a sense of physical movement. In describing how to control his son's extravagance, Joyless says he had "held him in," "call[ed] in his extravagant thoughts," and failed in "stay[ing] him," suggesting a struggle against mobility. Despite efforts to "stay" him, hold him, and keep him "close" – physically and through marriage to a local woman – Peregrine has, nonetheless, wandered beyond his parents' reach. Peregrine's location at home, his geographic nearness, does not prevent him from traveling "far." The difficulties of knowing the nature of Peregrine's travels through conventional relationships between origin, destination, and distance are made explicit through this passage's juxtaposition of travel, home, and a language that struggles to capture the nature of his travel experience. In this passage, travel both fails to and succeeds in taking Peregrine away from home, muddying the lines and the lexicons that tie early modern journeying to distant geographic locales.

Discourses of distance also inform Dr. Hughball's approach to his travelsick patient. The doctor speaks with an irony missed by Peregrine by dismissing journeys that are "too near home" (1.3.63, 70, and 73): Europe, Arabia, Paphlagonia, Mesopotamia, Mauritania, Syria, Thessalia, Persia, India, and even the clouds of the Pyrenean Mountains. For a "far traveller" (a title the doctor conveniently and intentionally coins for

himself), these places "are poor" (77). Hughball's rhetorical trick, the point he has been building toward with his disdain for places "near," comes with his suggested destination. The two, he claims, must travel "no nearer than th'Antipodes, / That which is farthest distant, foot to foot / Against our region" (1.3.85-7). The use of the phrases "no nearer" and "farthest distant" certainly feed into Peregrine's affinity for the geographically distant but also function as a critical moment of discursive collapse. On the one hand, the doctor's invocation of a land on the other side of the world plays into conventional discourses of travel; it is the "farthest distant" place. On the other hand, the audience is aware that this destination is also that which is nearest: London. Furthermore, the phrase, "no nearer," an affirmation through negation, is a curious way of describing *distance*. It elides concrete description and exposes the relativity of "near" and "far." Does "no nearer" mean far? It could actually mean "not any closer" and, given that anti-London is the nearest place, Peregrine and Hughball do technically fulfill their journey to a place "no nearer than th'Antipodes." Although Hughball employs a rhetoric that appears to rely on a discourse of distance, this language ultimately collapses the concepts of near with far, proximate with distant, and London with anti-London.

If geographic distance fails to concretely identify and account for an act of travel in *The Antipodes*, so too, are encounters with the unfamiliar questionable in their ability to mark such an experience. The first act of travel, the Joyless family's trip to London, is one of the only passages through geographic space that takes place in the body of the play. This local journey, perhaps not surprisingly, has escaped critical attention; after all, it is neither foreign nor is it far. Nonetheless, Peregrine and his family are not citizens or residents of London and, as such, they are seen as strangers by their hosts. Similarly, the

play's Londoners appear strange and unfamiliar to these country folk. The relative foreignness of other English men and women amaze both groups: Martha comments on having heard a rumor that "London wives / Do not lie every night with [their] own husbands" (1.2.266-7), and the citizens' habits of play-watching amaze Diana Joyless. Her excitement at the possibility of visiting a theater marks her as a stranger to the city, renders the theater an unfamiliar destination, and incites her husband into a fit of jealousy. He exclaims in frustration, "The air of London / Hath tainted her obedience already" (2.2.162-3). Unwilling to entertain her husband's concerns, Diana (as well as the remainder of the family) attend the doctor's play as it is the only "hope for any cure" (1.3.201). In representing the meeting between country folk and city citizens in this manner, Brome does not directly comment on the extent to which their journey is a "true" act of travel. Rather, the omission of prescriptive claims enables a kind of simultaneous coexistence of multiple travel experiences where, in this case, travelers encounter the unfamiliar in England.

As with Joyless's speech about Peregrine's travels, the play's negotiation of the meaning of "home" in relation to foreign encounter brings these moments of tension to the surface. In the play-within-a-play entitled "a world upside down," staged to convince Peregrine of the truth of his travels, Peregrine's foreign encounter takes place in the home of Letoy. Letoy's quirky nature is reflected in his house, described as "an amphitheatre / Of exercise and pleasure" (1.2.51-3).The connection between the theater and the home, though, is also literal: Letoy frequently stages "plays and masques . . . [for] nightly pastimes," and keeps a company of men and boys to entertain him (1.2.55). Despite the increasing popularity of smaller, more expensive indoor theaters such as the Cockpit and

Blackfriars,[30] Letoy's effort to keep, as he explains, "all within [him]self," by blurring the lines between the home and the stage creates a unique domestic arrangement that, while not entirely uncommon (the Salisbury Court was believed to house its manager, Richard Grunnel), heightens the presence of the foreign *within*. In other words, in staging "a world upside down" in his own home, Letoy brings the "foreign" right across his doorstep. Not only does the space of the antipodes become conflated with a local space, but the journeys to arrive at his stage-home suddenly find parallels with travels to the opposite end of the world – both involve a journey to "the antipodes." On Letoy's stage, travel is experienced through both the familiar and foreign, across local and distant spaces.

In using a promised sexual encounter to "settle and rectify" Peregrine's troubled mind, the play suggests that experiences of travel (both actual and imaginary) and an encounter with the familiar-rendered-unfamiliar have cured Peregrine – a kind of flip and fix (4.512). In doing so, However, it is erroneous to assume that Peregrine has been entirely cured of all of his troubles. This point is made all the more salient by Peregrine's own questions surrounding his state: "I am what you are pleased to make me; but / Withal so ignorant of mine own condition – / Whether I sleep, or wake, or talk or dream; / Whether I be, or be not; or if I am, / Whether I do, or do not anything" (5.2.307-11). Though he is "pleased" at his new condition, Peregrine remains noticeably unaware of what has passed. This sudden lack of clarity or inability to fully recognize his travels as a

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[30] Steggle points out the historical relevance of Beeston's attempts to attract a higher status of theater-goers during the theater closure of 1636 by inviting audiences to see his plays as a "host" invites guests into his home. While Steggle claims that these efforts resonate with Letoy in *The Antipodes*, I believe the connection has further potential implications for thinking about travel. Given Brome's contract with the Salisbury Court, the connections between Letoy's manor house/theater and the existence of a house within Salisbury Court believed to have been occupied by Richard Grunnel (the theater's manager) offer more compelling possibilities for reading the conflation between theater and home (Gerald Eades Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, vol. vi, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968, p. 91).

cure (where before they were an infection) reintroduces the very epistemological

questions that opened the play: how does Peregrine (or the audience) *know* travel?

Unable to discern what has transpired, "ignorant of [his] own condition," and lacking the

language to account for his own most recent "travails" at home, Peregrine stands at the

conclusion of the play as a reminder of precisely the kind of epistemological uncertainty

that governs imaginative travel experiences.

For audience members or readers, Peregrine's epistemological quandaries

regarding his travel acts are especially salient, precisely because of their own implied

participation in these acts as spectators, players, and perhaps even travelers.[31] The play-

within-a-play is a critical theatrical device that not only appears throughout the five acts

(first mentioned in 1.2 and either referenced or staged in each subsequent act of the play),

but also, most centrally, makes explicit the trouble with assuming travel is only known

through encounters with the foreign and measured through geographic distance. The

staging of Letoy's "world upside down" draws the Joyless family directly into the

theatrical fiction. "Audience" members like Martha, Joyless, and Diana are each

implicated at particular points in the theatrical staging of anti-London; though spectators,

they also "play" the part of antipodeans. For Peregrine, it is those who are most familiar

(his wife, father and step-mother) who become the most foreign. The slippage between

actor and spectator that is played on stage enables the early modern audience to question

its *own* relationship to Brome's drama. The meta-theatricality insists that these

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[31] Here I disagree with Charlotte Spivack's reading in which she suggests that the play-within-a-play produces a sense of alienation from both plays because the issue of reality/illusion is left unclear ["The Play-Within-the-Play on the Caroline Stage," *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, iv (1989): 195-210]. Despite finding her argument regarding the changing function of this meta-theatrical device in Caroline theater convincing overall, in my reading, it is precisely this overlap and uncertainty of the 1630s and 40s play-within-the-play which thrusts the actual London audience headlong into the Brome's antipodean drama—dissatisfied and confused, perhaps, but also eerily connected to and reliant on that same confused stage action.

seventeenth-century viewers reflect on their own experience of journeying – both within the playhouse walls and in arriving at their destination. Have they, too, played a role? Like the country audience in Brome's play, these early modern spectators have left the familiar, traveled across local spaces by foot, boat, or coach, to watch a play about the antipodes. As such, they might double as spectator-actors like Diana and Joyless, implicated in the imaginary fabric of the play. Equally possible, though, these seventeenth-century viewers might imagine themselves akin to Peregrine (one who traveled and was cured by the theater) for whom imaginary travel enacted the most fantastic effects. In short, Letoy's production of the "world upside down" offers multiple possible travel experiences to its audiences – antipodean and actual – precisely because of the layering that local spaces allow – regional, urban, theatrical, and imaginative. More compelling, though, is the realization that in a play that reshuffles the threads connecting travel to difference and distance, in this staging of the familiar-as-foreign in the home-as-stage, the audience cannot rely on discourses of distance and encounter for knowing and measuring travel – even their own experience of it. These early modern audiences are left to ponder not only how "far" and "unfamiliar" English travelers are from one another, but also, as the prologue warned them, that they *have* traveled tonight – just not very far from home.

III. "My scull mistook"

In the quarto edition of *The Antipodes* published in 1640, Brome includes an address to the reader directly following the text of the play in which he explains, "You shall find in this book more than was presented upon the stage, and left out of the

presentation for superfluous length (as some of the players pretended). I thought good all should be inserted according to the allowed original, as it was first intended…."[32] Brome imagines his "book" as not only distinct from "the presentation" on stage, but also "more," "as it was first intended." As Douglas Brooks has recently argued, Brome's decision to include such an address where a dramatic epilogue would traditionally appear highlights a shifting practice in how one experienced plays.[33] Particularly after the theaters close in 1642, play-reading, rather than play-going, becomes the dominant mode in which the public enjoys plays. For Brooks, Brome's use of the theater as Peregrine's cure to his book-obsessed illness marks a "last hurrah" for the age of the stage, particularly given Brome's own participation in ushering in the age of the page.[34] However, the page and the stage, I would argue, are not entirely distinct categories or experiences. Even in a play such as *The Antipodes* in which the book seemingly carries the burden of disease while the stage provides the antidote, the shared experiences of reading and spectating that are explored in the play make such a clear distinction difficult to uphold. In other words, as The English Traveller and The Antipodes demonstrate, the line between the imagined and the real, the theoric and the practic, the book and the play, is tantalizingly thin when it comes to travel.

It is with this in mind that I offer a brief reading of another prefatory poem included in Brome's quarto, "To The Author On His Comedy, *The Antipodes*" by Robert Chamberlain:

> Steered by the hand of Fate o'er swelling seas,
> Methought I landed on th'antipodes,

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[32] Parr, 218.

[33] Douglass Brooks, "Inky Kin: Reading in the Age of Gutenberg Paternity," *The Book of the Play*, ed. Martha Straznicky (Boston: UMass Press, 2006), 203-28.

[34] Brooks, 213.

> Where I was straight a stranger; for 'tis thus:
> Their feet do tread against the tread of us.
> My scull mistook; thy book, being in my hand,
> Hurried my soul to th'antipodean strand,
> Where I did feast my fancy and mine eyes
> With such a variety of rarities,
> That I perceive thy muse frequents some shade
> Might be a grove for a Pierian maid.
> Let idiots prate; it boots not what they say.
> *Th'Antipodes* to wit and learning may
> Have ample priv'lege, for among that crew
> I know there's not a man can judge of you.

The poem's placement in the published text, just before "The Persons in the Play," allows the lines to function as a gloss for reading the text that follows. Chamberlain imagines Brome's playbook as a factor in his journey "o'er swelling seas" to "th'antipodes" (1-2). Indeed, in the fifth line of the poem, Brome's book is juxtaposed with an actual vessel: "My scull mistook; they book, being in my hand / Hurried my soul to th'antipodean strand" (5-6). Here, the phrase "my scull mistook" refers to the "scull," the boat that mistook, or shipwrecked, on the antipodes. Also, though, Chamberlain's scull/skull "mistook"; his mind erred in leading him to this place—a passage enabled by "thy book." While Brooks reads this poem's emphasis on the book as consistent with a notion that the book was a superior *replacement* to the performance, I read the poem, as well as the plays examined here, as evidence of the shared epistemologies of travel. If Chamberlain's "scull"/skull is also the vehicle of his travels, the stage, the page, and the person have equal roles in this most local experience of journeying—a point explored in greater detail in Cokayne's Restoration drama, *The Obstinate Lady*.

Nearly twenty years after audiences first witnessed Peregrine's antipodean journeys and thirty after viewing Heywood's many English travelers, seventeenth-century play-readers were offered a similar representation of travel in the text of Aston

Cokayne's comedy, *The Obstinate Lady* (1658).[35] Though it may have never been

performed, the opening prologue to *The Obstinate Lady* reveals Cokayne's intentions that

the play reach the stage; here he candidly details the many motivations drawing playgoers

to the theater: "Some come to take up wenches," while "many gallants hither come, we

think / To sleep, and to digest their too much drink," and still "some of you ladies hither

come / To meet your servants" (16, 19-20, 29-30).[36] Regardless of the play's "actual"

appearance on stage, the combination of its theatrical and textual histories enliven its

compelling exploration of English travel: vicarious, imaginative voyaging.

Like the *The Antipodes* and *The English Traveller*, the characters of *The*

Obstinate Lady never leave England's shores; yet, talk of travel to Ethiopia, the

Antipodes, and to Asia crops up throughout the five acts in conjunction with discourses

of desire. While the title character, Lucora (the "obstinate lady"), resigns herself to

"enjoy the freedom of a single life," refusing all suitors even when one threatens suicide

(5.6, 109), Lucora's maid's sister, Vandona, strives toward a different end (5.6, 109).[37]

Newly widowed and wealthy, Vandona eagerly receives the attentions of Lorece, a

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[35] The play first circulated in print in 1657, without Cokayne's permission.

[36] In the *Cambridge Paperback Guide to Theater* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996), Sarah Stanton and Martin Banham note that Cokayne's three plays, including *The Obstinate Lady*, may have never reached the stage (72). Interestingly, *The Obstinate Lady's* circulation in print links it to dramatists such as Richard Brome, a friend of Cokayne, whose plays written and performed in the 1630s and 40s only came to print in 1653 and 1659. Reading printed plays was, especially after the theaters closed, a practice on the rise as a form of theatrical engagement.

[37] Lucora's resolve, however, eventually weakens. Resembling a plot line straight from Richard Brome's *The English Moor* (1637-40 performed, 1659 printed), Lucora only agrees to marry when she believes her lover to be a Spanish-speaking Moor who promises to take her to his homeland in Ethiopia. When Lucora discovers that her Moor is merely an Englishman disguised, she quickly recants her devotion and her promises, nearly threatening suicide herself in her rage, finally proclaiming in the play's epilogue, "The obstinate lady yet is obstinate, / And, careless either of your love or hate, / She dares continue so" (despite agreeing to marry the suitor of her father's choice; Epilogue, line 3). Like Heywood's drama, though, I would argue that *The Obstinate Lady* offers up these representations of desire-as-desire-for-travel not simply as a means of critiquing a growing taste for the exotic and for foreign travel. The risk here, and Lucora's fault, is not simply loving a Moor (though this is certainly part of the problem); instead, it is in longing for freedom from fixity (in marriage). Lucora has mistakenly assumed this required a *foreign* journey.

"fantastic gallant" "marvellously enamour'd" of her for reasons initially unstated (30).[38]

Vandona's own attraction to Lorece, though, lies in his fantastic, marvelous tales of

worldly travel. Although initially uncertain about this suitor—one she feels "is something

wild"—her resistance turns to wonder within just three exchanges with this gentleman

whose "habit, carriage, and discourse, …show [him] a traveler" (1.3, 40, 41).

Recognizing the source of her interest, Lorece responds by feeding her hunger for a

traveler's tales:

> LORECE. My boldness, she means. Sweetest Vandona, I have been one.
>   The habits, conditions, and situations of many great kingdoms I have
>   exactly gathered into my table-books; and also my fortnight's
>   observation of the Antipodes.
> VANDONA. Oh, strange! have you been there? I wonder how you came
>   thither?   (1.3, 41)

Though these lines lack specific stage directions, it is likely that Lorece's first comment,

"My boldness, she means," was an aside to the audience before his abrupt shift in

addressing "Sweetest Vandona…." Like Brome's Doctor Hughball, once Lorece

recognizes Vandona's interest in his status as a traveler, he strategically selects the most

distant place, the Antipodes, as his past journey's destination. The fiction behind such a

claim would ring true for audiences/readers who by now have heard of topsy-turvy,

upside down worlds in a number of fictional contexts.[39] Even Lorece's claim to have

"gathered" all of his observations into table-books smacks of a trope rather than a

realistic experience of travel. The practice of using erasable table-books as travel journals

was a long-practiced method satirized by Ben Jonson over fifty years earlier through his

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[38] Lorece is described as "a fantastic Gallant" in the list of Dramatis Personae.
[39] See Brome's *The Antipodes*, Hall's *The Discovery of a New World*, and John Mandeville's *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*.

own travel-obsessed character, Sir Politic Would-be.[40] Lorece's erratic description of his

route in arriving in the Antipodes only enhances a sense of doubt: from Asia, he claims to

journey, in this order, to Madrid, Naples, Crema, Alexandria ("where, against a tree, we

suffered shipwreck"), Frankfort, Lisbon, Mantua, and "the next morning we came to the

Antipodes, at twilight i' th' afternoon." The geographic impossibility of these journeys,

however, fails to deter Vandona. She is, in fact, only more engrossed in his tales. The

more intricate and absurd the fiction, the more enamored she becomes. Soon Vandona

shifts their conversation to a different topic: "You frequent plays, do you not?" Here,

what was once a mere riff on fictional adventures round the world takes on a

metatheatrical bent—a reference to Cokayne's own genre. The imaginary traveler's

response, "They are most commonly my afternoon's employment," affirms what the

audience/reader has likely already begun to suspect: that Lorece's own schooling and

experiences in travel took him no farther than a theater's walls. Lorece's vicarious

voyaging has served him well; unlike Peregrine, whose "traveler talk" is an indication of

his disease, Lorece has learned to master this language. He deploys it effectively to

"take" Vandona with "strange tales" as if he were, in fact, a foreign traveler—even an

imagined one.

The play's insistence on the fictional, even literary, constructs of travel parallels

Vandona's increasing curiosity. Initially enamored with her suitor's traveling ways,

Vandona's interest in Lorece is piqued further when she learns of his play-frequenting

tendencies: "I like him the better for it."[41] When prompted by Vandona to comment on

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[40] "this is my diary / Wherein I note my actions of the day" (*Volpone* 4.1.135). For more on table-books and writing-tables see Stallybrass, Chartier, Mowrey, and Wolfe.

[41] Indeed, this line also differentiates between their play experiences; Vandona reads plays and Lorece attends them. On female playgoers, see also Jean Howard, *The Stage and Social Struggle in Early Modern*

whether he reads histories, the theatrical traveler responds, "Many lady! I am a worm in a book: I go through them" (1.3, 43). Part traveler, part playgoer, Lorece is also a reader. Missing the overt double entendre in these lines as she has the fictive foundation of Lorece's tales —"I go *through* them" (I read them with ease and interest), "I *go* through them" (I go, I travel, by means of them)—Vandona expresses her pleasure and promises her consent to marriage in a month's time. Vandona's attraction to Lorece as traveler-playgoer-reader highlights the shared epistemological processes that bind the three roles—the imagination.

Lorece's insistence that he moves "through" books comes as a deliberate response to an earlier exchange with Vandona's servant, Jaques, who describes his mistress in similar terms: "She does nothing all day but read little comedies, and every night spends two or three hours on a great tragedy….She's no more housewife than you or I, sir" (1.1, 30). Jaques's critique of Vandona's play-reading practices hinges on her housewifery duties.[42] Vandona's dedication to a world of books leaves Lorece unaffected; instead, he dismisses the servant's concerns, explaining, "I think her no worse the woman.

England (London: Routledge, 1994), 73-92. Marta Straznicky argues that the increased practice of female play-readers and its association with corporeality "legitimizes women's pleasure in drama—as both spectators and performers—in ways that are conceptually unavailable in the context of public playhouses" ("Reading through the Body: Women and Printed Drama" in *The Book of the Play*, Boston: UMassP, 2006). Where Straznicky finds compelling evidence that play-reading disrupts to the "seemingly absolute distinction drawn …between public stage and private space" (70), I read Vandona's own play-reading pleasure as less threatening in that regard. Instead, her reading practices are couched in terms of the threat they pose to domestic work—not their potentially public, performative, or erotic transgressions. This is notable because where Vandona's practices could have threatened her *virtuousness*, they are instead rendered as troubles more like those of Peregrine: reading and the imagination as a distraction from one's duties. Though Vandona is certainly seen as desiring Lorece (because of his own connection to travel, reading and play-watching), she is not overtly and excessively eroticized per se. Her main fault is her imaginative delusion and wandering.

[42] See Straznicky for evidence of women's ownership of playbooks in the early modern period (71). She also cites Humphrey Moseley's preface to Beaumont and Fletcher's plays in which he alludes to this, apparently common, practice: "Some Playes (you know) written by these Authors were heretofore Printed: I thought not convenient to mix them with this Volume, which of it selfe is entirely New. And indeed it would have rendred the Booke so Voluminous, that Ladies and Gentlewomen would have found it scarce manageable, who in Workes of this nature must first be remembred" (Straznicky 59).

Housewifery is the superficies of a genteel female, and the parenthesis of a lady, which may well be left out." In participating in, rather than distancing himself from, a literary lexicon, Lorece deconstructs Jaques's concerns over Vandona's active imagination. He speaks her literary language. Nonetheless, if Vandona's housewifery is but a parenthetical notation, she is reduced to a textual construct within Lorece's metaphor, held within though not limited to her domestic duties. She is a word to be read, or, if we consider the erotic implications of Lorece's earlier line, a book to "go through."

In *The Obstinate Lady*, to be a traveler is to be a reader, a play-watcher and a scholar—a point Jaques reminds us of in his own cleverly constructed retort to Lorece, "You are a scholar; your bookship shall direct me" (1.1, 30). Indeed, plays and play-books—not far off destinations, harrowing adventures at sea, or foreign encounters— lie at the center of this romantic travel tale. Although Cokayne's characters reference innumerable global destinations, both fact and fiction, it is their imaginations that most actively shape the worlds and vehicles of their travels.[43]

IV. "[M]uch pleasure in strange discourse"

Thus far I have demonstrated that the plays of Heywood, Brome, and Cokayne offer up both an alternative way of knowing (an epistemology) and experiencing (a

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[43] In his collection, *Small Poems of Divers Sorts*, published in the same year as *The Obstinate Lady*, Cokayne includes a poem entitled "A Remedy for Love" in which he prescribes two antidotes where "double profit" may be had for lovesickness: labor or "to study and employ [the] brains and mind" and travel. Regarding the latter, though, Cokayne does not advocate foreign journeying: "I do not give thee counsel to subdue / Thy passions by sailing unto Peru: Neither advise I thee to pass the seas, / To take a view of the Pyramides: / Nor into Italy where Romans old / The Scepter of the Universe did hold: / … / The journey I enjoyn will not enforce / Thee to take shipping, but to ride an horse: / For will not England be sufficient / To cure they wound, and to produce content? / Travel it through;" (B4). For the next six pages, Cokayne provides a list of rhymed couplets detailing England's "best and notedst places to view," of which he includes London, Canterbury, Bath, Windsor Castle, Cambridge, and Kingstone on Hull, among others. All of this is to say that Cokayne's exploration of travel's local domains in his play is no coincidence; domestic journeying, particularly in relation to desire, informs his poetic works as well.

phenomenology) travel rooted in the imagination. While the act of traveling need take a

journeyer no farther than that journeyer's own mind, the individual only knows s/he has

journeyed because s/he imagined it. The self-contained cycle of travel knowledge and

travel experience in these plays, nonetheless, consistently gestures outward to a second

discourse: desire. It is, perhaps, no coincidence that the plays' explorations of the

imagination's role in an epistemology of travel is formulated in terms of erotic desire. In

early modern literature, carnal knowledge is often represented in terms of foreign travel

and vice versa. The following oft-quoted lines from John Donne's "To his Mistress

Going to Bed" figure erotic desire in precisely these terms:

> Licence my roaving hands, and let them go,
> Before, behind, between, above, below.
> O my America! my new-found-land,
> My kingdome, safeliest when with one man man'd,
> My Myne of precious stones: My Emperie,
> How blest am I in this discovering thee!   (25-30)

Donne's "mistress" is simultaneously a "new-found-land," a "myne of precious stones,"

and an "emperie" discovered and explored by the suitor's "roaving hands." Directional

language—"before, behind, between, above, below"—guides the reader, as well as the

traveler/lover, directly into a geo-erotic discovery: "O my America! my new-found-land."

The parallels between body and land, lover and voyager, echo a long tradition in which

the newly discovered American continent was rendered in both visual and textual culture

as a woman "discovered" by European men.[44] Desire and discovery in the early modern

period, it would seem, were also part of a self-contained cycle of the patriarchal

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[44] Women's bodies were also used in cartographic images, though these were not confined to representations of America. See, for example, Traub, "Mapping the Global Body," and Wintle's "Renaissance maps and the construction of the idea of Europe." For the use of gendered language in foreign travel narratives, see Louis Montrose, "The Work of Gender and the Discourse of Discovery" *Representations* 33 (Winter 1991):1-41.

imagination. However, in the plays studied here, desire is not mediated through discovery per se, but through *travel*. Like the discourses of encounter and distance borrowed from foreign travel narratives, the notion of erotic discovery proves a poor fit. The ties that bind love-of-voyaging to love-of-person are undone in each of the plays, some refastened in a new direction, others left tantalizingly untied and unresolved. In opening up a new set of questions, possibilities, and epistemologies of travel, these plays also shift the terms by which desire is articulated and imagined in relation to it.

In Heywood's *The English Traveller*, Old Wincott's desire for Young Geraldine is rendered interchangeable with his desire for travel. Wincott's wife (simply referred to as "Wife") shares with Young Geraldine that her husband "Hath took much pleasure in your strange discourse/ About Jerusalem and the Holy Land," to which Wincott responds, "And what more pleasure to an old man's ear / That never drew save his own country's air, / Than hear such things related? I do exceed him / In years, I must confess, yet he much older / Than I in his experience" (1.1,161). Here, it is Young Geraldine's "strange discourse," rather than his person, that provides his pseudo-suitor with "pleasure." In other words, Young Geraldine's desirability in this moment hinges not on his status as a traveler, but on his role as a travel *narrator*. Wincott's lament that he "never drew save his own country's air" recalls Young Geraldine's earlier claim to have "sucked" the airs of foreign lands for the purposes of learning languages. If the traveler's most bodily, "practic" experience abroad is one involving language, it is not surprising that the use of language in narration colors his sense of value at home. In desiring a traveler's *tales*, however, Wincott troubles the desire-discovery paradigm of the foreign voyage. Wincott receives his pleasures through the ear, through narration—the process of pleasure is

neither one of active discovery nor is it mediated through that which is unknown. Young Geraldine may tell tales of foreign adventures, but, as both the object and the vehicle of Wincott's pleasure, he is, as Wincott implores the youth to think of himself, both "neighbor" and shared "master" of Wincott's home.

Rather than serve as mutually reinforcing impulses, foreign voyaging and desire function as repelling forces later in the play. Whereas Young Geraldine's earlier tour abroad was, as he claims, "aimed at language, and to know," the journeys he plans to embark on by the end of the play are intended as a curative to his own lovesickness. Young Geraldine's own desires for Wincott's wife and her subsequent betrayal of his affections for Delavil's lead him to "hate [his] very country" and plan to "take [his] leave, / Both of this clime and nation, travel till / Age snow upon this head. My passions now / Are unexpressible; I'll end them thus:" (4.4, 224). Having been told of his son's secret desires for Wincott's wife, Old Geraldine advises Young Geraldine to marry another woman to avoid "imminent shipwreck" (3.1, 199). These two notions of travel—one imagined as a cure to lovesickness, one imagined as lovesickness itself—resemble those surrounding Brome's troubled traveler, Peregrine. Like Peregrine, Young Geraldine is urged to marry as an antidote to travel, to desire, and to desiring travel. Also like Brome's antipodean traveler, Heywood's touring gentleman remains at home; the promise of marriage "stays" him. Upon realizing that her affair with Delavil has been discovered, Wincott's wife faints and soon dies, leaving Old Wincott a widower. Twenty-six lines after learning of his wife's death, Wincott offers a proposal to Young Geraldine in the hopes of keeping him in England: "As my chief friend! This meeting, that was made / Only to take of you a parting leave, / Shall now be made a marriage of our love, / Which

none save only death shall separate" (5.2, 248). Freed of his own marriage vows, Wincott is now, ostensibly, able to profess his "love" for his "chief friend" and traveler, who replies, "It calls me from all travel, and from henceforth / With my country I am friends." Heywood's own declaration in the prologue of "No combat, marriage, not so much to-day" dissolves any sense of comic resolution that this promise of marriage (and its supposed quelling of Young Geraldine's penchant for travel) might achieve. Moreover, even if this "marriage of our love" resolves Young Geraldine's wandering ways abroad, the play emphatically has demonstrated the impossibility of it ending his travels entirely—at least in the imaginative domain.

The pitfalls of imaginative journeying and Wincott's earlier yearning for the travel tale also find parallels with Brome's travel-sick character, Peregrine; in both instances, these travelers of "theoric" have desires that take them astray—Wincott from his wife such that she is able to have an affair without his knowing and Peregrine from ever consummating his marriage—yet not so far as the bring them into direct relation with the foreign. Peregrine's ultimate "foreign encounter" in anti-London is also an encounter with that which is most familiar: his wife.[45] In an attempt to cure both Peregrine and Martha of their "wandering fancy," Letoy stages a scene straight out of one of Peregrine's travel books. Martha, "dressed like a queen, between two boys in robes, her train borne up," enters the stage to "soft music playing," transformed from country wife and spectator to antipodean queen (Act 4 stage directions between lines 420 and

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[45] For an analysis of Martha Joyless's melancholy (brought on by her sexual ignorance) as it relates to her erotic knowledge as experienced with another woman and Peregrine's "cure," see Valerie Traub, "The Joys of Martha Joyless: Queer Pedagogy and the (Early Modern) Production of Sexual Knowledge," *The Forms of Renaissance Thought: New Essays in Literature and Culture*, eds. Leonard Barkan, Bradin Cormack, Sean Keilen (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, forthcoming 2008). Also see *The Renaissance of Lesbianism in Early Modern England*, 60-62.

425). She is presented to Peregrine who, at this point, believes himself to have deposed of any previous ruler in the Antipodes during his sack of the offstage props area. Acting his part, the antipodean, Byplay, announces: "See, sir, your state presents to you the daughter, . . .of / Our late deposed and deceased sovereign, / Who with his dying breath bequeathed her to you" (4.440-4). Although Peregrine initially hesitates to accept his "prize" for fear of "the dangerous passage of maidenhead" (something Mandeville has warned him of), he eventually accepts "for the safety of [his] kingdom" (4.465, 474). Peregrine must be tricked into a sexual encounter with his real wife in order to cure him of his delusions. Ironically, Peregrine's reliance on the notion of travel as a means of foreign encounter has actually only brought him closer to that which is familiar; it has brought him home by reestablishing his patriarchal role and sexual responsibility for marital reproduction. His sexual discovery does not, as he believes, replicate a foreign discovery; this is, if not already known "discovery," certainly one of that which is near.

Like Peregrine, Cokayne's love-struck widow, Vandona, mistakes fiction for reality. She supposes a well-versed playgoer a world traveler and, in so doing, misplaces her desires for "strange tales" of foreign travel onto a teller of tall tales. As an avid reader herself, Vandona is unable to discern the difference between the imagined and the real. However, if the play seems to scoff at Vandona's propensity for the imaginary—such that she mistakes tall tales for travel tales—it does so at its own expense. Cokayne's "audience" was most likely a readerly one, entertained and taken by his own "strange tales" in print—not on the stage. Thus, the attraction Vandona feels for Lorece and his mutual interest in this parenthetical lady replicates the experiences of the reader. Though often tenuously constructed, it is precisely the fine line between the actual and the

fictional, the "practic" and the "theoric"—one which *The Obstinate Lady* explores through notions of travel—that engages the play-reader/watcher and the imaginary traveler. Indeed, it may be that it is on this line and in imaginative travel where pleasure itself most comfortably treads.

In each of the three plays examined here, the local travels of various characters provide the backdrop for a series of inquiries into the nature of journeying. *The English Traveller* troubles the divide between seemingly distinct experiences: travel by practice and travel by reading. Rather than mutually exclusive modes of travel, though, the "theoric" and "practic" form an incomplete binary whereby the imaginary or "theoric" modes of travel are not only rendered real, but privileged in relation to actual journeying. Fifteen years later Brome picks up where Heywood left off, exploring more epistemological questions of how travel is known through language, how one "speaks" like a traveler. The Antipodes demonstrates that discourses of distance and difference are insufficient means of expressing a set of travel experiences in which proximate and distant, familiar and unfamiliar, collapse on one another in an imagined, theatrical trip around the world. Cokayne's play extends the questions raised by Brome and Heywood one step further, suggesting that the play-going (or play-reading) experience is itself an act of travel, albeit imaginary. The fact that *The Obstinate Lady* likely never made it to the stage and was instead consumed by readers at home contributes to the play's own intentional foregrounding of the shared epistemological and phenomenological processes of imaginary travel. Finally, regarding the way in which travel and desire are often thought of in terms of one another, the exploration of an epistemology of the imagination is also a question of the pleasures derived from vicarious journeying.

The imaginative domain of travel explored here is, not coincidentally, also a product of genre. As a final point, I would like to suggest that the early modern stage and the literary works born of it play a crucial part in the emergence of new understandings of travel in early modern England. Moreover, given the radical changes to England's travelscape occurring in the first half of the seventeenth century, the drama of the 1620s to 1650s, in particular, provides a distinctive set of answers to the burgeoning questions surrounding how travel is known in seventeenth-century England. As local travel itself increased in visibility and in frequency, the stage responded by not only staging acts of domestic movement such as the river journeys in *Westward Ho!* and *Eastward Ho!* or the horseback rides between Barnet and London in *The English Traveller*. Heywood, Brome, and Cokayne also press on the terms of movement itself. Plays, unlike narrative accounts, pamphlets, cartographic images, and almanacs, live two lives: one experienced in real space and time with stories told through the actual moving bodies of actors on stage and the other understood through the pages of play-texts. As such, dramatic texts need not only rely on figurations of subjective encounter or stage foreign locales to explore the effects and the epistemological underpinnings of movement. As a genre that hovers the boundary between physical and imagined action, as a representational form that exists simultaneously as text and performance, drama is uniquely equipped to not only explore the possibilities of imaginative travel, but to author their existence. In *The English Traveller*, *The Antipodes*, and *The Obstinate Lady*, what it means to know travel is always funneled through what it means to imagine it.

Conclusion

For a dissertation on travel, it is not entirely surprising that this project began in *The Antipodes*—not at the other end of the world but in a play. Though far from a true antipodean traveler, I have nonetheless embarked on my own surprising journey, transported initially, like Richard Brome's vicarious voyager, Peregrine, by a book. My early interests in cartography, travel, and early modern global expansion drew me to the play's title—a term which has its own set of rich cartographic and literary representational histories. Yet, in the pages of *The Antipodes*, I was surprised to find the farthest thing from a journey round the world. The farthest in that it was, as the play loves to remind us, also the nearest. Brome's characters never travel farther than London itself, journeying instead from one area of the city to another to watch a play which "stages" a theatrical cure to the antipodes for a mentally delusional armchair traveler from England's countryside. The multiple, interlocking travel plots of *The Antipodes* were something unexpected. While we are presented on the one hand with a play that emphatically refuses to stage an oceanic voyage to that farthest distant place, we are, on the other hand, given a text consumed with who, how, and where one journeys. Domestic movements serve as both conduits for satirized foreign voyages (anti-London is also just London) and as legitimate localized spatial practices in and of themselves (characters arrive at the theater, take a trip to London, and move across the stage). Brome's play seemed to me at once deeply embrocated *in* and critical *of* the discourses of distance and discovery utilized in the period's narrative accounts of foreign travel. As I began to peel

back the layers that constituted the various travel experiences in Brome's stage play, I also began to isolate the questions which came to motivate my project. What do we make of the fact that Peregrine's penchant for foreign travel is a joke? And, if distant voyages abroad are, as they are here, momentarily displaced, even satirically, in favor of other more localized modes of journeying—both real and imagined—what more might be said about early modern English travel? To what extent are trips to the theater, journeys between city and country, and imaginative voyages experienced in the comfort of one's own study also travel? And how might they have been imagined, staged, and practiced amidst tales of antipodean journeys to topsy-turvy places around the world?

At the inception of the project, I answered these questions by defending domestic journeying. In part, this approach developed as a response to scholarly work on sixteenth and seventeenth-century travel which focused almost exclusively on the period's monumental journeys abroad, either as a part of England's growing commercial and colonial ventures or as the well-known Grand Tours in Europe for self-betterment and a humanist education. Overshadowed by the "age of discovery," England's many domestic travel texts had slipped into a fissure in the critical landscape, remaining either undetected or undertheorized. I charted the scholarship of those working on travel or travel writing, both in the early modern period and those periods which dovetail the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: Mary Campbell, Mary Louise Pratt, Stephen Greenblatt, Louis Montrose, Mary Fuller, Andrew Hadfield, Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna Singh have each articulated their terms of and for travel as, respectively, "the other world," "a contact zone," "marvelous possession," "the discourse of discovery," "voyages in print," "colonial writing," and "travel knowledge [as] European discovery."

Collectively, these works recognize early modern travel as that which enabled foreign encounter and "contact," either in the New World or the Old. Were such conclusions the result of an analytic approach (looking to these texts of *foreign* travel to tell us something about self and other, for example), or was this a product of the archive? Was it something in the narrative accounts themselves which insisted on such readings? The questions raised by my reading of *The Antipodes* were only exacerbated in the context of this critical work. What, I wondered, were we missing in Brome's joke?

With these questions of method and genre in mind, I set out to explore what additional archive of travel texts might emerge if we shift our attention to the local domain. Early on "local" functioned as a flexible term, open enough to encompass a wide variety of unexplored travel practices yet focused in its attention to movement within the geographic and political boundaries of England, Scotland, and Wales (therefore excluding the oceanic voyage). The widest range of local travel practices—from two-hundred mile foot journeys across the British landscape to short trips down the Thames and vicarious, imaginative travels—introduced the possibility of uncovering a more historically accurate sense of how travel was imagined and experienced within England's shores by elite and non-elite travelers. Initially, a body of texts such as historical chronicles, satiric pamphlets, stage plays and woodcuts offered insight into the way in which modes of transport impacted notions of journeying. Here, material practice emerged as an alternative site for meaning-making about travel. The narrative accounts of domestic journeying supplied by William Kemp and John Taylor, as well as the body of dramatic texts invested in notions of local journeying also formed an essential, early part

of my archive. Like *The Antipodes*, these genres alternately engaged with and distanced themselves from the conventional discourses of foreign travel.

It was my research in the archives of the British Library's map library and manuscripts, though, which allowed the project to cohere around notions of an alternative epistemology, rather than working, defensively, against available scholarship and genres of travel. The seventeenth-century travel guides, maps, and almanac diaries I examined there utilize a variety of non-narrative representational strategies to account for local travel and made salient the semiotic and epistemological possibilities for representing early modern journeying. In the travel guide and almanac, narrative "plot" gives way to alternative modes of "plotting": mileage figures tabulate (rather than narrate) travel acts, and terse discursive phrases annotate the relationship between date and location, time and space (rather than self and other). Thus, the archive itself began to call attention to a range of representative modes and epistemologies of travel.

My dissertation has thus come to contribute to studies of early modern travel and travel writing more broadly by treating journeying as an analytic end, rather than as a means to an end (either as a literal means of transport or, discursively, as a means of examining ideological formation). Travel, I have argued, is not simply that which mediates the space between self and other, here and there; instead, it is a *phenomenon of movement* that need not be articulated in terms of a binary. The generic variety evidenced by this dissertation—pamphlets, stage plays, almanacs, travel guides, maps, city views, woodcuts, and narrative accounts—supports the emergence of several discourses of travel, none of which rely entirely on binary formulations. Instead, difficulty, relationships between space and time, distance measurements, and the imagination are

the means by which one knows travel, recognizes its occurrence and makes meaning of its passage. Methodologically, *Plotting Movement* makes two distinct contributions: it identifies a range of genres as travel texts, recognizing their position along a continuum of narrative and non-narrative texts; also, it charts a second continuum of subjective and non-subjective forms that demonstrates that the first-person is not the only mode at work in the travel record. Instead, I argue, an array of narrative, geographic, spatial and graphic "plots" are mobilized to represent journeying. Scholarly work on travel, in particular, would benefit from both the generic breadth of my archive—whereby narrative accounts are no longer prototypical travel genres—and from the new place of the travel subject: less travel *subject* and more travel *as* subject. Individual travelers, this dissertation argues, need not garner all of our critical attention. Methods of transport, social discourse, and the phenomenon of travel also serve as crucial alternate sites and subjects of study.

Travel, I have argued, is a cultural phenomenon reflected in discourse, but also generative of it. As such, *Plotting Movement* reminds us that travel is as much a part of the formulation of social identity (nation, gender, and status) as any other cultural phenomenon and is, therefore, a crucial component of cultural studies in both the early modern period and other historical periods. Moreover, the phenomenological, interdisciplinary approach of this dissertation and its attention to numerous "plots" can be of particular use to literary studies. Although maps have begun to serve as serious sites of literary inquiry, tables, charts, and almanacs have received less, if any, critical attention as objects of extensive study.

Regarding the import of this methodological approach to more literary or canonical texts, we might return, for instance, to the very narrative accounts of foreign travel that this dissertation has intentionally sidestepped, asking what can be said about the voyage experience on foot or in the ship—mercantile, pirating, adventuring, or proto-scientific—in light of the questions I've raised here regarding travel as a phenomenon of movement. Thomas Coryat, for example, famously walked his Grand Tour abroad. How might we read his travails anew given these alternate discourses of journeying circulating in England? Or, if we take up the imaginative journeying espoused both by humanists and early modern dramatists beyond its metaphorical domain, what can this tell us about the allegorical travels of Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* or Margaret Cavendish's *The Description of a New World, Called the Blazing World*? Finally, the turn to the local domain has potential implications for reading the spaces of Shakespearean comedy anew. Without overly literalizing a space such as The Forest of Arden in *As You Like It*, how might we read the arduous, almost fearful local movements of Rosalind, Celia and Touchstone in this "pastoral" space?

Each chapter of this project focuses on a particular genre from the local travel archive, examining its representational strategies in the context of its formal elements. An exception to this is the opening chapter which lays the groundwork for the project, considering a number of genres that are explored in greater detail in the subsequent four chapters. To begin, I examine the social, textual, and material histories of everyday local transport and their impact on a phenomenology of travel. The vast and rapid migration of individuals to London, I argue, produced a competitive travel climate in which the *means* of travel determined its *meaning*. Technologies of transport such as coaches and sedan

chairs, I suggest, were underwritten with social discourses about rank and status, gender, and nationhood. Moving around locally was a spatial practice laden with meaning. I show how the literary realm—popular, visual, and performed—not only reflected these discursive charges, but also generated a series of critiques regarding the semiotic bounds of travel, thereby shaping England's domestic travelscape. What travel meant, this chapter suggests, was very much in question by the turn of the seventeenth-century.

Having established that travel is a phenomenon of movement constituted by material, social, and discursive forces, the dissertation moves to consider how various texts not only make meaning of local travel, but also how they demonstrate knowledge of it. Domestic narrative accounts form the core of the second chapter. Given their generic ties to popular texts of foreign voyaging, it is not surprising that William Kemp, Anthony Nixon, and John Taylor directly invoke tropes of "discovery" borrowed from these foreign accounts; however, with no strange and marvelous foreign discoveries to boast of, these domestic travelers rework the very terms of travel by attending to the miraculous and difficult nature of their means of travel. Thus, this second chapter extends the arguments regarding transport technologies from the first, suggesting that modes of transport, rather than the traveler subject alone, come to stand as both a sign and an epistemology of journeying.

In chapters three and four, I turn to non-narrative modes of representing travel that appear in the pages of almanacs and travel guides. I shift from the exceptional ventures articulated in domestic narrative accounts to consider everyday travelers, leisurely and working populations. Whereas the local journeys of Kemp, Bush, and Taylor were of a remarkable sort, those rendered through the graphic, visual, and

notational "plots" of printed almanacs and travel guides are of everyday, noticeably

ordinary practices of movement over the widest geographic range of any other texts

examined in the dissertation. The shared textual history between highway tables and

almanac calendars renders the two a logical pair as the basic highway information

included in almanacs became the foundation of the later early-seventeenth-century guide

genre. Despite their status as books of time, I argue, almanacs are also books of space.

Non-narrative annotations in these almanacs employ brief phrases or simple descriptions

of location in time, rather than narratively constructed tales of passage. I suggest that

such "plotting" of local journeys is evidence of the almanac's generic influence on

developing an alternative epistemology of travel, whereby the interplay between place

and time, rather than a subjective narrative logic of cause and effect, constitutes the travel

act. In charting the distance between various towns in England, travel guides "plot"

England through movement and difficulty, effectively bridging the gap between the

cartographic and the phenomenological. Travel guides, I contend, collectively produced a

nearly century-long, alternative textual, spatial, and cartographic epistemology of

journeying characterized by a textual interplay between map image and chart, numeric

measurement and alphabetic list.

My final chapter returns to the narrative genre, and, in so doing, to the text that

began this dissertation project: *The Antipodes*. Brome's stage play, along with Thomas

Heywood's *The English Traveller* and Aston Cokayne's *The Obstinate Lady*,

demonstrate early modern England's broader cultural meditation on the meaning of

movement. These plays, like the domestic narrative accounts examined in the second

chapter, satirize tropes of foreign voyaging such as the shipwreck. Unlike the authors of

prose accounts, though, Heywood, Brome, and Cokayne mobilize the terms of the debate

surrounding travel "practic" and "theoric," or real and imagined, as a way of

interrogating how travel is known. The layering of travel practices evidenced in Brome's

text is a pattern shared by *The English Traveller* and *The Obstinate Lady*. The

phenomenological bounds of travel—of "theoric" versus "practic"—are not only called

into question by the instability of this binary, but they are also reversed. These plays

privilege the "theoric" or imaginative possibilities of reading and play-watching. In

vicarious journeying though, the means by which one travels is also the means by which

one knows one has traveled—the mind. As such, seventeenth-century English comedy

and its rumination on the most local of travel practices relates notions of *transport*

explored in chapter one with the various alternative epistemologies of travel examined in

the remaining chapters, albeit in the most figurative of ways.

In coming to the end of my antipodean-dissertation-writing journey, I have landed

opposite of where I started, but I have also come full circle. It is in the wake of *The

Antipodes*, its textual counterparts, and the questions raised by their pages, that I imagine

the project taking its next step. Early modern drama and its combination of the

imaginative and the bodily, the fictive and the actual, the printed and the performed,

stands at the point of intersect of this dissertation's many travel threads. In closet drama,

for instance, the intersections are even more pronounced. Notions of the imagination as a

vehicle of transport overlap with the blurred lines between reading and performance that

these plays generate. A study of this genre and its ties to women writers and readers

might help sharpen my sense of how gender plays out in the project as a whole—of why,

for instance, the desire for travel is so often articulated in terms of erotic desire or even

reproduction? I wonder, too, if the alternative epistemologies I have argued for in this dissertation are themselves ever gendered. Before the travels of Lady Mary Wortley Montague in the eighteenth century, does, for example, imaginative journeying become the vehicle of choice for early modern women travelers? And, would this investigation be a study into subjectivity then? Although *Plotting Movement* has temporarily put aside notions of subjectivity as a means of attending to other aspects of the archive, the specter of the subject continues to linger throughout the project. In the coach, emerging notions of private and public space gesture toward a kind of subjectivity; in narrative accounts, the traveler-subject shares the stage with the vehicle; and, even in almanacs in which I argue for a non-narrative reading of travel, the collective impact of annotations of place over time serves as a record of a life—albeit a highly mobile one. Lastly, though I have gestured at the commercial aspects motivating many travelers both in England and abroad, England's working, mercantile travelers are somewhat absent here. A consideration of commerce could triangulate the existent binary between foreign travel and domestic travel that informs the dissertation at present.

Figures
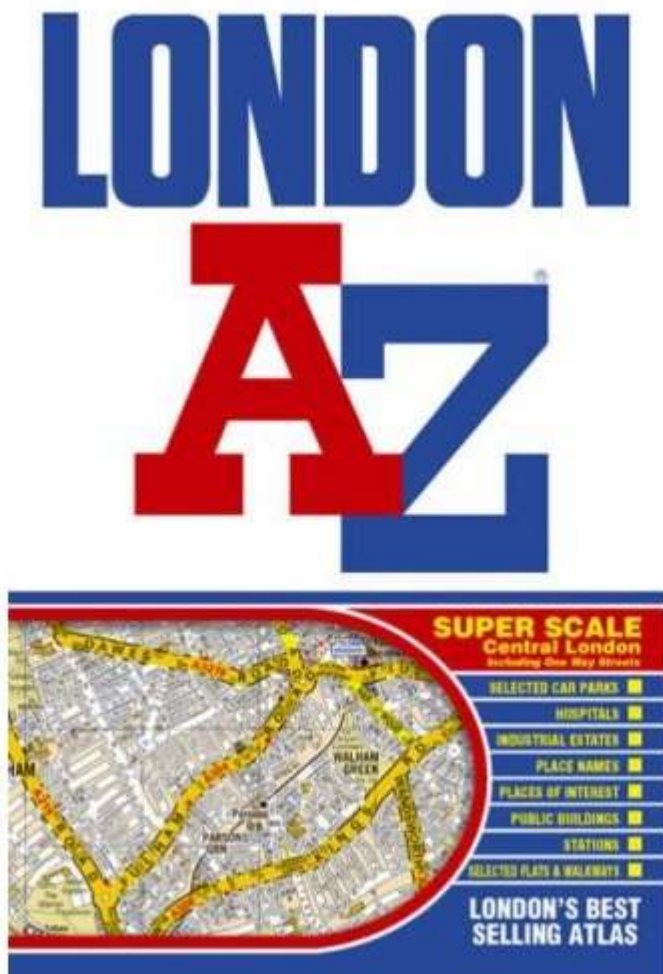
FIGURE A: *London A-Z* street atlas by Geographer's A-Z Map Company (New Jersey: Hunter Publishing, 2006).
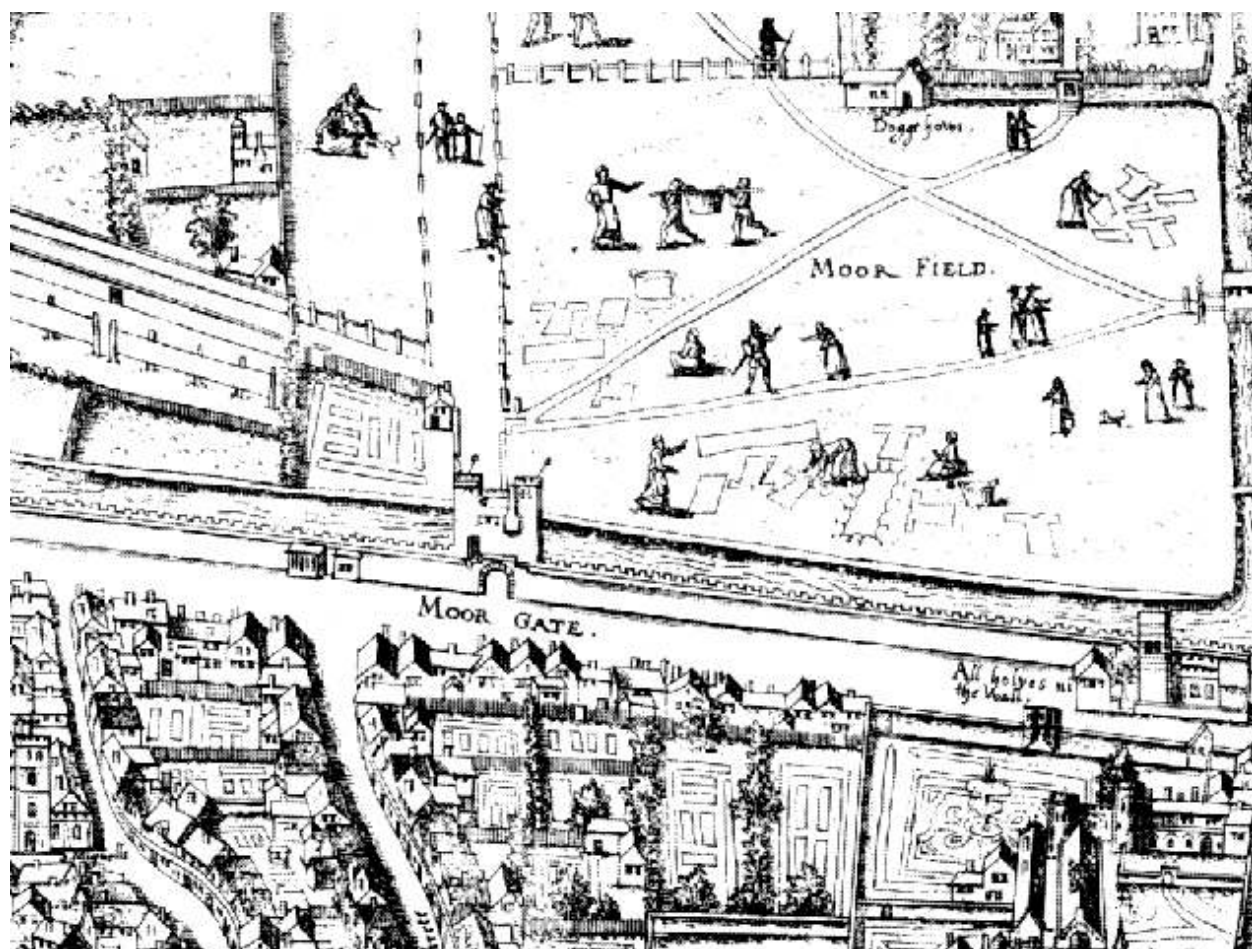
FIGURE B: Section from the Copperplate map of London (1553-9)
http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~genmaps/genfiles/COU_files/ENG/LON/london1553
_.htm
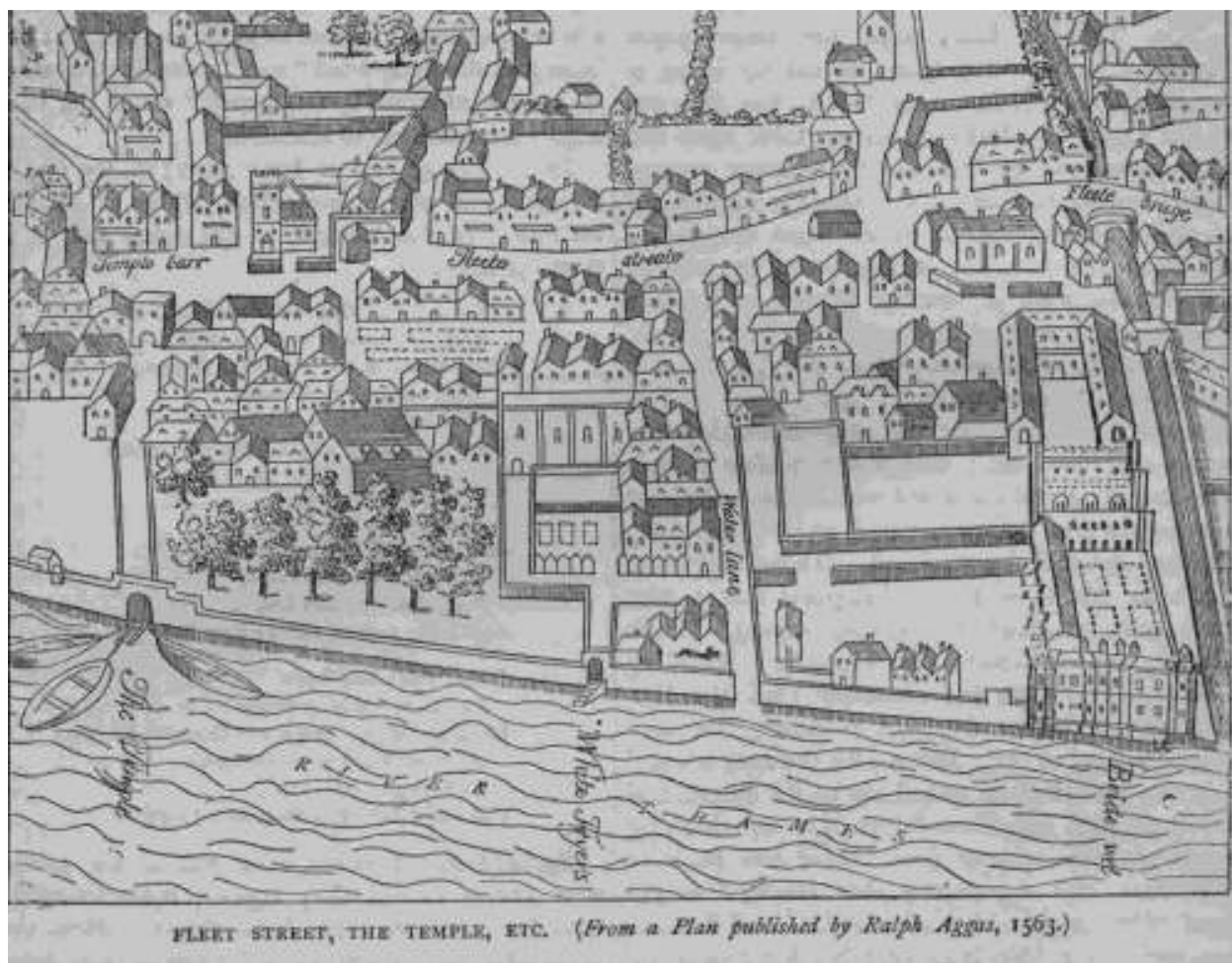
FIGURE C: Section from the Ralph Agas map of London (1563)
http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~genmaps/genfiles/COU_files/ENG/LON/agas_temple_1563.html

FIGURE D: Braun and Hogenberg map of London, from *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1572)
http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/british_isles/london/maps/braun_hogenberg_I_A.html

FIGURE E: John Norden's map of London published with Middlesex (1593), the only completed portion of *Speculum Britanniae*

FIGURE F: John Norden's map of London, expanded and reissued as *A guide for Country-men in the famous Cittey of London, by the helpe of wich plot they shall be able to know how farr it is to any street* (1653). http://www.bl.uk/learning/images/changing/new/large5324.html

FIGURE G: Photo of London street sign near Picadilly Circus, taken October 2006

FIGURE 1.1: Illustration of modes of travel by Hieronymus Vischer and included in Andreas Ryff's account of his travels in Switzerland, Germany, and Italy (1600-1603); manuscript held by the Basel University Library in Switzerland

FIGURE 1.2: Visscher's view of London (1616)
http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~genmaps/genfiles/COU_files/ENG/LON/visscher_london_1616-small.htm
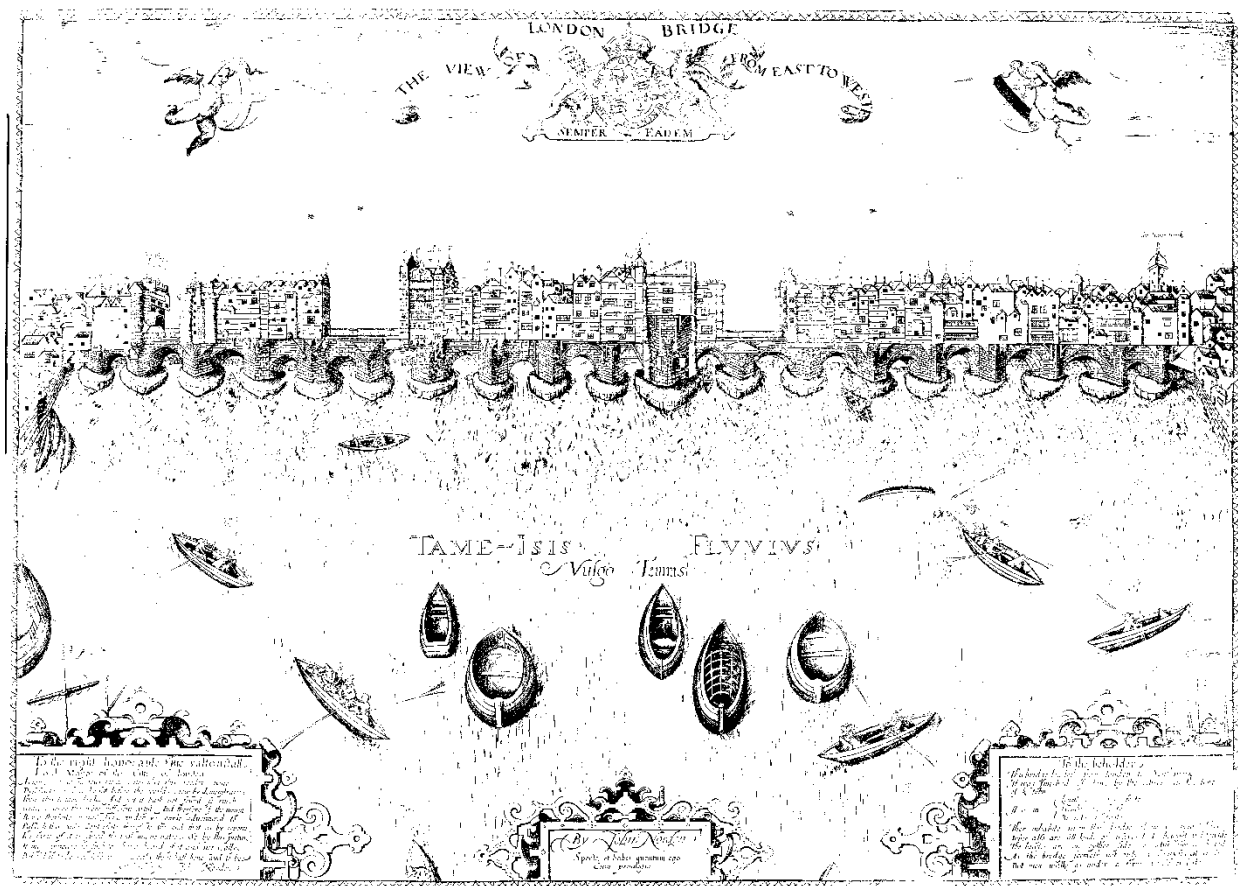
FIGURE 1.3: John Norden's *The view of London bridge from east to west* (1597, 1624)

TRAVEL BY COACH

FIGURE 1.4: A watercolor illustration of a coach included in costume album (1595); image included and cited in Boies Penrose's *Urban Travelers 1591-1635* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1942).

TRAVEL BY SEDAN CHAIR

FIGURE 1.5: A watercolor illustration of a sedan chair included in costume album (1595); image included and cited in Boies Penrose's *Urban Travelers 1591-1635* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1942).
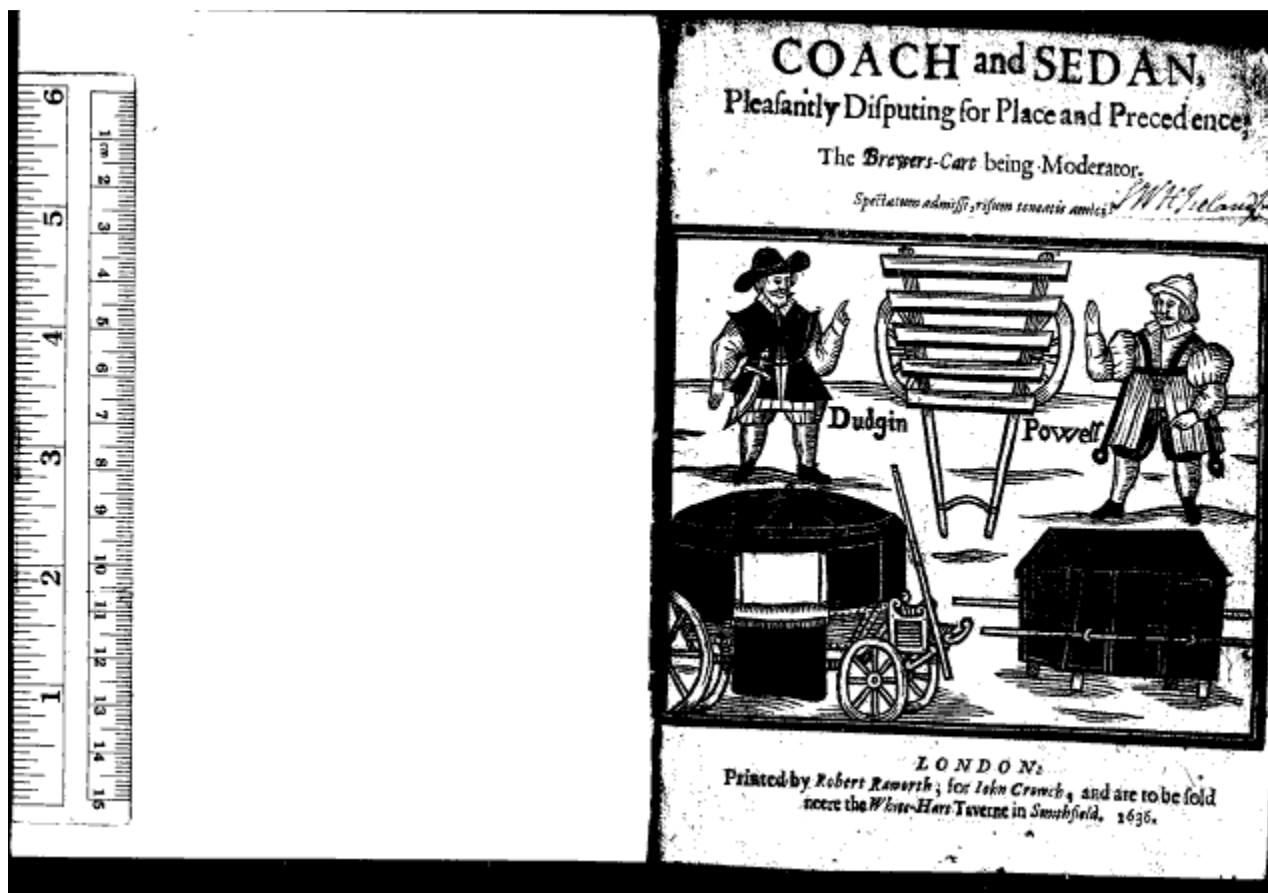
FIGURE 1.6: Title page of Henry Peacham's *Coach and Sedan Pleasantly Disputing for Place and Precedence, The Brewer's Cart being Moderator* (London: Printed by Robert Raworth, 1636)

The World runnes on VVheeles: Or

Oddes, betwixt *Carts* and *Coaches.*

The meaning of the *Embleme.*

THe *Deuill*, the *Flesh*, the *World* doth Man oppresse
And are his mighty and his mortall foes :
The *Deuill* and the whorish *Flesh* drawes still,
The *World* on Wheeles runs after with good will,
For that which wee the World may iustly call
(I meane the lower Globe Terrestriall)
Is (as the *Deuill*, and a *whore* doth please)
Drawne here and there, and euery where with ease
Those that their Liues to vertue heere doe frame,
Are *in* the *World*, but yet not of the same.
Some such there are, whom neither *Flesh* or *Deuill*
Can wilfully drawe on to any euill ;
But for the *World*, as 'tis the *World*, you see
It *Runnes on Wheeles*, and who the Palfreys bee,
Which Embleme, to the Reader doth display,
The *Deuill* and th' *Flesh* runnes swift away,
The Chayn'd ensnared *world* doth follow fast,
Till All into Perditions pit be cast :
The Picture topsie-turuie stands kew waw :
The World turn'd vpside downe, as all men saw.

LONDON
Printed by *E. A.* for *Henry Gosson.* 1623.

VIII

FIGURE 1.7: Title page of John Taylor's *The World runnes on Wheeles: Or Oddes, betwixt Carts and Coaches* (London: Printed by E.A., 1623)
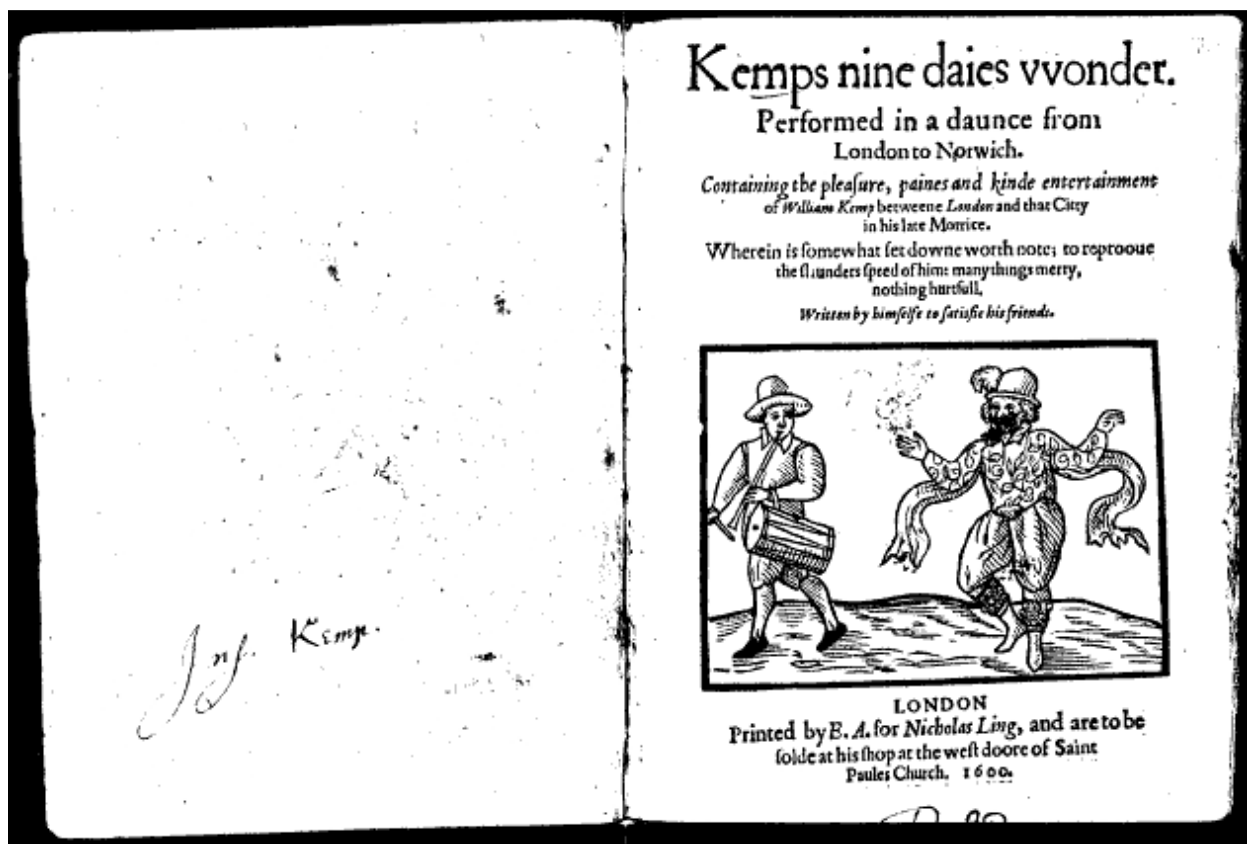
FIGURE 2.1: Title page of William Kemp's *Nine Daies Wonder* (London: Printed by E.A., 1600)

A

True Relation of the admirable Voiage and
Trauell of William Bush Gentleman : who with
his owne handes without any other mans helpe, made a Py-
nace, in which he past by Ayre, Land, and Water: From Lamborne,
in Barkshire, to the Custome house Key in London. 1607.
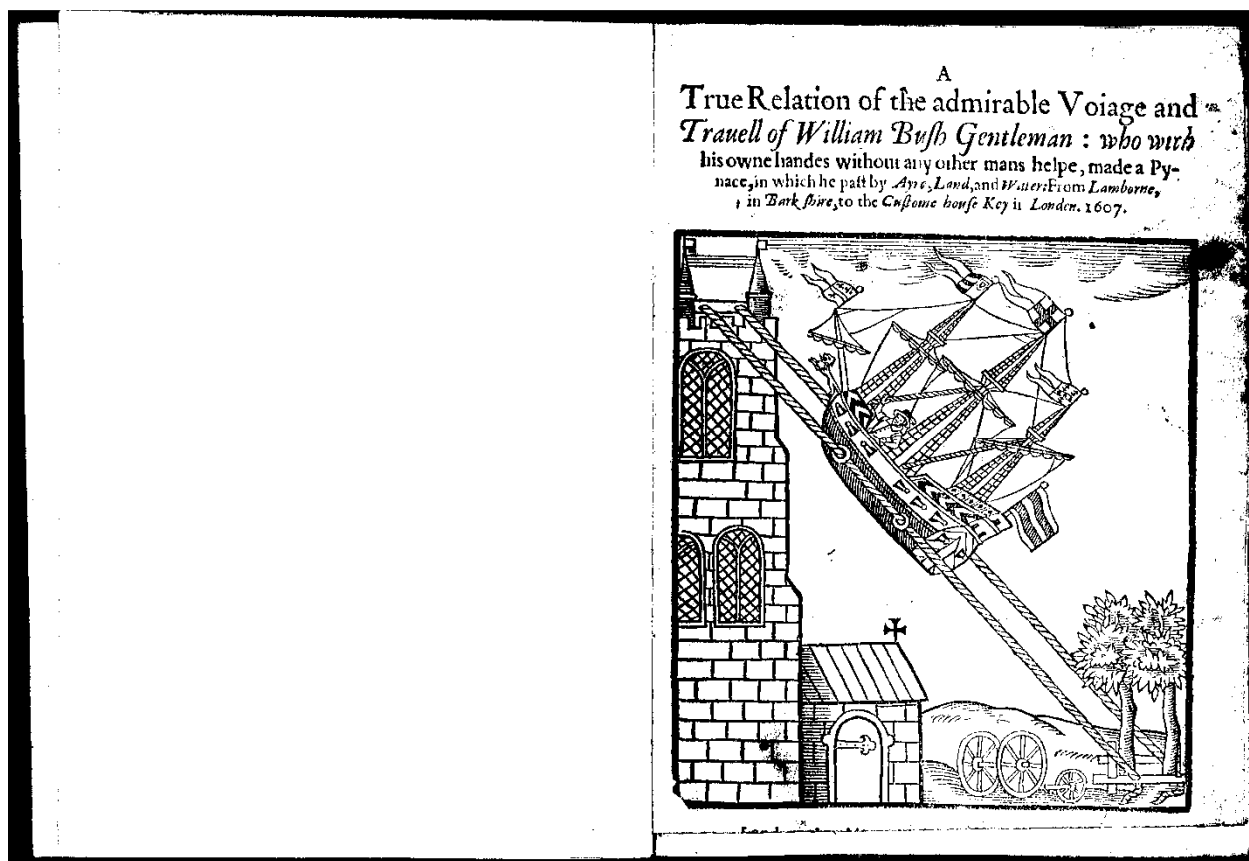
FIGURE 2.2: Title page of Anthony Nixon's *A True Relation of the admirable Voyage and Travell of William Bush* (London, 1607)
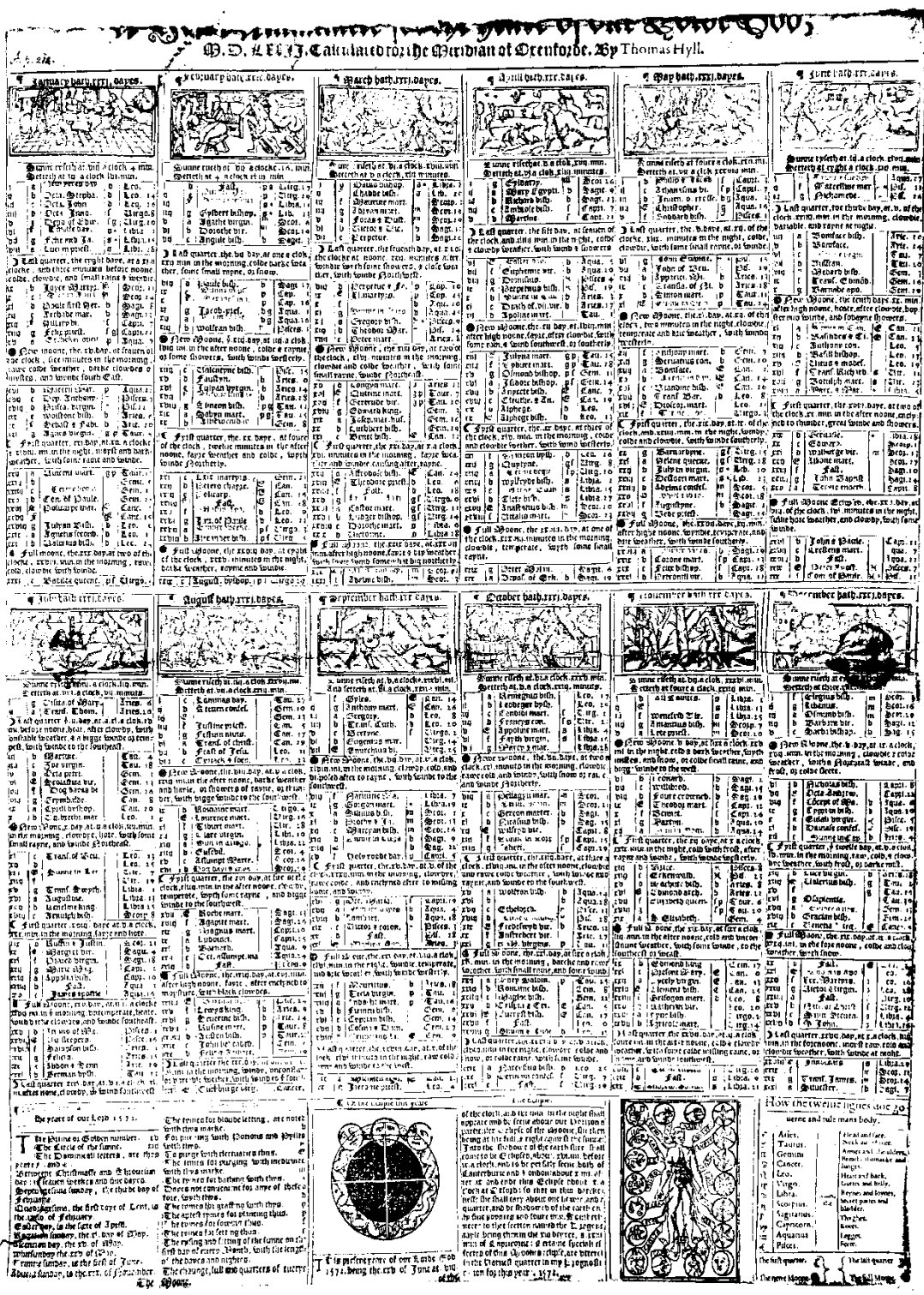
FIGURE 3.1: Thomas Hill, *A new almanack for the yeare of our Lorde God, M.D.LXXII. Calculated for the meridian of Oxenforde. By Thomas Hyll.* (London : Printed by Richard Watkins and James Roberts, 1572)
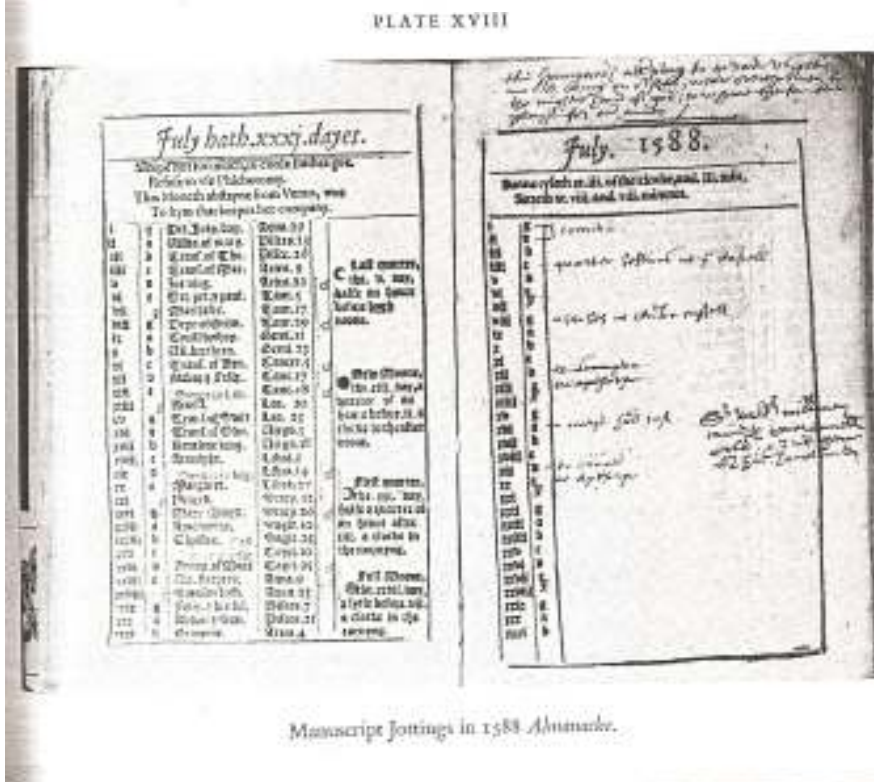
FIGURE 3.2: Images of almanac notations in "blanks" taken from Frank H. Stubbings, "A Cambridge Pocket-Diary 1587-1592" *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographic Society* V. (1971): 191-202, Plates XVII and XVIII.

May hath xxxj. dayes.

Youmay yet fow Barly, fet and fow tender hearbs and feeds as fweet marjoram, Summer Savory, Bazill, &c Set ftills to workevfing May dew therein. And ftirre your land for wheat and rye.

May the Moone hath xxx. dayes.

Rife early now this prefent Month of May,
Frequent the fruitfull fields in their aray:
I wifh you all fin to fhun, fuch pleafure take,
And in your Saviour Chrift ftill merrie make.

1	b	Phil. & Jacob	18	Seafonable	1	5, 56	4,14	
2	c	Tres Pafchæ	0	2.3.4.5.day	6, 40	4,23	
3	d	Inventio crucis	11		7, 24	4,21	
4	e	Chriftopher.	23	Raging winds	8, 12	4,20	
5	f	Goddard.	5	and troubled	9, 0	4,18	
6	g	Iohn Port Lat.	17	ayre 6.day.	9, 52	4,17	
7	4 Sund af.Eaft.	29	Laft quar.	10,4	4,15	
8	b	Menie Patch.	12	7.day after 5	11,36	4,14	
9	c	Nicholas.	25	in morning	12,28	4,12	
10	d	Gordian.	9	wind & wet	1, 20	4,11	
11	e	Ap. Mich.	23	Seafonable 9.	2, 10	4,10	
12	f	Solin Gem.	7	10.11.12.	3, 0	4,9	
13	g	Anthony.	22	&c.	4, 0	4,8	
14	Roga. Sund	7	Newmoon	5, 0	4,7	
15	b	Quinq. Pafch.	12	14. day	6, 0	4,6	
16	c	Brandon bi.	7	windy after.4.	7, 0	4,4	
17	d	fait	22	in morning	8, 0	4,3	
18	e	Afcenfion	6	faire weather	9, 0	4,2	
19	f	Craftin Afcen.	21	18.19.	9, 48	4,1	
20	g	Bernardine.	4	Firft quar.	10,20	4,0	
21	Helena.	18	the 20. day	11,12	3,58	
22	b	Vermernou	1	after 8. at	11,56	3,57	
23	c	Defiderii.	13	night variable	12,40	3,56	
24	d	Francis Tranf.	26	Seafonable	1, 24	3,55	
25	e	Adelme.	8	for the feafon	2, 12	3,54	
26	f	Bede.	21		3, 0	3,53	
27	g	Germane.	3	Full moon	3, 44	3,52	
28	White-funday	15	28.day after	4, 28	3,51	
29	b	Nativit.p Car	26	3. afternoone	5, 12	3,50	
30	c	Petronile.	8	faire fun fhi-	5, 56	3,48	
31	d	Pecius.	20	ning.	6, 40	3,46	

FIGURE 3.3: Thomas Langley, *Langley 1637 a new almanack and prognostication for this yeere of our Lord God 1637, being the first from the leape yeere : composed for the meridian of the famous towne of Shrewsbury, and generally for all Brittaine* (London : Printed by M. Dawson for the Companie of Stationers, 1637)

Of the Foure Quarters of the Yeare.

Winter.

The firſt quarter Aſtronomicall taketh his beginning when the Sun entreth into Capricorne, and during vntill he haue gone to the latter part of Piſces, making vn= to vs by his greateſt Decliuation to the Southward, the ſhorteſt day being in length but ſeuen houres and a halfe. This ſeaſon is more cold then any of the reſt, and the wea= ther being the more agreeable to its owne nature (is the better) yet ouermuch cold killeth Trees in a warme Regi= on, eſpecially the tender. A warme and moyſt Winter is vn= wholeſome and an enemy to husbandmen, but reaſonable ſtore of ſnow doth ranken the fields and preſerue the Corne and begets plenty.

The ordinary diſeaſes of this Quarter, bee Palſies, Gowts, Feauers, Puſhes in the face, Paine in the eyes, the Scab, Fluxes of blood, Toothach, Coughes, and ſuch like.

Spring.

Is the comfortableſt Quarter in the yeare; of nature warme and moyſt, for then the Sun draweth neare vn= to the Zenith. Slow the Eaſtwinds blow diſperſing the ſuperfluous humors, making the earth apt to bring forth all things for the good of man. This quarter beginneth when

A Prognoſtication.

When the Sunne entreth into Aries, making the dayes and nights of an equall length, and endeth when the Sunne hath finiſhed in the laſt part of Gemini, on the 12. of Iune. If the Spring be ouermoiſt, fruit will rott and be ſcarce, weedes will flouriſh, if cold and dry, troſts will enſue and endanger the fruit.

The diſeaſes attending this quarter, Leproſſes, Red ſpots, Feuers, Toothache Ringwormes, Paines in the necke and throate, Small poxe, Falling ſickeneſſe, kings euill, wenns, griefes in Armes and ſhoulders.

Summer.

Is of nature hot and dry of the Chollericke complexion, beginneth when the Sunne entreth into Cancer, and continuing vntill he haue paſſed Cancer, Leo, Virgo, this is the hotteſt time of the yeare. If Summer be ouer wet, Summer fruit will periſh, ſickeneſſe will abound, If o= uer dry, want of graſſe feared, and the fruits vnwhole= ſome, Fiſhes dye in ponds, much ſickeneſſe threatned, If cold, the yeare will be wholſome, but fruit rotten.

The diſeaſes agreeing to the nature thereof, are griefes about the breaſt, Ribs and Spleene, diſeaſes of the face, ſore eyes, Pluiſſe heart and ſtomacke, Ich, ſorrow, vex= ation, Apoſthumes, feuers of blood, Iaundis, paines in the Belly, and ſecret parts, with other infirmities pro= ceeding of melancholy.

Autumne, or

Harueſt is the Fourth and laſt quarter Aſtronomicall, but the third accordingto our Engliſh accompt. Of na= ure cold and dry, mellancholy, like onto age, beginneth when the Sunne entreth into Libra, producing thereby a ſecond

The *Julian* or *English* account. } 2 648. { The *Gregorian* *Romane* account.

	The Golden number	15
B. A.	15 The Dominicall letter	E. D.
	The Epact	5
Febr.	13 Shrovesunday	Febr.
April	2 Easter-day	April
May	7 Rogation sunday	May
May	11 Ascension day	May
May	21 Whitsunday	May
Decemb.	3 Advent-sunday	Novemb.

The beginning and ending of the Terms.

Hilary { THe first of *Hilary* Term shall be / On *January* the twenty three: / And on the twelfth of *February* / This Term doth end most certainly. } Term.

Easter { And *Easter* Term from *Easter* day / The Wednesday fortnight 'gins alway: / And when th' *Ascension* day is past, / Till Munday next this term doth last } Term.

Trinity { On Friday after *Trinitie* / This Term begins assuredly: / And, as our Lawyers all do write, / It ends the Wednesday fortnight. } Term.

Mich. { If *Michaelmasse* Term you seek to find, / The twentie third of *October* mind / It ends, as I do well remember, / The twentie eighth day of *November*. } Term.

Short / be the / Long | lines / of / times | Terms commence / cares, turmoils, | end- / and / -ing spend-

The Anatomie of Mans body, as the parts thereof are by Astrologers attributed to the 12 signes of the Zodiack.

♈ Head and face.

♉ Neck and throat.

♋ Breast, stomach & ribs.

♍ Bowels and belly.

♏ Secret members.

♑ Knees.

♓ The Feet.

ABIES ♈ TAURUS ♉ GEMINI ♊ CANCER ♋ LEO ♌ VIRGO ♍ LIBRA ♎ SCORP ♏ SAGI CAPRICO ♑ AQUA PISCES

♊ Arms and shoulders.

♌ Heart and back.

♎ Reins and loyns.

♐ Thighs.

♒ Legs.

SHould I but dare to omit the Anatomy, / Which long enough hath gull'd my countrey friend, / He with contempt would straight refuse to buy / This book, and 't is no Almanack contend. / Ask him its use, he'll say he cannot tell; / No more can I: yet since he loves 't so well, / I'll let it stand because my book should sell.

A 2   Reader,

FIGURE 3.5: Image of the zodiac or the "anatomical man" in Edward Pond, *Pond's almanack for the yeare of our Lord Christ 1648 being bissextile or leap-yeare and since the creation of the world 5570, amplified with many things of very good use both for pleasure and profit.* (Cambridge: Printed by R. Daniel, Printer to the Universitie of Cambridge, 1648)

FIGURE 3.6: Highway table from Richard Grafton, *Grafton's abridgement of the Chronicles of Englande newly and diligently corrected* (London: In aedibus Richardi Tottyll, 1570)

A Prognostication.

But the Moone or Sun happily aspected by the beneficent and fixed in a good place of the heauen, in the moone after Sun rise falling, or after noone, after perfect digestion, the ayre temperate.

For the ⎧ Flegmatique ⎫ ⎧ Y or ♐. ⎫
⎨ Melancholick ⎬ The ☽ ⎨ ♎ or ♒. ⎬
⎩ Choloricke ⎭ in ⎩ ♋ or ♉. ⎭
Sanguine either of these.

Againe, youth from ♂ to the ☐ middle age, to the ☌ Elder age to the last, ☐ and old age to the ♀ : againe, in Spring or Haruest the ☽ being not in ♉ ♊ ♌ ♍ ♏ neither neere the ☌ or ♂ by a Day nor ☐ by 12 howres, neither sleeping presently, stirring violently, nor vsing Venery presently after it. But not in cases of necessity these rules are not so strictly obserued.

⎧ Prepare humors ⎫ ♊ ♎ or ♒
⎪ Vomit ⎪ Y ♉ or ♄
⎪ Purge by neesing ⎪ ♋ ♌ or ♍
⎨ Take Glisters ⎬ ☽ being ♈ ♄ or ♏
⎪ Gargarise; ⎪ in ♋ or Y
⎪ Stop Rhumes and fluxe ⎪ ♉ ♍ or ♄
⎩ Bath ⎭ Y ♎ or ♐
Purge w Elect pils, or purges ♋ ♏ or ♄

Comfort the vertues attractiue ☽ being in Y or ♐ digestiue in ♊ or ♎ retentiue ♉ in or ♍ expulsiue in ♋ and ♓ Plant ☽ increasing in ♉ or ♍ fell timber Moone decreasing from June to Januarie Fell Copice in the ☐ cut vines in February or March geld, ☽ being in Y ♐ or ♄ remoue Trees the last ☐ the Moone increasing, sheare sheepe and cut hayre the Moone decreasing.

The

The Geographicall description of waies from one notable Towne to another, ouer all England, and thereby how to trauell from any of them to the Citty of *London*, set forth after a new order, by *A. H.*

NOte that the figures in the rowes vnder this marke * is the distance of that towne they stand against, from London, or from the towne you are directed vnto.

From Yorke to London 150 miles.

From Yorke goe first to Tadcaster which is 8 miles.

	miles	*			miles	*
Thence to	Wentbridge	12	130	Thence to	Stilton	12	57
	Doncaster	7	123		Huntington	9	48
	Turford	18	105		Royston	15	33
	Newmarket	10	95		Ware	13	20
	Grantham	10	85		Waltham	8	12
	Stanford	16	69		London	12	

From Norwich to London 86 miles.

From Norwich go first vnto Windam, which is 5 miles.

	miles	*			miles	*
Thence to	Atleborough	5	76	thence to	Barkeway	10	30
	Thetford	10	66		Puckeridge	5	25
	Ickingham sands	6	60		Ware	5	20
	Newmarket	10	50		Waltham	8	12
	Whitford bridge	10	40		London	12	

C From

FIGURE 3.7: Highway table from John Rudston, *An Almanacke & Prognistication, for the Yeare of our Lord God, 1615* (London: Printed for the Companie of Stationers, 1615)

FIGURE 3.8: Image of John Evelyn's annotations in Thomas Langley's 1637 almanac; included in E. S. De Beer's *The Diary of John Evelyn*, vol. 1 (placed between pages 76 and 77).

A Table shewing the diftances betweene all the Cities and Shire Townes
of ENGLAND, that are comprehended in the fame.

The column headings (read vertically, left to right) are:

London. Bathe. Briftowe. Bedford. Barwicke. Canterbury. Chichefter. Chefter. Couentree. Cambridge. Colchefter. Carlile. Darby. Durham. Exceter. Elye. Glocefter. Hereford. Huntingdon. Ipfwiche. Kendall. Launcefton. Leicefter. Lichefield. Lincolne. Lancafter. Northampton. Nottingham. Newcaftle. Norwiche. Oxford. Peterborow. Rochefter. Salifburie. Stafford. Taunton. Winchefter. Wells. Warwicke. Shrewsburie. Worcefter. Hartford. Landaffe. St.Dauids. St.Asaph. Bangor.

The row labels (top to bottom) are:

Yorke. Bangor. St.Afaph. St.Dauids. Landaffe. Hartford. Worcefter. Shrewsburie. Warwicke. Wells. Winchefter. Taunton. Stafford. Salisburie. Rochefter. Peterborow. Oxford. Norwiche. Newcaftle. Nottingham. Northampton. Lancafter. Lincolne. Lichefielde. Leicefter. Launcefton. Kendall. Ipfwiche. Huntingdon. Hereford. Gloucefter. Elye. Exceter. Durham. Darby. Carlile. Colchefter. Cambridge. Couentree. Chefter. Chichefter. Canterburie. Barwicke. Bedford. Briftow. Bathe.

IT is to be vnderftoode, that by reafon of the Seuerne, that diuides Wales fro Corne-wall, Somerfet, &c. that the diftances be-tweene the Townes of either fide, cannot be precifely fet downe, for that there is great difference, betweene the land trauaile, and paffages by water, as men take according to their liking.

I haue not done this altogether by mine owne obferuation, though I haue trauailed moft parts of the Kingdome, and therefore haue taken the benefit of the Mappes of the fame. And there may fome errours arife, as wayes lye curuing or direct, paffable or not, and as Trauailers are difpofed to coaft the Countries to make choyfe of their wayes. Such as it is, I willingly recommend it to all that pleafe to make vfe of it, as a labour in-tricate, and neuer before inuented.

The vfe of this Table.

WHo fo defireth to make vfe of this Table, as defirous to knowe the diftance betweene any two Cities or Townes conteyned in the fame: let him feeke the places defired in the vpper and fide Catalogues of Townes, and di-rect his eye from either place, betweene the lines, both from aboue and from the fide, and where the lines meete in fquare, hee fhall finde the number of miles. For example, if hee would know how farre Lincolne is from Exeter, finde Lincolne in the fide, and carie your eye directly from thence betweene the lines vntill it come vnder Exeter, and where they meete in fquare he fhall finde 180. which is the diftance of miles.

If you finde any Towne on the fide which will not extend to make a fquare with the defired Towne aboue, then looke for the Towne which you finde in the fide in the vpper part, and the vpper part in the fide: For example, if you defire to know the diftance betwene Glocefter and Oxford, if you looke Glocefter in the fide, you cannot bring Oxford in a fquare with Glocefter, but if you looke Glocefter aboue, and Oxford in the fide, you fhall finde the fquare and the diftance 37. miles, and fo of any other.

Intreating him friendly to cenfure any error in the calculation or im-preffion, which cannot be but eafily founde, comming vnder the view of men of all parts of the Kingdome, who are better acquainted with diftances neere their owne abode, then any one man may generally be. But howfoever he fhall finde the conceit vfefull and neceffarie, if he be occafioned to trauell much.

Inuented and performed by
IOHN NORDEN.

FIGURE 4.1: Table of England, John Norden's *England. An Intended Guyde, For English Travailers* (London: Printed by Edward All-de, 1625)

Lancashire.	Lancaster.	Prefton.	Kirkham.	Ormeskirke.	Leuerpoole.	Warrington.	Wygan.	Bolton.	Burie.	Rochdale.	Manchefter.	Blackeborne.	Gisborne. Yor.	Colne.	Garftange.	Cletheto Caftle.	Wier to ale.	Horneby Caftle.	Thurland Caftle.	Bolton paffage.	Cartlone paffage.	Vluerftone.	Glayftone Caftle.	Dalton Caftle.	Kirkby Lunfdale. we.
Kendale. York.	15	30	30	40	49	50	40	40	40	40	46	32	24	30	23	17	19	13	12	12	10	14	14	17	17
Kirkby Lunsd.	10	22	23	33	42	40	31	21	31	31	37	23	15	21	16	18	11	5	3	9	11	17	17	19	21
Dalton Castle.	16	29	26	16	45	47	39	40	43	45	49	35	33	38	22	33	21	20	21	14	10	4	4	3	
Ghyston Cast.	14	27	24	34	43	46	38	38	41	42	47	32	31	37	20	31	19	19	19	12	9	4	3		
Vluerston.	14	29	26	36	45	48	40	40	42	44	48	33	30	37	22	31	20	18	13	12	7	2			
Cunyside paff.	13	27	25	35	43	46	38	39	20	42	46	32	29	35	20	30	18	16	17	10	6				
Cartlone paff.	9	25	23	34	43	44	16	36	37	38	44	28	25	31	17	25	14	11	11	6					
Bolton paffage.	3	19	18	28	37	38	29	70	30	31	36	22	18	24	11	18	8	6	8						
Thurland Cast.	8	14	20	31	40	38	30	28	29	29	35	20	13	19	14	15	8	3							
Horneby Cast.	6	18	19	29	37	36	28	27	28	28	33	19	13	19	12	14	7								
Wyerfdale.	5	12	12	23	30	30	22	22	23	24	29	14	12	17	5	12									
Cletheto Cast.	17	12	16	22	31	25	18	14	13	13	19	7	5	6	13										
Garftange.	8	8	7	17	25	26	18	19	21	23	27	13	16	20											
Colne.	22	17	22	27	34	27	21	16	14	12	19	11	6												
Gisborne. Yor.	17	16	20	28	35	30	23	19	18	17	23	12													
Blackeborne.	19	7	12	16	23	18	11	8	9	10	15														
Manchefter.	14	20	24	21	24	12	13	8	6	7															
Rochedale.	29	17	22	22	27	17	14	8	4																
Bury.	28	14	19	18	23	14	10	4																	
Bolton.	16	12	16	14	20	11	7																		
Wygan.	26	11	14	8	13	8																			
Warrington.	35	19	22	15	13																				
Leuerpoole.	24	20	20	9																					
Ormeskirck.	25	12	11																						
Kirkham.	15	6																							
Prefton.	16																								

The vfe of this Table.

THe Townes or places betweene which you defire to know, the diftance you may finde in the names of the Townes in the vpper parte and in the fide, and bring them in a fquare as the lines will guide you: and in the fquare you fhall finde the figures which declare the diftance of the miles.

And if you finde any place in the fide which will not extend to make a fquare with that aboue, then feeking that aboue which will not extend to make a fquare, and fee that in the vpper, and the other in the fide, and it will fhowe you the diftance, it is familiar and eafie.

Beare with defectes, the vfe is neceffarie.

Inuented by IOHN NORDEN.

IT is to be confidered that in this Shire, the fea deuides the land, fo as men are inforced in traueling from the Eaft to the Weft part, either to paffe the Creekes by boate, or to iourney the farther about: And therefore if there be any error in the true diftances, beare with it: And in regard of the Ferries, I haue added fome thing more then the miles make, by a right line.

FIGURE 4.2: Table of Lancashire, Norden's *England. An Intended Guyde* (1625)
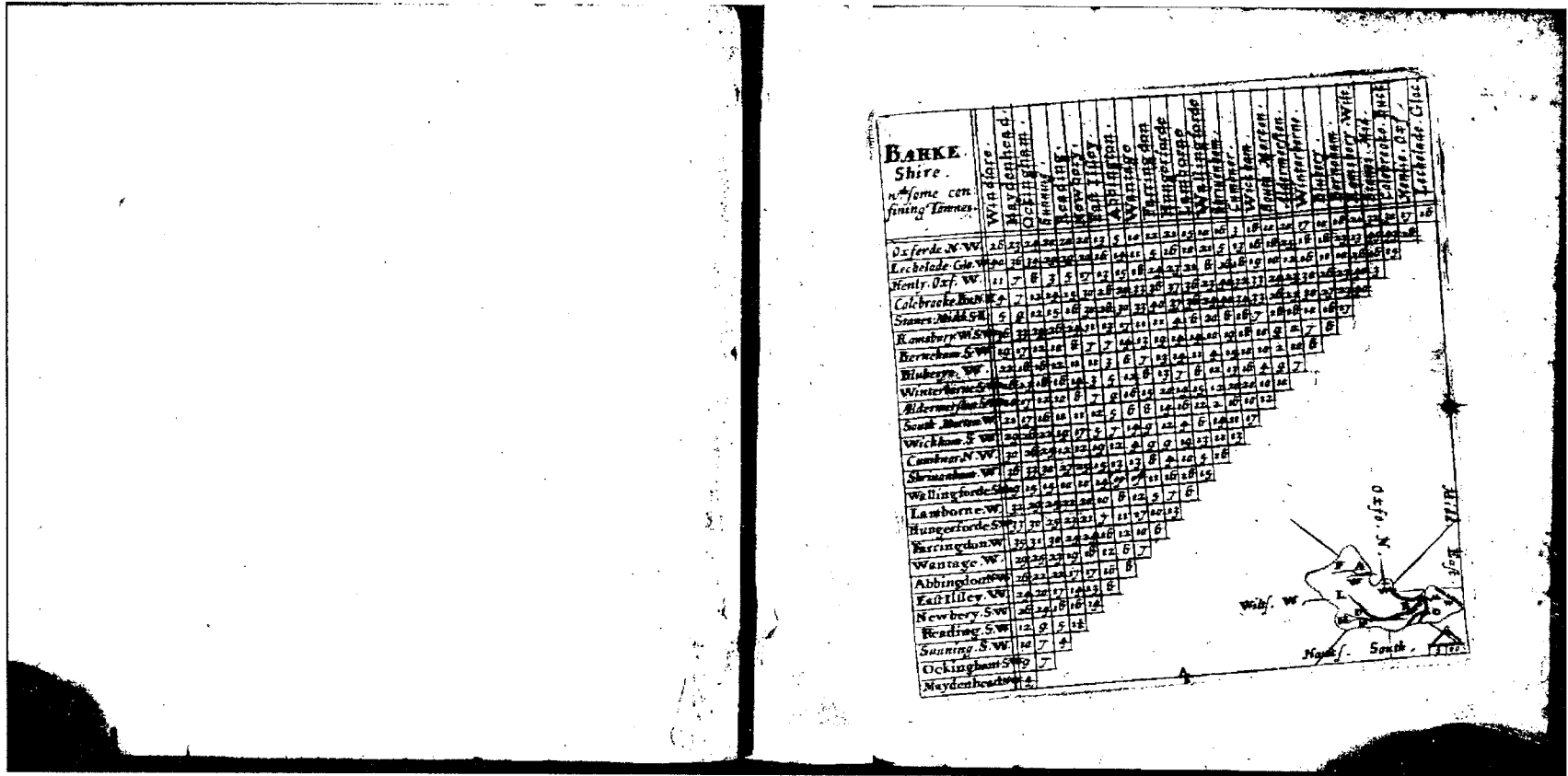
3 MR 62

FIGURE 4.3: Table of Barkeshire, Mathew Simons' *A Direction for the English Traviller* (London: Sold by Mathew Simons, 1635)
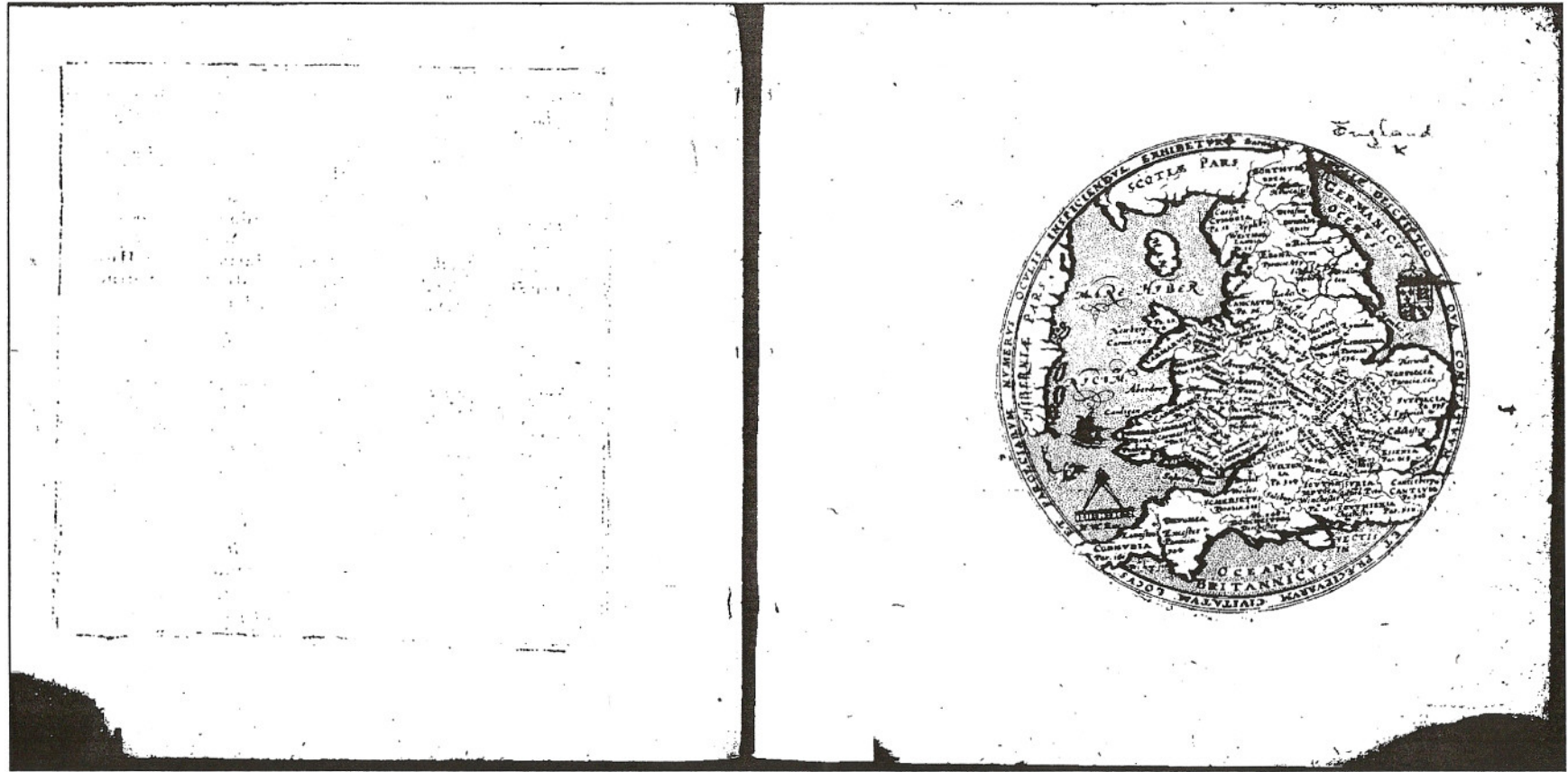
FIGURE 4.4: Small map of England, Simons, *A Direction for the English Traviller* (1635)
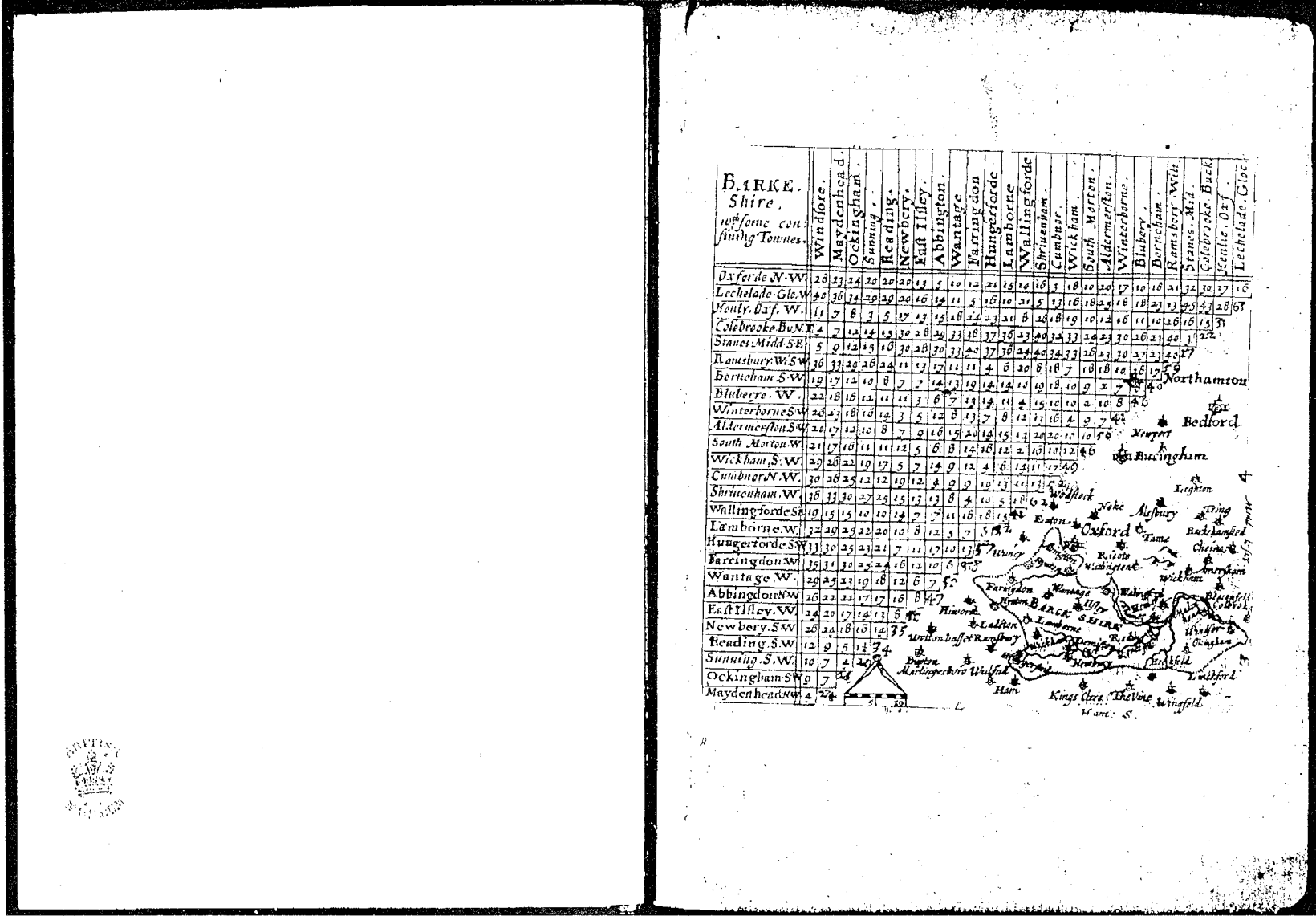
FIGURE 4.5: Table and map of Barkeshire, Thomas Jenner's *A Direction for the English Traviller* (London: Sold by Thomas Jenner 1643)

A Card, or platt, of all the shire townes in England, shewinge how farre they are distant one from another, & how scituate fro London. E.W.N. or S. with a small Mapp of Engl. wherein ech To:ne is signified by the first letter thereof ye To:ne betweene wch ye desyre to know ye distance seeke in ye upper part & ye side & bring them in a square as ye lyn will gid ye, so shall ye finde ye figure wch shew the distance.

England

Column headings (shire townes): London, Windsor, Buckingham, Guildford, Dorchester, Okham, Bath, Bristow, Bedford, Barwick, Canterbury, Chichester, Chester, Coventry, Cambridge, Colchester, Carlile, Darbie, Durham, Exiter, Ely, Gloucester, Hereford, Huntingdon, Ipswich, Kendall, Launceston, Leicester, Lichfild, Lincolne, Lancaster, Northampton, Nottingham, Newcastle, Norwich, Oxford, Peterborow, Rochester, Salisburie, Stafford, Taunton, Winchester, Warwick, Shrewsburie, Worcester, Hartford, Landaffe, St Dauids, St Asaph, Bangor

Row headings: Yorke N, Bangor NW, St Asaph NW, St Dauids W, Landaffe W, Hartford N, Worcester NW, Shrewsburie NW, Warwick NW, Wells W, Winchester SW, Taunton SW, Stafford NW, Salisburie SW, Rochester SE, Peterborow N, Oxford NW, Norwich NE, Newcastle N, Nottingham N, Northampton N, Lancaster NW, Lincolne N, Lichfild NW, Leicester NW, Launceston W, Kendall NW, Ipswich NE, Huntingdon N, Hereford NW, Gloucester N, Ely S

FIGURE 4.6: Top half of table and map of England, Jenner's *A Direction for the English Traviller* (1643)

Worcester Nth
Shrewsburie W
Warwick Nth
Wells W
Winchester S W
Taunton S W
Stafford N W
Salisburie S W
Rochester S E
Peterborow N
Oxford N W
Norwich N E
Newcastle N
Nottingham N
Northampton N
Lancaster N W
Lincolne N
Lichfeild N W
Leicester N W
Launceston W
Kendall N W
Ipswich N E
Huntingdon N
Hereford N W
Gloucester N W
Elye N
Exceter W
Durham N
Darbie N W
Carlile N W
Colchester N E
Cambridge N
Conentrie N W
Chester N W
Chichester S W
Canterbury S E
Barwick N
Bedford N
Bristow W
Bathe W
Oukham N
Dorchester S W
Guildford S W
Buckingham N
Windsor S

FIGURE 4.6b: Bottom half of table and map of England, Jenner's *A Direction for the English Traviller* (1643)

TO know the diftance between any two Cities or Towns in any of thefe Tables, feek the p'aces defired in the upper and fide Catalogues of Towns, and direct your eye from either place between the lines both from above and from the fide, and where the lines meet in fquare yon fhall find the number of miles. *For Example* ; If you would know how far *Lincoln* is from *Exiter*, look in the Card of fhire Towns, and find *Lincoln* in the fide, and carry your eye directly from thence between the lines untill it come under *Exiter*. and where they meet in fquare you fhall find 178, which is the diftance of miles.

If you find any Town in the fide which will not extend to make a fquare with the defired Town above, then look for the Town which you find in the fide in the upper part, and the upper part in the fide. *For Example*, If you defire to know the diftance between *Gloucefter* and *Oxford*, if you look *Gloucefter* in the fide, you cannot bring *Oxford* in a fquare with *Gloucefter*, but if you look *Gloucefter* above and *Oxford* in the fide, you fhall find the fquare and the diftance 35 miles, and fo of the other enfuing Tables.

To know whether you are to travell Eaft, Weft, North or South, from the place where you are to the place whither you intend to goe, and through what Shires you muft paffe.

Look in the fmall Mapp of *England*, placed before the great Table of fhire Towns, and draw a ftreight line from the next fhire Town lying in your way to that fhire Town which is next the place whether you defire to goe, and you fhall immediately fee whether your Journey be Eaft, weft, North or South, and what Shires the line brings you through, thofe Shires you muft paffe. *As for Example*, If you would travell from *London* to *Torke*, you will perceive by the mapp that it lyeth North from *London*, then draw a line or carry your eye ftreight from *London* to *Torke*, and you fhall find the way lyeth through *Midd'efex*, *Hartford*-fhire, *Huntington*-fhire, *Northampton*-fhire, *Lincoln* fhire, *Nottingham* fhire, and *Torke* fhire ; and fo for any other place.

Againe to know what market Towns lie in your way which way foever you travell.

When you have feen in the generall Mapp what Shires you are to paffe through, obferve whether you muft paffe through the middle or the fkirts of each Shire, then turn to the Tables of thofe Shires, and at the foot of each of them you fhall have a Mapp, wherein the Towns are fignified as they lie in every Shire by the firft letter of every Town, and if you muft pafs through the middle of the Shire then the letters about the middle of the Mapp declare the Towns by wh'ch you muft go, but if through the fkirts of the Shire then the letters in the fkirts of the map are your direction,

BARK-SHIRE.

HUNDREDS
In Bark-fhire.

1. Ormer.
2. Ganfield.
3. Farrington.
4. Shrivenham.
5. Wanting.
6. Compton.
7. Morton.
8. Lamborne.
9. Faircecroffe.

10. Theale.
11. Reading.
12. Charleton.
13. Sonnynge.
14. Wargrove.
15. Barnerlhe.
16. Braye.
17. Ripplemore.
18. Cookham.
19. Oke.
20. Kentbury.

A

ABINGTON, Hore
Aldermerfton, The.
Aldworth, Compt.
Apleford, Oke.
Apleton, Oke.
Arberfield, Sen.
Ardington, Want.
Afhamfteed, Mort.
Afhbury, Shriv.
Afton upthorp, Mort.
Afton

FIGURE 4.7: Table, map, and list of Barkeshire in Thomas Jenner's *A Book of the Names* (London: Printed by M.S. for Thomas Jenner, 1657).

York-shire.

Thwate, *hangw.*
Thywynge, *dick.*
Toccotes, *Lang.*
Tolesby, *Lang.*
Tollerton, *bul.*
Topcliffe, *burd.*
Toppy hill, *Lang.*
Toulthorpe, *buc.*
The Towre, *Dic.*
Tranby, *hunf.*
Tunftall, *hold.*
Tunftell, *hange.*
Turnton bridge, *hal.*

V

Uckerby, *Gillinge.*
Verby, *Lang*
Uggelbarnby, *Whit.*
Ugthorpe, *Lang.*
Ulrun, *howd.*
Ulfton, *burd.*
Upfall, *burd.*
Upicthun, *Langb.*
Updlain, *halli.*
Upton, *hold:*

W

Waburnhall, *hangw.*
Waghen, *hold.*
Walwith, *Hangw.*
Walborne, *Hangw.*
Waldby, *hunf.*
Walden, *hangw.*
Walgrave, *Pick.*
Walkenton provoft, *hu,*
Walkinton, *howd.*
Walton, *bayn.*
Wanlas, *h'augw.*
Wantord, *dic.*
Wapley, *Lang.*
Waplinton, *Wilton.*
Werloby, *Gillinge.*
Werthell, *bul.*

Watter, *bayn.*
Warton, *Wilton.*
Waffand, *hold.*
Wath, *|halli.* Watlas, *b.e.*
Waxham, *hold.*
Weaverthepe, *hold.*
Weickliffe, *gilingw.*
Well, *harge.*
Welborne, *|&yd.*
Welborne, *bul.*
Welburne, *burd.*
Welham, *Buc.*
Welron, *howd.*
Welton, *hunf.*
Welwick, *hold.*
Wenfedale, *hangw.*
Wenflay, *hangw.*
Wefterdale, *Lang.*
Weftow, *buc.*
Weftwaridge, *buc.*
Wherleton caftle, *Lang*
Wharram in ftreet, *buc.*
Whayfton, *Gillirgw.*
Wheldrake, *drew.*
Whenby, *bul.*
Whiteby, *hangw.*
W H I T B Y, *Whit.*
Whitwell, *bul.*
Whereleton, *Lang.*
Wickham, *Ryd*
Wickham, *Pick.*
Wickham Abbey, *Pick.*
Wigginthorp, *Bul.*
Wigginton, *bul.*
W I G H T O N, *Holm.*
Wilbefoffe, *Wilton.*
Willerby, *dic.*
Willerby, *hunf.*
Willitoft, *holm.*
Willowbeckflu.

Wilftred, *hold.*
Wilfted hall, *hold.*
Whilfthorpe, *dic.*
Witlon, *Pic.* Wifkflu.
Wilton *Laarg.*
Wlton caftle, *Lanb.*
Wilton bifhops, *Wilton.*
Wintaring, *hangw.*
Winton, *Aller.*
Winteringham, *buc.*
Witton caft, *hangw.*
Witton weft, *hang w.*
Woldaewton, *dic.*
Woodall, *hangw.*
Woodhall, *derwan.*
Woodhall park, *hangw.*
Womenrall, *Rydal.*
Wanfforth, *bayn.*
Wafal, *Al.* Wafal, *Lan.*
Wrelton, *Pick*
Wreflall, *holm.*
Wulferton, *hunf.*
Wyneftead, *hold.*
Wythernwick, *hold.*
Wythernfey, *hold.*
Wyton, *hold.*

Y

Yafford, *Gillingw.*
Yapham, *Wilton.*
Y A R U M, *Lang.*
Yecteley, *Pick.*
Yeareflay, *burd.*
Yeaftorpe, *Rydal.*
Yeddingham, *buc.*
Yenejudale, *Wilton.*
Yonckfleet. *howd.*
Y O R K E, *bul.*
Yorkes wade, *Wilt.*
Youlthorph. *Wilt.*
Towton, *bul.* Youre flu
Yrton, *Pick.*

F I N I S.

[library stamp: MVSEVM BRITANNICVM]

Townes &c. Related to the Gays

Gaton — Cambridgeshire — p. 14
Gayton — Cheshire — p. 18
Gaymton — Devonshire — p. 39
Gaynford — Durham — p. 49
Gaiton marsh } Lincolnshire } — p. 101
Gaiton howle } — p. 111
Gayton — Northampton shire — p. 111
Gayton } Northfolk — } p. 116
Gaytonthorp } — } p. 149
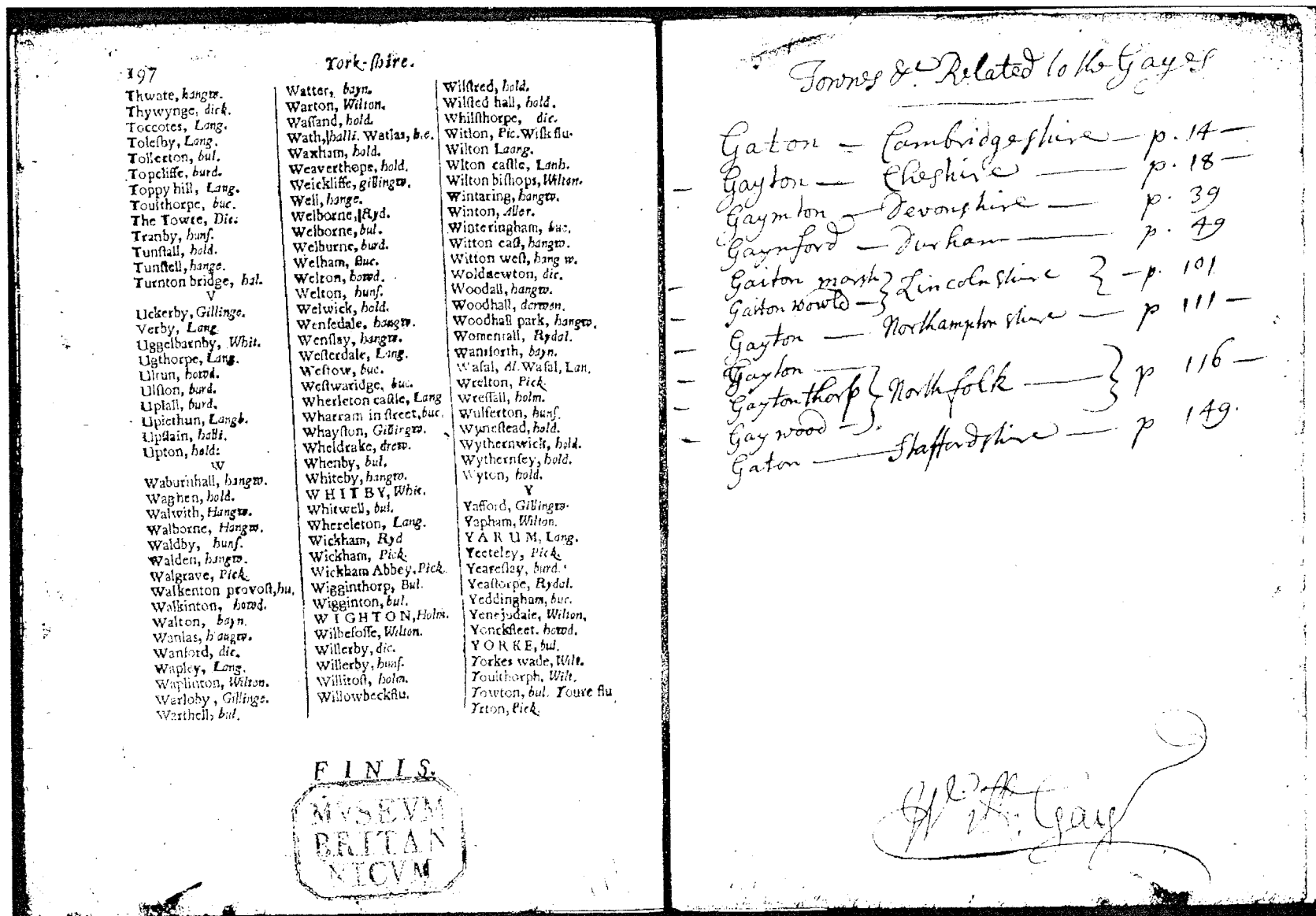Gaywood }
Gaton — Staffordshire — p. 149

[signature]

FIGURE 4.8: Marginalia in John Garret's *A Book of the Names* (London: Printed by S.S. for John Garret, 1677)

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