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OUTER SPACES:
PROVINCIALISM AND THE NOVEL IN THE BRITISH IMPERIAL CENTURY

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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This dissertation constructs a new literary history of the British Empire by showing how geography underpins novelistic form in the long nineteenth century. “Outer Spaces” claims that the nineteenth-century British provincial novel’s representations of distantly administered rural geographies create the formal foundations of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century empire fiction’s conceptualizations of colonial space. While work on empire has grown increasingly mainstream in Victorian studies, it still too often conceives of the literature of imperialism as separate from the field’s domestic core. My project challenges this division. In doing so, it reveals that the geographic form of novelistic narrative ties together the outlying precincts of both metropole and periphery. Engaging with the rich critical traditions that view novelistic form as conditioned by geography as well as history, my project raises the visibility of obscured, outlying spaces in a traditional corpus and ties them together by revealing how the domestic roots of British imperialism condition the very literary structures through which the Victorians would come to know the empire.

In charting a new literary history of British imperialism from the decades preceding the Victorian age through to modernism, I divide my project into two parts, following a cultural shift through the project’s corpus from direct administrative control

(Part I) to ecological transformation and resource extraction (Part II) as the primary mode of overseeing marginalized spaces and their populations. In addition to complicating extant histories of New Imperialism and Britain's "Scramble for Africa," I argue that sovereignty and the environment are inextricably linked in the literary history of the British Empire's territorial frontiers. As I develop this claim across the project, I concurrently trace how the geographic structuring of the novel in these outlying spaces conditions the possibilities for colonial discourse. As the project moves to the threshold of the postcolonial era, I demonstrate how the long nineteenth-century novel's spatial formalism created the imaginative conditions for early, land-focused resistances to colonial power. Joining postcolonial and environmental concerns, I discuss border crossings in Walter Scott and Rudyard Kipling; novelistic cartography in Anthony Trollope, Robert Louis Stevenson, and H. Rider Haggard; ports in George Eliot and Joseph Conrad; and agrarian plains in Thomas Hardy and Olive Schreiner. In their work to connect literary geography with coloniality, these novels, I argue, knit together the human, cultural, and environmental scales of British imperialism.

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My most memorable classes from college were philosophy of science (taught by a lapsed physicist who knew Bohr, Einstein, etc. and had a passion for shaking up the students' complacent worldview); a Shakespeare class; a poetry class on Keats, Byron, and Shelley; and a rhetoric class that taught me to read and write critically taught by a professor that I still stay in contact with. That leaves a lot of classes over four years that didn't have a huge impact—or at least weren't all that memorable these many years later.... Mom and I don't have any expectations or agenda regarding what classes you take. We are excited to see you discovering the world.

I think that we all knew that the decision I was making would likely change my life, and it fills me with gratitude beyond words that my parents empowered me to make a

decision of that magnitude, one that would lead me down a less certain path than the ones they followed. During moments of doubt, I have often thought of these words, and their testament to my parents' unwavering support of my professional decisions. So, Mom and Dad, thank you for everything. I turned out to be a doctor anyway. To Tynan and Fiona, no one could ask for better siblings. These many years of growth and laughter together have been a gift, one I am thrilled to keep sharing with you both. My adopted family in New York and beyond has seen me through this project's twists and turns, and has reminded me that the bonds of friendship tie us closer together across the distances of geography and time than we often know. To Richard Beck, Mike Bernard, Lizzie DeWan, Charlie Frohne, Alyssa Greenberg, Lizzy Hall, Matt Hall, Mai Hassan, Chris Kempf, Chris Krogslund, Sam Lewis, Emma Lind, Ricky Maldonado, Matt McGee, Kelley Deane McKinney, Keith McKnight, Noah Nathan, Shannon O'Neill, Allie Schachter, Mike Schachter, Rebecca Sheff, Matt Sherrill, Adam Singerman, Colin Smith, Corey Van Landingham, Nadine Vassallo, and Cea Weaver, thank you.

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Introduction

“The Imperishable Empire”

On July 10, 1833, T. B. Macaulay rose from his seat in the House of Commons to speak on the subject of the governance of colonial India. In his view, the British East India Company had become too powerful for a corporation, describing it as a “political monster of two natures, subject in one hemisphere, sovereign in another.”¹ He advocated with other MPs for bringing greater competition to trade in India, and argued that Company rule must be overseen more directly by the British government, positions that were eventually reflected in the law passed later that summer.² At the end of his speech, he discussed the future of education in India—expressing in nascent form some of those ideas that would two years later become part of his infamous speech known commonly as the “Minute on Indian Education”³—and argued for the inclusion of Indians in the

¹ Thomas Babington Macaulay, “Government of India: A Speech Delivered in the House of Commons on the 10th of July, 1833,” in *Speeches of Lord Macaulay, Corrected by Himself*, revised edition (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green, 1863), 131.

² See “The Government of India Act (1833),” 3 & 4 Will 4 c 85 § (1833).

³ The “Minute” is infamous for its cavalier dismissal of Asian literatures due to his belief in the “intrinsic superiority” of the European canon:

I have no knowledge of either Sanscrit or Arabic.—But I have done what I could to form a correct estimate of their value. I have read translations of the most celebrated Arabic and Sanscrit works. I have conversed both here and at home with men distinguished by their proficiency in the Eastern tongues. I am quite ready to take the Oriental learning at the valuation of the Orientalists themselves. I have never found one among them would could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia. The intrinsic superiority of the Western literature is, indeed, fully admitted by those members of the Committee who support the Oriental plan of education.

Thomas Babington Macaulay, “Indian Education, Minute of the 2nd of February, 1835,” in *Macaulay: Prose and Poetry*, ed. G. M. Young (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952), 722.

governmental structure as a matter of “national honor.” He expanded on what he meant by this in the final paragraph of his speech:

The destinies of our Indian empire are covered with thick darkness. It is difficult to form any conjecture as to the fate reserved for a state which resembles no other in history, and which forms by itself a separate class of political phenomena. The laws which regulate its growth and its decay are still unknown to us. It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions.⁴

In Macaulay’s view, the exposure of the Indian populace to “good government” is its own type of education, one that has the capacity to change cultures—or as he phrases it, the “public mind of India.” If that public mind would demand what he calls “European institutions,” the glory would be one that belonged specifically to the home country: “Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or to regard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English history.” For Macaulay, this triumph of “English history” consists of a conquered, colonial populace adopting “European” values in society and governance—a view reflective of the speechmaker’s status as a politician and historian, and his belief in the efficacy of British imperialism’s so-called civilizing mission.

This moment is significant in the literary history of British imperialism because for Macaulay, the precondition of the “proudest day in English history” is the adoption of the Western cultural tradition—specifically British cultural traditions, and especially the home islands’ arts and letters. He closes his speech by expanding on the relationship between “European knowledge” brought from the British mainland to the colonial frontier, and the future of the British Empire at large:

⁴ Macaulay, “Government of India,” 162.

To have found a great people sunk in the lowest depths of slavery and superstition, to have ruled them as to have made them desirous and capable of all the privileges of citizens, would indeed be a title to glory all our own. The scepter may pass away from us. Unforeseen accidents may derange our most profound schemes of policy. Victory may be inconstant to our arms. But there are triumphs which are followed by no reverse. There is an empire exempt from all natural causes of decay. Those triumphs are the pacific triumphs of reason over barbarism; that empire is the imperishable empire of our arts and our morals, our literature and our laws.⁵

In this speech, the Empire is presented in one of its most idealistic guises, existing to ennoble less advanced civilizations by spreading the good news of British literature. By advancing this wildly optimistic idealization of the Empire, Macaulay reveals himself to be an imperial romantic as well as a statesman. Over specific policy aims, he prioritizes the spread of “our arts and our morals, our literature and our laws.” This formulation directly ties the culture of the homeland to the underpinnings of civil society, and presents this view of culture not only as a kind of acculturation, but as a way of permanently stabilizing British imperialism across the globe. When he writes, “The scepter may pass away from us,” he does not mean to relinquish control of the Indian subcontinent. Rather, he means that individual political agendas are trivial in comparison to his vision of a great empire built on “our” culture and society. The groundwork for a kind of imperialism that will ensure the peaceful “triumphs of reason over barbarism” and will ensure the British Empire’s permanent endurance is not statehouse policy, in Macaulay’s thinking, but is rather something that has always been produced from inside the British Isles: the arts, and especially literature.

Macaulay was successful in persuading the legislature to make the amendments he wanted to the bill, but his idealization of the Empire should not pass without

⁵ Macaulay, 162.

acknowledging its many problems. Anyone with even a passing familiarity with the history of the British Empire knows that his idealization ignores the state of near-constant military conflict that maintained British imperial sovereignty across the globe, which Byron Farwell calls “Queen Victoria’s Little Wars” in a book of the same name, and which Nathan K. Hensley has subsequently termed “the *Pax Victoriana*’s endless war.”⁶ Gauri Viswanathan would further remind readers that arts and letters are not innocent themselves, but rather when formed into pedagogies act as carriers for “a blueprint for social control in the guise of a humanistic program of enlightenment.”⁷ And yet, upon closer inspection, Macaulay seems to know some of this—the “arms” necessary to “victory”; the governmental force required for the social engineering underlying imperial rhetoric of uplift (“hav[ing] ruled them” and brought “them” out of “the lowest depths of slavery and superstition”)—even if he presents it as a “title to glory” rather than an opportunity for anti-colonial critique. Their opposed politics notwithstanding, an arch imperialist and modern critics of empire both know that the history of British literary culture is sutured to the expansion and maintenance of the British imperial project. What is important for my work here is that this joint understanding apprehends both empire and literature—especially the novel—as being related by how their structuring as cultural systems can connect homeland and colonial spaces across the globe. In other words, if a map of the British Empire cannot show the spread of British culture in cartographic

⁶ Farwell begins his book with this resonant sentence: “There was not a single year in Queen Victoria’s long reign in which somewhere in the world her soldiers were not fighting for her and for her empire.” He further enumerates that, with the exception of the Boer War, “all the military actions were small affairs,” hence the “endless[ness]” that Hensley ascribes to this state of background conflict. Byron Farwell, *Queen Victoria’s Little Wars* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), 1; Nathan K. Hensley, *Forms of Empire: The Poetics of Victorian Sovereignty* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 2.

⁷ Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 11.

detail, tracing how literary form travels from the Britain to the colonial frontier can. How novels from the homeland would help British culture form its spatial relationships with even the outermost precincts of the British Empire, those realms “covered with thick darkness” subject to “social control” and “endless war,” is the subject of this dissertation.

In “Outer Spaces,” I propose a new conceptualization of the literary history of the British Empire. By reading novels focused on the British provinces together with empire fiction through their shared geographic attentions, I claim that the nineteenth-century novel’s spatializations of the British provinces set the formal foundations of the late nineteenth- and early-twentieth century novel’s structuring of colonial space. There is, of course, a rich tradition of criticism that shows how metropolitan influences register in depictions of the Empire. While building on these approaches, this dissertation is methodologically distinct in its focus on spaces subject to geographic marginalization both in the homeland and in the colonies. By apprehending geography as a key element of novelistic form and linking these geographies together across the homeland/colonial divide, this project reads these spaces and their marginalization as the literary foundations of Britain’s imperial imaginary. In the chapters that follow, I show how these outlying precincts were central to how British literature conceived of the control and administration of space, and the relationship between local populations, their environments, and world systems.

Each chapter in “Outer Spaces” works by reading a novelistic representation of outlying British geography as a paradigm for colonial space represented in fictions of empire. By tracing the uptake of specific spatial forms from the homeland into the empire, I show how the corpus of novels I assemble attempts to reckon with the human,

cultural, and ecological tolls of coloniality through each novel's consistent connection of their depiction of outlying geography subject to active projects of social and territorial control. The individual chapters in this dissertation treat border crossings in Walter Scott and Rudyard Kipling (Chapter One); novelistic cartography in Anthony Trollope, Robert Louis Stevenson, and H. Rider Haggard (Chapter Two); ports in George Eliot and Joseph Conrad (Chapter Three); and agrarian plans in Thomas Hardy and Olive Schreiner (Chapter Four). It should not go unsaid that I am not attempting to draw a moral equivalence between, for instance, Trollope's literary mapping of Barsetshire and Haggard's violent pillaging of Kikuanaland. Instead, each of the novels I discuss are linked through their shared interest in a paradigmatic space of empire.

Each of these spaces is furthermore characterized by its notable proximity to but distinct marginalization from centers of governmental and economic power. In order to describe this particular feature of each of the geographies under discussion here, I adopt "provincial" as a descriptor. While "provincial" tends to connote isolation or timelessness, recent scholarship has recast the term for nineteenth-century studies as a way of identifying an area with a discrete local identity formed in relation to a nearby power center. According to Josephine McDonagh, "the provincial in the nineteenth century is not the subordinate partner of a metropolitan/provincial binary, but rather is a term that is rooted from its beginning in emergent global networks."⁸ For McDonagh and for John Plotz, provincial rootedness and the locality of custom and identity in the nineteenth-century novel is not accompanied by a blinkered disregard for the outside

⁸ Josephine McDonagh, "Rethinking Provincialism in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Fiction: *Our Village to Villette*," *Victorian Studies* 55, no. 3 (Spring 2013): 401.

world.⁹ Rather, the novelistic provincial is precisely the place in the countryside where the consequences of being implicated in world systems can be directly felt.¹⁰ One of those world systems is of course British imperialism—and indeed, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries “provincial” was often used to refer to colonial spaces, albeit especially those in North America.¹¹ More specifically, the spaces I examine feel the pressure in two distinct ways: in the consolidation of administrative control by outside forces, and the pressure on local environments from international economics.

Accordingly, I organize “Outer Spaces” by dividing it into two parts, following the shift in these novels from emphasizing direct rule and social control in Part I (Chapters One and Two) to resource extraction and ecological transformation in Part II (Chapters Two and Three). In so doing, this project joins discourses of postcolonial and

⁹ John Plotz, “The Semi-Detached Provincial Novel,” *Victorian Studies* 53, no. 3 (Spring 2011): 407; see also John Plotz, *Portable Property: Victorian Culture on the Move* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2008).

¹⁰ In Ian Duncan’s earlier distinguishing of the provincial novel from the regional novel, he defines provincial novels as those set “within a hundred and fifty miles of London, in the aptly named ‘home counties’ or non-industrial ‘midlands,’” and regional novels set anywhere further from London. The distinction itself is a provincial one, especially in light of the later critics I cite, as in Duncan one set of novels is measured in terms of its distance from London, and the other is measured in terms of its distance from the more central geographically-marked corpus. In other words, classifying different novels in terms of their distance from a metropolitan center is its own kind of provincialism. Ian Duncan, “The Provincial or Regional Novel,” in *A Companion to the Victorian Novel*, ed. Patrick Brantlinger and William B. Thesing (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 322–23.

McDonagh considers this section of Duncan in her own essay. She claims that his provincial/regional distinction elides important shared features between the two bodies of work, and that provincial novels are indeed historically and internationally attuned:

[P]rovincial fiction in this period is not the marginal, backward-looking, globally and economically detached genre characterized by Duncan and others [here in a footnote she discusses a subordinate point in Franco Moretti’s *Graphs, Maps, Trees*], but rather shares with the regional novel a responsiveness to the economic and social trends of the time and was an influential and widely consumed medium through which to imagine forms of affiliation at a time of demographic flux. In a formal sense, regional and provincial novels are less distinct than Duncan would have it. Both respond to the “global historical economy” (Duncan 329), yet with distinctive social and spatial effects.

The Duncan citation preserved in the passage above is to the same essay I cite and discuss earlier in this note. McDonagh, “Rethinking Provincialism in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Fiction,” 401.

¹¹ “Provincial, Adj. and N.,” *OED Online* (Oxford University Press), sec. A. 2b. and B. 2b., accessed February 2, 2018, <http://www.oed.com.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/view/Entry/153461>.

empire studies with spatial and ecological critics to trace how the geographic structuring of the novel in the British mainland conditions the interpretation of homologous spaces in the colonies. I also bring to bear archival materials to illuminate the contextual commitments these writers had to their ideologies revealed in how they represented their respective geographies. It is important to note, though, that I do not seek to present archival finds as the hidden lynchpins to my claims. Rather, these materials deepen each chapter's discursive texture, showing the evolution and, at times, the prehistory of each novelist's treatments of homeland and colonial geographies.

Spatially Structuring the Literary Study of British Imperialism

In discussing novels set in the British countryside together with those set in colonial space, this dissertation draws on a long tradition of work in postcolonial studies focused on nineteenth-century literature. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak and Edward Said grounded many of their landmark studies on traditional Victorian and pre-Victorian texts, and in this method based their injunctions to see the British Empire as inextricably bound to the archive of nineteenth-century British literature. When Spivak famously claimed, "It should not be possible to read nineteenth-century British literature without remembering that imperialism, understood as England's social mission, was a crucial part of the cultural representation of England to the English," and when Said set out on an investigation of "how the processes of imperialism occurred beyond the level of economic laws and political decisions, and... were manifested at another very significant level, that of the national culture," the two critics developed and reflected on the critical

groundwork for the study of colonialism with a long nineteenth-century British archive that focused on isolated, often rural spaces within Britain and the empire.¹² Spivak's readings of Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* and Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*, and Said's readings of Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park* and Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* produced both a method for and an imperative in seeing traces of the empire reflected in the nineteenth-century canon.

These two foundational critics, though, do approach their texts from different vantage points. Spivak's work brings to light for obscured evidence of the colonial periphery in novels that primarily treat mainland Britain. In her foundational reading of *Jane Eyre*'s Bertha Mason—Rochester's white Creole wife from Spanish Town, Jamaica driven to madness in the countryside—Spivak reads Bertha's imprisonment in the attic of Thornfield Hall and her depiction as a snarling animal as emblematic of imperialism's dehumanization of colonial subjects and figuration of women's bodies as sites of conquest.¹³ Taking a more systematic approach, Said presents fictions of empire as central to the Victorian canon. In a call to push empire to the center of literary studies, Said argues for “regard[ing] imperial concerns as constitutively significant to the culture of the modern West.” In Britain, he claims, this critical stance would apprehend institutionalized cultural authority of the novel in the first half of the nineteenth century as underwriting the representation of the colonies by British novelists in the 1880s onward.¹⁴ The claims I make in this dissertation draw from these two approaches. In my readings of these novelists' depictions of geographic spaces, I draw out the obscured

¹² Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism,” *Critical Inquiry* 12, no. 1 (Autumn 1985): 243; Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage, 1993), 12.

¹³ Spivak, “Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism,” 247–49.

¹⁴ Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 66, 73–74.

ways in which the landscape registers ideologies of colonial control and environmental change. I then use these readings to support my larger argument that reading the novel in terms of geographic form can rewrite the cultural map of British imperialism.

Scholars of the nineteenth-century novel have responded to the postcolonial imperative to register the Empire's subtending of national self-image and literary form from two primary methodological stances. The first identifies the traditional nineteenth-century novelistic tradition's representation of the empire from within its borders, often in ways obscured through the interpretive histories of canonical texts, and furthermore through canny links between the material culture of the Empire and contemporaneous literary production. In studies by James Buzard, Saree Makdisi, and Hensley, for instance, each critic deliberately and carefully addresses Said's long shadow on modern empire studies, putting forth a view of the methodological legacy of *Culture and Imperialism* and specifying how their approach builds on and differs from Said's own. Buzard considers the formal marginalization of colonial domains in some of his texts in his examination of the autoethnographic impulse of metropolitan novels.¹⁵ Makdisi claims that the specific kind of Orientalism that emerged at the beginning of the nineteenth century depended on a concomitant self-othering within England's borders, which registers especially in those texts set in prototypically English locales.¹⁶ As limned above, Hensley argues that the constant state of warfare required to maintain British sovereignty overseas caused nineteenth-century British writers to generate new literary

¹⁵ James Buzard, *Disorienting Fiction: The Autoethnographic Work of Nineteenth-Century British Novels* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005), 18, 23–24, 43.

¹⁶ Saree Makdisi, *Making England Western: Occidentalism, Race, and Imperial Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 1–5, 133–34.

forms to account for the fact that routinized killing sustained the *Pax Britannica*.¹⁷ These projects distinguish their approaches from Said's by calling attention to how his contrapuntal method can obscure the political and cultural differences within Britain that caused novelists to advance different ideas of nation and empire in their fiction. In reading metropolitan and colonial texts together, these studies show how the metropole can be as riven with internal conflict as the empire it sought to control and expand.

In focusing on the obscured imperial traces of a largely metropolitan archive, these studies focus their approaches on the imperial influence on British literary history predominantly to texts set in mainland Britain. The second approach focuses squarely on the period's representations of British imperial space. As cited above, Viswanathan's essential investigation English-language instruction in India demonstrates how the discipline of literary study came into being when Britain was the center of a vast empire, and that it evolved to serve the effort to "civilize[e]" colonial subjects.¹⁸ Anne McClintock claims that conceptions of race and gender were produced by imperial capitalism, and that the export of these identity constructions into colonial space were used as tools of imperial subjugation.¹⁹ Ian Baucom's treatment of English national identity in areas of imperial crisis advances the argument that the modern construction of "Englishness" was at its core a reaction to rebellions, massacres, and riots in colonial space.²⁰ These approaches center our attention on metropolitan representations of events

¹⁷ Hensley, *Forms of Empire*, 1–2, 6, 191–92.

¹⁸ Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest*, 2–20.

¹⁹ Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 4–9.

²⁰ Ian Baucom, *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire, and the Locations of Identity* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999), 4–7, 14–36.

and peoples abroad, and have invaluable the expanded early postcolonial attention to space by connecting metropolitan Britain with multiple locations in its spheres of imperial influence.²¹

The approach of this project relies on this crucial work in nineteenth-century studies in its connection of novels set in the British countryside with those set in the colonial frontier. My focus on marginalized spaces within Britain distinguishes my approach from many of these studies, though, by refocusing the attentions paid to the British Isles on outlying spaces *within* the imperial homeland. The “metropole/periphery” dichotomy that has traditionally structured postcolonial studies has been modified and critiqued for some time, but its influence nonetheless can be seen in how a great deal of nineteenth-century empire studies at some point runs its argument through London, or sometimes will conceive of Britain as a spatially homogenous entity. Here, I want to modify the “metropole/periphery” dichotomy by proposing a decentralized geographic model of imperial culture. Circumventing the metropole in a spatial conceptualization of empire is not tantamount to an argument against postcolonial criticism or past work in empire studies. Rather, it revises how we localize coloniality in the novel by raising the formal visibility of marginalized geographies. Tellingly, foundational criticism of empire has the seeds of this approach embedded in its most thoroughgoing treatments of space, the methodological contexts of which ground my geographic approach to novelistic form.

To understand why attention to non-metropolitan space distinguishes this dissertation from critical convention, consider how implicitly pervasive the concept of the

²¹ See also Elaine Freedgood’s connection of nineteenth-century novels to the empire through material culture. Elaine Freedgood, *The Ideas in Things: Fugitive Meaning in the Victorian Novel* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), esp. 30-54.

“metropole” has been to studies of empire with geographic sensitivities, and the methodological consequences of this metropolitan unconscious. Postcolonial criticism has long manifested an attunement to geography, and spatial theorists and postmodern geographers often pay close attention to empire, particularly in the long nineteenth century. But both kinds of work tend to assume that London is the structural and ideological center of the empire, directing imperial operations and setting the terms for the uptake of coloniality into the cultural record. Consequently, when discussing the British imperial situation specifically, important geographers who work on spatial theory such as Doreen Massey and Edward Soja portray the construction of colonial space as a byproduct of political decisions and economic forces centered primarily on a vision of London as the archetypal imperial metropolis.²² Spivak and Said, who were writing before the rise of postmodern geography, structure their own criticisms along the metropole/periphery dichotomy by placing the British colonies in opposition to the urban center of London as well as to mainland Britain at large. What is most valuable for the present discussion is how these critics state plainly and forcefully that discussions of all mainland British novels must eventually give way to a thorough consideration of the imperial project they implicitly participated in, from Spivak’s opening salvo discussed above (recall: “It should not be possible to read nineteenth-century British literature without remembering that imperialism, understood as England’s social mission, was a crucial part of the cultural representation of England to the English”) to Said’s framing of

²² Doreen B. Massey, *Spatial Divisions of Labour: Social Structures and the Geography of Production*, 2nd ed. (Houndmills, UK: Macmillan, 1995), 122–25; Doreen B. Massey, *For Space* (London: SAGE, 2005), 155–57; Edward W. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London: Verso, 1989), 207–8; Edward W. Soja, *Postmetropolis: Critical Studies of Cities and Regions* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 76–82.

his *Mansfield Park* reading by claiming, “[A]n unusual organic continuity can be seen between the earlier narratives that are normally not considered to have much to do with empire and the later ones explicitly *about* it. Kipling and Conrad are prepared for by Austen and Thackeray, Defoe, Scott, and Dickens; they are also interestingly connected with their contemporaries like Hardy and James.”²³ The gambit of this project, then, is at a broad level very old fashioned: in the heart of the homeland, there is the empire. The way I think about the heart of the homeland, however, does not involve the imperial metropolis. Like much of the criticism I have cited, I want to upend the methodological standard of those many other essays that still emphasizes metropolitan mediation and representation of the colonial exotic as the default way empire was commodified and consumed. Where my project breaks its own new ground is in its efforts to shear the classic postcolonial connection between mainland and imperial texts from the lingering tendency to route conceptions of empire through the political and literary-historical power flowing from the metropolitan center.

My emphasis on geography fixes on the consistent and extensive depictions of large, open spaces in each of these novels, and the marked narrative effects I draw out from both the spatial content and the very extensiveness of these depictions. This approach, though, is not entirely alien to the critical traditions I engage with here. In a less-remembered passage of *Culture and Imperialism* (if this book can be said to have less-remembered passages at all), Said reveals his understanding of the importance of land to British imperialism. In this discussion of imperial geography, the most extended discussion of empire in an explicitly non-metropolitan context in this study, Said

²³ Spivak, “Three Women’s Texts and a Critique of Imperialism,” 243; Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 75, emphasis in original.

provocatively proposes that the point of contact between the cultural record and the quotidian workings of empire is the seizure and administration of territory:

Underlying social space are territories, lands, geographical domains, the actual geographical underpinnings of the imperial, and also the cultural contest. To think about distant places, to colonize them, to populate or depopulate them: all of this occurs on, about, or because of land. The actual geographical possession of land is what empire in the final analysis is all about.... Imperialism and the culture associated with it affirm both the primacy of geography and an ideology about control of territory. The geographical sense makes projections—imaginative, cartographic, military, economic, historical, or in a general sense cultural.²⁴

On the evidence of this striking passage, Said would have us believe that both the cultural and ideological lives of empire flow through geographic administration. The point at which the “possession of land” becomes regularized, logistically and socially, into the “control of territory” is the heart of the imperial project: “what empire in the final analysis is all about.” This passage is so striking because, for Said and others, a key characteristic of empire is the resistance of its core ideologies to being pinned down so neatly. The British imperial project is notoriously adept at recruiting native informants and assimilating them into the everyday political and cultural structures of the homeland—which Spivak’s opening sentence brings to light and critiques. Said’s pronouncement about the importance of geography to an understanding of empire is also bold and clear, but is difficult to mobilize critically because this passage actually has little to do with the reading of Austen he is in the process of setting up. The famous analysis of *Mansfield Park* in the pages that follow does turn on the term “social space,” but it mainly concerns who is in charge of individual rooms in the manor house, as when Sir Thomas Bertram, back from Antigua, is compared to Robinson Crusoe as he goes about restoring stability to the home by removing the trappings of the theatrical production

²⁴ Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 78.

from the billiard room. We can “assume,” Said suggests, that Sir Thomas operates similarly in *Antigua*.²⁵ The language of geography is oddly absent from this reading, despite its discursive and rhetorical importance only pages before.

The kind of reading that wins out in foundational postcolonial texts is one that appraises how analysis of the metropolitan center implants the colonial periphery into the fabric of English cultural life. The metropole tends to be a synonym for England, as evidenced by these critics’ tendencies to focus on quintessentially English locales—a Northumberland or Midlands manor house in *Mansfield Park* and *Jane Eyre*, the River Thames in *Heart of Darkness*’s frame narrative—turning Englishness into a figure for all of metropolitan Britain. When Simon Gikandi explores this very process in *Maps of Englishness*, the map of his book’s title is mostly inward looking (geographically speaking) and often metaphorical, tracing the paths of how colonial cultures were imported into the homeland in order to remap what English identity meant in the long nineteenth century. Yet even as Gikandi unspools his thesis, he looks back to classic postcolonial studies (including *Culture and Imperialism*) and senses methodological discontents. “A certain ghost, nevertheless, haunts the works of these theorists,” he writes. “How do we read the relationship between metropole and colony as conjunctive when our ideological desire is the inscription of their uneven temporality and their inherent heterologies?”²⁶ In other words, in importing the colonial periphery to the metropolitan center, the homeland rejects the colonial subject even as it expropriates that subject’s culture, reinforcing the difference between empire and Other rather than

²⁵ Said, 86–87.

²⁶ Simon Gikandi, *Maps of Englishness: Writing Identity in the Culture of Colonialism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 7–8.

enfolded the colonized subject into the fabric of “Englishness.” The metropole/periphery structure upon which this operation is based makes this invidious cultural annexation inevitable. But it is important to emphasize that though routing studies of empire through this metropole/periphery structure is a methodological default, it is also a methodological choice. Decentering the spaces of classical colonial critique, my focus on non-metropolitan spaces reveals how geographic description becomes the primary agent of extending administrative control across the provinces in the British countryside and to the colonial frontier.

One of the most powerful critiques of the metropole concept appeared previously in Raymond Williams’s treatment of British imperialism in *The Country and the City*. Williams suggests that labeling an imperial power as “metropolitan” invests the British Isles with so much influence over international affairs that literature becomes an adjunct to nefarious political and economic regimes. In Williams’s thinking, the concept of the metropole gives rise to a system in which literary representations of colonial space act as a cover for the resource exploitation of less “developed” nations and regions:

All the “country” will become the “city”: that is the logic of its development: a simple linear scale, along which degrees of “development” and “underdevelopment” can be marked. But the reality is quite different. Many of the “underdeveloped” societies have been developed, precisely, for the needs of the “metropolitan” countries. People who once practised a subsistence agriculture have been changed, by economic and political force, to plantation economies, mining areas, single-crop markets. The setting of prices, on which these areas specialized to metropolitan needs must try to live, is in the decisive control of the metropolitan commodity markets.

[...]

In Britain itself, within the home islands, the colonial process is so far back that it is in effect unrecorded, though there are late consequences of it in the rural literature of Scotland and Wales and especially of Ireland. It has become part of the long settlement which is idealised as Old England or the natural economy: the product of centuries of successive penetration and domination. What is important in this modern history of the colonial peoples is that we can see the history

happening, see it being made, from the base of an England which, within our own literature, has been so differently described.²⁷

Williams's multi-pronged criticisms suggest that the very category of the metropolitan denotes a nefarious pressure on areas under direct and informal colonial control that causes them to reshape their landscape—both literally and culturally—to suit the consumer needs of the “home islands.” In this way, Williams's critique of the metropolitan runs first and foremost along geographic lines: viewing the metropole from the perspective of its territory reveals the imperial machinery it has tried to keep hidden. Across the ellipses in the passage above, Williams identifies how both the imperial pressure on the colonial periphery *and* the territorial consolidation of mainland Britain itself both obscure how these processes work, even though they operate in historical real time. “We can see the history happening,” Williams writes of “colonial peoples.” I want to suggest that removing the metropole from its central position in empire studies conversely allows imperial history to suddenly become visible again for both the mainland and the colonies, and makes it possible to pin down how imperialism's cultural operations are visible in the novel's geographic form.

Williams isn't known especially for his work on the British Empire, and both Said and Viswanathan have criticized this late chapter on imperialism, called “The New Metropolis.” Said describes the book as being “peripheral to the book's main idea,” and Viswanathan criticizes the nativism underlying this part of his thinking.²⁸ Williams's chapter, the penultimate one in *The Country and the City*, is more a manifesto than a

²⁷ Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 284–85.

²⁸ Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 65; Gauri Viswanathan, “Raymond Williams and British Colonialism: The Limits of Metropolitan Cultural Theory,” in *Views Beyond the Border Country: Raymond Williams and Cultural Politics*, ed. Dennis L. Dworkin and Leslie G. Roman (New York: Routledge, 1993), 219–23.

reading of cultural objects. But it bears mentioning that Said's long passage on the geographical nature of empire also feels uneven. Though he provocatively declares, "The actual geographical possession of land is what empire in the final analysis is all about," his ensuing analysis of *Mansfield Park* isn't really about the actual geographies of Northumberland or Antigua, and the rest of Said's readings do not hinge on the acquisition of territory despite the high rhetorical volume of his claim. I ground my approach in a via media between these spatial readings of colonial space and their criticisms. This dissertation's method apprehends imperialism as a geographic system of marginalization, revealing how provincial spaces within the British Isles and overseas contain deep reserves of cultural meaning through which the British would reason about the future of their imperial project, and from which, eventually, we can see the gears of the machine of empire slowly begin grinding to a halt.

Geography and Novelistic Form

In *Orientalism*, Said discusses the *Description de l'Égypte*, an encyclopedic work made up of contributions by Napoleon's scholarly retinue that accompanied him to Egypt during his invasion of Egypt (1798-1801). In true Napoleonic fashion, he brought with him, essentially, the entire faculty of a university: the Institut d'Égypte, which Napoleon created in advance of the expedition. The types of civilians from the Institut that accompanied the military included prominent Orientalist scholars and translators, "chemists, historians, biologists, archaeologists, surgeons, and antiquarians," and Said claims that their mission was "no less aggressive" than Napoleon's military campaign,

that mission being “to put Egypt into modern French.” He terms the *Description de l'Égypte*, a massive publication formed of 23 volumes published between 1809 and 1828, as a “great collective appropriation of one country by another.”²⁹ Said is referring to the published work, not to the military campaign, and it is important that the work itself is more taken up with simply describing Egypt (true to the work’s name) rather than analyzing it.

For Said, the *Description de l'Égypte* is a textual apotheosis of Orientalism, almost ostentatious in its largeness and its naked aspiration to assemble a totalizing knowledge of a space. From his discussion of this text, he provides a long list of the integral features of the Orientalist project. Among these features, Said includes:

...to feel oneself as a European in command, almost at will, of Oriental *history, time, and geography*; to institute new areas of specialization; to establish new disciplines; to divide, deploy, schematize, tabulate, index, and record everything in sight (and out of sight); to make out of every observable detail a generalization and out of every generalization an immutable law about the Oriental nature, temperament, mentality, custom, or type; and above all, to transmute living reality into the stuff of texts, to possess (or think one possesses) actuality mainly because nothing in the Orient seems to resist one’s powers...³⁰

To me, this passage reads like a precursor to Said’s later invocation of “the actual geographic underpinnings of the imperial” in nineteenth-century literature, discussed above, in its linking of the textual “transmut[ation of] living reality” into “history, time, and geography.” My analyses of the novels in this dissertation reverse the grouping of spatiotemporal categories I have italicized in the passage above. I first discuss geography as a key feature of literary structure, and then consider the historical and temporal as they register in novelistic narrative. For Said, geographic representation reveals as much about

²⁹ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, revised edition (New York: Vintage, 1978), 83–84.

³⁰ Said, 86, emphasis added.

the imperial gaze as it does about the space that gaze looks upon. The slippage between “to possess” and the parenthetical “(or think one possesses)” indicates that the narrative perspective of geographic narration is both a window and a mirror: a way of seeing the colonial gaze and the mind of the colonizer at once. In both *Orientalism* and in *Culture and Imperialism*, reading for geography offers a spatialized version of Spivak’s “cultural representation of England to the English”: a way of seeing the structure of imperial representation and self-representation through multiple attentions to a geography rendered as description.

In presenting space as a key way that novelistic narrative is structured, I view geography as equivalently important to history in the constitution of novelistic form. The shift toward form in nineteenth-century studies that has taken place in the past several decades has valuably re-centered the historical conditioning of narrative as a balanced, contextually-aware method of analyzing narrative structure. I want to harness the energy of this shift and bring geography to the table of this new historical formalism. If, as Caroline Levine claims, literary form should be viewed from the perspective of social, aesthetic, and political structures, then geography should be a preeminent way of analyzing the form of the novel.³¹ Of course, studies of nineteenth-century novels have always been aware at some level that the works they examine contain active spatial imaginations. One of the most influential treatments of the novel with emphases on space and coloniality is surely Buzard’s *Disorienting Fiction*, in which his approach to nineteenth-century literature traces the mapping of “a spatialized culture into the textual

³¹ Caroline Levine, *Forms: Whole, Rhythm, Hierarchy, Network* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2015), 6–11; see also Caroline Levine, “From Nation to Network,” *Victorian Studies* 55, no. 4 (Summer 2013): 656–67.

space of a novel” as these works attempted to reckon with their senses of estrangement from national identity.³² Here, I adopt Buzard’s casting of space as the structural backbone of the novel. My emphasis on the description of geography as it appears in the narrative is also indebted to Heather Love’s literary adoption of the “descriptive turn” in intellectual history and sociology, a method through “documentation and description” of raising the interpretive profile of literary features like landscape that tend to be passed over in contemporary criticism.³³ In the chapters that follow, I show how the narrators’ faculties of geographic description are critical to understanding their novels’ relationships to the imperial project. By casting geography as primarily constitutive of novelistic form, I thereby read novelistic geography in order to determine how territories and peoples are administered, and how environments are changed under imperial regimes.

Attention to local environments is an important way geography has been discussed in studies of the novel, and ecocriticism emerges as an important critical context in the dissertation’s second part. Literary critics have long taken up ecocritical perspectives, but nineteenth-century ecocriticism is not as rich a critical resource as one might desire. In a review essay called “Where is Victorian Ecocriticism?” Jesse Oak Taylor writes, “The most striking thing about reviewing the field of Victorian ecocriticism is that there is so little of it.”³⁴ There are some notable exceptions, of course.

³² Buzard, *Disorienting Fiction*, 12.

³³ Heather Love, “Close but Not Deep: Literary Ethics and the Descriptive Turn,” *New Literary History* 41, no. 2 (Spring 2010): 375–76; see further Heather Love, “Close Reading and Thin Description,” *Public Culture* 25, no. 3–71 (Fall 2013): 404–12.

³⁴ Jesse Oak Taylor, “Where Is Victorian Ecocriticism?,” *Victorian Literature and Culture* 43, no. 4 (2015): 877.

A great deal of new work in nineteenth-century ecocriticism has been appearing recently in the form of essay collections, possibly presaging an influx of book-length studies to address the question in the title of Taylor’s review essay. See Tobias Menely and Jesse O. Taylor, eds., *Anthropocene Reading: Literary History in Geologic Times* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017);

Allen MacDuffie's recent study of energy systems presents the exhaustion of resources as a motivating dynamic in nineteenth-century narrative, and Upamanyu Pablo Mukherjee's work examines the origins of ecological crisis thinking in British imperial misadventures in South Asia.³⁵ In his own work, on the carboniferous London fog in Victorian and modernist fiction, Taylor suggests viewing nature as "exist[ing] in a state of perpetual withdrawal," and as evolving under human pressure into alien forms.³⁶ Throughout the chapters of this dissertation, landscapes will exhibit this withdrawal from human contact and, further, from narrative representation. The descriptive techniques each narrator develops in depicting the landscape not only enacts a form of social control, but also corrals the unruly energy of these vast, restive spaces.

A further note on ecocriticism: though ecocritics are frequently associated with the emergence of the concept of the Anthropocene, my engagement with that concept is glancing. The reason for this is that, even though human action does transform the ecologies discussed here, those ecologies sometimes seem as though they have their own furtive kinds of agency—or at least have the potential to transform the lives of humans—and express distinct theories of temporality and history. While my approach is not incompatible with the Anthropocene concept—I do engage with many Anthropocene scholars, and discuss the potential for ecological agency in the Coda—the

Nathan K. Hensley and Philip Steer, eds., *Ecological Form: System and Aesthetics in the Age of Empire* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2018).

³⁵ Allen MacDuffie, *Victorian Literature, Energy, and the Ecological Imagination* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Upamanyu Pablo Mukherjee, *Postcolonial Environments: Nature, Culture and the Contemporary Indian Novel in English*. (Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Upamanyu Pablo Mukherjee, *Natural Disasters and Victorian Empire: Famines, Fevers and the Literary Cultures of South Asia* (Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

³⁶ The term Taylor coins for this view of nature is "abnatural." Jesse Oak Taylor, *The Sky of Our Manufacture: The London Fog in British Fiction from Dickens to Woolf* (Charlottesville, Va.: University of Virginia Press, 2016), 5.

Anthropocentric visions of temporality and history in spaces of ecological-colonial change are not as richly textured as they are in the novels I discuss. Each individual novel's conceptions of temporality and history don't always match up with some of the others, even as their geographic attentions do. This is not to say that the Anthropocene concept has no use in this project, but rather just to say that it handles novelistic temporality roughly (or at least it does at the time of this writing; the Anthropocentric analysis of novels is a young discourse).³⁷ As Dipesh Chakrabarty has influentially argued, discussion of climate change demands that species history and geologic time be put into dialogue but, in his reading of the extant work on the subject, criticism has insufficiently taken into account individual and collective temporalities under the pressure of imperial and capitalist regimes.³⁸ As Chakrabarty's analysis attests to, geology is a planetary concept, and is difficult to cognize as human or social experience. Where geology is planetary and non-experiential, this dissertation's use of geography is cultural and specifically novelistic. Applying this dissertation's archive to the temporal

³⁷ The scientific discourse upon which Anthropocene criticism is based tends to juxtapose the timescale of humanity and that of geology, but that discourse does not offer a conception of the timescales of history or culture, or what their relation to the human-geological juxtaposition would be. In part, this issue animates Bruno Latour's development of the concept of "Gaia," a figure of the natural world that does not imply a regime of modernity, and instead views social interactions with nature as its own type of organic system. Bruno Latour, *Facing Gaia: Eight Lectures on the New Climatic Regime*, trans. Catherine Porter (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2017), 75–110.

For foundational scientific work on the Anthropocene concept, see Paul J. Crutzen and Eugene F. Stoermer, "The 'Anthropocene,'" *Global Change Newsletter*, no. 41 (May 2000): 17–18; Paul J. Crutzen, "Geology of Mankind," *Nature* 415, no. 6867 (January 3, 2002): 23–23; Will Steffen, Paul J. Crutzen, and John R. McNeill, "The Anthropocene: Are Humans Now Overwhelming the Great Forces of Nature?," *Ambio* 36, no. 8 (December 2007): 614–21; Simon L. Lewis and Mark A. Maslin, "Defining the Anthropocene," *Nature* 519, no. 7542 (March 12, 2015): 171–80.

³⁸ Dipesh Chakrabarty, "The Climate of History: Four Theses," *Critical Inquiry* 35, no. 2 (Winter 2009): 198, 220–22.

Chakrabarty's essay has attracted much criticism since it appeared, both from climate scientists and from cultural scholars working with the Anthropocene concept. Jeremy Davies has recently provided a compelling interpretation of Chakrabarty, a summary of the "backlash," to use Davies's term, and a suggestion for a historical revision of the Anthropocene concept. Jeremy Davies, *The Birth of the Anthropocene* (Oakland, Calif.: University of California Press, 2016), 48–63.

rubric of planetary time has the potential to flatten the delicate interplay between different provincial and imperial temporalities, as well as those temporalities' saturation of the primary spaces I examine in the chapters to come.

More fundamentally than from contemporary ecocriticism, the approach I take here builds from Franco Moretti's analyses of literary geography. In *Atlas of the European Novel, 1800-1900*, Moretti reads a dizzying array of novels by creating his own maps of them. According to Moretti, his cartographic readings is an exercise in evaluating literary form from the perspective of geography. What this method reveals, he claims, is that the "place-bound nature" of the text and "the *internal* logic of narrative" intersect at the form of the novel.³⁹ In this analysis, all texts have their own distinct relationship to their geographies, even ones ostensibly set in the same place (as Trollope's Barsetshire in Chapter Two, or Hardy's Wessex in Chapter Four), and this spatial variance accounts for the varieties of plots that these novels contain. Moretti goes on to claim that space is a priori to plot, stopping short of endorsing a kind of spatial determinism, but suggesting that it circumscribes the possibilities for what might happen in the narrative: "There is no picaresque of the border, or *Bildungsroman* of the European in Africa: *this* specific form needs *that* specific space—the road, the metropolis. Space is not 'outside' the narrative, then, but an internal force, that shapes it from within. Or in other words: in modern European novels, *what* happens depends a lot on *where* it happens."⁴⁰ I carry forward Moretti's view that space structures novelistic narrative. In Eliot's *St. Ogg's*, for instance (Chapter Three), the interflowing currents of the sea and the river form the foundation of the narrative logic, in which local and exterior forces and

³⁹ Franco Moretti, *Atlas of the European Novel: 1800-1900* (London: Verso, 1998), 5, emphasis in original.

⁴⁰ Moretti, 70, emphasis in original.

peoples collide with each other and eventually cause ecological catastrophe. It is no accident that the historical maturation of the novel into a literary form structured by geography occurs in provincial Britain. Elsewhere, Moretti claims that the nineteenth century sees the countryside become the preeminent space of the British novel (“[a]part from Dickens,” he adds as a qualifier).⁴¹ The ostensible smallness of these provincial spaces belies their vastness when depicted in novelistic narrative. In his depiction of Scotland during the 1745 Jacobite Rising (Chapter One), Scott focuses on the wide plains and mountain passes of the Lowlands and Highlands. Though he does represent Edinburgh—hardly a provincial locale in the conventional sense—the novel focuses primarily on border crossings in those vast swaths of the Scottish countryside in which the majority of the novel is set and thereby from where, I show, the internal colonial logic of the novel develops.

Methodological Notes and Structure

Each chapter of “Outer Spaces” focuses on a space important to the literary history of the British Empire and shows how the geographic description of that space in the British provinces develops spatial strategies for representing homologous spaces on the colonial frontier. In keeping with my geographic conception of novelistic form, I first focus on the geographic description of these spaces, and then adduce evidence from historical context and from the archive to support my spatial readings. In examining the formal links between marginalized spaces in the homeland and in the colonies, this

⁴¹ Franco Moretti, *Distant Reading* (London: Verso, 2013), 22.

dissertation charts two narratives in the structure of its method. First, at the beginning of the dissertation, these chapters span many decades of literary history, and as the dissertation goes forward, that chronological gap narrows. On one level, the narrowing of the gap reflects the growing awareness of imperial space and its representations within Britain as the century goes on. While Scott only had an abstract idea of what Africa might be, Hardy's knowledge of the continent was much more detailed, as evidenced by the works on Africa in his library. As it pertains to imperialism, though, my chapters' chronological narrowing reveals anxieties about the basic functioning and future of the British Empire. Increasingly, the fiction I examine here dramatizes the breakdown of the social machinery of colonial administration and ecological manipulation. The second narrative I chart, as outlined previously, is the shift from provincial novels' focus on the control of land and the peoples who historically occupy that land (Part I) to the distanced influence on outlying ecologies through the economics of trade, resource extraction, and frontier agrarianism (Part II). As I detail in the historical background discussed in the later chapters, I do not claim that imperialists somehow stopped caring about the control of territory. Rather, this mirrors the increasing marrying of imperial power and international economics as the century goes on, a condition we have come to call globalization. No shortage of scholars would tell us that the long nineteenth century was of course already a global century. "Outer Spaces" excavates the foundational expressions of colonial power across the globe in provincial spaces in the imperial homeland.

Part I, "Sovereignty and Administration," focuses on the administration of land and control of local societies. In Chapter One, "Proving Grounds: Border Crossings in

Walter Scott and Rudyard Kipling,” I focus on depictions of zones of transit in colonial territories: the internal colonial space of Scotland during the 1745 Jacobite Rising in Scott’s *Waverley* (1814), and the unmapped and minimally-mapped areas along the Grand Trunk Road in the British Raj in Kipling’s *Kim* (1901). I argue that in these zones of transit, the two titular agents of colonialism develop strategies for territorial control in their focalized descriptions of regional borders. Both *Waverley* and *Kim* use their national flexibility—an English soldier in Highland garb in Scott, and an Irish adolescent performing Indian indigeneity—to cross borders between colonially and locally controlled spaces in the service of the English military and the Survey of India, respectively. As they move back and forth across these border zones, they do so imperceptibly, but still acquire knowledge of the area. Both Scott’s and Kipling’s narrators develop a shared perspectival strategy to depict this phenomenon: the ability to focalize on a protagonist while that protagonist is in motion, depicting the space in which the protagonist moves, but at the same time declining to represent the movement itself. I call this mobile focalization, and show at the outset of the dissertation how this strategy links geographic description with territorialization in the British imperial project. I bookend my discussion of Scott and Kipling with archival materials that show how the two authors attempted to instantiate this method of seeing like a mobile-focal colonial agent through projects of land administration in the years after their respective novels appeared.

Kim’s work for the Survey of India relies on his talent for mapmaking. Chapter Two, “Novel Graphics: Cartographic Blankness in Anthony Trollope, Robert Louis Stevenson, and H. Rider Haggard,” discusses literary geography in cartographic form.

Specifically, I discuss the novel maps in Trollope's Barsetshire series, particularly *Framley Parsonage* (1860), the Barsetshire novel in which the map's narrative emergence occurs; Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (1883), whose famous map popularized tales of plunder in the imperial romance; and Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines* (1885), a novel whose multiple maps and publication history reveals its conservative imperial ideology. My argument begins by focusing on the blank spaces at the edges of each map, a feature that I claim isolates the space of the novel from contextual geographies and makes it available to different types of plunder: the genteel sort of plunder that in Trollope involves bad loans and property foreclosure, and the violent looting of treasure caches in Stevenson and Haggard. I distinguish Stevenson and Haggard in light of their relationships to the mid-Victorian realism of Trollope and their differing visions of the Empire's future. By counterpoising their relationships to the generic inheritances of the imperial romance genre—especially Haggard's bet against Stevenson's novel—and by reading an account of Haggard's 1913 visit to Australia at the behest of the Dominions Royal Commission, I show how the two authors present starkly different visions for the future of the British Empire's territorial extent.

In Part II, "Environments and Social Futures," I trace the novel's shift to focusing on ecological manipulation and the furtive, often dangerous agency of the natural world under economic and agrarian pressures. In Chapter Three, "Overflowing Seas: The Provincial Port in George Eliot and Joseph Conrad," I trace the effects of global capitalism's nineteenth- and early twentieth-century marriage to colonialism by examining the provincial ports of Eliot's *The Mill on the Floss* (1860) and Conrad's *Nostromo* (1904). The ships that dock in St. Ogg's and Sulaco to trade and take on

commodities bring with them the ascendant powers of imperial capitalism. Through this lens, I focus on the interactions between water and land, and argue that the novels' geo-hydrographic forms structure their narratives of ecological change. I examine the St. Ogg's estuary and the resource extraction taking place in Sulaco, and develop the concepts of estuarial form and extractive form in each novel. By reading these geo-hydrographic forms against the novel's overall space—in particular the geographic bulwarks that set the ports back from the sea—I show how the damage wrought by ecological manipulation reveals the two novels' different theories of history. These novels model two different ways that we might affiliate the scale of environmental change with that of social formation.

The damage local environments can cause societies in their attempts to maintain agrarian relationships with those environments' local flora is the subject of the last chapter. Chapter Four, "Infinite Backcountries: Agrarian Plains in Thomas Hardy and Olive Schreiner," treats Hardy's *Return of the Native* (1878), Schreiner's *The Story of an African Farm* (1883), and Hardy's *The Mayor of Casterbridge* (1886). All three of these novels are set in unenclosed plains, and the communities in each attempt to survive through gathering, grazing, or cultivation on those plains, despite punishing environmental conditions. In this chapter, I show how the narrator depicts these spaces as seemingly unending. Though geographic description renders Egdon Heath, the Cape Colony's karoo, and the Casterbridge corn fields as being infinitely vast, the communities in these novels never fully grasp that this infinity indicates a resistance to their agrarian projects. Instead, their provincial and colonial affiliations with the land bind them tighter still to these plains. I argue that the social damage suffered by these communities comes

at the intersection of the spaces' harshness and the narrator's dramatization of their seemingly infinite extent. The attempts to come to know these vast spaces both in Dorset and in southern Africa come with a coordinated attempt by readers to stabilize the pain of these narratives through establishing touristic and therapeutic relationships with the novels. I read these historical and current endeavors as ways that real-world peoples and industries have attempted to erect boundaries around these ultimately unknowable spaces—boundaries that the novelists themselves refused to represent. By tying geographic description to the destruction of frontier social life these novels depict the beginning of the breakdown of the cultural and social underpinnings of the British imperial project.

If I were to trace another through line in this dissertation, it would be the increasing narrative dramatization of states of bewilderment in the face of provincial and colonial geographies. In the Coda to this dissertation, I discuss Amitav Ghosh's argument in his recent book-length essay, *The Great Derangement* (2016), that the inability to conceptualize our current climate crisis has its origins in the British imperial project. Ghosh's analyses of literary history, the conjoined histories of empire and capital, and the current responses to the crisis suggest that our inability to create cultural forms to adequately respond to the scale of climate change is an existential threat to humanity. He bases his conception of nature under climate change as an agential non-human actor in the ecological legacies of British imperialism and the formal legacies of nineteenth-century British literature. On Ghosh's account, we are living in an era whose thick entwinement of capital, ecology, and empire was foundationally narrated by the nineteenth-century literature of British colonialism.

Postscript: Inheritances

This introduction started with T. B. Macaulay, but that is not how this project began. I entered graduate school with some notion that I would study empire and the novel across the divide between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The project shifted, as projects do, and at some point in my early graduate education—I can’t remember when, exactly—I read Macaulay’s writings on British India. I was taken aback by the dim views he took of the sophistication of indigenous cultures and the value of Asian literatures. The first reason I was taken aback was not that his views were reprehensible in a way that depended on a particularly vitriolic form of prejudice, prejudiced though they are, but rather that they were representative of significant strains of thought regarding those cultures in British colonial space, and reprehensibly so. The second reason was that the prominent historian whose family name I share was expressing views anathema to my own commitments. I had always known that this nineteenth-century statesman was a very distant, almost abstract relative of mine—not directly related, but somewhere in the family forest, if not in my actual family tree. What I had not known is that he was infamous in my chosen period-field for viewing indigenous Indians without exposure the British canon as subhuman (recall: “the lowest depths of slavery and superstition”), and that his views were influential in shaping imperial policy. For years now, I have wondered if my desire to study the literary history of the British Empire is an impulse that is, if not in my blood, then in my bones. And I

have further wondered if this project's design, moving outward from the center to the margins, somehow reflects Macaulay's own beliefs in his Empire's civilizing mission.

No one outside my family has considered my name and asked me if my professional choice to study British imperial culture is more than a coincidence. Perhaps that is because the spelling of my last name was changed at some point on the journey from Scotland to California. Perhaps that is because most literary scholars do not read Macaulay very deeply beyond the "Minute" and the *Lays of Ancient Rome*, a cycle of poems that I have heard a number of poetry specialists describe out loud as "uninteresting" and "in the end, bad." Perhaps the reason I have never been asked is that it is simply too socially awkward, and too much of a stretch, to ask a colleague if he might be related to a noted British imperialist. It's a good thing, too, because I don't know the answer to the question.

I could hazard a guess, though. If I were asked, I would say that there is a distinct familial relation, though family historians have not yet been able to ascertain exactly what the relation is, owing to the huge numbers of Macaulays and McAuleys in Britain and the wider world. I would say that in my professional and personal lives, across my research, pedagogy, and the way I live in the world, I try to wrestle with the responsibilities entailed in those many inheritances that we might want to cast off so as to be rid of the burden of their invidious histories, but cannot. I would say that it is a mistake to forget where those inheritances come from, even if they are distant and ultimately bear a tenuous relation to one's current situation. I'd hope that if I had a different name, I would have come to this project anyway; and I do believe I would, but of course there's no way to test that theory. What I do know is that ways of thinking and

forms of cultural life can travel across geographic and historical distance and root themselves in new places, and that, in the end, describing those forms and journeys and reckoning with their cultural significance are what this dissertation is about.

PART I: Sovereignty and Administration

Chapter One:

Proving Grounds: Border Crossings in Walter Scott and Rudyard Kipling

Introduction

Early in a classic British colonial text, the English protagonist leaves his secure lodging in the “Low Country” and journeys with a local guide into the untamed northern lands to meet a tribal chieftain. The enormous scale and untamed wilderness of the northern terrain deeply impresses the Englishman, a captain in the British army. The narrator tells us, “It was towards evening as they entered one of the tremendous passes which afford communication between the High and Low Country,” portraying the mountainous terrain as a political and regional dividing line. In this borderland between the two major geographic divisions in the colonial territory, the narrator’s extensive description of the area makes manifest the Englishman’s cultural and military superiority over his guide. As the Englishman takes in the terrain, the guide tells war stories, recounting the legend of an ancient battle in the pass in which ten fighters from the “High Country” held off a hundred from the “Low Country.” A sharp eye, the guide claims, can identify their graves dotting the lower opening to the pass—a topographic feature he identifies as a “corri,” a word in the regional dialect. The guide then spots a bird of prey

(an “earn”) and, attempting to channel the martial skill of his storied ancestors, aims his gun and tries to shoot it out of the sky. But the guide misses, disturbing the raptors and scavenger birds in the area (“hawks, kites, carrion-crowd, and ravens”) whose startled calls amplify the guide’s failure, sonically set against the “roar of the mountain cataracts” and the “echoes which replied to it.” The land that the guide has cast as his ally rejects his attempts to marshal its history on his behalf. His local ties to cultural touchstones of the land are outdone by the Englishman’s imperial assessment of the pass’s broader geography, a process reinforced by the narrator’s detailed description of the terrain. As the scene goes on, the rocks, rivers, and wildlife all seem to transfer jurisdiction from the guide’s cultural knowledge to the colonial sovereignty of the English soldier. As this process goes on, the guide whistles a pibroch—a song from the “High Country”—in an attempt to distract the professional soldier from the guide’s imprecision with modern weapons. In geographically describing the pass, the narrator transforms the area from a local cultural site to a regional transit zone in a colonized country: that is, a colonial border.

The source, though, is not a travelogue from Britain’s far-flung imperial territories. This is Walter Scott’s *Waverley* (1814), from Edward Waverley’s first excursion from the Lowlands to the Highlands with Evan Dhu Maccombich, a Highland ambassador to Waverley’s Lowland host Baron Bradwardine.⁴² At the pass, Evan Dhu vaingloriously evokes Highland victories in past battles. But to Waverley and the narrator, the pass is primarily notable as a communication corridor between the Lowlands and the Highlands. The first passage’s narrative pace slows to localize the path that

⁴² Walter Scott, *Waverley; or, 'Tis Sixty Years Since* (1814; repr., London: Penguin, 1972), 135–36. Further references will be made parenthetically to this edition.

makes the pass accessible, precisely tracing its progress and geographic features—“between two tremendous rocks,” a mountain, and a riverbed—and hyperbolically describing those areas of the path inaccessible to the travelers (“A few slanting beams of the sun, which was now setting, reached the water in its darksome bed, and showed it partially, chafed by a hundred rocks, and broken by a hundred falls,” “A thousand birds of prey... mingled their hoarse and discordant notes with the echoes which replied to it, and with the roar of the mountain cataracts”). This uncertain mix of descriptive modes and perspectives quickly sketches local detail, but makes it difficult to visually picture the space in its entirety. Each aspect of the landscape has a local geographic context, a notional history, and a precise cultural position between the Scottish and the English. However, the place of each individual spatial feature in the broader whole is narratively obscured. This difficulty in visualizing geography on a broad scale and movement through these spaces despite the exhaustive amount of detail is a defining narrative characteristic of *Waverley*. Individual elements of each scene are richly described, but the space and plot action of the novel are hard to map, especially when Waverley crosses borders—both sovereign borders, such as the border between England and Scotland, and internal cultural borders, like the mountain pass between the Lowlands and the Highlands.

Denying access to broad-scale representations of space in a country riven with civil and cultural transit zones makes the geographic representations that do appear in the novel seem all the more authoritative. Because the majority of *Waverley*’s geographically descriptive moments take place at these border crossings—the control of which being precondition of the internal colonial control that England sought to consolidate over

Scotland during the 1745 Jacobite Rising that Scott recounts in his novel—these extensive descriptions reinforce Britain’s colonial sovereignty over a Scotland in revolt. In *Waverley*, geographic description, makes regions marked by frequent, rapid border crossing available for colonial administration. Scott’s description of the border uncouples land from its local traditions and social signifiers, and asserts the dominance of colonial administrative practices under the cover of the protagonist’s growing attachment to Lowlanders at first and Highlanders subsequently. Thereby, detailed descriptions of border crossing displace cultural possession of the land from local residents to the colonial protagonist, establishing geographic description as the structural precondition for colonial conquest. As I detail in this chapter, this process relies on a specific narrative technique: mobile focalization, the fluid movement of the narrative perspective across many geographic scales. This narrative technique that is employed in key geographically descriptive moments, such as the description of the mountain pass above presents land assessment as a test of the focal protagonist’s abilities to survey colonial space. As the narrator presents it, the geographic and ethnographic information collected in the scene at the mountain pass above derives from the protagonist’s attempts to merely get a handle on the enormity of the area he finds himself traveling through. I will show in this chapter that Scott’s, and later Rudyard Kipling’s emphases on border crossing as a primary mode of acquiring geographic knowledge depends upon mobile focalization’s ability to train the protagonist’s eyes upon multiple scales of colonial space while obscuring his movement through that same space.

The geographic description of border spaces, I argue in this chapter, is a signal development in the nineteenth-century provincial novel’s engagement with the cultural

logic of British imperialism. Rural areas in Britain, I show, are the British Empire's proving grounds for the territorializing ideologies that underlie the administration and exploitation of overseas colonial spaces. For this to be true, describing the lay of the land would have to be signally important to these novels. The development of this dissertation's argument in this chapter is grounded in my Scott and Kipling readings' initial demonstration that geographic description's ability to make land available to agents of empire through mobile focalization depends geography's fundamental place in the structuring of novelistic narrative. The analysis of *Waverley*'s mountain pass scene above begins to model how this works at the key location of the regional border: Waverley's interaction with Evan Dhu suggests that knowing a landscape entails a set of geographic and cultural knowledges that, for an emissary of British colonial power, is tantamount to military reconnaissance. This registers historically and aesthetically: in the colonial competition between the Highlanders' past military glory and the present military superiority of a pro-Union Hanoverian British army; and with the border's violent flora—a "projecting fragment of granite" and the "scathed tree" thrusting its "twisted roots into the fissures of the rock"—environmentally anticipating the coming imperial suppression in the 1745 Jacobite Rising. As a nexus of imperial, aesthetic, and narrative energies, geographic description is most clearly visible as both a formal feature of the novel during protagonists' border crossings. In this scene, the narrative slows dramatically to survey the space and presage the novel's transformation of culturally and historically marked land into internal colonial territory. Overlapping regional identities and national affiliations are filtered into two key locations: the Anglo-Scottish border, a sovereign domain referred to simply as the "Scottish Border," and the Lowland-Highland

line, referred to as the “*braes*,” which means a hillside adjoining a river in the Scots language.⁴³ Here, I examine key moments of transit across zones of differing sovereignties, and examine how the novel deploys the mobile focalization in scenes of border crossing to represent challenges to British colonial administration and those challenges’ inevitable suppressions.

As many critics have remarked, *Waverley*’s travel north is a political and developmental movement as well as a geographic one: from the center of English civilization at the manor house Waverley-Honour, to the hospitable but unfamiliar Lowland frontier, to the wild, untamed Highland clans. What my analysis reveals is that this border crossing is not teleological (narratively or politically), but rather that repeated crossings over and back across different spaces of national and tribal contact is the formal foundation for the novel’s representation of the consolidation of internal colonial power. In this chapter, I show that in Scott’s *Waverley* and in Kipling’s *Kim* (1901),⁴⁴ the novels’ shared insistence on holding geographic description and border crossing in close proximity as constitutive parts of mobile focalization casts geography as an integral aspect of novelistic form. I discuss these two novels together because their novels’ spaces share a striking narrative homology: in representing *Waverley* and *Kim*’s movements through large, mostly rural spaces under contested colonial control—1740s Scotland and the British Raj—the novels blend two chronotopic extremes, languorous geographic description and rapid border crossing, in forming their distinctive narrative presentations.

⁴³ “*Brae n.1*,” *Dictionary of the Scots Language: Scottish National Dictionary*, 2004, http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/snd/brae_n1.

⁴⁴ Rudyard Kipling, *Kim*, ed. Harish Trivedi (1901; repr., London: Penguin, 2011). References will be made parenthetically to this edition.

My readings of these two novels reveals the regional border to be a foundational geoformal grounding for narratives of land administration in the British provinces and in the colonial frontier.⁴⁵

Remarking on *Waverley*'s internal colonial features is not a new critical move. Many have noted Scott and Scotland's complex relationship with British imperialism.⁴⁶ And anyone who discusses the long nineteenth-century novel's involvement in the British imperial project is in plentiful, varied company.⁴⁷ It matters, however, that the foundational modern historical novel tells a story of internal colonialism. In so doing,

⁴⁵ Identifying geography as a formal component of the novel evokes Frances Ferguson's influential claim that "free indirect style is the novel's one and only formal contribution to literature." I make the case in this dissertation for geography's contribution as well. It matters, of course, that a decade and a half after Ferguson's essay appeared it is less unusual to talk about the form of the novel. It also matters, though, that Ferguson is talking about Austen's *Emma* and I am talking about Scott's *Waverley*, the former work published merely a year and a half after the latter. Choosing Scott over Austen as a starting point for a project is a distinct choice—Edward Said and George Levine begin their famous studies *Culture and Imperialism* and *The Realistic Imagination* with Austen, after all—and could be seen as privileging history over domesticity. However, as I discuss subsequently, Scott's novel is deeply interested in multiple scales of domesticity, and as Scott himself claimed in his much-cited review of *Emma*, the publication of Austen's novel was a watershed moment for the literary prominence of the novel as a genre. (Scott also indirectly compares *Emma* to "the rugged sublimities of a mountain landscape," his own passage above perhaps in mind.) Scott and Austen are doing different kinds of ideological work in their varied oeuvres, and had very different authorial personae, but in both novels, the depiction of geography is the meeting point for political consciousness and the shape of the narrative. This is pervasively true in Scott, as I discuss in the rest of this chapter, but it is also true key moments in *Emma* that have become critical loci classici: the scene at Ford's shop and the sunny vista of Box Hill. In light of Ferguson's claim, the key difference that I see between the two authors is that in Austen, it is reasonable to classify these spatially descriptive moments as a subset of free indirect style, whereas in Scott, something much stranger is going on—the ambiguous agency of narrative perspective at the regional border—which will occupy my critical attention here. If this chapter is privileging anything, then, it is narrative weirdness over all else. Frances Ferguson, "Jane Austen, *Emma*, and the Impact of Form," *Modern Language Quarterly* 61, no. 1 (March 2000): 159; Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 80–97; George Levine, *The Realistic Imagination: English Fiction from Frankenstein to Lady Chatterley* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 35; Walter Scott, "Art. IX. *Emma; a Novel*," *The Quarterly Review*, October 1815, 192–93, 200.

⁴⁶ Katie Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire* (Princeton University Press, 1997), 128–57, 242–91; Saree Makdisi, *Romantic Imperialism: Universal Empire and the Culture of Modernity* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 70–99; Buzard, *Disorienting Fiction*, 63–104; Michael Simpson, "Wavering on Europe: Walter Scott and the Equilibrium of the Empires," *Romanticism* 11, no. 2 (July 2005): 127–42; Elsie Michie, "History After Waterloo: Margaret Oliphant Reads Walter Scott," *ELH* 80, no. 3 (Fall 2013): 897–916.

⁴⁷ See the Introduction's discussions of, among many others, Said, Spivak, Viswanathan, Williams, McClintock, Gikandi, Buzard, Baucom, and Hensley.

Scott ties the British novel's geopolitical status—and, indeed, its rising cultural capital leading into the Victorian era—to a narrative wherein a reluctant colonialist (Waverley himself) helps bring rebel Scotland under British control. Scott's focus on non-metropolitan geographies even within Scotland (Edinburgh occupies a relatively small part of the novel's action) re-centers those territorial fringes that I call provincial spaces into what Mary Louise Pratt, writing on border contact zones, calls the primary "space of imperial encounters."⁴⁸ In the provincial spaces of Scott and Kipling, geographic description precedes direct contact between different cultures and nationalities. As Waverley moves to and fro across borders, the narrator's descriptions of those crossings reinforce administrative control over Scottish land before placing an actual Scottish person in those spaces. In other words, the narrator has to depict Waverley surveying Scotland in order for Scots to actually exist in their own country, an apotheosis of internal colonial sovereignty. As I discuss in the following section, border territorialization is key not only to *Waverley*, but also to Scott's later attempts to use his literary power to transform a Scottish Borderer into an imperial operator.

Nearly a century later, Kipling writes the other major British border novel. Like *Waverley*, *Kim* is also structured by the geographic proximity of two border zones. The first is simply termed the "Border," which refers to the region around the sovereign border between the British Raj and Afghanistan (also known as the "Durand Line") located primarily in the Northwest Frontier as well as parts of Kashmir, Punjab, and Rajasthan. The second is the Grand Trunk Road, an ancient, massive trade route that runs through the Border and which saw significant modernization and extension under the

⁴⁸ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2008), 8.

British Raj. Whereas the former is associated with blood feuds and tribal violence, from which Anglicized Indians try to distance themselves, the latter is a figure for late imperial modernity: both a civilian transit corridor and a zone of surveillance. In the novel's massive Survey of India, the Grand Trunk Road's course through the Border provides a civilizational tension that motivates Kim's mapping. As Kim comes closer to the Border during the Survey, the novel searches for alternate modes of viewing the Raj, pitting Kim's affiliation with the Great Game of the British intelligence service against Teshoo Lama's Buddhist Enlightenment, and showing how the novel's surveillance reveals anxieties about the stability of British sovereignty in India. In attempting to complete the total surveillance of India's population and the total Survey of Indian space—and, at key points, failing to do so—the novel itself becomes an allegorical checkpoint between the Border and the Grand Trunk Road: the meeting place of loyalty to British imperial rule and ethnic modes of belonging. Because *Kim*'s two borders are perpendicular—unlike *Waverley*'s, which are parallel—Kipling's narrative turns on the conjunctive friction between allegiance and identity rather than their dangerously parallel proximity, calling into question how British the territory known as British India can actually be.

Border Territorialization: The Case of Archie Park

Before I move to the novels that will occupy the majority of this chapter, I want to use an example from Scott's literary and social life to specify the relation he saw between local land and its internal colonial management. An examination of (to my knowledge) previously untreated correspondence in Scott's archive reveals how the novelist's failure

to create an imperial agent from a native Scottish Borderer suggests that imperial territorialization must occur around the movement of external actors.

On December 29, 1815, Walter Scott wrote a letter.⁴⁹ This was far from an unusual occurrence. Scott wrote more than 14,000 letters in his lifetime, according to the Millgate Union Catalogue of Walter Scott Correspondence at the National Library of Scotland.⁵⁰ In his voluminous correspondence, Scott keeps up his overlapping literary, social, and political relationships; conducts routine business for his estate and for his professional life; and builds networks around writers he admired, especially Lord Byron, using opportunistic, measured praise that spoke to his own critical acumen and professional cunning.⁵¹ Both due to a right leg “disfigured” by polio⁵² and his love of the Border region, Scott rarely traveled outside of Scotland and mostly confined himself to Edinburgh and his Abbotsford country estate, according to his biographer and son-in-law J. G. Lockhart, and his letters often contain invitations for his London correspondents to travel north.⁵³

⁴⁹ Walter Scott to J. W. Croker, December 29, 1815, MS 9609, Acc. 2921(1-2), ff. 11-14, National Library of Scotland.

⁵⁰ “Millage Union Catalogue of Walter Scott Correspondence - National Library of Scotland,” accessed June 13, 2014, <http://www.nls.uk/catalogues/resources/scott/index.cfm>.

⁵¹ On Byron, see Walter Scott, *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott, 1787-1807*, ed. H. J. C. Grierson, Davidson Cook, and W. M. Parker, vol. 1 (London: Constable & Co., 1932), 16; Walter Scott, *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott, 1811-1814*, ed. H. J. C. Grierson, Davidson Cook, and W. M. Parker, vol. 3 (London: Constable & Co., 1932), 98–99, 123, 134–41, 217–18, 372–75, 396, 454.

⁵² In an 1809 autobiographical fragment that opens Lockhart’s biography, Scott professes to prefer “disfigured” over “disabled” as a description for his body: “My frame gradually became hardened with my constitution, and being both tall and muscular, I was rather disfigured than disabled by my lameness.” J. G. Lockhart, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1839), 68.

⁵³ In November 1813, upon hearing that Byron was considering leaving England to escape rumors of a relationship with Augusta Leigh, his half-sister, Scott wrote to him: “I heartily wish your Lordship had come down to Scotland this season, for I have never seen a finer, and you might have renewed all your old associations with Caledonia, and made such new ones as were likely to suit you.” Lockhart, 1:19–21, 112–14; J. G. Lockhart, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, 2nd ed., vol. 6 (Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1839), 231–32; Scott, *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott, 1811-1814*, 3:372.

Scott's December 1815 letter, which was written to his frequent correspondent John Wilson Croker, then secretary to the Admiralty of the Royal Navy, casts Scottish identity as a medium between external representations of the imperial world and the internal colonial project of the British Union. Of course, as any of Scott's correspondents would have known, the writer was an ardent royalist and relentless promoter of Scotland. He would later organize and stage manage King George IV's visit to Scotland—the first such visit by a sitting monarch since the 1707 Act of Union—at which the King famously exclaimed upon landing, “Sir Walter Scott? [T]he man in Scotland I most wish to see!”⁵⁴ What is surprising about his correspondence with Croker is how his Scotland gains an ethnic dimension when it comes up against Britain's present engagement with its informal spheres of imperialist influence. After Scott published *Waverley* in 1814, his influence was powerful enough for him to directly claim that success in administering Scottish space—and, crucially, policing the activities of other Scots—was an adequate prerequisite to becoming an agent of the British Empire. Transferring the journey Scott invented for the English Waverley on to the actual life story of Archie Park, a Scottish Borderer, Scott attempts to use his fictional colonial narrative as a real-world platform to strengthen the role other Scots would play in maintaining the British Empire and the Union. When Scott's attempts to exercise influence over imperial postings proves beyond his reach, he pivots to civil service positions within Britain's borders.

In his December 29, 1815 letter to Croker, Scott makes his first substantial move: attempting to leverage the vivified Scottish past integral to his present literary success in

⁵⁴ Robert Mudie, *A Historical Account of His Majesty's Visit to Scotland* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1822), 88; Ian Duncan, *Scott's Shadow: The Novel in Romantic Edinburgh* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2007), 4.

asking for an imperial posting from a representative in British military's highest ranks. In the letter, he asks Croker specifically for an African preferment for a financially insolvent friend, Archie Park. Scott directly connects Park's roots as a Scottish Borderer with his suitability for international imperial operations. In the letter, Scott describes Park's as a "good borderer" and "a very pick of yeomanry."⁵⁵ Park, on Scott's account, possesses "a form which years ago almost equaled the Hercules Farnese" and what's more "the best heart imaginable." By highlighting his membership in the yeomanry, Scott emphasizes his informal military experience.⁵⁶ Unfortunately, Park possesses significantly less business sense. The native Borderer had acted as a guarantor for an unnamed brother's

⁵⁵ It is possible that "pick" could be rendered as "prince," depending on one's interpretation of Scott's nigh-inscrutable handwriting. The entire sentence reads: "I have long known this man for a very pick[/prince] of yeomanry both in figure strength loyalty and dexterity at all country exercises whither of sport or labour" (f. 11r).

⁵⁶ Yeomanry were local landholders who carried out local judicial, law enforcement, and military functions. In Britain, discrete companies of yeomen existed from the beginning of the Napoleonic Wars until after the Second Boer War, a period nearly mapping onto the chronology of this chapter. In 1901, the loose landowning confederations of Scott's day were organized into volunteer military units and were pressed into service across the British Empire until their absorption into the professional army in 1908. In the first decade of the twentieth century, these companies formally adopted the name Imperial Yeomanry, a phrase that had been used colloquially in Ireland, Scotland, and India during the nineteenth century to describe yeomen who fought in the Boer War and other imperial conflicts. By this time, the descriptor "imperial yeomanry" had become redundant; all yeomen were directly or indirectly involved in the military operations of the British Empire. Owing to his physical disabilities, Scott could never be an imperial operator in the mold of the imperial yeomanry or the position he imagines for Archie Park. Still, he found his own ways to be involved in local administration. J. G. Lockhart's ten-volume biography of Scott, published in 1837, five years after Scott's death, and expanded in 1839, details how consumed Scott was with managing affairs in Scottish Borders—including coordinating police and military activity—during his career. J. G. Lockhart, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1839), 93, 135–36, 169–72, 267; J. G. Lockhart, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, 2nd ed., vol. 5 (Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1839), 392; Lockhart, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, 1839, 6:159–60; J. G. Lockhart, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, 2nd ed., vol. 9 (Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1839), 221–22. Parliament of Great Britain, *The Parliamentary History of England, from the Earliest Period to the Year 1803*, vol. 31 (London: T. C. Hansard, 1818), 89–90; Ian Beckett, "The Amateur Military Tradition," in *The Oxford History of the British Army*, ed. David Chandler and Ian Beckett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 388–89. W. S. Cooper, *A History of the Ayrshire Yeomanry Cavalry* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1881), 1–66; "Our New Model," *The Irish Times*, December 21, 1899; "The Call to Arms," *The Irish Times*, January 1, 1899; "Imperial Yeomanry: Response to the Call to Arms," *The Irish Times*, February 26, 1901; "Reorganisation Of The Yeomanry," *The British Medical Journal* 1, no. 2104 (April 27, 1901): 1037; "The Imperial Yeomanry: A Reorganised Force," *The Times of India*, May 11, 1901. See also E. W. McFarland, "'Empire-Enlarging Genius': Scottish Imperial Yeomanry Volunteers in the Boer War," *War In History* 13, no. 3 (July 2006): 299–328.

banking enterprise that collapsed upon the brother's death, and now he is obliged to sell his own family's farm to pay his creditors.⁵⁷ Scott informs Croker that he has already asked his publisher John Murray for assistance in recommending Park to the African Association, based on the insolvent borderer's fraternal relation to a late, famous member of the association, Mungo Park, who explored West Africa. "I sent this note to Murray to be shown to the members of the African society," he writes, but the publisher failed to contact the African Association on Archie Park's behalf, and now "the question is whether anything can be done in the way of patronage."⁵⁸ Scott proposes to use Croker's naval connections to submit Park's predicament to the African Association via George IV, the royal who would call the novelist "the man in Scotland I most wish to see" in 1822. But the situation in the wake of the publication of *Waverley* is different than it would seven years hence. George IV is then Prince Regent, not king, and Croker evidently thinks that Scott is just a friend and successful novelist, not the cultural force he would turn out to be. He replies to Scott in early 1816, in a wax-sealed letter circumspectly marked "Confidential," turning Scott's attention away from the monarchy and the empire, and toward the Edinburgh MP William Dundas and the "coastal counties & burghs" where Dundas held influence.⁵⁹ According to an 1820 letter from Scott to Croker, Dundas secured Archie Park a position as "Comptroller of Customs" on the Isle

⁵⁷ Ironically, Walter Scott would face his own financial ruin in the wake of the Panic of 1825. See J. G. Lockhart, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, 2nd ed., vol. 8 (Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1839), 72ff., esp. 78–88; Alex J. Dick, "Walter Scott and the Financial Crash of 1825: Fiction, Speculation, and the Standard of Value," ed. Ian Haywood, *Romanticism, Forgery and the Credit Crunch*, special issue of *Romantic Circles Praxis*, February 2012, <http://www.rc.umd.edu/praxis/forgery/HTML/praxis.2011.dick.html>.

⁵⁸ Scott to Croker, December 29, 1815, fol. 11v.

⁵⁹ J. W. Croker to Walter Scott, January 4, 1816, fols. 3r, 4v, MS 3887 ff. 3-6, National Library of Scotland.

of Mull in the Inner Hebrides.⁶⁰ Scott's friendship with Park and his largesse on his behalf became fodder for gossip and eventually Scott's life story, filling the pages of local publications (the *Border Counties' Magazine*, the *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club*) and J. G. Lockhart's ten-volume biography in the decades after the novelist's death.⁶¹

So, Archie Park never made it to Africa. (The archival record never discusses him leaving Scotland.) While Scott failed to produce another Mungo Park in his brother, he did succeed in packaging early nineteenth-century imperial yeomanry for internal administration and future export. A year after the British public was introduced to Edward Waverley, Scott turned Archie Park into an internal colonial yeoman, if not quite an imperial yeoman, coordinating international commerce at Mull's company town of Tobermory under Dundas's auspices.⁶² Instead of becoming an African explorer, Park's provincial insolvency drove him from a family farm to a post in domestic administration in what was then a refuge for crofters (small Highland farmers) evicted from their land by the Highland Clearances—a program of mass displacement that dismantled Highland society in the wake of the 1745 Jacobite Rising.⁶³ Like the local crofters cleared from

⁶⁰ Walter Scott, *Some Unpublished Letters of Sir Walter Scott: From the Collection in the Brotherton Library*, ed. John Alexander Symington (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1932), 31.

⁶¹ Letters regarding Archie Park from Scott and other Border figures are reprinted and commented on in "Scott and the Park Family: Original Letters," *The Border Counties' Magazine: A Popular Monthly Miscellany of the History, Biography, Poetry, Folk-Lore &c. of the Border Districts*, July 1881, Galashiels, Scotland: Thomas Litster; James Hardy, "Notices from a Variety of Sources Connected with the Excursion up the Yarrow in August, 1883," in *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club: 1882-1884* (Alnwick, Scotland: Henry Hunter Blair, 1885), 400–401.

⁶² Tobermory, the primary settlement on the Isle of Mull, is a port founded in 1787 by the British Society for Extending the Fisheries and Improving the Sea Coast of the Kingdom. The local laird, the Duke of Argyll, charged James Maxwell—his own Bailie Macwheebie—with developing the land into a fishing outpost and a port for international trade. Frank Arneil Walker and Fiona Sinclair, *Argyll and Bute* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 583–84.

⁶³ Alexander Mackenzie, *The History of the Highland Clearances* (Inverness: A. & W. Mackenzie, 1883), 352; Murray G. H. Pittock, *The Invention of Scotland: The Stuart Myth and the Scottish Identity, 1638 to*

their ancestral land to make way for industrialized agricultural operations in the Highlands, Park relocated his family to an outlying Scottish island and became part of the internal colonial machine of Greater Britain.

Scott's letter to Croker and Croker's response turn on a Borderer's knowledge of other Scots, particularly the rougher Highlanders, and his presumed diplomatic skill from his roots in a region straddling England and Scotland as potential assets for imperial agency. Beyond Scott's known devotion to the Union, these letters—especially the caution of Croker's response—suggest distinctively that the so-called yeomen of the Scottish Border are qualified to be functionaries of an existing imperial order, but not to create new strategies of geographic administration whole cloth. Scott might have known this already, reflected in how Fergus Mac-Ivor's Highland magnetism is beaten into submission not by a native Borderer, but by the might of the British military. Waverley's national affiliation is loose enough that he can “waver” between England and Scotland, Lowland and Highland, in order to gain the trust of all sides throughout his border crossings and, eventually, the suppression of the Rising.

Croker's installation of Park in an office on a relatively remote island restricts the Borderer's martial energies that Scott details at the end of his December 1815 letter. In order to establish Park's bona fides for work in royal service, Scott tells Croker a story in which Park meets a group of Highlanders angry at his Borderer party's use of Highland land for sheep grazing. Scott describes the Highlanders as “the natives,” casting other Scots as subjects to be governed by Scott and Park's higher class of Scottishness. The two groups of Scots attempted to settle their differences diplomatically over food and

the Present (London: Routledge, 1991), 12; see also Eric Richards, *A History of the Highland Clearances: Agrarian Transformation and the Evictions 1746-1886* (London: Croom Helm, 1982).

strong drink. After “the Highlanders got warm”—that is, had drunk a substantial quantity of whisky—one of them made a move to physically intimidate Park’s party and expel them from their territory: “‘Do you Bordermen’ said one of them at last [‘]know the use of this little thing’ and he drew out his dirk in a very threatening manner.”⁶⁴ Park responds by disarming the Highlander and plunging the blade into the wooden table in a single motion. He taunts in response, “Say a Borderer has struck the dirk where a Highlander will draw it out again,” suggesting that the Highlander does not have the strength or gumption to remove the dagger from the table and resume the fight. According to Scott’s recollection of the tale, the assembled crowd was uproarious and the dirk’s owner speechless in the face of Park’s braggadocio. The Highlanders were impressed enough that they let Park’s party graze their sheep on their land, parted friends with the Borderers, and gave Park the dirk as a gift—the spoils of a small, internecine conflict, a border skirmish of a mostly social kind.⁶⁵

Scott frames this story as a qualification for the kind of brash, improvisatory diplomacy necessary to act on behalf of the Empire in Africa. But if we page back through Scott’s novel published two summers prior to the letter’s composition, and read the two texts side by side, would we recognize Waverley walking with Fergus out of the famous painting at the end of the novel, shedding his Highland dress for Park’s Borderer costume? It seems unlikely. Archie Park was not Edward Waverley, as much as Scott wanted him to be. What the Borderer lacks to qualify him as an agent of empire is first the flexibility of allegiance that characterizes both Waverley and Kim, and second the novelistic collaboration with a mobile-focalized narrator to keep their wanderings and

⁶⁴ A dirk is a dagger used for hand-to-hand combat.

⁶⁵ Scott to Croker, December 29, 1815, fols. 12v-13r.

waverings in check. Park was too landed, too local, to make colonial space from local geographies. Unlike Park, Waverley and Kim's ability to see the provincial periphery as a space to be annexed by the homeland depends on the geographic knowledge gleaned by the character's absorption in the narrators' descriptions, and, eventually, the protagonists' internalization of that descriptive faculty themselves.

***Waverley*: Border Crossing and Territorialization**

What do the spatial attentions modeled by my readings above mean for how we analyze all of *Waverley*? Though influential critics have appraised *Waverley* as a colonial narrative many times before, joining a colonial analysis with a spatial analysis of Scott's novel presents a new problem highlighted both by the foregoing reading of Waverley and Evan Dhu at the mountain pass and in the Archie Park correspondence. At the same time that the narrator employs mobile focalization to oscillate between the perspectives of author and character in describing the local geographical features at the pass, the characters also move from the base of the pass to the top. As a space of transit is being narrated, we would assume the characters would continue with their journey. The narrative discourse, however, is geographically descriptive, *not* locomotive. So, even though Waverley and Evan Dhu are at the bottom of the pass at the beginning of the episode and are at the top of the pass at the end of it, their actual ascent is not narrated. Instead, their movement through a key area in a regional border occasions the depiction of that area in terms of its cultural significance, history, and administrative value. Paying attention to narrative in this way leads us to a series of seemingly mundane questions

about the novel: how much time do Waverley and Evan Dhu spend in the pass? How fast are they moving? Where are they going and why? The point is not that we seek the answers to these questions. Rather, what is important is that we are paying attention to the characters' geographical coordinates at the same time we are talking about the ideologies underlying a narrative concerned with geography.

One important tension that the mobile focalization of the narrator exposes is that while geographic description is central to both the narrative action and colonial ideologies of Scott's novel, the plot action of the novel is difficult to map. Several of Waverley's coordinates might be able to be fixed by their primary features or place names: Tully-Veolan; Baron Bradwardine's manor; the mountain pass; Glennaquoich, Fergus Mac-Ivor's estate; Cairnvreckan, the village where Waverley is detained; Stirling Castle; Edinburgh. Tracking Waverley's movement between these locations is much more difficult. It may seem strange to realize that Waverley's movements are so difficult to follow in narrative real time, especially in a novel with so much physical movement. For a story of internal colonialism, however, this makes strategic sense. The majority of the novel's identified spaces are located either near the Scottish Border (Stirling Castle, Edinburgh) or the *braes* (Tully-Veolan, Baron Bradwardine's manor, the mountain pass, Glennaquoich, Cairnvreckan), and Waverley's success as an agent of empire depends on his ability to cloak his movement through these sovereign and ethnic borders by describing their constituent geographies. In Franco Moretti's maps of *Waverley*, the most prominent features are the two borders and the proximity of Tully-Veolan to Glennaquoich. Moretti's central claim about Scott's novel is literary-historical, that Waverley's journey north is a "*journey into the past*," which positions the text to found

the genre of the historical novel. His maps reveal that this journey into the past entails the novel's dividing Britain into manageable regions according to identities of those regions' local residents.⁶⁶ Rather than an endpoint for the plot, the 1745 Jacobite Rising is the foundational event by which Scotland can begin to be geographically described in terms of its status as an internal colonial space.

In *Waverley*, the narrative operations by which locally-managed land becomes internal colonial territory are obscured by the mobile focal location of narrative perspective, making it difficult to definitively say whether the colonial agency rests with the narrator or the protagonist. In Scott's novel, this begins with Waverley's first description of a border space: a Lowland village. Before Waverley climbs the mountain pass with Evan Dhu, he travels to the Baron Bradwardine's manor house located at the base of the *braes*, initially entering this regional border at the baronial village of Tully-Veolan. As Waverley takes in the panorama of village life, the passage's mobile focalization positions the village's depiction as operating somewhere in between narrator's consciousness and Waverley's consciousness. From its initial appearance, geographic description during a border crossing functions acts as a type of internal colonial administration, observing the local population's customs at the same time that it appraises land for eventual conquest by the English army. The mobile-focalized judgment of the Scots and their village fixes them in time and space, and checks what Raymond Williams would call their " 'development' and 'underdevelopment' " against generalized British senses of both decorum and industrialization.⁶⁷ Thus, what at first appears to be

⁶⁶ Moretti, *Atlas of the European Novel*, 37–41, emphasis in original.

⁶⁷ Williams, *The Country and the City*, 284.

merely a sardonic take on poor Scottish villagers equips Waverley with the local knowledge he needs to exert both military and cultural authority in the Lowlands.

Waverley's geographic description of Tully-Veolan arrests the narrative's usually rapid pace of travel as he gazes upon the natives and their primitive way of life. He notices the irregular placement of the dwellings on either side of rambling dirt road. In the road, children play with no regard for the mail horse that might trample them underfoot, lazing in the center of town "in a primitive state of nakedness." Hordes of yapping dogs run after the horses and mothers chase their children while old men smoke and observe the perpetual commotion. After assessing the geographic extent of the village, Waverley admires a few young women:

Three or four village girls, returning from the well or brook with pitchers and pails upon their heads, formed more pleasing objects; and, with their thin, short gowns and single petticoats, bare arms, legs, and feet, uncovered heads, and braided hair, somewhat resembled Italian forms of landscape. Nor could a lover of the picturesque have challenged either the elegance of their costume, or the symmetry of their shape; although, to say the truth, a mere Englishman, in search of the *comfortable*, a word peculiar to his native tongue, might have wished the clothes less scanty, the feet and legs somewhat protected from the weather, the head and complexion shrouded from the sun, or perhaps might even have thought the whole person and dress considerably improved, by a plentiful application of spring water, with a *quantum sufficit* of soap. The whole scene was depressing; for it argued, at the first glance, at least a stagnation of industry, and perhaps of intellect. (74-75, emphasis in original)

The narrator equivocates in his appraisal of the girls, calling their dress elegant but then calling them dirty, at first admiring their uncovered skin only to prescribe a hygiene regimen for their dirt-covered bodies. The readily decipherable Latin phrase "*quantum sufficit*" and the ascription of "*comfortable*" to Waverley's "native tongue"—that is, English—presages Scott's exoticization of local custom, especially the Highlanders' Scottish dialect, and sets the English vernacular of the narrative as the default cultural perspective of the Scottish border. When the narrator says that "industry" stagnates at the

braes, he means it in terms of both industriousness and the industrial development of the land itself. The Protestant ideology that subtends his judgments of the villagers' cleanliness and industry casts the military conflict between Anglican England and the Catholic Jacobites in terms of the geographic description performed here.⁶⁸ This passage appraises cultural and economic underdevelopment under the cover of scene-setting, and develops the novel's ability to contain the revolutionary energy of the Jacobite Rising by portraying Scotland as a backward country in need of British help—a place unable to rebel because too much of its land was in thrall to British imperial power.

Who, though, is doing the description? Is it the narrator or Waverley? This basic perspectival question highlights telling ambiguities in the passage's language that point to how ostensibly ordinary geographic description is the carrier for a colonial gaze. At Tully-Veolan, the girls uncertainly number "[t]hree or four," or whether their water they carry comes from "the well or brook." These differences are matters of population count, and whether water, a key natural resource, issues from geologic extraction (the well) or from improvised, less developed gathering from nature (the brook). Such topics would naturally attract the attention of a colonial agent performing a geographic survey—as Kim will later. What begins to make this space pass, through narrative, from locally-managed land to internal colonial territory is how these initial demographic and ecological uncertainties efface the villagers' subjectivity, the geographic description making them features of the landscape, and how these uncertainties thereby become

⁶⁸ Though raised as a traditional Scottish Calvinist, Scott joined the Anglican-aligned Scottish Episcopal Church after his marriage to Charlotte Charpentier. Murray G. H. Pittock, *The Myth of the Jacobite Clans* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995), 6–8, 23; Richard French, "The Religion of Sir Walter Scott," *Studies in Scottish Literature* 2, no. 1 (July 1964): 32–34; Robert Crawford, "Walter Scott and European Union," *Studies in Romanticism* 40, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 137.

naturalized into the developmental judgment at the end of the passage. Without knowing how many village girls he is seeing, the narrator begins to clean them up and dress them differently, as detailed above, demanding their conformity to English standards of beauty without their number or local custom mattering to this process. That the village girls' water could have come from either the well or the brook makes both aspects of the geography, along with the villagers' labor, available to Waverley and the narrator; by the end of the passage, both of those water sources and relations they imply to the area's natural resources are subsumed under the commodity category "spring water." The ascription of "*comfor[t]*" from Waverley's "native tongue" to this process points to how the effacement of the villagers into the landscape and the territorial control of that landscape is done under the banner of an English civilizing mission. The agent of these colonial operations, however, is not precisely clear. The imaginative indulgences and limited omniscience of the passage further obscure whose voice to ascribe the narration to. Throughout *Waverley*, this mobile focalization is the narrative tell that the geographic description of a space, by negating the subjectivity of colonial subjects and obscuring the agency of its narration, is making that space available for internal colonial administration—the geoformal signature of border territorialization.

These markers appear in the passage referenced in this chapter's introduction. I'll go over this passage in more depth to show that this is the moment in the novel where *Waverley*'s status as a colonial narrative becomes unassailable. Travelling up the mountain pass in the *braes* with Evan Dhu, Waverley's description of an impressive landscape neutralizes its local historic importance and apprehends the space as a

communication corridor between colonial regions. In introducing the geography of the pass, the narrator foregrounds the space's function as provincial infrastructure:

It was towards evening as they entered one of the tremendous passes which afford communication between the High and Low Country; the path, which was extremely steep and rugged, winded up a chasm between two tremendous rocks, following the passage which a foaming stream, that brawled far below, appeared to have worn for itself in the course of ages.... On the right hand, the mountain rose above the path with almost equal inaccessibility [as the stream]; but the hill on the opposite side displayed a shroud of copsewood, with which some pines were intermingled. (135)

On its face, this passage seems like a moment of pastoralism in its focus on the flora's arrangement and its tenebrous aspect. But these two sentences in fact execute a coordinated discursive maneuver that quietly foregrounds the instrumental qualities of the area in the half of the sentence before the semicolon. In introducing the reader to the pass, the narrator emphasizes how the pass affords communication between the Highlands and Lowlands, and that the impassibility of the surrounding area makes this pass one of the only navigable transit points in the *braes*, respectively, prioritizing the natural features that count as border infrastructure over the surrounding environment. What the attention to the area's ecological status does evoke is the area's deep geologic time: the stream "that brawled far below" follows a riverbed that it "appeared to have worn for itself in the course of ages; the hill beyond the stream contains both new-growth arborage ("a shroud of copsewood") and old-growth (the "pines... intermingled"); and, elsewhere in the paragraph, a "scathed tree" that has "warped its twisted roots into the fissures of the rock" stands above the obscured riverbed, which is "chafed by a hundred rocks, and broken by a hundred falls" (135). Mimicking the downward path of the evening's "few slanting beams of sun," the narrator stays focally close to Waverley, but does not guess at his psychology or attempt to directly track his perception. He might be looking at the pass as

the narrator seems to, or he might not. Consequently, the pass's role as a key transit point in the *braes* and the multilayered spatial history that acts as an adjunct to its infrastructural status are stealthily made available to the formal logic of the novel without assigning them a definite narrative origin point.

The subsequent martial competition between Waverley and Evan Dhu emphatically depicts border description as an ideology of territorial control. As Waverley takes in the terrain, Evan Dhu tells his war stories about the legendary victory by a tiny Highland force against a more numerous Lowland contingent, pointing out the Lowlanders' graves at the base of the pass (the "corri"). This is putatively one peak of Evan Dhu's martial performance, but he furthermore attempts to channel the ghosts of these Highland warriors as he nears the top of the pass, from which Highlanders had defended their realm years ago. He sees his mark, the raptor called an "earn," which in Scots often refers to a golden eagle,⁶⁹ and takes his aim:

He fired his piece accordingly, but missed the superb monarch of the feathered tribes, who, without noticing the attempt to annoy him, continued his majestic flight to the southward. A thousand birds of prey, hawks, kites, carrion-crowd, and ravens, disturbed from the lodging which they had just taken up for the evening, rose at the report of the gun, and mingled their hoarse and discordant notes with the echoes which replied to it, and with the roar of the mountain cataracts. Evan, a little disconcerted at having missed his mark, when he meant to have displayed peculiar dexterity, covered his confusion by whistling part of a pibroch as he reloaded his piece, and proceeded in silence up the pass. (135-36)

As Waverley and Evan Dhu near the top of the pass, the guide's martial skill pales in comparison to his value as a storyteller and a vessel for Highland culture, neutralizing the potential threat to the organized English military that Waverley represents. Even the fauna evades Evan Dhu, as a group of birds of prey and scavengers escape his firearm's

⁶⁹ "Earn n.2," *Dictionary of the Scots Language: Scottish National Dictionary*, 2004, http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/snd/earn_n2.

reach. The Highland guide turns from channeling the military potency of his forebears to acting as a carrier of local color, whistling his Highland song (the “pibroch”) as the journey up the pass ends and the administrative consolidation of this geography is completed.

I have reread this journey through the pass in detail to emphasize that Waverley’s journey north is a key moment where Scott reinforces Scotland’s status as an internal colonial space, especially as Waverley nears the Highlands. Waverley’s trek north is classically portrayed as a touristic expedition into a less civilized, forgotten world (recall Moretti calling it “*journey into the past*”). But the farther Waverley gets into the Highlands, the more readily his mobile gaze finds areas to geographically describe, and to the extent that Waverley exoticizes the Highlands, he does so in the service of the internal colonial gaze that emerged at Tully-Veolan and developed at the mountain pass with Evan Dhu. The structures of marginalization in the novel are strongest and most coherent at the two borders, and the border zones’ consistent references to the actual or cultural presences of one another break down other dichotomies along which this novel has been traditionally read. In particular, it is difficult to really see Waverley’s amorous interests in Rose Bradwardine and Flora Mac-Ivor as being indicative of two different paths forward for Scotland’s future (Rose: nationalism, rationality, Union; Flora: provincialism, irrationality, self-determination) when Highland and Lowland space are so bound up in defining themselves relative to each other, rather than to England, and when it isn’t necessarily clear that Waverley can stand in for the future of either England or Britain. (Also, Flora is arguably the most rational character in the novel, contrary to her confining reputation as the overheated, headstrong Highland lass.)

So, seeing *Waverley* as a colonial narrative (Britain suppressing a rebellion) rather than a tale of nation building (Scotland and England reinforce the Union) resists a second-order English imperialism operating on *Waverley*'s form that would presuppose the primacy of the Union while erasing Scotland's agency in the Jacobite Rising. That this would be a live issue in a space marked by frequent border crossing is no accident. As Emily Apter, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, and Judith Butler variously attest, border spaces are typified by the transformation of local knowledge into either nation building or imperial control through ostensibly benevolent surveillance.⁷⁰ As at a staffed sovereign checkpoint, surveying, ethnographic, and military power are collapsed into one person, the agent of empire. Here, that person is Waverley, one who might be wearing his military uniform, but whose status as a soldier is rarely remarked upon. Through Waverley, the narrative can have a flexible perspectival relationship through mobile focalization and readily describe areas of internal colonial interest without losing track of the characters in the scene. This ambiguity of narrative agency and camouflaging of martial capability (i.e. that Waverley's uniform goes largely undescribed) in *Waverley* aligns the protagonist's development into an internal colonial agent with the novel's perspectival slippage between character and narrator.

Bearing on this conception of the novel's space, Moretti claims that the "*internal border*" between regions is where geographic knowledge meets the military power of internal colonialism. This narrative faculty, according to Moretti, has an important

⁷⁰ Emily Apter, *Against World Literature: On the Politics of Untranslatability* (London: Verso, 2013), 103; Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), 357–58; Judith Butler and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Who Sings the Nation-State? Language, Politics, Belonging* (London: Seagull Books, 2010), 33–34.

temporal dimension, and is key to Scott's historical consciousness.⁷¹ James Buzard's influential reading of *Waverley* bears this claim out. In a discussion of what he calls "battlefield tourism" in the novel, Buzard notes that Waverley's excessive reaction to Fergus Mac-Ivor's supposed death at the Clifton Moor Skirmish later in the novel is filled with descriptions of the battlefield as if he had actually been there, which he had not. Instead of reconstructing the battle, Buzard writes, "Edward can trace the events through the positions of the corpses still lying about," reaching back only hours into the past in order to project his friend's memory far into the future. This mimes the short distance between the "sixty years since" of the Jacobite Rising and the novel's initial composition. According to Buzard, "Edward has, again, momentarily vaulted to that other perspective always available to the reader," collapsing the distance between the narrative's primary temporal layers and elevating the mobile focalization of the novel's geographic description to a tactic for rendering pleasant a significant loss of life in a war over Scotland's identity and sovereignty.⁷² This extends from the greater vista to the battlefield to Fergus himself, who has, in fact, been captured, and instead will be put to death by a military court in Stirling Castle on the Scottish Border—a judicial and structural emblem of the internal colonial power that make Waverley's border transit possible.

Waverley had been at Stirling Castle before this moment, though, on his way back to the Scottish Border after his initial journey north with Evan Dhu. Here Waverley uses his ethnographic knowledge of the Highlands and Lowlands to invent a spatialized vision of Scotland's cultural past. Traveling south with the Jacobite Rebellion well underway,

⁷¹ Moretti, *Atlas of the European Novel*, 37–38, emphasis in original.

⁷² Buzard, *Disorienting Fiction*, 91.

Waverley has been captured by Donald Bean Lean and is being brought by Laird Balmawhapple to the besieged city of Edinburgh. On the journey, Waverley's captor must avoid the English garrison stationed at Stirling Castle, and skirts the castle through a forested park surrounding the high crag on which the castle is situated. This prompts the narrator to imagine Waverley's mind cast back into an image of the past evoked by the surroundings:

With a mind more at ease, Waverley could not have failed to admire the mixture of romance and beauty which renders interesting the scene through which he was now passing—the field which had been the scene of the tournaments of old—the rock from which ladies beheld the contest, while each made vows for the success of some favourite knight—the towers of the Gothic church, where these vows might be paid—and surmounting all, the fortress itself, at once a castle and a palace, where valour received the prize from royalty, and knights and dames closed the evening amid the revelry of the dance, the song, and the feast. All these were objects fitted to arouse and interest a romantic imagination. (289-90)

In this vignette, the narrator invents a scene of social life that is at once romanticized and historically indexed. This romanticization of the past provides a way to avoid looking at the present, in which the Castle is a blunt reminder of the imperial war taking place in Scotland. In the passage, the coincidence of all cultural factors dates the scene to the twelfth century, the era when the modern castle would have existed alongside both martial games and Gothic architecture.⁷³ Couching a fully elaborated scene of historically and nationally specific social life in a negative subjunctive mood (“could not have failed to admire”) presents an imagined history of the area with its military performances of masculinity that turns the colonial gaze of the narrative away from the brutal facts of armed conflict, holed up in the present-day castle mere yards away. In skirting a symbol of British imperial might at the Scottish Border, narrative forces the Jacobite party to turn

⁷³ *Shearer's Stirling: Historical and Descriptive* (Stirling, UK: R. S. Shearer & Son, 1897), 38–39.

away from the present-day temporality of the Jacobite Rising and, simultaneously, ignore the consolidation of British imperial power by the rebellion's suppression. In this way, the narrator guides the Jacobites tangent to their cultural history, a history at once evoked by the edifice of the castle and made hazardous by the garrison stationed at the castle, and away from facing the historical fact of their likely defeat. Waverley's historical fantasia of Scotland's cultural past presages how the Jacobite Rising itself will become itself a romanticized anecdote for another storyteller—a role he himself takes on later in the novel as he imagines the death of Fergus, who, as Buzard's also discusses above, is imprisoned, tried, and executed for his leadership of the Rising at this very castle. The mobile-focalized perspective with which the narrator frames this view of the castle joins the historical fantasia and the blood price Fergus pays at the hands of British military power to give Waverley's Scottish captors a distorted view of the present.

Scott is another one of those storytellers who romanticizes the Jacobite Rising, which from the perspective of the narrative's present is still in progress. Zooming out another layer, the narrative's present is not actually the present of the novel's publication. Scott began writing *Waverley* in 1805 and published the novel in 1814. This scene calls attention to a temporal effect that has been growing throughout *Waverley*: the collapse of the distance between Waverley and the narrator, between 1745 and 1805, between the twelfth century and 1814. The alternate title, *'Tis Sixty Years Since*, demarcates a chronological window in which the many layers of the novel's historical temporality increasingly coincide in a crowded narrative present, which Saree Makdisi calls the “spatialization of the past.”⁷⁴ When extended geographic description slows the speed of

⁷⁴ Makdisi, *Romantic Imperialism*, 85.

the narrative and of the protagonist's travels, Waverley reflexively aspires to attain the authority of the novel's narrator. From this vantage point where the novel's temporal and spatial layers collect at a single point, a formal perspective with a dynamic spatial consciousness but whose geographical coordinates are deliberately obscured, the novel marks a point on Britain's map of empire that encompasses many nodes on its historical timeline.

It is important that this representation is romanticized as well as historical because it coordinates an aesthetic marker with geography, enabling what Ian Duncan calls the "reinvent[ion of] Scottishness for cultural export."⁷⁵ In the historical romanticizing of the castle, the narrator makes a telling conflation: describing Stirling Castle, a beautiful and imposing place controlled by England—both the enemy of Waverley's friends and his homeland—as "at once a castle and a palace." Here, the narrator elides the distinction between military control of a region and the cultural life of that region. That war games would underlie the sexual life and social futurity of his historical fantasy—the "ladies beh[olding] the contest" imagining that the quickest way to matrimony ("vows... paid" at the "Gothic church") would be through a stylized rehearsal of battle tactics—testifies to the extreme proximity of ethnographic observation and military conquest in the novel's spatial imagination. As I have shown, Waverley often neglects to discuss the military context of acute plot points; throughout his movement from the Highlands to Edinburgh, Waverley barely registers that he is a prisoner of war, and the narrator refers to him and his captors simply as "the travelers" (290). By displacing war from the immediate plot

⁷⁵ Ian Duncan, *Modern Romance and Transformations of the Novel: The Gothic, Scott, Dickens* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 54.

moment to a romanticized cultural history, Scott regularizes conquest as an inevitable consequence of border description.

Waverley's transit from the *braes* to the Scottish Border presents geographic description as an integral part of Britain's military conquest of Scotland and its literary assimilation of ethnic Scottishness. These two aspects of British internal colonialism of Scotland—military action and ethnography—have been traditionally seen as separate projects. Studies by Michael Hechter and Mark Netzloff have claimed that, through Lowland Scotland's cultural and geographic affiliation with England at the time of the Act of Union, infrastructure projects, diplomatic meddling in inter-clan relations, and eventually the Clearances of the Highlands attempted to normalize military intervention from the Border and the south.⁷⁶ Moretti and Buzard would counter by claiming that in border spaces—particularly the Scottish Border and the *braes*—anthropological contact prepares the colonial power for military conquest.⁷⁷ Buzard in particular has powerfully argued that the ethnographic impulse in *Waverley* is a precondition for England's exertion of internal colonial power over Scotland: "Edward Waverley undertakes the ethnographer's journey, undergoing immersion in the alien culture in order to achieve a greater and more valuable withdrawal from it, to that position from which one can assert authoritative apprehension of the whole." Accordingly, Buzard reads Waverley's geographic description of Tully-Veolan, as a way of underwriting British nationalism by

⁷⁶ Hechter, whose book *Internal Colonialism* is credited with popularizing the term in the context of the British Isles, calls the process of Lowland Scots taking on the imperialist mantle from the English "anglicization." Michael Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 112–13; see also Mark Netzloff, *England's Internal Colonies: Class, Capital, and the Literature of Early Modern English Colonialism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

⁷⁷ Moretti, *Atlas of the European Novel*, 37–38; Buzard, *Disorienting Fiction*, 67.

delineating Lowland and Highland Scottish identities.⁷⁸ *Waverley*'s border description, and its coordinated appropriation of Lowland and Highland identities in the service of territorial control, depends on the protagonist's marking to these identities and his later romanticizing of Scottish history, enlarging the ethnographic and historical senses of the narrator's geographically descriptive faculty.

It's no surprise, of course, that *Waverley* has a historical consciousness. But is it possible for Scott's novel simultaneously to be the nineteenth-century exemplar of the historical novel genre, and, as I claim here, to focus its spatial center of gravity on a peripheral geography? Such an opposition between mainstream genre and marginalized geography makes the novel's putative relationship to the idea of the nation more uncertain. "[T]he relationship of periphery to history" in the novel is "ambivalent" Jobst Welge claims, suggesting that peripheral novels initially employ "private histories," such as different genealogical tales, as prototypes for the national histories they later imagine. According to Welge, Scott's own position as a Scottish writer being read primarily by English readers (and his identity as a "border-poet") registers in *Waverley*'s generic status, as narrating the acquiescing of the romance to the historical novel as Scotland takes its place in the Union of Great Britain.⁷⁹ Welge adroitly bridges a number of classic conversations about *Waverley*'s status as a historical novel and its relationship to Scotland. For Georg Lukács, the novel's coordination of the suppression of the 1745 Jacobite Rising and the "downfall of gentile [i.e. clan-based] society in Scotland" with, in Lukács's influential estimation, Scott's status as the ne plus ultra of historical novelists

⁷⁸ Buzard, *Disorienting Fiction*, 78–80.

⁷⁹ Jobst Welge, *Genealogical Fictions: Cultural Periphery and Historical Change in the Modern Novel* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015), 9–10, 30–31.

depends on Scott's elevation of his "mediocre, average" hero to the status of an agent of historical change.⁸⁰ According to Duncan, Lukács's conception of Scott's protagonists' "averageness" gives the historical novel access to domesticity and the private sphere of social life as well as to world-historical events. Narrating the history of the Jacobite Rising displaces its revolutionary potential on to the novel's romance plot: "A prototypical family romance of sexual and moral development coincides with the extremity of a public crisis, civil war."⁸¹ In making their claims for *Waverley*'s foundational status in nineteenth-century literature, both Lukács and Duncan argue that Scott's novel advances a kind of British nationalism through its historical realism, but the nature of that nationalism is starkly different.⁸² Lukács claims that, as a "patriot... proud of the development of his people," Scott's novel mounts a "historical defense of progress," whereas for Duncan, Scott's writing bears the impress of a Scot under pressure to make Scottishness culturally legible to a foreign yet geographically and historically proximate audience: "Scott reinvented Scottishness for cultural export, as the local and ancient archetype of a distinctively modern condition of being British: the subject of an imperial commercial nation state." Duncan's apt phrase for this colonial double

⁸⁰ Georg Lukács, *The Historical Novel*, trans. Hannah Mitchell and Stanley Mitchell (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 58, 33, 43; Stuart Ferguson, "At the Grave of the Gentile Constitution: Walter Scott, Georg Lukács and Romanticism," *Studies in Romanticism* 44, no. 3 (Fall 2005): 424–25. As he admits, and as Ferguson explores in depth, Lukács is relying on Friedrich Engels's earlier comments on Scott in his study of "gentile society." See Friedrich Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, trans. Ernest Untermann (Chicago: C. H. Kerr & Company, 1902).

⁸¹ Duncan, *Modern Romance and Transformations of the Novel*, 51–54.

⁸² The nature of that realism might be different, too, depending on one's critical perspective. George Levine builds on Lukács's treatment of Scott's realism in making a related pronouncement: "A consideration of that novel [*Waverley*] is thus an essential preliminary to any study of the development of realism in English fiction." Levine goes on to influentially claim that Scott's vacillation between a durable sense of social authenticity (grand historical events) and the personal aspiration of individual characters complicates the kind of realism Lukács and later critics automatically ascribed to Scott, and lays the groundwork for a century of novelistic plots. Levine, *The Realistic Imagination*, 85, 94–95.

consciousness is “Scotch Britishness”: the literary success tied to his identity as a Scot reinforcing his subjection to Great Britain, and to the Union, the “Scotch” identity saleable to the “British” one.⁸³ For Welge, this dual identity registers in the novel’s “double perspective,” wavering between Waverley’s ingenuousness and the narrator’s retrospective knowingness as an analogue of the nation (re)building process that the novel narrates.⁸⁴

The spatial reading of *Waverley*’s coloniality I have offered here would suggest that the fact of the matter is much less teleological. The mobile focalization of the narrative perspective, the formal presentation of geography not as national land but as internal colonial territory, and the collapse of the novel’s historical consciousness I trace to the Stirling Castle fantasia all suggest that the space of the novel, as a collection of geographies and as an ideological proving ground for British imperialism, has an antagonistic relationship to the relentless forward march of history, or of supposedly progressive processes like nation building or courtship plots. Like unchecked territorial expansionism, *Waverley*’s plot just goes everywhere it can, and like British imperialism, the novel doesn’t seem to progress as much as it seems to keep going of its own accord. This all sounds quite unstable, and according to Joseph Valente, it definitely is. Valente casts the border as the overarching figure for sovereignty in the novel: “*The border in Waverley is the first term* [i.e. the most important aspect of the narrative]. The border, however, is inherently unstable.” This means that the precise relation of “the concepts of history and romance” to each other has its formal analogue in the novel’s spatial presentation of the border. For Valente, the best way of describing the generic hybridity

⁸³ Lukács, *The Historical Novel*, 60–63; Duncan, *Modern Romance and Transformations of the Novel*, 55.

⁸⁴ Welge, *Genealogical Fictions*, 30.

of the novel is to use one of Scott's own metaphors from *Waverley*: the novel as two streams, one "placid" and one "furious," flowing together into a single river.⁸⁵ The two streams, though, flow in sight of an unnamed Highland castle, a figure that reminds us that in *Waverley* border crossing or any potential hybridization, whether literal (Waverley's journeying) or metaphorical (romance to historical novel), is done under the auspices of a narrator whose obscured agency (where did that castle come from, anyway?) presages a landed form of imperial control (174-75).

The obscured location of the narrator's mobile focalization during border crossings and the proliferation of geographic borders has an important consequence for the model of sovereignty at play in *Waverley*. Because Waverley's movements are difficult to track, his joint position as focal protagonist and colonial agent creates a conception of Scottish space that oscillates between an internal colony and a constitutive part of a nation state. Makdisi's claim that the novel had to invent an exaggerated Highland nationalism in order to colonize Scotland conceives of the novel's spatial imagination as "a fluid and simultaneously material political process."⁸⁶ When Katie Trumpener argues that Scott novelizes the inevitable "subsumption of nation into empire," synchronizing the industrial development of Scotland with the colonization of India, Trumpener's parallel relies on the elasticity of *Waverley*'s realism to connect two historically proximate but geographically distant processes.⁸⁷ Makdisi's and Trumpener's analyses resonate with the difficulty of mapping Waverley's movements. In providing panoramic exposure to different forms of Scottish social life, *Waverley* cannot be

⁸⁵ Joseph Valente, "Upon the Braes: History and Hermeneutics in *Waverley*," *Studies in Romanticism* 25, no. 2 (Summer 1986): 261-63, emphasis in original..

⁸⁶ Makdisi, *Romantic Imperialism*, 71-73.

⁸⁷ Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism*, 247.

precisely, in a single instance, geolocated, and the scenes of border crossing read previously have borne the narrative and stylistic imprint of this rapidity and elasticity. The border, then, is the site where the history of Britain's internal colonization of Scotland gains a pre-Victorian version of what Fredric Jameson has called a geopolitical aesthetic—a formal signature of the novel's spatial practices.⁸⁸

The geographic description of Tully-Veolan that began this section foundationally yokes together aesthetics and space by comparing the scene to a painting, and then implicitly eroding the subjectivity of the villagers so as to make them a part of that painting. Of this scene, Buzard observes that Waverley's comparison of the village girls to figures in Italian landscape painting indicates that he has access, in 1745, to a picturesque style that did not develop until the last decades of the eighteenth century, reinforcing the confusion of Waverley's perspective with the narrator's, and tying that confusion to the imperial gaze that describes the landscape.⁸⁹ Recall: "Three or four village girls, returning from the well or brook with pitchers and pails upon their heads, formed more pleasing objects; and, with their thin, short gowns and single petticoats, bare arms, legs, and feet, uncovered heads, and braided hair, somewhat resembled Italian forms of landscape" (75). Read literally, the narrator says that the "village girls... resembled... forms of landscape," negating the picturesque peasants' subjectivity, the act of which is an aesthetic synecdoche for the broader portrayal of the people of the *braes*. Even as the scene anticipates the Romantic picturesque discourse, it also draws on an

⁸⁸ Fredric Jameson, *The Geopolitical Aesthetic: Cinema and Space in the World System* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1992), 2–4; see also Lauren M. E. Goodlad, *The Victorian Geopolitical Aesthetic: Realism, Sovereignty, and Transnational Experience* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 33–35.

⁸⁹ Buzard, *Disorienting Fiction*, 78–79.

earlier Renaissance pastoral tradition in which, according to John Barrell, the rural poor are effaced into the ground by the wideness of the perspective.⁹⁰ The village girls, along with the rest of the human and animal action of the scene, become a landscape feature of the border. Scott enforces this effect with an artistic comparison at the chapter's end, after Waverley leaves Tully-Veolan for Baron Bradwardine's manor: "And here we beg permission to close a chapter of still life" (79). Calling the Tully-Veolan scene a "still life" instead of a "landscape" has significant consequences the kind of relationship the novel imagines between Scotland and the nation at large. It's easy to call Waverley's description of Tully-Veolan a kind of metaphorical still life, but strictly speaking a still life is a kind of painting that contains only inanimate objects—not people or social life of any kind. A still life's perspective is also traditionally narrow and focused in order to highlight physical detail of the objects portrayed.⁹¹ Though the narrative perspective seems to emanate from a fixed point, the narrator takes in vast swaths of space. Scott's terming the scene a "still life" miniaturizes the local populace into "[t]hree or four" figures and enforces the collapsing of the distinction between them and the landscape traced above, creating a series of mismatches between the generic expectations of art and Scott's novel: though there should not be people in a still life, Scott's still life is populated with villagers; and though the perspective should be constrained, the wide, active narrative perspective erodes the villagers' individuality in favor of describing the territory. At the end of this sentence, on the phrase "still life," Scott adds a footnote

⁹⁰ John Barrell, *The Dark Side of the Landscape: The Rural Poor in English Painting, 1730-1840* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 15–16.

⁹¹ According to the *OED*, the constrained perspective of a still life would have been an operative connotation during Scott's lifetime. "Still Life, N.," *OED Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed May 21, 2015, <http://www.oed.com.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/view/Entry/190335>.

discussing the various extratextual models for Tully-Veolan and the manor house, seemingly flattening the scene into an aftereffect of cultural history.⁹² The footnoting and artistic comparison of the description of Tully-Veolan encodes its own territorialization into the novel's formal presentation.

Tellingly, the famous, much-discussed painting unveiled at the novel's end is conspicuously not labeled a portrait, as it bears a narrative resemblance to the "still life" of Tully Veolan: "It was a large and spirited painting, representing Fergus Mac-Ivor and Waverley in their Highland dress; the scene a wild, rocky, and mountainous pass, down which the clan were descending in the background" (489). The syntactic foregrounding of Fergus and Waverley does suggest a portrait, but in total Scott's ekphrasis is a spatially compressed form of border crossing, employing the aesthetic analysis of Tully-Veolan, the militarization of the mountain pass that Waverley earlier climbed with Evan Dhu, and the spontaneous romanticizing of history at Stirling Castle.⁹³ The Scots with which we have just spent the length of the novel here diminish to an intensifier of the wildness and rockiness of the Highlands, blurred into an undifferentiated mass as they "descen[d] in the background." As landscape, the painting suppresses the existence and military defeat of Fergus's clan that the novel itself has just narrated, zeroing out the historical record of the Highlands and flattening the novel's geographically descriptive faculty into a static object. The painting's stasis anticipates the cessation of the narrative, slowing it finally

⁹² Furthermore, David Liang, the editor of the Centenary Edition of Scott's novels of 1870-71, appends a footnote to Scott's footnote (which I am pleased to discuss in a footnote of my own), referencing John Gibson Lockhart's posthumous biography in a further fact check on Scott's historical background, stretching the temporal fabric of the novel wider still (29, 79n).

⁹³ On the painting-as-portrait, see Jane Millgate, *Walter Scott: The Making of the Novelist*, rev. ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 54-56; Marjorie Garson, *Moral Taste Aesthetics, Subjectivity and Social Power in the Nineteenth-Century Novel* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 61-71; Emma Rosalind Peacocke, "Facing History: Galleries and Portraits in *Waverley*'s Historiography," *European Romantic Review* 22, no. 2 (April 2011): 187-208.

not with another act of geographic description, but by representing the painting as having already accomplished a synecdochic description of the Highlands, a metarepresentation of the novel's imperial conquest. In aestheticizing the revolutionary energies of Fergus, Highland clan society, and the 1745 Jacobite Rising in the halls of Baron Bradwardine's estate, the painting metaphorically references the completeness of the novel's narrative of internal colonialism. Simultaneously, its material flatness mimics the narrative's temporal confluences. The social and spatial proximity of Waverley, costumed as a Highlander but imperially victorious, to Fergus, an actual Highland chieftain who has just been executed by the British Army, underscores how Waverley's prodigious facility as a border crosser depends on the lability of his commitments as a narrative surrogate, an amateur ethnographer, and a soldier. As the representative of British imperial sovereignty at the border who observes and collects Scottish cultural history for novelistic representation, Waverley is the novel's true pretender. At the *braes* and the Scottish Border, Scott opens up a seam through which a vision of an exotic Scottish world unfolds, like Waverley's medieval fantasy at Stirling Castle. Collapsing the distance between narrator and protagonist, between points on the historical timeline, between the Scotland of cultural export and the author's own Scottish homeland, Scott beckons us inside while sewing the opening shut.

The portrait of Waverley and Fergus and the containment of Jacobitism lend a sense of aesthetic and formal closure to the end of the novel. The final chapter contains the celebrated retrospective on Scotland's history since the suppression of the Jacobite Rising:

There is no European nation which, within the course of half a century, or little more, has undergone so complete a change as this kingdom of Scotland. The

effects of the insurrection of 1745—the destruction of the patriarchal power of the Highland chiefs—the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions of the Lowland nobility and barons—the total eradication of the Jacobite party, which, averse to intermingle with the English, or adopt their customs, long continued to pride themselves upon maintaining ancient Scottish manners and customs—commenced this innovation.... [L]ike those who drift down the stream of a deep and smooth river, we are not aware of the progress we have made, until we fix our eye on the now distant point from which we have been drifted. (492)

Casting the upheaval in Scottish society in the “sixty years since” the Jacobite Rising as an “innovation” and “the progress we have made” anticipates a Lukácsian conception of history’s role in the novel, but a spatial analysis of the novel reveals that its “progress” comes at a steep price: the poor, crofters, and small landholders have been dispossessed of their land and cultural traditions by the British military. As was the case with the geographic descriptions of *Waverley*’s border crossings, it is impossible to map the progress of internal colonialism, only to fix on narrative descriptions of its downstream drift. This chapter is titled “A Postscript, Which Should Have Been a Preface,” reinforcing the foregoing collapse of narrative perspectives and historical temporalities that underwrite the description and territorialization of discrete Scottish geographies. While ostensibly meditating on the past, the Highland portrait and the postscript/preface look toward the future. Scott’s “we” positions his narrator as a bridge between narrative positions—spaces, perspectives, temporalities, inside and outside the text—ending the novel with a narrative blueprint for internal colonialism rooted in the geographic description of border transit. Despite *Waverley*’s status as a literary institution, its representation of colonial conquest, and its quiet refusal to authorize that narrative as historically progressive, casts a pall on the era it chronologically inaugurated.⁹⁴ As we

⁹⁴ Homer Obed Brown claims that *Waverley*’s status as a novelistic “institution” depends on how the novel’s theme of “the emergence of the modern nation-state from the ruins of feudalism” exerted a

will see in the next section, Kipling, nearing the other end of that era calls into question whether stable sovereignty from the perspective of the border is truly possible.

***Kim*: The Directions of Sovereignty**

Though separated by nearly nine decades, Scott's *Waverley* and Kipling's *Kim* have many resonant affiliations. Both are fictions of empire centered on border transit. Both novels capitalize, as I'll continue elaborating on below, on the friction between the narrative's mobile focalization and the presence of the protagonist's name on the novel's title page. And both novels are bildungsromane. A brief excursus through this vexed generic identity of both novels will show how both Scott and Kipling tie the personal self-fashioning of the focal protagonist to their imperial plots, clearing ground for the development of their spatial imaginations and drawing a key distinction between the two novels that will animate my discussion of *Kim* in the remainder of this section.

In Scott, *Waverley* woos two potential mates, the headstrong Highlander Flora Mac-Ivor, and the milder, more classically domestic Rose Bradwardine. Traditionally, the protagonist's marriage to Rose is interpreted as a step toward the modernization of Scotland and the reinforcement of the Union. But it is important not to forget that *Waverley* proposes to Flora twice, and is rejected both times by the novel's halfway point, long before he becomes engaged to Rose (206-9, 212-17). His proposals to Flora are direct and narrated, and in between the two, fearing Flora's rejection, he asks Fergus to intervene, who refuses. Later, after the Jacobite Rising has been suppressed, *Waverley*

periodizing influence on the literary century that followed. Homer Obed Brown, *Institutions of the English Novel: From Defoe to Scott* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 143.

does not propose directly to Rose, but instead proposes to her through her father, Baron Bradwardine (458-62). Waverley prepares for his marriage the day after witnessing Fergus's execution for treason, seeking out a priest to ask after Flora in the interim (472-79). If the novel's romance plot were supposed to diagnose its politics, there would seem to be doubt lingering in Scott's enthusiasm for the Union. Waverley, after all, seems to be carrying a torch for Flora.⁹⁵ By the metric of marriage, Waverley's developmental plot is incomplete, and is instead prioritized below internal colonialization. In this way, Scott's novel bears a striking resemblance to Jed Esty's modernist colonial corpus: "Modernism exposes and disrupts the inherent convention of the bildungsroman in order to criticize bourgeois values and to reinvent the biographical novel, but also to expose the contradictions inherent in mainstream discourses of self, nation, and empire."⁹⁶ Such contradictions are contained in miniature in the "Postscript, Which Should Have Been a Preface," which muddles the distinction between historical beginnings and endings, thwarting the bildungsroman's teleological plot logic along with the historical novel's putative progressivism. Duncan claims that the chapter's alignment with the temporal scope of the subtitle—'*Tis Sixty Years Since* and "half a century, or little more"—casts Scotland's modernization as the narrative's final design, and according to Moretti, the bildungsroman—of which *Waverley* is one of his primary examples—tracks the

⁹⁵ Furthermore, perhaps the strongest female character in the novel is the unnamed peasant woman in Chapter XXX who screams "Charlie is my darling" and other Jacobite chants in the town square of the village of Cairnvreckan, holding her two-year-old child aloft. The scene of this woman's outbursts is the primary place in the novel where the full sexual and political energies of the 1745 Jacobite Rising are allowed to break the genteel veneer of the novel's narration (236-37).

⁹⁶ Jed Esty, *Unseasonable Youth: Modernism, Colonialism, and the Fiction of Development* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 3.

development not of youth, but of “*modernity*.”⁹⁷ Indeed, as Mikhail Bakhtin aptly puts it, *Waverley*’s status as a bildungsroman depends on Scott’s opening up of local Scottish traditions to their imperial future, which Bakhtin calls the “folkloric coloring of time.”⁹⁸ Scott’s developmental plot tracks Waverley’s development and internalizing of his talent for border crossing, transforming him from a hapless child of the English aristocracy into a colonial agent par excellence.

This description makes the affiliation with *Kim* sound more immediate. At least one critic who has done a sustained comparative analysis of these novels has done so along these generic lines. Chris Ann Matteo describes both *Waverley* and *Kim* as “national *bildungsroman*-biograph[ies] of the increasing colonial power of England,” and claims, “By synecdoche, each hero plays the part for the whole, the Englishman for England.”⁹⁹ Matteo’s connection between the two novels is sharp, though I disagree that *Kim* can be labeled an “Englishman” so simply. *Kim*’s relation to England is vexed because of his Irish father, his mimicking of Indian customs, knowledge of “the vernacular” (he speaks Urdu), and his ability to both dress and racially pass as a native. *Kim*’s sympathy with his Indian counterparts serves to strengthen imperial control even as it becomes more benevolent, according to Anne McClintock.¹⁰⁰ Like *Waverley*, *Kim* narrates the development of its protagonist into a border crosser. As I argue in this section, this plot troubles the categories of nation and empire. *Kim*’s employment by the

⁹⁷ Duncan, *Scott’s Shadow*, 103; Franco Moretti, *The Way of the World: The Bildungsroman in European Culture*, revised edition (London: Verso, 2000), 5, emphasis in original.

⁹⁸ Mikhail Mikhailovich Bakhtin, “The *Bildungsroman*,” in *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*, ed. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist, trans. Vern W. McGee (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986), 53.

⁹⁹ Chris Ann Matteo, “‘Le Grand Jeu’ and the Great Game: The Politics of Play in Walter Scott’s *Waverley* and Rudyard Kipling’s *Kim*,” *Journal of Narrative Theory* 30, no. 2 (Summer 2000): 166, emphasis in original.

¹⁰⁰ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 69–70.

British espionage service in the Survey of India depicts the Indian subcontinent as a space whose patchwork of ethnicities, religions, and types of administrative organization problematize the very idea of British sovereignty in the Raj.

This problematization is visible in *Kim* due to the overlaying of different kinds of dislocation at this crucial point in Britain's colonial frontier. While, as we will see, the emulation of Englishness is central to the representation of border spaces in *Kim*, that Englishness simultaneously acts as a proxy for imperial agents' relation to Indian geography in their competition to complete the Survey of India for the empire. These concerns about colonial sovereignty, of course, play out far from *Waverley*'s Scotland. But while that distance may seem large in cartographic terms, the representational issues at play are very much connected. Neither novel presents the nation as the endpoint of imperial narrative. In her study of representations of British rural spaces, Elizabeth Helsinger claims, "It is not easy to fix the line between *nation* and *empire*, but the two terms cannot be collapsed." Instead, she claims, spatial and ideological distance from the metropole ("an English center") aligns differing claims of ethnic identity and sovereignty between many different internal-colonial and overseas subjects, "from Lowland to Highland Scotland, from Wales and Scotland to Ireland, from the British Isles to India, Africa, and the West Indies."¹⁰¹ Consequently, as the colonial periphery comes more clearly into focus as a central space in the cultural map of empire, representations of modes of belonging to the nation come under increasing stress.

¹⁰¹ Helsinger, I should add, does not go so far as I do as to decenter the metropole completely. This being said, her idea of the "English center" comes under increasing stress in her study in a way that aligns her work's ideas of space with mine. Elizabeth K. Helsinger, *Rural Scenes and National Representation: Britain, 1815-1850* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997), 10, emphasis in original.

This is registered in *Kim* by the spatial arrangement of the novel's borders. As with *Waverley*, Kipling's novel has two primary named borders on which the plot action of the novel focuses. In Kipling, those borders are "the Border" and the "Grand Trunk Road." As in Scott, the former is a line demarcating differing domains of sovereignty; in this case, the Border refers to the boundary between the British Raj and Afghanistan. The historical name for this boundary is the "Durand Line," drawn in 1893, and which still forms the border between present-day Afghanistan and Pakistan, but in Kipling's day, the boundary itself was less important in marking the limits of British imperial influence than was the region around the Border: areas of the Northwest Frontier, Punjab, and Rajasthan where, in *Kim*, the concentration of Russian agents, Native States, and territorial skirmishes challenged direct British control.¹⁰² The Grand Trunk Road, like the Border, still exists, but unlike the Border, it had existed for centuries before the British set foot on the Indian subcontinent. An ancient trading route running through from coastal Bangladesh to Kabul, the road saw significant modernization under the British Raj.¹⁰³ In *Kim*, Kipling portrays the road as a massive transit zone for all ethnicities in the subcontinent, and a vantage point from which those ethnicities can be known and later mapped for the Survey of India. Kipling's zones of border crossing are, then, aligned spatially with Scott's: one is sovereign—the Scottish Border and the Border between the Raj and Afghanistan—and the other is ethnic—the *braes* and the Grand Trunk Road. Fitting for two narratives of border crossing, both ethnic borders are primarily spaces of

¹⁰² C. C. Davies, "The North-West Frontier, 1843-1918," in *The Cambridge History of the British Empire: The Indian Empire, 1858-1918*, ed. H. H. Dodwell, vol. 5 (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1932), 458.

¹⁰³ Jan Morris and Simon Winchester cite *Kim* in their description of the British imperial renovation and extension of the Grand Trunk Road. Jan Morris and Simon Winchester, *Stones of Empire: The Buildings of the Raj* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 123.

transit, readily facilitating ethnographic contact, whereas the sovereign border is relatively stasis, marking the limits of imperial power. Where the two novels diverge sharply is in the spatial arrangement of these borders. Whereas in Scott the two borders roughly run parallel to each other, in Kipling, they are perpendicular, and eventually intersect. That the novel approaches, but never represents that intersection ties its exploration of the limits of imperial sovereignty to its narrative progress and spatialization.

In *Kim*'s first chapter, the introduction of the native spy Mahbub Ali coincides with the depiction of a panoramic sweep into northern India and toward the border, geographic knowledge derived from efforts overseen not by an espionage agency, per se, but by the Survey of India into which Mahbub later recruits Kim:

But Kim did not suspect that Mahbub Ali, known as one of the best horse-dealers in the Punjab, a wealthy and enterprising trader, whose caravans penetrated far and far into the Back of Beyond, was registered in one of the locked books of the Indian Survey Department as C25 1B. Twice or thrice yearly C25 would send in a little story, baldly told but most interesting, and generally—it was checked by the statements of R17 and M4—quite true. It concerned all manner of out-of-the-way mountain principalities, explorers of nationalities other than English, and the gun-trade—was, in brief, a small portion of that vast mass of “information received” on which the Indian Government acts. But, recently, five confederated Kings, who had no business to confederate, had been informed by a kindly Northern Power that there was a leakage of news from their territories into British India. So the Kings' Prime Ministers were seriously annoyed and took steps, after the Oriental fashion. They suspected, among many others, the bullying, red-bearded horsedealer whose caravans ploughed through their fastnesses belly-deep in snow.... And there was that on Mahbub Ali which he did not wish to keep an hour longer than was necessary—a wad of closely folded tissue-paper, wrapped in oilskin—an impersonal, unaddressed statement with five microscopic pin-holes in one corner, that most scandalously betrayed the five confederated Kings, the sympathetic Northern Power, a Hindu banker in Peshawur, a firm of gun-makers in Belgium, and an important Mohammedan ruler to the south.... Mahbub had no particular desire to die by violence, because two or three family blood-feuds across the Border hung unfinished on his hands, and when these scores were cleared he intended to settle down as a more or less virtuous citizen. (22-24)

This introduction to the inner workings of an espionage operation emphasizes anonymity, alphanumeric codenames, and tiny material signifiers—the five pin holes on the paper, one for each disloyal king—as the grammar and syntax of the imperial discourse that runs the British secret service. It all seems extremely precise, done with practiced methods of concealment and communication. Kipling’s narration, though, is filled with euphemism, naming no names of either informants or political actors. When the five kings’ ministers “t[ake] steps, after the Oriental fashion,” Kipling implies grisly fates like torture and summary execution of the operatives that passed the information about the incipient alliance from the kings’ territories to the Indian government. The fates of the kings and their ministers, along with the weapons traders, the banker, and the ruler of an independent Muslim state will likely be similar, but decided by a system of codenames and secret meetings, a civilized system of imperial rule set in contrast to the barbarism of the “Oriental fashion” with which the independent kings rule their lands. In introducing the spy agency that Mahbub recruits Kim into, the narrator portrays espionage not as an adjunct to imperial rule, but as central to the maintenance of imperial sovereignty—both the ideological dominance of British dominion over rule in the “Oriental fashion” and the territorial control of all of India. The region where both of these imperial projects come under threat from ethnic tensions played up by the “Northern Power” (Russia) is the Border, an area where Mahbub himself has been involved in violent skirmishes that prevent his return from a nomadic life of horse trading and spying to that of a “more or less virtuous citizen.” What it means to be a virtuous citizen, and concurrently what it means to profess allegiance to a nation or empire, is a topic that Kipling’s explores throughout his novel.

This passage also tells us something important about how the novel's narration relates to the complexities of its colonial space. In addition to being an espionage operation, the passage above is also a tale of revenge—for the dead spies who brought news of the five kings' plots of their political alliance. Emphasizing the former over the latter casts espionage as a just system of rule, in contradistinction to the barbarism of the political network plotting in the shadows and executing foreign agents. But the British secret service, it is implied, will seek political retribution of a similarly brutal kind, and they, too, enforce the control of discrete geographies through communication networks obscured from view. (Even the entire passage, which I've cut for length, only gives a partial portrait of the full espionage network at work in bringing down this incipient political alliance.) Another way of assessing the dual nature of the passage—espionage operation, revenge story—is to ask which is the dominant narrative. While espionage remains more apparent as the subject of narration and crucial to the control of space, importantly tying the secret service's "Great Game" to the empire's attempts to maintain its territory, the hidden nature of the revenge plot also emphasizes the novel's insistence on hiding its narrative and territorial ideologies from the apparent submerged truth of Mahbub Ali's profession. The act of narrating an espionage operation is also a Great Game that the novel plays within its own formal structure, disclosing the secret operations that maintain colonial sovereignty without disclosing the novel's stance on the morality of extrajudicial executions or revenge, or indeed the broader spy network of which this operation is presumably one small part. Maintaining control of the Border in this novel requires Kim, like Waverley, to describe the intricate borderlands of colonial space—in this novel using his ethnic liminality to gain access to spaces coded as native,

British, and mixed (i.e. public)—without awareness of either the ideologies underlying the control of that space or the determinative role that geographic description has on his later exploration of Buddhism with Teshoo Lama—that is to say, his developmental plot.¹⁰⁴

Perhaps the biggest secret in the novel is the open secret that the narrator discloses in the first sentence of the passage above: that British espionage in India is performed under the auspices of the “Indian Survey Department.” The survey is run by Colonel Creighton, a British operative who names the effort the “Ethnological Survey,” a fictional endeavor often compared to the earlier Survey of India that assessed the subcontinent’s topography (111, 352n37). According to Ian Baucom, Kipling modeled Creighton on Thomas Montgomerie, a Survey official who mapped Tibet (at the time not accessible to outsiders) by training Indian pilgrims to count their paces with rosary beads. Kipling takes this canny improvised mapping technique and casts it as a strategy to address problems of territorial control across British India, commandeering the itinerancy of Indian traders and pilgrims, Baucom suggests, to join the nomad and the cartographer into one person.¹⁰⁵

Kim first employs this talent for improvisatory cartography when he is traversing the Grand Trunk Road with Teshoo Lama, the Buddhist priest who will eventually

¹⁰⁴ *Kim* does not portray the titular protagonist’s performance of indigeneity as a kind border, but a Kipling short story from *Plain Tales from the Hills* (1888) does connect the border concept and race under the rubric of literary ethnography. In “His Chance in Life,” Kipling describes the “cross[ing], in time, the Borderline where the last drop of White blood ends and the full tide of Black sets in. . . . One of these days, this people. . . will turn out a writer or a poet; and then we shall know how they live and what they feel. In the meantime, any stories about them cannot be absolutely correct in fact or inference.” Elleke Boehmer reads this passage as prophesizing the emergence of postcolonial writing on the world literary stage. Rudyard Kipling, *Plain Tales from the Hills*, ed. Kaori Nagai (1888; repr., London: Penguin, 2011), 63; Elleke Boehmer, “Introduction,” in *Empire Writing: An Anthology of Colonial Literature, 1870-1918*, ed. Elleke Boehmer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), xxxiv–xxxv.

¹⁰⁵ Baucom, *Out of Place*, 93–94.

achieve Enlightenment at the novel's end: "'Now let us walk,' muttered the lama, and to the click of his rosary they walked in silence mile upon mile. The lama, as usual, was deep in meditation, but Kim's bright eyes were open wide. This broad, smiling river of life, he considered, was a vast improvement on the cramped and crowded Lahore streets" (63). Though Kim seeks Enlightenment with Teshoo Lama as his *chela*, or spiritual apprentice, his method of experiencing the Grand Trunk Road is portrayed as superior to his master's, his "bright eyes open wide" as opposed to the spiritual hermeticism of Teshoo Lama's permanent meditation. With the rosary beads mapping out distances, the narrator coordinates Kim's ethnographic and cartographic gazes into a single, wide perspective of the novel's primary ethnic border space:

The met a troop of long-haired, strong-scented Sansis with baskets of lizards and other unclean food on their backs, their lean dogs sniffing at their heels. These people kept their own side of the road, moving at a quick, furtive jog-trot, and all other castes gave them ample room; for the Sansi is deep pollution. Behind them, walking wide and stiffly across the strong shadows, the memory of his leg-irons still on him strode one newly released from jail; his full stomach and shiny skin to prove that the Government fed its prisoners better than most honest men could feed themselves. Then an Akali, a wild-eyed, wild-haired Sikh devotee in the blue checked clothes of his faith, with polished-steel quoits glistening on the cone of his tall blue turban, stalked past, returning from a visit to one of the independent Sikh States, where he had been singing the ancient glories of the Kahlsa to College-trained princelings in top-boots and white-cord breeches. Kim was careful not to irritate that man; for the Akali's temper is short and his arm quick. (63-64)

In these first sentences of this vista from the road, Kim performs a class analysis of the Sansi and a religious appraisal of the Akali. Both views localize the two on the road and describe their locations and relative movements, the Sansi "walking wide and stiffly across the strong shadows," the Akali "stalk[ing] past" Kim. Both appraise the two men's potential for criminality, referencing the Sansi's recent imprisonment and the Akali's quickness to violence. In his analysis of Kim's vistas from the Grand Trunk Road, John

Kucich elucidates how the novel fixates on the potential for violence in native life, teaching the reader to see “[t]hrough the eyes of Kim the child... the detached pleasures of voyeurism” in internecine ethnic conflict.¹⁰⁶ Routing the appraisals of the Akali and the Sansi through Kim’s enthralled juvenile perspective, these descriptions have the effect of controlling the dangerous potential of these ethnic groups as a way of bolstering imperial rule. The Indian Government, the narrator suggests, feeds “its prisoners better than most honest men could ever feed themselves,” using his ethnic analysis to support a justification for the entire carceral apparatus of the Raj. Furthermore, from his appraisal of the Akali Sikh, Kim implies that the Sikh Native States are only civilized on the surface, the decorum of the nattily dressed “princelings” giving way to inbred ethnic violence beneath the surface.

It is difficult to say, though, that Kim is really doing all of this himself, for he seems to have access to far more information about the people he passes than would be readily apparent from a quick glance on a busy highway. Kim’s surveying is thereby hooked into the narrator’s powerful omniscience, allowing Kim to skillfully reach all the way to the Border region from his position on the Grand Trunk Road, a distance of thousands of miles. He notices how a nondescript crowd of villagers has “purchased dull glass bracelets that come from the North-West,” and remarks that a “flat-footed, big-bosomed, strong-limbed, blue-petticoated clan of earth-carriers, hurrying north on news of a job” are heading to the Border railway system, where they do maintain the embankments that elevate the track (64). There is no way this surplus of information could actually be useful, all at once, to Creighton’s Survey. The permanent surplus of

¹⁰⁶ John Kucich, *Imperial Masochism: British Fiction, Fantasy, and Social Class* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2007), 164.

information gives the narrative the appearance of authenticity while performing surveillance in the service of espionage as a part of the Survey's regular activities. Whereas in Scott nearly every detail seemed important to Waverley's border surveying, in Kipling there is a great deal of information that seems deliberately unimportant, or at least unusable by the Survey. Kim's facility in mapping the border regions derives from his ability to perform ethnographic analyses and track population movement—that is, to survey and surveil simultaneously.

The primary difference, then, between *Waverley* and *Kim* has less to do with national or historical location as it does with the interaction between their individual styles of narration and formal locations of empire in their novels. Mary Louise Pratt's distinguishing between narrators who primarily perform ethnography and landscape description maps neatly on to Kipling and Scott, respectively:

The normalizing, generalizing voice of the ethnographic manners-and-customs portraits is distinct from, but complementary to, the landscape narrator. Both are authorized by the global project of natural history: one produces land as landscape and territory, scanning for prospects; the other produces the indigenous inhabitants as bodyscapes, scanned also for prospects. Together they dismantle the socioecological web that preceded them and install a Euro-colonial discursive order whose territorial and visual forms of authority are those of the modern state. Abstracted away from the landscape that is under contention, indigenous peoples are abstracted away from the history that is being made—a history into which Europeans intend to reinsert them as an exploited labor pool.¹⁰⁷

I would apply Pratt's distinction between landscapes and "bodyscapes" to a perspectival comparison of *Waverley* and *Kim*, respectively. Whereas Waverley's surveying gaze transforms native Scots into part of the landscape, Kim's surveillant gaze tracks, ethnographically analyzes, and evaluates the allegiances and ethnicities of the heterogeneous population of India. Both of these narrative regimes apprehend strange

¹⁰⁷ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 63.

lands and peoples entirely through the narrator's precisely-configured relationship with the focal protagonist, cutting the indigenous populations from the means of self-determination or the ability to write their own histories by denying their access to the means of describing their land. Instead, Pratt claims, the empire apprehends the diversity of native life as a homogenous "labor pool" to be exploited. Whereas in Scott, early nineteenth-century British imperialism cloaked its operations in the shadows of narrative perspective, late British imperialism encourages and then thwarts the social aspirations of its native subjects. Lurgan Sahib, a native spy, says to Kim of another Indian agent: "Do you know what Huree Babu really wants? He wants to be made a member of the Royal Society by taking ethnological notes." Huree Babu's aspiration, then, is to become the ultimate native informant in order to gain entry into the ranks of one of the most prestigious institutions in the British Empire. Lurgan makes this statement in front of Creighton, who funds Huree's ostensibly personal ethnographic excursions and uses his data in compiling the Survey. Instead of condemning Creighton's expropriation of Huree's ethnographic research—a miniaturized version of the British expropriation of native cultures across the Empire—Lurgan has found his own ethnic stereotype to explain his fellow native spy's behavior: "Babus are very curious" (176). Here, the ethnographic imagination Buzard described in Scott has become fundamental to *Kim*'s representation of British imperial space. When members of indigenous groups emerge from the "bodyscapes" to lend their talents to the Survey, the knowledge they produce exceeds their individual value as subjects. The wandering of Huree, Lurgan, Mahbub, and Kim produces an ethnographic survey of Indian border regions with every click of the rosary bead.

Creighton begins to ask Kim to do work in areas hostile to the British, testing his ability to produce Survey data in Native States that have imperial sovereign exceptions:

Next holidays he was out with Mahbub, and here, by the way, he nearly died of thirst, plodding through the sand on a camel to the mysterious city of Bikanir, where the wells are four hundred feet deep, and lined throughout with camel-bone. It was not an amusing trip from Kim's point of view, because—in defiance of the contract—the Colonel ordered him to make a map of that wild, walled city; and since Mohammedan horse-boys and pipe-tenders are not expected to drag Survey-chains round the capital of an independent Native State, Kim was forced to pace all his distances by means of a bead rosary. He used the compass for bearings as occasion served—after dark, chiefly, when the camels had been fed—and by the help of his little Survey paint-box of six colour-cakes and three brushes, he achieved something not remotely unlike the city of Jeysulmir. Mahbub laughed a great deal, and advised him to make up a written report as well; and in the back of the big account-book that lay under the flap of Mahbub's pet saddle Kim fell to work. (172)

The surreptitiousness with which Kim must work becomes a game—the Great Game in miniature—and an occasion for mirth between him and Mahbub. This directive from Creighton, however, violates Bikanir's independence. In this context, the land seems to rebel against *Kim*, the sand and the wells and the heat conspiring together to slow Kim down and burden him with extreme thirst. The illegality of Kim's survey means he can only map the city at night, and the narrator's only remark about its people and their relation to the space of their city is a frustrated gibe at lazy natives (“Mohammedan horse-boys and pipe-tenders are not expected to drag Survey-chains round the capital of an independent Native State”). When Mahbub advises Kim on what his written supplement to his map should say, he says, “It must hold everything that thou has seen or touched or considered. Write as though the Jung-i-Lat Sahib [commander-in-chief] himself had come by stealth with a vast army outsetting to war” (172). Together, Kim's documentation of Bikanir must be encyclopedic, and provide the basis for a battle plan, describing, as Mahbub advises, whether the area's deep wells can support a significant

standing army. Mahbub uses the Urdu term for the Viceroy of India (342n21), offering his Anglicized indigeneity as a form of native imperial allegiance to undermine Bikanir's independence.

The novel's first in-person encounter with a Native State assesses its independence and ethnic distinctiveness as a threat. The seemingly benign comparison of the Grand Trunk Road's diverse human traffic to a "river of life," when compared with the novel's pervasive nervousness about Native States, implies that imperial diversity can be controlled as a species of territory, a part of the imperial Indian "bodyscape" in the way that the Highlands became part of Waverley's still-lives. When Kipling introduces the "river of life" metaphor, he places a representative of population control on the side of the road:

And truly, the Grand Trunk Road is a wonderful spectacle. It runs straight, bearing without crowding India's traffic for fifteen hundred miles—such a river of life as nowhere else exists in the world. They looked at the green-arched, shade-flecked length of it, the white breadth speckled with slow-pacing folk; and the two-roomed police-station opposite. (59)

This zoomed out view of the Grand Trunk Road points to the erasure of colonial subjectivity. The diverse indigenous population is a "spectacle," noticeable for either their slow walking speed or their marking its whiteness. The road, under British rule, has been modernized such that it alleviates local street traffic in the towns and cities it serves, and only requires the appearance of a police presence to maintain order. After this brief survey of the road, a police officer calls out to a soldier with a long sword: "Are not the police enough to destroy evil-doers?" The soldier responds, "It was because of the police I bought it" (59). The two men are both indigenous Indians, their jokes referencing the history of the brutal treatment of sepoys by the British military police that eventually culminated in the Indian Rebellion of 1857. That such a discussion of an infamously

violent chapter in imperial history would take place in the context of an ostensible celebration of colonial diversity suggests a growing resistance to British rule from within the main population of their colonized subjects. It is telling that this conversation takes place not in Delhi, the capital, but rather on the country's primary transit zone, where the full diversity of the population is most readily in view. British rule in India, Kim's treatment of border spaces suggests, is a patchwork of British and indigenous control. Creighton's Survey apprehends this unevenness as a threat to British sovereignty, and attempts to map where natives fall outside of the prescribed forms of colonial allegiance.¹⁰⁸

As a project to achieve total knowledge of a given space, the Survey of India is counterpoised with Kim's search for Buddhist Enlightenment with Teshoo Lama. Kim's true allegiance, though, is with the Great Game of British espionage, and so when Teshoo Lama achieves Enlightenment, Kim does not experience it. Instead, the lama must narrate the experience for him:

At that point, exalted in contemplation, I saw all Hind, from Ceylon in the sea to the Hills, and my own Painted Rocks at Such-zen; I saw every camp and village, to the least, where we have ever rested. I saw them at one time and in one place, for they were within the Soul. By this I knew the Soul had passed beyond the illusion of Time and Space and of Things. By this I knew I was free.... Then a voice cried: "The River! Take heed to the River!" and I looked down upon all the world, which was as I had seen it before—one in time, one in place—and I saw plainly the River of the Arrow at my feet. (288-89)

Amidst Kipling's Buddhist pronouncements, two competing visions of spatial perception emerge. The first is a native India apprehended as a cohesive totality—"all Hind"—and

¹⁰⁸ In appraising Hurree Babu's desire to join the Royal Society, Creighton even claims that it makes him more "human": "'Very good, then,' said Creighton, half to himself. 'He [Kim] can go with the lama, and if Hurree Babu cares to keep an eye on them so much the better. He won't lead the boy into any danger as Mahbub would. Curious—his wish to be an F R S [Fellow of the Royal Society]. Very human, too. He *is* best on the Ethnological side—Hurree'" (176, emphasis in original).

the second is spiritual: the “Soul” passing “beyond the illusion of Time and Space and of Things” to reach the “River of the Arrow.” The lama’s transcendence involves the collapsing of the subject into a single position from which he has total, four-dimensional knowledge: “one in time, one in place.”

For Kim, who despite his Buddhist pretensions is also a consummate materialist, such a theory of space is impossible. Rather, his accession to continue studying with Teshoo Lama seems not to alter his devotion to border surveying. Rather, his content at being at the foot of a pioneering spiritual leader reads, to me, like the report of a double agent, the secret beneath the disclosure of another secret, like the invisible spy network surrounding the disclosure of a single espionage operation. Esty reads this scene as an attempt to consolidate imperial power along ethnic lines: “Presenting India as a knowable, navigable space is Kipling’s tactic for managing the antagonisms to which *Kim*, and Kim, are heirs, the perfect way to imply that Pax Britannica is the guarantor, not the enemy, of Asian multiculturalism.” For Esty, these claims about the peace of British imperialism and the harmoniousness of life under British rule is both “stagecraft and spy craft,” and in the end, “neither the hero nor the nation emerges into history as a self-possessed entity.”¹⁰⁹ There is, at the end, a scalar imbalance in the narrative, the pull between two plots: one, of Kim’s development into a consummate agent of empire, and the other, of the British Empire’s attempts to maintain control over the British Raj. The narrative attempts to hold these two plots together through Kim’s border surveying, but in the end, the fragmentations of British imperial sovereignty may be too pervasive. The novel and Kim’s double agency may, in the end, rend the Raj into pieces.

¹⁰⁹ Esty, *Unseasonable Youth*, 8–9.

Kipling's Charter: Back to the Land

Kim was the last novel Kipling would ever write. Like *Waverley*, the novel was an instant commercial success, and in 1902, Kipling purchased a Jacobean manor in East Sussex named Batemans.¹¹⁰ As Scott did at Abbotsford, Kipling adorned his country seat with Orientalist paraphernalia, including a massive scene of Japan in a central drawing room overlooking the River Tweed, and lived there until his death. For the Kipling, this property constituted a claim to an English past defined by hereditary land rights he was never afforded access to as a Bombay-born subject of the Empire.

Four years after he moved into Batemans, Kipling wrote a document called “The Charter of the River.” This stylized faux-contract delegates a degree of informal ownership of the land of the estate and the section of the River Dudwell flowing through the property. In the ornate document, Kipling declared himself the “sieur” of the river and appointed his children John and Elsie his deputy administrators, giving them rights “to come and go and look and know—whether shod or barefoot... with all such other Rights and Prerogatives as do vest in the lawful Possessors of such Domains according to the Custom and Prescription of Old England.” The brother and sister were granted leave to use “all Bays[.] Points. Bars. Capes. Promontories. Singles. Shallows. Deeps. Ditches. Drains. Pools and Trees” for games or any other activity, and were to “exercise The High The Low and The Middle Justice upon and over all Birds. Beasts. Reptiles. Fishes and

¹¹⁰ Thomas Pinney, “Kipling, (Joseph) Rudyard (1865–1936),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew, Brian Harrison, and Lawrence Goldman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

Insects.” To simulate a contract written in blood, and to metaphorically strengthen the blood ties adjudicated by the contract, he wrote select parts of the document in red ink, including his children’s names and his signature. The charter is a hybrid parody of feudal land inclosure contracts and imperialist legalese, a bridge between the manor’s seventeenth-century past and the turn-of-the-twentieth-century imperial future.¹¹¹ (See Figure 1a. As with Scott and Croker’s letters, to my knowledge, this document has not been treated critically.)

At Bateman’s, far from his native British India, Kipling creates something like his own Native State. In writing the Charter, exaggerated as it may seem, he creates the kind of contract declaring an inviolable, hereditary right to landownership similar to the treaty that Creighton sees fit to break in his ordering Kim to chart Bikanir. His attention to the area’s geography and his dominion over it seems very much in the older tradition of Scott and his surveying of the Scottish border, using geographic knowledge and hereditary authority to bestow control of the space to John and Elsie. As we will see in Chapter Two, the border crossing pioneered by Scott becomes the spatial foundation for the creation of treasure maps in the novels of Anthony Trollope, Robert Louis Stevenson, and H. Rider Haggard. The treasure map’s formal strategy of land control draws on the cultural authority of Kipling’s “Custom and Prescription of Old England,” bringing a feudal form of authority over discrete fictional domains into the heyday of mid-Victorian realism and imperial romance.

¹¹¹ Rudyard Kipling, “The Charter of the River” (Batemans, Sussex, UK, June 19, 1906), SxMs-38-2-5-1-2, folder 26-2, University of Sussex Special Collections (The Keep), emphasis in original.

**The Charter of
The River**

Know all Men by These Presents that I
The Sieur Rudyard Kipling of Batemans in the County
 of **Sussex**
 do grant and confirm and by These Presents have granted and confirmed
To John Kipling and Elsie his Sister *[quamdiu se bene gesserint]*
The Charter Liberties Freedoms & Benefits all and singular of
 all that portion of the **Dudwell River** lying and situate between **Torhorne Point**
 and the **Great Ash** commonly called **Cape Turnagain** for their private and
 particular use behoof advantage ownership disport and delight
 without let hindrance molestation tax toll due fee or Service **Excepting always**
such **Knighly Love and Fealty** as already subsists between Us.

That the said **John Kipling and Elsie** his sister shall be at all times
 free to come and go and look and know — whether shod or barefoot —
 between the two points aforesaid and to name and claim and use for
 a game all **Bays Points Bars Capes Promontories Shingles Shallows**
Deepes Ditches Drains Pools and Trees as best shall them please.

And **Further more** by **Virthe of These Presents** they shall freely enjoy
 and exercise **The High The Low and The Middle Justice** upon and over
 all **Birds Beasts Rabbits Fishes and Insects** as may by custom inhabit
 or by accident enter the aforesaid Domain wherefore the two aforesaid —
 to wit **John Kipling and Elsie** his sister — stand accountable and whereof
 they are sieged and possessed.

And the said **John Kipling and Elsie** his sister shall hold and employ and dig and
 enjoy for their sole selves without tribute to their liege all **Gold Precious and**
Sub-Precious Stones Metals minerals Mines and Quarries which they may
 by art or accident discover within the limits of their Domain aforesaid
And They shall hold further both together and sole All rights of Free Forest
Warren and Chase Turbary Common Loppage and Pannage with all such
 other **Rights and Privileges** as do vest in the lawful Possessors of such Domain
 according to the Custom and Prescription of **Old England**.

Provided Always that the said **John Kipling and Elsie** his sister shall in no wise wage War or ent or
 Covert against their Liege Lord but shall always with speed and diligence warn him of all
 Plots and **Discomfours** against him directed and in his cause shall bear him true and
 Knighly Service **NOR** shall they fortify by Arts or defend with Arms and Engines
 any Bank Ford Passage or Pass or any strong place make or suffer to be made
 within the length of their Dominion. **NOR** shall they hold against their Liege Lord or
 any of his household or people any bridge by which their Liege Lord and his Peoples
 are used and wonted to cross the River aforesaid at any place nor shall they
 mud Earth Grass or leaves or water throw at or against their Liege Lord or their
Law Mother but shall in always matters and concerns abide Peaceful Loyal
 orderly and discreet as Faithful lieges.

To The Which Charter I the Sieur **Rudyard Kipling**
 of **Batemans** in the County of **Sussex** have set my Seal
 this Nineteenth Day of June in the Year of our Lord
 one thousand nine hundred and Six
June: 19: 1906.

Figure 1a: Rudyard Kipling, "The Charter of the River," June 19, 1906. Rudyard Kipling, "The Charter of the River." Batemans, Sussex, UK. June 19, 1906. SxMs-38-2-5-1-2, folder 26-2, University of Sussex Special Collections (The Keep).

Chapter Two:

Novel Graphics: Cartographic Blankness in Anthony Trollope,

Robert Louis Stevenson, and H. Rider Haggard

Introduction

Discussions of literary maps in nineteenth-century literature tend to evoke either Robert Louis Stevenson's famous map of *Treasure Island* (1883), or H. Rider Haggard's sexualized and feminized map of the southern African interior in *King Solomon's Mines* (1885).¹¹² In the context of their geographic attentions, both works have been critiqued for tying the enrichment of white male British imperialists to the racialized hijacking of indigenous landed knowledge.¹¹³ Continuing the work of Chapter One, I want to put imperial analysis in a geoformal context, and will do so first by discussing the provincial mapping of Britain's internal periphery in Anthony Trollope's *Chronicles of Barsetshire*,¹¹⁴ particularly in *Framley Parsonage* (1860), the novel in which the narrative emergence of the map takes place.¹¹⁵ Though novel maps are treated relatively

¹¹² Robert Louis Stevenson, *Treasure Island, or The Mutiny of the Hispaniola*, ed. Peter Hunt (1883; repr., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); H. Rider Haggard, *King Solomon's Mines*, ed. Robert Hampson (1885; repr., London: Penguin, 2007). References will be made parenthetically to these editions.

¹¹³ I refer, of course, to Anne McClintock's essential treatment of Haggard's map in *Imperial Leather*, which I discuss later in this chapter. McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 2–5, 20–28. On Stevenson, see Bradley Deane, "Imperial Boyhood: Piracy and the Play Ethic," *Victorian Studies* 53, no. 4 (Summer 2011): 689–714.

¹¹⁴ When I italicize the name of Trollope's six-novel series, I refer to the series generally, and not specifically to the 1878–79 edition of the novels titled *The Chronicles of Barsetshire* unless otherwise noted.

¹¹⁵ Anthony Trollope, *Framley Parsonage*, ed. Katherine Mullin and Francis O'Gorman (1860; repr., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014). References will be made parenthetically to this edition.

infrequently in the extensive critical literature on these three authors, when their maps are treated, their visible cartographic features tend to be seen as keys to the novel's significance. And why not? Though fictional maps are not unfamiliar features of novels, they're still rare enough that commenting on them would seem to demand that they take pride of place in a given reading. Obviously, they do here, too, but counterintuitively I'll focus in what follows as much on what these maps *don't* represent as what they do. In this chapter, I argue that the Victorian novel map's ability to extend an imagined imperial sovereignty over the space it indexes depends on those maps' blank edges. The edge of a map or an inset provides regional context for the specific geography depicted, and the omission of this integral cartographic feature—which other novel maps, such as Thomas Hardy's map of Wessex, discussed in Chapter Four, do not omit—partially dislocates the space represented by the narrative itself from the broader world the inclusion of the map implies in the first place. From narrative testimony, we know that Barsetshire is in the West Country, Treasure Island in the Spanish Main, and Kukuanaaland due north of the Cape Colony, but Trollope, Stevenson, and Haggard all decline in both the map and the narrative to provide further information that would enable more precise geolocation. These blank edges act as a geographic intensification of these novels' shared refusals to narrate with geographic specificity the journey from the proximate metropolitan points of departure to the region depicted by the map, and graphically structures the narrative dislocation Walter Scott's refusal to narrate transit in scenes of geographic description caused in Chapter One. As in the previous chapter, this geographic strategy and its narrative deployment have consequences for the type of colonial sovereignty imagined by these novels. In Trollope's, Stevenson's, and Haggard's novels, the blank edges of the

novel maps and their subsequent narrative authorization makes the space depicted by the map conceptually available for exploring fantasies of territorial control and plunder in insular zones geographically distant from but narratively adjacent to the mapped world.

Because each dislocated space these novels represent is fictional, this territorial control is imagined and not a rehearsal for real-world colonial procedures. Instead, these fictional spaces' connections to actual locales in the colonial project—Barsetshire's rail link to London, *Treasure Island*'s obscure sea route from ports outside Bristol, and Kukuanaland's overland and riverine trails from Durban in the Cape Colony—mark the central portions of the narrative set in these spaces indexed by the maps as operating under a different set of representational protocols. John McClure has called these spaces the “native space” of imperial romance, but rather than effecting a “redemptive unmapping of the world” wholesale, for which McClure praises the late imperial romances of the turn of the century, these mid nineteenth-century novels use the modest distance from actual British territory demarcated by cartographic blankness to improvise new modes of territorial control by bending the rules of novelistic realism.¹¹⁶ The ostensibly solid ground graphically depicted at the head of each novel is in fact a space distant enough from land under direct jurisdiction to serve as fertile ground for new fantasies of imperial control, and still close enough to owe and eventually pay debts to the nearby imperial homeland.

In Trollope, the blankness at the edges of the map has a broader formal corollary: the narrative isolation of each individual novel from the others in his six-novel series. The friction between Trollope's extensive worldmaking enterprise and these multiple

¹¹⁶ John A. McClure, *Late Imperial Romance* (London: Verso, 1994), 12.

spatial lacunae at different formal scales sets his six novels adrift somewhere in the West Country, like a cluster of floating islands. Trollope elevates each novel's narrator to a position of extreme omniscience, a position seemingly at odds with his sardonic, often hilarious style. This melding of playful style and a narrative authority authorized by cartographic blankness forms a key formal basis of the imperial romance genre, of which *Treasure Island* and *King Solomon's Mines* are signal examples. The difference between the types of imperial romance Stevenson's and Haggard's novels represent concretizes a key moment in literary history anticipating the late nineteenth-century shift in British imperial policy, and the debates around those policies, from prior modes of imperialism to the harder forms of power of the New Imperialism typically dated from the 1870s to the early twentieth century, especially in the so-called "Scramble for Africa."¹¹⁷ As we

¹¹⁷ New Imperialism has been subject to historical critique from the dawn of the twentieth century onward. In 1902, J. A. Hobson set forth if not the earliest then certainly the most well-remembered critique of the New Imperialism. In his classic *Imperialism: A Study*, Hobson criticizes the rapid expansionism of the previous three decades for not also promoting the social improvements characteristic of earlier British colonial projects. "The new imperialism has established no single British colony endowed with responsible government or representative institutions," he writes. "The new Imperialism has nowhere extended the political and civil liberties of the mother country to any part of the vast territories which, since 1870, have fallen under the government of Western civilised Powers. Politically, the new Imperialism is an expansion of autocracy." Hobson claims the policy has not helped the national economy, but has rather served private interests over those of the public:

Although the new Imperialism has been bad business for the nation, it has been good business for certain classes and certain trades within the nation. The vast expenditure on armaments, the costly wars, the grave risks and embarrassments of foreign policy, the stoppage of political and social reforms within Great Britain, though fraught with great injury to the nation, have served the present business interests of certain industries and professions.

Though Hobson's railing against "the material and moral damage inflicted even on the victor" of New Imperial projects has cast him in an anti-colonial light for some, it is important to acknowledge that Hobson's critique is specifically of expansionist, rapacious "Imperialism" and not the gradual, institutionalist nation-building he attributes to the colonial projects that ran until 1870 in his chronology of British imperial history. At its root, his critique is really an economic one. When he claims that New Imperialism was "bad business for the nation," he is concerned with Britain's recovery from the Long Depression of the nineteenth century's latter decades more so than regaining its face on the world stage. This economic analysis of imperialism has drawn Marxists to Hobson's text, which has been received in some circles as a full-throated critique of all colonial projects due to Vladimir Lenin's influential engagement with Hobson in his *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1917). Excerpts from Hobson and Lenin's *Imperialisms* appear at the beginning of an important 1961 essay collection, *The "New Imperialism": Analysis of Late Nineteenth-Century Expansion*, which simultaneously functions as a

will see, Stevenson and Haggard go out of their way to minimize their novels' culpability in these debates (though involved they remain) by obscuring the authorship of their treasure maps themselves, embedding another type of blankness into the map in an effort to distance the political charge of geographic form from the boyhood wonderland they were reinventing in the imperial romance.

In describing these novel maps, I have been using descriptive words like "blankness" and "lacunae" because cartography does not have a term to describe a map with undefined edges. This is awfully strange, given the discipline's penchant for classification and terminology, and because British official cartography originated from an effort to precisely understand what lay within the country's borders. An authoritative account traces the origin of the "official mapping of the British Isles" back to the "rebellion of 1745," that is, the Jacobite Rising depicted in Scott's *Waverley*, and through to the end of World War I, as a way of erasing cartographic lacunae *within* Britain. After the defeat of the Rising in 1746, the military occupied the Scottish Highlands, and an

sourcebook and intellectual history of the concept. Harrison M. Wright, the editor of this volume, adopts the periodization proposed by Hobson and the historian J. Holland Rose: "Suddenly, and almost simultaneously, between 1870 and 1900, the states of Europe began to extend their control over vast areas of the world... The period of the 'new imperialism,' as it has been called, was, especially in contrast to the preceding years of political indifference, a time of unaccustomed belligerence." This aptly summarizes the reigning scholarly consensus of New Imperialism during the era of decolonization. In 1935, William Langer wrote of his "age of retreat and retirement... of European control": "For in the larger sense the story is more than the story of rivalry between European imperialisms; it is the story of European aggression and advance in the non-European parts of the world." J. A. Hobson, *Imperialism: A Study* (London: J. Nisbet, 1902), 24–25, 51–52; Harrison M. Wright, "Introduction," in *The "New Imperialism": Analysis of Late Nineteenth-Century Expansion*, ed. Harrison M. Wright (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1961), vii–viii; William L. Langer, *The Diplomacy of Imperialism, 1890-1902*, 2nd ed. (New York: Knopf, 1951), 67, 94.

A final note: Lenin's rough interpretation of Hobson has tainted the concept of New Imperialism for some. The only use of that phrase I can find in an important encyclopedic study, *British Imperialism, 1688-2000*, is in a rejection of the economic critiques of this era's expansionism that serve as the basis for its distinct chronology. "The 'new' imperialism generated by the crisis of advanced industrial capitalism in the late nineteenth century is another" periodizing division, one the authors look to reject, following a thoroughgoing critique of Marxist interpretations of the Partition of Africa. P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism: 1688-2000*, 2nd ed (Harlow, UK: Longman, 2002), 303–4, 401.

army official, Lieutenant-General David Watson, created “an elaborate compass sketch with hachured hills”—hills represented by overlaid curved lines to represent relative elevations—that became part of William Roy’s 1755 military survey of Scotland, a map produced as a military aid in navigating the unfamiliar terrain, and to facilitate the subjugation of resistant Highland clans.¹¹⁸ This map “was afterwards extended over the whole of Scotland, and was the first official map of our country,” the London-born geographer Arthur R. Hinks writes, eventually leading to the founding of the Ordnance Survey office that still acts as Britain’s national cartographer.¹¹⁹ Hinks’s account suggests that a map designed to aid an internal colonial occupation became the seed for the geographic consciousness at root of the idea of Greater Britain (“*our* country” [emphasis added]). It isn’t entirely surprising that a project of national cartography has military roots, but nonetheless it is too easy to elide the colonial nature of the technological and compositional basis of maps, and the cultural-historical perspective implied by different forms of cartography in which a landscape survey is presented as mere background, its authorship obscured.

¹¹⁸ Arthur R. Hinks, *Maps and Survey*, 4th ed. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1942), 61.

Hachures, in fact, did not enter into official use until the 1790s, when this early technique for indicating elevation was systematized by the Cassinis, a family of cartographers known for their surveying of continental Europe, especially France. The Roy survey of Scotland instead uses artistic shading when depicting hills, which appear similar to hachures. However, instead of relying on a standardized system of sloped lines to indicate relative elevations, the Roy survey’s hills are shaded darker as they approach the top, artistically representing to their shape and size without precisely indicating their elevation. The mapping of Britain, then, began with an aspiration toward cartographic accuracy that wound up as much becoming an artistic representation of occupied territory. The National Library of Scotland’s website has reproduced the original Roy survey maps on their website overlain on digital maps of the UK, minutely adjusting the position of each sector of the map in order to accurately superimpose latitude and longitude coordinates atop Watson and Roy’s painted mountains. John Noble Wilford, *The Mapmakers* (New York: Knopf, 1981), 126–27; “Roy Maps and Sheet References – Map Images – National Library of Scotland,” National Library of Scotland, accessed December 6, 2015, <<http://maps.nls.uk/geo/roy/index.cfm>>.

¹¹⁹ Hinks, *Maps and Survey*, 61.

The “Ordnance Survey” is so named because the original sketches were used to determine where to place military materiel in reference to landmarks in the landscape. Beginning in the early nineteenth century, the agency did a brisk business in pocket editions of their maps, nicknamed according to the scale factor (e.g. maps projected at one quarter inch to the mile were called “quarter inch maps”).¹²⁰ In his analysis of Ordnance Survey maps, C  il  n Parsons shows how illustrated maps function as forms of landscape description in and of themselves, acting in their reduction of the landscape to scale as a type of representation linked to the literature of this period.¹²¹ By the time Trollope was writing, it was possible for an imagined community (in the style of Benedict Anderson) to be undergirded by a cartographic image as the basis for the transporting rootedness involved in reading a novel in the nineteenth century.¹²² When both readers and authors situated themselves in a given locale within Britain, that space had already been mapped by a national cartography bureau that originated as an adjunct of internal colonialism. In Hinks’s passage cited previously, the logical gap in his thinking across the coordinating conjunction—that the map “was afterwards extended over the whole of Scotland, and was the first official map of our country”—elides the process by which a map situates a colonial space in a broader sovereign context. My examination of the literary maps in this chapter will show how this process that originated in Scotland is systematized in the British West Country and then exported

¹²⁰ Hinks, 61-66ff. On the history of the Ordnance Survey, see further W. A. Seymour and J. H. Andrews, *A History of the Ordnance Survey* (Folkestone, Kent, UK: Dawson, 1980); Rachel Hewitt, *Map of a Nation: A Biography of the Ordnance Survey* (London: Granta, 2010).

¹²¹ C  il  n Parsons, *The Ordnance Survey and Modern Irish Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 2-3, 7-8.

¹²² See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Rev. ed (London: Verso, 2006), 32-36.

overseas as Trollope's blank-bordered novel map becomes Stevenson's and Haggard's renowned treasure maps.

The selection of works in this chapter matters not only to mark the importance of mapping in the nineteenth-century novel's geographic engagements with British imperialism, but also to demonstrate how three texts with striking generic distinctions participate in and develop the homologous species of geographic control rooted in provincial spaces. Whereas Trollope is often noted as a mid-Victorian realist par excellence, both *Treasure Island* and *King Solomon's Mines* are properly classified as imperial romances, a type of adventure fiction, and are often treated together as reflective of similar tendencies in late British imperialism. And still, Stevenson and Haggard are up to different things in their novels. *Treasure Island* is sort of a parody of an adventure novel that figures fictionalized imperial domains as a playground for boys—both an actual boy in Jim Hawkins, the young narrator, along with a boyish band of both gallant and ignoble swashbucklers in the adventuring party (led by Squire Trelawney, Doctor Livesey, and Captain Smollett) and the pirate band (led by Long John Silver), respectively. Stevenson knows to ironize the polarized moral charges of both groups' search for the buried treasure, and instead, through the formal presentation of the novel—especially its maps, represented and unrevealed—sets up the obscuring of cartographic authorship as the novel's key narrative problem. Though Haggard's maps, like Stevenson's, have multiple authors, this ironic undercutting of the adventurers' jingo-tinted chauvinism and the construction of a compelling set of narrative problematics are nowhere to be found in Haggard, who infamously wrote *King Solomon's Mines* on a dare,

his brother having bet him that he couldn't write a novel to best *Treasure Island*.¹²³ The resulting novel sold well, but, by many measurements, isn't very good. Haggard is an entertaining but clumsy writer, his work riddled with malapropisms, those hackneyed phrases that has given "genre fiction" its unduly negative connotation, and caricatures of savage natives. I don't say this out of spite. Rather, this literary badness matters to the claims I want to make here. The literary-historical movement in this chapter from a paragon of realism to a paradigmatic imperial romance to a pulp adventure sensation could suggest a stock chronicle of cultural decline: nineteenth-century literary cartography starts in the hands of a master author, gets famous, and falls to pieces once it filters down to the rabble. The more compelling story I want to tell here politicizes literary form through novelistic cartography, and locates the sharp edge of that political charge in the maps' blank edges. In particular, I want to use the friction between the different kinds of novels in this chapter, particularly that between provincial realism and imperial romance, to suggest that the narrative actualization of the novelistic map in mid-nineteenth century realism lends literary cartography the cultural authority necessary to represent and eventually authorize the rapid expansionism typical of New Imperialism in spaces of imperial adventure. Within the latter body of texts, the shift from a fictionalized island in the Spanish Main (Stevenson's *Treasure Island*) to an actual sovereign space under British control (Haggard's southern Africa) will prove extremely consequential. If Stevenson can be said to level a skeptical challenge against New Imperialism in *Treasure Island*—as soon as the early 1880s—then through Haggard's heavy-handed adventure fiction stylistics and his implicit appeal to the kind of narrative authority Trollope exerted

¹²³ Gerald Monsman, "Introduction: Of Diamonds and Deities in *King Solomon's Mines*," in *King Solomon's Mines*, by H. Rider Haggard (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview, 2002), 11.

over his fictional domain we can see *King Solomon's Mines* as a hasty corrective to Stevenson's conceptual challenge to imperial authority. The bet underlying the production of Haggard's novel is a wager not so much to produce a work of literature, but rather to use the power of literary cartography's blank edges to ward against the very first fragmentations of the British Empire's overseas sovereignty.

Throwing Trollope in with Stevenson and Haggard, who are often treated together, prompts a question: is *Framley Parsonage* a kind of empire fiction? In this chapter, I suggest that it doesn't have to be. In Chapter One, it was less unexpected to view Scott's *Waverley* as a fiction of internal colonialism, owing to the fact that the Jacobite Rising at that novel's historical core is a conflict in which the question of local sovereignty is at stake, which is reflected in the rich critical tradition of colonial readings of that novel. Critical assessments of Trollope's engagement with the colonial periphery have mostly focused on his travel writing, not his novels.¹²⁴ While it would stretch credulity to claim that the *Chronicles of Barsetshire* performs comparable colonial work internally on the English West Country, Trollope's ostensibly geographically isolated series does traffic in plots that hinge on the dispossession of ancient, often hereditary property, be they "preferments" (sinécures) or real estate. By the time Trollope wrote *Framley Parsonage*, he had started writing about land foreclosure and the breakup of ancient estates. Indeed, the Barsetshire novel that most strikingly weds together indebtedness, political corruption, and land transfers is also the novel where the

¹²⁴ See, among many examples, J. H. Davidson, "Anthony Trollope and the Colonies," *Victorian Studies* 12, no. 3 (March 1969): 305–30; Asa Briggs, "Trollope the Traveller," in *Trollope Centenary Essays*, ed. John Halperin (New York: St. Martin's, 1982), 24–52; Gikandi, *Maps of Englishness*, 91–118; James Buzard, "Portable Boundaries: Trollope, Race, and Travel," *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 32, no. 1 (March 2010): 5–18; Helen Lucy Blythe, *The Victorian Colonial Romance with the Antipodes* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 159–96.

Barsetshire map emerges from the narrative itself: *Framley Parsonage*. In Stevenson's and Haggard's imperial romances, the discovery of the physical map is of course a crucial moment in their plots: the key to the adventure is found and the story takes off. Writing decades earlier and in a different mode, Trollope casts the map's narrative emergence as the discovery of a truth about Barsetshire we already knew: the long form of the novel series has been drawing this map all along. The Barsetshire map's blank edges expose provincial locales to a kind of genteel plunder, one whose weapons are bad loans, property-as-collateral, and lawyers. In a fictionalized provincial space in the English West Country, *Framley Parsonage* originates the cartographic blankness that would ideologically and spatially undergird the imperial treasure fiction of Stevenson and Haggard.

Barsetshire's Blank Spaces

Calling Anthony Trollope a realist is about as unexpected as saying that grass is green. But there are many ways to be a realist, just as there are many shades of green, and many kinds of grass. According to George Levine, Trollope's realism differed from that of contemporaries such as William Makepeace Thackeray and Charles Dickens in his downplaying traditional anxieties about the artifice or performativity of fiction and "refus[ing] strong climaxes," instead advancing a representational ethic of modesty as the bedrock of his fictional worlds. "Trollope is aesthetically satisfied," Levine writes, "with realism of coherence rather than with realism of reference."¹²⁵ If that is true on the level

¹²⁵ Levine, *The Realistic Imagination*, 184.

of a single novel, then the extensive, elaborated provincial world of *The Chronicles of Barsetshire* stands as an ultimate achievement in the realism of coherence in its constructed of a richly detailed, bounded world. As an exercise in the possibilities of what realism can achieve—that is, the extensive mapping of a fictional province over the course of twelve years (1855-1867) and six novels—*The Chronicles of Barsetshire* introduced Trollope to the literary scene as a master of portraying British provincial life. *The Chronicles of Barsetshire* have tended to be viewed as a unified work best represented by a popular exemplar—usually one of the first two novels (*The Warden* or *Barchester Towers*)—which has had the effect of regularizing a view of the Barsetshire as a place immune to geographical specificity or historical context. I want to unsettle this view of Barsetshire by looking at the fictional province and the world of the multi-novel series from the vantage point of the treasure map, specifically the plotted emergence of the map of Barsetshire in the fourth novel, *Framley Parsonage*. As I discuss, Trollope certainly represents some aspects of his fictional countryside as timeless fixtures of the West Country. Nonetheless I want to show how viewing the novels from the vantage point of the novel map disturbs the view of Barsetshire as a prefab province. Not everything about Trollope's provincial realism is entirely coherent, and in order to retroactively suggest such a coherence, Trollope drew a map.

The formal composition of *The Chronicles of Barsetshire*, therefore, is characterized by the dynamic shifting between individual novels' narrative independence and the sharing of characters, place names, and settings across the series suggested by a map. The series' intriguing formal dynamism began working its way into standard critical discourse on Trollope posthumously. When Trollope died in 1882, Henry James set about

writing a remembrance that would be published the next year in *Century Magazine*. The resulting article, which was reprinted in James's criticism collection *Partial Portraits* (1888) and later by Leon Edel, one of James's foremost twentieth-century interpreters, in *The House of Fiction* (1957), has become a critical chestnut.¹²⁶ Nearly everyone who writes about Trollope's career cites this essay, including Levine, who criticizes James for asserting that Trollope's novels induce an awareness of their fictionality in their readers, an idea that runs counter to Levine's definition of Trollopian realism. James, Levine claims, was anxious about the "sprawl toward realist formlessness" that Trollope allowed in his fiction, and which James viewed as inartful.¹²⁷ Though James viewed fiction as having the highest artistic potential, it's a mistake to assume that Trollope's "realist formlessness" is tantamount to lacking form. James's own view of Trollope's oeuvre, I think, points to an incomplete aspiration to formal unity that reveals the discontents of his realism. Those discontents specifically inhere in *The Chronicles of Barsetshire* through the peculiar sense of isolation that cuts across the series, from individual characters to narrative arcs to the novels themselves, stemming from the synchronization between the map's blank edges and the each novel's narrative independence from the others. James identified a similar tension in the first paragraph of his remembrance: "The author of 'The Warden,' of 'Barchester Towers,' of 'Framley Parsonage,' does not, to our mind, stand on the very same level as Dickens, Thackeray, and George Eliot... But he belonged to the same family—he had as much to tell us about English life; he was strong, genial,

¹²⁶ Henry James, "Anthony Trollope," in *Partial Portraits* (London: Macmillan, 1888), 97–133; Henry James, "Anthony Trollope," in *The House of Fiction: Essays on the Novel*, ed. Leon Edel (London: R. Hart-Davis, 1957), 89–113.

¹²⁷ Levine, *The Realistic Imagination*, 184–85, 187.

abundant. He published too much.”¹²⁸ In identifying three defining novels and linking them to Trollope’s general subject matter (“English life”) and character (“strong, genial abundant”), James highlights the balance between inter-novelistic connectivity and intra-novelistic distinctiveness that characterizes the spatial composition of the entire series.

Of course, the novels in a multi-work series should be both connected and different from each other in some way, but in returning to the same space in rural Britain without an overarching narrative, the spatial elaboration of the Barsetshire novels operates in two ways: each novel standing as an individual exemplar of Barsetshire while building up the reality of that space for the whole series. This effect was faintly present in the early Barsetshire novels, and only reached its most cartographically realized form in *Framley Parsonage*. It is fitting that in his situating of Trollope’s career against his contemporaries above, James names the three novels that had the strongest effect on making Barsetshire the preeminent spatial figure of Trollope’s career, and with which the Barsetshire map is most commonly associated.¹²⁹ *The Warden* (1855), the first novel in *The Chronicles of Barsetshire*, briskly introduced the reading public to the fictional county in the West Country and Trollope’s primary concerns: institutional corruption, financial and real estate impropriety, and the social life of the English provinces.¹³⁰ The second novel, *Barchester Towers* (1857), set by a time-pressed Trollope in the same locale as *The Warden*, became the archetypal Barsetshire novel, the book most people read if they have read any Trollope at all. It was *Framley Parsonage*, though, the fourth

¹²⁸ Henry James, “Anthony Trollope,” *Century Illustrated Magazine*, July 1883, 385.

¹²⁹ Nicholas Dames has made a similar point about Barsetshire in a broad study of careerism in Trollope. See Dames, Nicholas Dames, “Trollope and the Career: Vocational Trajectories and the Management of Ambition,” *Victorian Studies* 45, no. 2 (Winter 2003): 264–67.

¹³⁰ Trollope also wrote four novels that treat these interests of Trollope’s in the Irish provinces, along with the Irish famine: *The Macdermots of Ballycloran* (1847), *The Kellys and the O’Kellys* (1848), *Castle Richmond* (1860), and *The Landleaguers* (1883).

novel in the series, where the cartographic description of Barsetshire had the most pronounced effect on the chronotope of the novel series. As the novel was also Trollope's first to gain the significant readership and income that came with serialized publication by a venerated colleague (Thackeray in his new magazine *The Cornhill*), assumptions about the spatialization of Barsetshire appear to have bled from *Framley Parsonage* into the whole series, through remembrances like James's through to contemporary criticism.

In hindsight and in isolation, every Barsetshire novel looks like a representative instance of a broad novelistic project. Writing of the first paragraph of *The Warden*, John Plotz claims that the "disavowal of temporal and geographic specificity" of Trollope's description of Barsetshire makes the fictional county an example of "provincialism at its finest."¹³¹ Of the second novel, John Bowen writes, "*Barchester Towers* was the moment that his work became stylistic, when Trollope became Trollope."¹³² Plotz and Bowen make important points about the novels they treat: the link between provincialism and a sense of spatio-temporal disconnection in Plotz, and the deep importance of stylistic and aesthetic consistency to Trollope's multi-novel project in Bowen. Taken together, they advance a view of Trollope's Barsetshire as a space at once paradigmatic of rural Britain, specifically the West Country, and also generalizable across the novels that comprise the series. This comports with Trollope's own view expressed in the introduction to the first collected edition of the six Barsetshire novels—the eight-volume *The Chronicles of Barsetshire* (1878-79)—that the novels were "not intended to be in any sequence one to another except in regard to the two first,—with an intention that the stories should go

¹³¹ Plotz, "The Semi-Detached Provincial Novel," 409.

¹³² John Bowen, "Introduction," in *Barchester Towers*, by Anthony Trollope, ed. John Bowen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), xi.

forth to the public as being in all respects separate, the sequence being only in the Author's mind."¹³³ Trollope's declaration about sequencing in his novel series has been naturalized into his reception and later criticism with striking consistency. Throughout this section, we've seen James, Levine, and Plotz all make equally compelling points to notably different ends primarily about either *The Warden* or *Barchester Towers* ("the two first"), and then seen them reflexively generalize that claim across the entire series, sometimes across Trollope's entire oeuvre. The first two novels, this line of thinking goes, establish Barsetshire as an novelistic geography inhabitable by the reader, and each subsequent novel explores it with an equivalent spatial sense.

In other words, the broad-scale claims about Trollope's work with which I began this section are all inflected by the author's own attentions to the shared space of his novels. James, Levine, and Plotz, though making different and valid points, all rely on a certain spatial conception of Barsetshire as flexible under the pressure of narrative yet constant enough between individual novels to support analyses at three distinct scales simultaneously: at the level of the novel, the series, and of Trollope's oeuvre at large. This spatial flexibility depends on Barsetshire's peculiar status as firmly located in the West Country, but not traceable as the fictional analogue to any precise county in the region. This naturalized way of approaching Barsetshire as a fictional space depends, I claim, upon the spatial blanks that are key to Trollope's conception of the county's geography. Though the map is not referenced until *Framley Parsonage*, these spatial blanks are important as early as the very first paragraph of the series' first novel:

The Rev. Septimus Harding was, for a few years since, a beneficed clergyman residing in the cathedral town of ———; let us call it Barchester. Were we to

¹³³ Anthony Trollope, "Introduction," in *The Chronicles of Barsetshire*, vol. 1 (London: Chapman and Hall, 1878), v.

name Wells or Salisbury, Exeter, Hereford, or Gloucester, it might be presumed that something personal was intended, and this tale will refer mainly to the cathedral dignitaries of the town in question, we are anxious that no personality may be suspected. Let us presume that Barchester is a quiet town in the West of England, more remarkable for the beauty of its cathedral and the antiquity of its monuments, than for any commercial prosperity; that the west end of Barchester is the cathedral close, and that the aristocracy of Barchester are the bishop, dean, and canons, with their respective wives and daughters.¹³⁴

In the opening sentence of the series, we have our first blank: “the cathedral town of ————; let us call it Barchester.” This blank of three en dashes was a common way of censoring someone’s last name in social fictions. Trollope, though, uses it instead throughout the Barchester novels to primarily censor placenames and years—letters are often dated 18—, for instance—setting up from the jump Trollope’s interest in exploring geographic and temporal dislocations.¹³⁵ The name “Barchester” strands us between the blank space of the dashes and extra-narrative placenames like Salisbury and Exeter. In this founding moment of Trollope’s “realism of coherence” and the prolix depiction of his fictional county that would later launch his career, Trollope models in miniature the friction between the extensive, fictionalized worldmaking of his novel series (Barchester), and the suggestive blankness of his censoring dashes (the map). The blanking out of the placenames and years, especially the visually arresting long dash eliding the *actual* placename and substituting it for a fictional pseudonym, Barsetshire, is the ultimate signifier of spatial ficitonicity. The spatial dislocation of the map’s blank edges inheres throughout the entire series, from the narrative isolation between each individual novel all the way down to the sentence level, with the substitution of a

¹³⁴ Anthony Trollope, *The Warden; and, The Two Heroines of Plumplington*, ed. Nicholas Shrimpton (1855; repr., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 7.

¹³⁵ As cited above, Plotz incisively reads this paragraph to establish that sense of temporal dislocation that’s part of his vision of Trollopian provincialism. Plotz, “The Semi-Detached Provincial Novel,” 409.

fictional name for a putatively real place. With this relative plasticity of an ostensible solid geography, Trollope sets up land ownership and the customs and systems behind possession as a key narrative problem in his series.

Fittingly, then, Trollope's map first emerges from *Framley Parsonage*, the novel in the series where his interest in geography, wealth, personal history, and the intersection of the three at the site of real estate is the strongest. Though this novel evinces fairly different interests from the three that had come before it, it relies on those novels' development of a narrative framework for representing the geographically complex world of Barsetshire. In any remembrance of Trollope, *Barchester Towers* is always the novel that does and should attract the most attention; Bowen aptly observes that it's Trollope's stylistic apotheosis. It took this stylistic foundation for Trollope to write *Framley Parsonage*, a novel whose evident interest in land gives it a stronger spatial dimension and a slightly more serious cast. If *Barchester Towers* is indeed where "when Trollope became Trollope," then *Framley Parsonage* is where Barsetshire became Barsetshire: a space whose story involves both ironic, known narration and property foreclosure on ancient estates in equal measure. The blank edges of that novel's map of the county testify to the deep importance of Barsetshire's dislocation from its immediate geographic context even as railway and commercial traffic regularly carry people and goods to and from the other parts of the South, including London and nearby ports. Barsetshire's uncertain proximity to the Home Counties and West Country lend it a deep sense of history and the air of the rural borderlands, as if it's been there forever, but anything could happen.

Though it's easy to discuss Barsetshire and the *Chronicles* from a reading of an individual novel, treating the series coherently as a unit is a surprising challenge given the narrative autonomy Trollope's particular geographic model implies. In his *Autobiography*, published posthumously in 1883, the same year of James's remembrance, Trollope wrote of *Barchester Towers*' publication: "The work succeeded just as *The Warden* had succeeded.... [I]ts life has been so far prolonged by the vitality of some of its younger brothers. *Barchester Towers* would hardly be so well known as it is had there been no *Framley Parsonage* and no *Last Chronicle of Barset*."¹³⁶ Describing *Framley Parsonage* as a younger brother of the first two novels proleptically echoes James's tendency to describe Trollope and his contemporaries in familial terms, while suspending the idea that the series itself could have an overarching connection, much less a multi-novel narrative. Taking this suspension one step further, James writes (in a moment that a displeased Levine says "displays a strange lack of faith in fiction") that Trollope "took a suicidal satisfaction in reminding the reader that the story he was telling was only, after all, a make-believe. He habitually referred to the work in hand (in the course of that work) as a novel and to himself as a novelist, and was fond of letting the reader know that this novelist could direct the course of events according to his pleasure."¹³⁷ This tension between the novelist visibly creating a fictional domain ("let us call it Barchester") and the independence of each individual Barsetshire novel from the others has the effect across the series—as Walter Scott's mobile focalization of Edward Waverley's spatializations of Scotland's past did in Chapter One—of instantiating the same spatial lacunae between the novels as exists in the map itself. Trollope maintains balances this

¹³⁶ Anthony Trollope, *An Autobiography*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1883), 139.

¹³⁷ Levine, *The Realistic Imagination*, 184; James, "Anthony Trollope," July 1883, 385, 390.

spatial disconnection of the series' multiple blank spaces with historical rootedness, tying each novel's to a given historical event, be it the London *Times*' ostensible role in fomenting the conflict that led to the Crimean War in *The Warden*, or *Framley Parsonage*'s displaced ruminations about the political underpinnings of the Great Famine and land dispossession in Ireland.¹³⁸ The Barsetshire series on the whole is bound together by a queasy détente between geographic dislocation from the *larger* world—the blank edges of the maps and gaps between books—and a firm sense of historical and geographic rootedness within its *own* world—the reappearance of place names, roads, characters, and local customs across the series, and the indexing of each novel to an external historical context. This truce between spatial forces inheres in the sketch map Trollope drew in his study, which the modern reader encounters in editorially remodeled form in the frontmatter of modern editions (see Figure 2a). Trollope's cartographic realism permeates the boundary between the narrative of an individual Barsetshire novel and the metanarrative of *The Chronicles of Barsetshire*, a worldmaking method that is historically indexed and geographically rooted.

In depicting the relative locations of towns, roads, railways, topographic features, and Barsetshire landmarks, the map *Framley Parsonage* introduces marks those locations as signifiers of the county's landed wealth. In his *Autobiography*, at the end of a long chronicle detailing his path to serializing the novel in *Cornhill Magazine* and the literary scene the magazine introduced him to, Trollope writes:

Of *Framley Parsonage* I need only further say, that as I wrote it I became more closely than ever acquainted with the new shire which I had added to the English

¹³⁸ Katherine Mullin and Francis O'Gorman, "Introduction," in *Framley Parsonage*, by Anthony Trollope, ed. Katherine Mullin and Francis O'Gorman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), xxi–xxv.

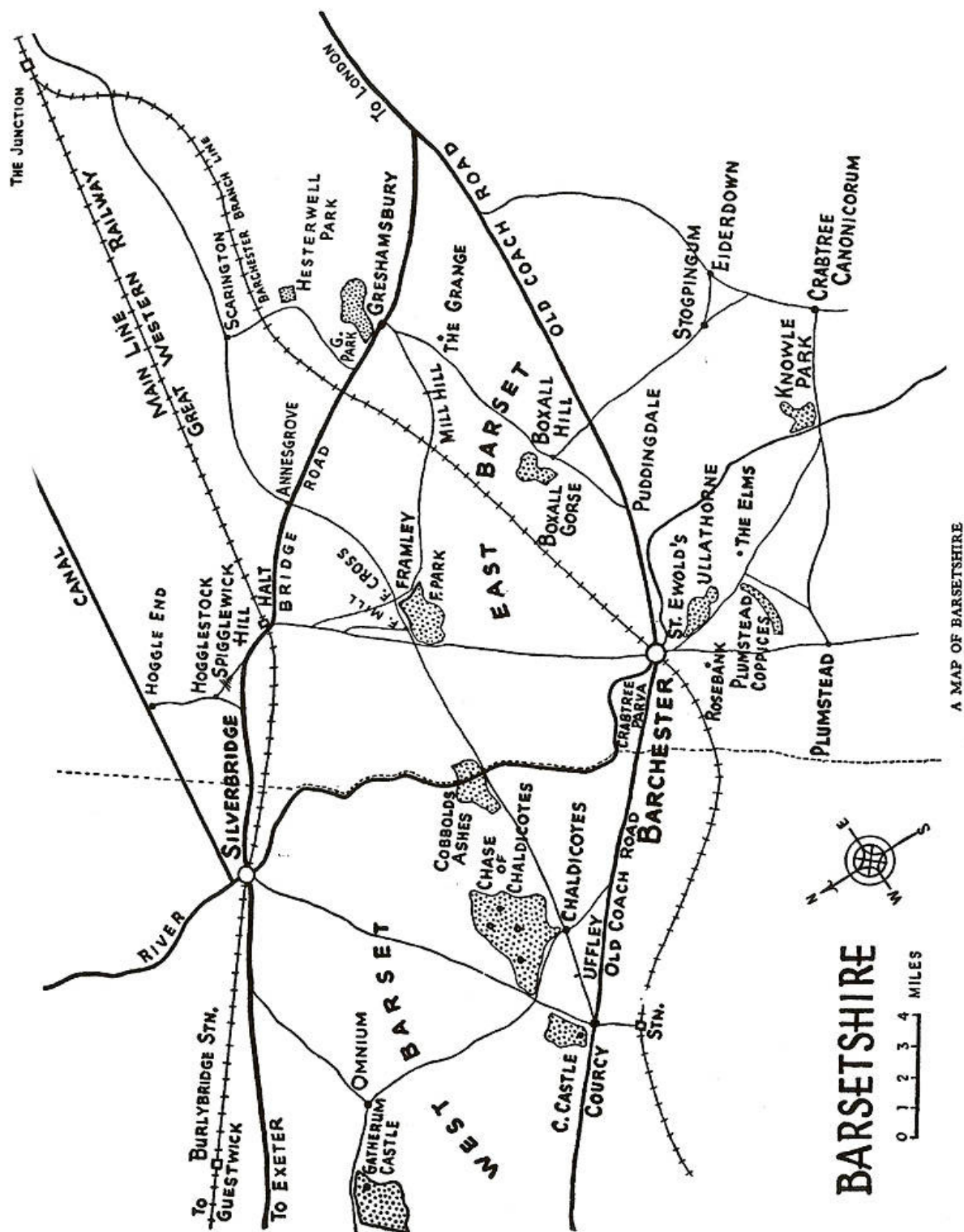


Figure 2a: Anthony Trollope, map of Barsetshire (1860-61).

counties. I had it all in my mind,—its roads and railroads, its towns and parishes, its members of Parliament, and the different hunts which rode over it. I knew all the great lords and their castles, the squires and their parks, the rectors and their churches. This was the fourth novel of which I had placed the scene in Barsetshire, and as I wrote it I made a map of the dear county. Throughout these stories there has been no name given to a fictitious site which does not represent to me a spot of which I know all the accessories, as though I had lived there and wandered there.¹³⁹

In describing the aspects of Barsetshire that constitute his mapping of it, Trollope interweaves features of his graphic—“its roads and railroads, its towns and parishes,” “castles,” “parks”—with ones that do not appear on it: “members of Parliament, and the different hunts which rode over it,” “great lords,” “squires,” “the rectors and their churches.” These markers of political agency, landed wealth, class stratification, religious institutions, and local social custom are ways of apprehending the land as a space to be mapped according to those locations where signifiers of geography and land ownership coincide. The cartographic instability of Trollopian realism derives from the interplay between, on the one hand, the map’s denotative representation of Barsetshire’s features, and the novel’s own elaboration of the challenges to Barsetshire’s social fabric—the ghosts of that “dear county”’s institutional decay—at many of those locations. Trollope’s professed adherence to George Henry Lewes’ “economy of art” (that novelistic representation should always be both sufficient and efficient), according to Anna Kornbluh, points to a bubble at the meeting point between compositional economics and the economic underpinnings of his narratives.¹⁴⁰ In professing to represent the actual space of Barsetshire efficiently and authentically, Trollope winds up creating a county riven with instability. These instabilities are the subjects of the novels’ various plots—in

¹³⁹ Trollope, *An Autobiography*, 1:204–5.

¹⁴⁰ Anna Kornbluh, *Realizing Capital: Financial and Psychic Economies in Victorian Form* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2013), 90.

the case of *Framley Parsonage*, Mark Robarts' guaranteeing of a loan to the irresponsible regional MP Mr. Sowerby results in Sowerby's ancestral home being foreclosed on by his nouveau riche creditors—and filter down to Trollope's treatment of Barsetshire's geography.

In the moment that the narrator references the map in *Framley Parsonage*, he also makes something of a covert admission. The narrator begins an extensive description of the poor parish of Hoggstock by fixing its location in relation to the wealthier Framley:

There is a parish called Hoggstock lying away quite in the northern extremity of the eastern division of the county,—lying also on the borders of the western division. I almost fear that it will become necessary, before this history be completed, to provide a map of Barsetshire for the due explanation of all these localities. Framley is also in the northern portion of the county, but just to the south of the grand trunk line of the railway from which the branch to Barchester strikes off at a point some thirty miles nearer to London. (129)

In the *Autobiography* excerpt quoted above, Trollope suggests he had been drawing a map long before this passage appears, perhaps even before he composed the novel itself. On the map Hoggstock indeed lies up in that “northern extremity of the eastern division,” whereas wealthier Framley is in the “northern portion,” not the “northern extremity,” an important class distinction tied to distance from Barchester. An important dividing line throughout the county is the Great Western Railway, suggestively called the “grand trunk line” (reminiscent of the Grand Trunk Road that would later be so important to Kipling, as discussed in Chapter One). The mention of the Barchester Branch Line of the railway points to the relative isolation of Barchester and indicates that the provincial center is a whole thirty miles from the junction with the grand trunk line. But just as the *Autobiography* and this passage confuse the map's author and date of composition, there are some problems with this initial description of a section of Barsetshire represented on

the map. The first of which is that this first paragraph referencing the idea of a map does little to add to our knowledge of the social layout of the county, something much better described by the opening paragraph to *The Warden*. Second, Barchester is actually more like 20 or 22 miles from the train junction if a reader counts by the scale provided in the map's bottom left. And finally, from *The Warden* we already know that Barsetshire is somewhere in the "West of England"—and we know anyway from the label on the Old Coach Road that reads "To London"—so this and the issue with the train distance renders the map's scale and the compass rose functionally useless. Instead, they just signify of the sketch's status as a map. The precise cartographic term for a map like this is a "cartogram," a graphical representation of certain features of a space that does not actually enable navigation of that space. The novel map's inoperability is something that will recur throughout this chapter, functionally giving way to novelistic narration, a feature of literature designed exactly to do the job the map purports to do.

But in fact, this is a feature, not a bug. The map's inoperability and its lack of explicitly represented geographic context at its edges instead attunes *Framley Parsonage* to those areas of the county that fall near its outermost boundaries, and pushes the narrator to explore those uncharted zones. In the next two sentences of the description of the county, the narrator attempts to provide a bird's-eye view but winds up detailing the dark, misformed flora at the county's edge:

Barsetshire, taken altogether, is a pleasant green tree-be-crowded county, with large bosky [i.e. bushy] hedges, pretty damp deep lanes, and roads with broad grass margins running along them. Such is the general nature of the county; but just up in its northern extremity this nature alters. There it is bleak and ugly, with low artificial hedges and without wood; not uncultivated, as it is all portioned out into new-looking large fields, bearing turnips, and wheat, and mangel, all in due course of agricultural rotation; but it has none of the special beauties of English cultivation. (130)

Both the manmade and natural features of the landscape darken and warp as the narrative approaches the map's edge. There is agriculture present, but only wheat and two unappealing root vegetables. (Mangel is a beet grown for livestock feed.) As the narrator moves further north, he writes, "In [the county's] northern extremity nature alters," evacuating the agency from this description and instead indicated with suspicion that somehow, things are different as the map begins to end. There are no humans, but there are traces of human activity: the hedges have been trimmed, the fields are "not uncultivated," "large," and "new-looking," almost as if Trollope's narrator is having a vision of the agricultural revolutions that were filtering down from the North of England to the Southwest, which Hardy would write about later in the century (and which is the subject of Chapter Four's final section). The crops are being rotated, but the omniscient narrator does not tell us by whom.

What the narrator can judge, though, is that the agriculture "has none of the special beauties of English cultivation." This phrase, "English cultivation," had special meaning for Trollope as both a literary ideal and a social one. "English" was often used as a civilizational descriptor in this era. At the end of his appreciation of Trollope, James writes: "A race is fortunate when it has a good deal of the sort of imagination—of imaginative feeling—that had fallen to the share of Anthony Trollope. Our English race, happily, has much of it."¹⁴¹ James reacts here to Trollope's fixation on "English cultivation" as a narrative ideal, and his belief, according to Catherine Hall, in the link between racialized Englishness and the project of British imperialism. Hall importantly points out that Trollope conceived of imperialism as ethnographically informed: "For

¹⁴¹ James, "Anthony Trollope," July 1883, 395.

Trollope the empire was part of everyday Englishness, part of what was distinctive about the Anglo-Saxon race. This did not mean that he was sympathetic to imperial expansion. It was important, he believed, that the ‘Old World’ should make informed judgments about the ‘New.’”¹⁴² This optimistically benevolent conception of British imperialism also describes Trollope’s relationship to the “northern extremity” and “western division” of Barsetshire. Trollope’s map, heading an extensive multi-part elaboration of social life, is a rehearsal for future ethnographies and surveys, the proliferation of lacunae and blank edges indexing both an unease about cultural life beyond prototypical Englishness and a concurrent dedication to representing that experience, even with negative space. In an extensive treatment of Trollope’s map of Barsetshire, one critic gives voice to Trollope’s enthusiasm for Englishness:

Courcy, too, 12 miles to the south [of Silverbridge, near Hoggstock], does not share the full richness of Barset. It has the air of slight decay, of shabby tinsel, from which even the wealth of Gatherum Castle is not entirely free. There are many broken fences, and many tenant farmers hard pressed to pay their rent, in West Barset.

Not so in the other division. The fat glebe lands of Plumstead, the age-old oaks of Ullathorne, the rich pastures of Greshamsbury, the fertile cornlands of Framley—all these indicate prosperity rooted deep in good English earth. And in Barchester itself, the shady nooks, the quiet corners, the hallowed cloisters, and the sacred, time-weathered stones of the cathedral, all mutely express to God the humble gratitude of those worthy folk who live and work and play in the dearest of English counties. Long may they endure!¹⁴³

These two paragraphs, which conclude an article previously taken with “surveying... [a] completed map of Barsetshire,” takes up Trollope’s own language in constructing its own critical survey, using “division” (from *Framley Parsonage*) to indicate the split between East and West Barset, and amplifying “dear county” (from the *Autobiography*) to

¹⁴² Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Colony and Metropole in the English Imagination, 1830-1867* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 211.

¹⁴³ Lance O. Tingay, “Mapmaking in Barsetshire,” *Trollopian* 3, no. 1 (1948): 32.

“dearest county.” In describing the “prosperity” of East Barset as “rooted deep in good English earth,” this critic gives voice to the Trollopian idea that the land you reside in reflects something essential about your character. *Framley Parsonage* does not go full-on into the racial calculus for which Trollope’s travel writings are infamous, but it nonetheless draws a straight line between land ownership and personal worth.

Trollope’s narrator knows, in his sly way, this belief is unfair to certain members of the community. Moving from the map’s emergence in the narrative to discussing the discrepancy of incomes between Mark Robarts, Framley’s vicar, and Mr. Crawley, curate of Hogglestock, the narrator remarks, “Our present arrangement of parochial incomes is beloved as being time-honoured, gentlemanlike, English, and picturesque. We would fain adhere to it closely as long as we can, but we know that we do so by the force of our prejudices, and not by that of our judgment” (131). The proximity of satisfaction and criticism, the suggestion that the county’s “prejudices” are “beloved,” recalls the narrator’s previous oscillation between a close geographic description the “northern extremity” and a broader commentary on Barsetshire. Yoking together local practices of gentility (“time-honoured, gentlemanlike, English”) with the “picturesque,” here a semi-metaphoric descriptor indicating both beautiful landscape and social propriety, casts wealth inequality as a national tradition. The narrator presents this in a satiric light, later exclaiming, “How pleasant it was, too, that one bishop should be getting fifteen thousand a year and another with an equal cure of parsons only four!” but the scalar oscillation of the novel’s spatial perspectives indicates that social practice in Barsetshire could serve as a model for other English counties (131). In a discussion of “Trollopian ‘Foreign Policy’” in *The Warden*, Lauren Goodlad calls Barsetshire the “autoethnographic synecdoche” for

geographically rooted English provincial identity.¹⁴⁴ This connection between English provincial rootedness and the mobility of Trollopian provincialism characterizes the link the narrator draws between the Barsetshire map and the narrative's geographic descriptions of the spaces the map indexes.

Our knowledge of those spaces tends to be filtered through the individual failings of the novel's characters, casting the map as a catalogue of provincial indebtedness, romantic misfires, and, eventually, property foreclosure. When Mr. Sowerby defaults on his loans, including several mortgages, his ancestral home Chaldicotes and the surrounding woods are to be seized by the Duke of Omnium, a more powerful noble politician. Sowerby, desperate to save his family's estate, courts and attempts to marry Mrs. Dunstable, the heir to an ointment fortune, but she sees through Sowerby's ruse. Thinking his heart pure despite his dishonorable motives, Mrs. Dunstable pays some of his debts, saving the Chaldicotes house, but allowing the Chace of Chaldicotes, a surrounding wooded area that the map indicates is northwest of Barsetshire, to fall to the Duke. On the eve of the property transfer, Sowerby walks out into the Chace:

It was a melancholy, dreary place now, that big house of Chaldicotes; and though the woods were all green with their early leaves, and the garden thick with flowers, they also were melancholy and dreary. The lawns were untrimmed and weeds were growing through the gravel, and here and there a cracked Dryad, tumbled from her pedestal and sprawling in the grass, gave a look of disorder to the whole place. The wooden trellis-work was shattered here and bending there, the standard rose-trees were stooping to the ground, and the leaves of the winter still encumbered the borders. Late in the evening of the second day Mr. Sowerby strolled out, and went through the gardens into the wood. Of all the inanimate things of the world this wood of Chaldicotes was the dearest to him. He was not a man to whom his companions gave much credit for feelings or thoughts akin to poetry, but here, out in the Chace, his mind would be almost poetical. While wandering among the forest trees, he became susceptible of the tenderness of human nature. He would listen to the birds singing, and pick here and there a wild flower on his path. He would watch the decay of the old trees and the progress of

¹⁴⁴ Goodlad, *The Victorian Geopolitical Aesthetic*, 72.

the young, and make pictures in his eyes of every turn in the wood. He would mark the colour of a bit of road as it dipped into a dell, and then, passing through a water-course, rose brown, rough, irregular, and beautiful against the bank on the other side. And then he would sit and think of his old family, how they had roamed there time out of mind in those Chaldicotes woods, father and son and grandson in regular succession, each giving them over, without blemish or decrease, to his successor. So he would sit; and so he did sit even now, and, thinking of these things, wished that he had never been born. (338)

The scene seems quite lovely, reminiscent of earlier descriptions of county beauty.

Shaggy foliage and artful decay is a species of “English cultivation” that typifies West Barset. The eventual gloominess of the scene is amplified by Sowerby’s own dejection at betraying his familial responsibility to maintain ownership of the Chace. The affective burdens of the Chace’s loss, then, depends on Sowerby’s ancestral ties to the land and his intimate knowledge of its every tree and trellis. When the narrator writes, “[T]hough the woods were all green with their early leaves, and the garden thick with flowers, they also were melancholy and dreary,” the logical break between the first two clauses and the last aligns Sowerby’s representation of the Chace with the cartographer Arthur R. Hinks’ earlier account of the early military survey of the Scottish Highlands being “afterwards extended over the whole of Scotland, and was the first official map of our country.” Both sentences frame an account of a discrete space that elides the distinction between the surveying of a provincial space and the account of its map’s creation. Analogous to the Ordnance Survey’s origins in the campaign against the Jacobite Rising and the consequent suppression of the link between the two events, the authority of the blank-edged map that presides over *Framley Parsonage*’s representations of Barsetshire geography depends on local residents shouldering the burdens of land dispossession.

Focusing on the map and the novels at a broad formal scale, it’s easy to forget that the way both Trollope and we connect geography with narrative in these novels is from

passages like this. These descriptions of the landscape and these family histories are buried underneath every place name, every illustration on the map, and every road marking. In a moment of provincial micro-historicism, this passage connects Sowerby's ancestry and financial difficulties with the map labels "Chaldicotes" and "Chase of Chaldicotes," thereby giving formal precedence to the narrator's account of Sowerby's troubles over the narrator's own profession of *needing* to "provide a map of Barsetshire for the due explanation of all these localities" (129). This ties together Sowerby's financial failure to his imagined family history as a unitary backstory for the ownership transfer of Barsetshire land, implicating Sowerby in a key aspect of the map's creation while disconnecting the narrator, author, and the *Chronicles of Barsetshire* series at large from the local effects of mapping of this provincial space, which is to open it up to financial speculation and property foreclosure. If, as Rachel Sagner Buurma claims, the narrator of each Barsetshire novel must be treated independently from the models of omniscience presented in each of the other five novels, then the collective mapping of Barsetshire over the course of the series implies that the treasure map has not one but many anonymous cartographers, from putatively omniscient narrators to the figure (and hand) of Trollope himself to the Barsetshire residents whose lives are upended by their own financial mismanagement (or their families') and forms of speculation dependent on their provincial histories being rendered into cartographic form.¹⁴⁵

This complex formal arrangement conditions the realism that undergirds *Framley Parsonage* and *The Chronicles of Barsetshire* at large, the second consequence of implicating a local resident in the narration of his own property foreclosure and the

¹⁴⁵ Rachel Sagner Buurma, "The Fictionality of Topic Modeling: Machine Reading Anthony Trollope's Barsetshire Series," *Big Data & Society* 2, no. 2 (December 2015): 4.

construction of the treasure map. Sowerby's genealogical history at the end of the passage routes, through the preceding ecological aestheticizing, the responsibility for the passing of Barsetshire land from longtime residents to wealthy newcomers back to his own financial mismanagement. Sowerby places the image of the "regular succession" of his family exploring the Chace "time out of mind" in direct tension with his wish to have "never been born." *Framley Parsonage*'s representation of Chaldicotes and the adjoining Chace flattens Trollope's elaborations of local history into Sowerby's abjuring of his hereditary landownership, underscoring the map's cartographic isolation of the novel's narrative from the rest of *The Chronicles of Barsetshire*'s adjacent but separate narratives. The Barsetshire map's blank edges confines the setting of each individual novel even as it creates, for *Framley Parsonage* and the series at large, a deep system of internal reference between each individual provincial location, its local history, and its potential exposure to the kind of dispossession Sowerby faces. Scott's borders are in Trollope organized into a system of provincial geographies multiply administered both by locals and by outsiders' wealth and influence. The map's blank edges and inoperable cartographic apparatus mediate between the narrator's extensive knowledge of Barsetshire's geography and the country's uncertain location in the West Country at large. As Scott's borders pass into Trollope's map, the militarily-enforced sovereignty of the former becomes systematized into the institutional regulation of the latter's society. Trollope's experiments with Victorian realism formally connects cartographic blankness with the movement of wealth that attends the property transfer and foreclosure. Though the characters and valuable object of external desire are of a markedly different ethical valence in Trollope than in Stevenson and Haggard, the former's cartographic

manipulations of the novel's relationship with representing and charting local geographies allows the provincial novel map to become the treasure map overseas. Charting the social regulation of provincial life lays the groundwork for the fantasies of territorial control that undergirded the treasure seeking expeditions of the imperial romance in the era of New Imperialism.

Drawing Trollope's cartography into later narratives of British imperialism not only develops new understandings of how mainland British texts underwrite later representations of colonial spaces; it also conditions the types of anti-colonial resistance that later become possible in empire fiction and beyond. At the root of this formal historicism of Trollope's realism—that is, on the scene of narration itself—an unexpected locus of resistance to British imperialism emerges. At a signal moment of provincial dispossession in the novel, the landscape also becomes a retreat from the map, one of the few moments in *Framley Parsonage* where cartographic realism breaks down, and an episode of startlingly intense free indirect style—tellingly similar to *Waverley*'s Castle Stirling fantasia—takes over the narrative. Sowerby's reverie in the Chace is a quiet moment of disturbance to Trollopian realism, suggesting that amidst the map's claims to the property, nature, and social life of Barsetshire as its territory, the exaggerated register of Sowerby's "poetical" musings and Trollope's narrators' ironic remove offer an escape from their anonymous omniscience. In *Treasure Island*, we will see how the parodic playfulness of the narration comports with the wild invention of the island locale, suggesting that Stevenson's novel is a testing site for depictions of colonial space that admit resistances to the territorial control exerted by the treasure map. H. Rider Haggard's drive to outsell Stevenson is well known. Along with a reading of the literary

politics of this maneuver, I show how Haggard's return to colonially administered space in the southern African interior and his adoption of a self-serious tone that aspires to adventure heroism attempts to sharply correct Stevenson's loosening of the imperial yoke. In *King Solomon's Mines*, New Imperial treasure hunting depends on using colonial maps to identify targets on indigenous land for massacre, summary execution, and other forms of imperial violence.

***Treasure Island's* Authorial Deceptions**

That *Treasure Island* appeared on the literary scene as Trollope was leaving it is a fitting historical coincidence. Stevenson's novel began its life as a serial in the children's magazine *Young Folks* in 1881-82 and appeared a single volume in 1883 (xxxii). It was not until the latter date that readers saw the treasure map of the island, printed in the frontmatter of the novel, that has become indelibly associated with Stevenson's work. Though Stevenson's novel has, at turns, been appraised as children's literature, adventure fiction, and imperial romance,¹⁴⁶ the compositional placement of the map might seem to align the novel with a sort of realism not unlike that employed by Trollope. The treasure map exists outside the text of the novel, and therefore contains and authorizes the text that comes after it. But the treasure map's claim to narrative authority, however, is a faint. As I'll show in this section, in *Treasure Island* the map's prominent placement

¹⁴⁶ See, for instance, Robert Kiely, *Robert Louis Stevenson and the Fiction of Adventure*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964); Edwin M. Eigner, *Robert Louis Stevenson and the Romantic Tradition*. (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1966); William Blackburn, "Mirror in the Sea: Treasure Island and the Internalization of Juvenile Romance," *Children's Literature Association Quarterly* 8, no. 3 (Fall 1983): 7-12.

points to three deceptions about authorship, a trio of cognitive challenges inherent in the novel's form that are as playful as the novel's mischievous take on the imperial romance. This formal mischief, though, when viewed alongside the fictionality of the novel's locale and the simultaneous appeals to different generic traditions, speaks to the novel's skepticism about the presumed cultural value of imperial plunder.

The novel presents its first deception before the plot even gets underway. Traditionally, the treasure map has been set in the novel's frontmatter, putting it on a discursive level commensurate with the author. In fact, when *Treasure Island* appeared in its first volume edition in 1883, the map appeared before the title page that bore Stevenson's name, which means that it appeared before Stevenson's name was ever officially associated with his novel. Originally, Stevenson serialized the novel under the pseudonym Captain George North in the children's periodical *Young Folks* from 1881-82.¹⁴⁷ Stevenson added the map, along with his name, to the novel for the first time when it appeared as a book. Therefore, the novel's emergence from categorization as children's fiction on to a wider literary stage—in a serious-looking red cloth volume strikingly reminiscent of the record books kept by the colonial departments of the British Home Office—was typographically led by the addition of the treasure map before the newly introduced author. In the 1883 edition, the treasure map appears between the half title and the full title page, casting this illustration for young readers' adventure fiction as an essential feature of the novel with an authority on par with the narrator's.¹⁴⁸ (Perhaps

¹⁴⁷ Peter Hunt, "Note on the Text," in *Treasure Island, or The Mutiny of the Hispaniola*, by Robert Louis Stevenson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), xxxii.

¹⁴⁸ The half title is the page in a book containing just the title of the work without the author's name or any publication information, generally the first page a reader sees after opening a book's cover. The title page follows, containing the names of authors, editors, and translators, as well as publication information,

because the modern reader cannot be relied upon to read frontmatter, or perhaps to emphasize the distinctiveness of the critical apparatus of different scholarly editions, some modern editions place the map directly before the first page of the first chapter.)¹⁴⁹ This aspiration to authority, however, breaks down as the novel begins, its setting in familiar English locales—a country inn in the South West on a coastal road leading to Bristol—strikingly different from the island adventure it ostensibly promises. An older Jim Hawkins opens the novel with a frame narrative: “Squire Trelawney, Dr. Livesey, and the rest of these gentlemen having asked me to write down the whole particulars about Treasure Island... I take up my pen in the year of grace 17—, and go back to the time when my father kept the ‘Admiral Benbow’ inn...” (9). In the novel, multiple narrator figures appear in the text and paratext, the treasure map being just one of them. Aside from the events of the plot, the playful fun of the map as well as its spatial imagination derive from the pinging back and forth between these positions, mimicking the characters’ movements around the island, and a reader’s attempts to trace of the plot action around the map’s surface as the novel proceeds.

As with other Victorian novel maps, though, it is extraordinarily difficult to trace the plot action on this map. Even more so than Trollope’s, Stevenson’s map is visually overwhelmed by ersatz cartographic signifiers. Recalling illustrations on early maps, like those of Herman Moll and other leading marine cartographers, Stevenson’s map shows

edition, and other important bibliographic information. *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 15th ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), secs. 1.5, 1.9.

¹⁴⁹ Stevenson, *Treasure Island*, 2011, 8; Robert Louis Stevenson, *Treasure Island* (1883; repr., New York: Dover, 1993), viii. Admirably, the current Penguin and Broadview editions still place their maps before the novel’s title page. As mentioned, parenthetical citations here are from the Oxford edition, mainly due to that edition’s superior scholarly apparatus, the appearance of the treasure map notwithstanding. Robert Louis Stevenson, *Treasure Island; or, The Mutiny of the Hispaniola*, ed. John D. Seelye (1883; repr., New York: Penguin, 1999), ii; Robert Louis Stevenson, *Treasure Island*, ed. John Sutherland (1883; repr., Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview, 2012), 2.

two ships sailing in the periphery of the island. If we're to believe the lavishly illustrated scale at the top of the map, those ships would have to be at least a mile long and just as high, which would have been unthinkable for a schooner like the *Hispaniola*, the adventuring party's trustworthy and considerably more compact ship. But what's most striking about the ships floating around Stevenson's map is not that they exist, but that there are two of them to begin with. A secret island full of treasure, one would think, would seem to call for one ship with a modest crew to maximize the take for all involved. In the southeastern corner of the map, an ornate compass rose spreads navigational lines across the map. Because of the island's secret location, there is naturally no contextual geography or lines of longitude and latitude, and it seems as though the succession of mountainous hills that dominate the island's topography would make navigation via cardinal directions more difficult than simply navigating from one topographic landmark to another, as Jim eventually does when he strikes off on his own following the mutiny. What is striking about this compass rose, though, is that its directional lines run underneath the island, visually foregrounding the graphical representation of the novel's primary geography. The lines pass over the southwestern ship, avoid the northern ship, and stop at the scale to the north, and Billy Bones' annotations running along the treasure map's southern edge. In this way, the compass rose's defines the navigable space as the roads and railways do in Trollope's *Barsetshire* map. Stevenson's use of these functionally limited cartographic paraphernalia winds up fairly precisely delimiting the navigable space of the island and its surrounding waters, even if the map still cannot help enable that navigation.

This fairly exact laying out of where the adventuring party can travel around the island makes the blankness at the map's edge seem all the more forbidding. Unlike in Trollope's description of the flora and agriculture in the "northern extremity," here there is no flirtation with the waters beyond the map's borders. The crew, of course, don't know where exactly in the Spanish Main the island is, but the solidification of the map's blank edges has the effect of casting the entire Spanish Main as unknowable waters. The Spanish Main was used at this time as a catchall term for the Caribbean and interior Gulf waters of the Americas, so this renders massive swaths of densely inhabited territory with a complex colonial history off limits to the adventurers. This casts the treasure map as a powerful intellectual barrier to the historical preconditions of colonial adventuring and, indeed, to the imperial romance genre itself. The blank edges' censoring of colonial history, especially in the eighteenth-century Caribbean and Americas, deepens the adventurers' ties to England. Without the danger of "going native"—indeed, with very little population to come into contact with at all—the adventurers are relieved of the need to perform their nationalism for an indigenous audience (a task that Haggard takes on with ostentatious gusto), and instead frees Stevenson to tell a familiar tale of privateers versus pirates once the *Hispaniola* arrives on the island.¹⁵⁰

The novel's second bit of formal mischief is that even though the treasure map is typeset outside of the narrative, it is fact produced, even more concretely than its equivalent in *Framley Parsonage*, from within it. Early in the novel, when Jim Hawkins, Squire Trelawney, and Dr. Livesey search the deceased Captain Flint's belongings for

¹⁵⁰ Like pirates, privateers are independent fortune seekers who often engaged hostile vessels at sea. Unlike pirates, privateers have a nominal interest in maintaining the rule of their home country and, in eighteenth-century Britain, were sometimes authorized to act on the crown's behalf.

clues as to the location of his legendary treasure cache, the adventuring party comes across a parcel containing “a book and a sealed paper” (37). The party spends some time going through the book, which is a hybrid diary and ledger, accounting for a life of piracy in symbols and monetary figures. “These crosses stand for the names of ships or towns that they sank or plundered,” the squire explains to Jim. “The sums are the scoundrel’s share, and where he feared an ambiguity, you see he added something clearer. ‘Offe Caraccas,’ now; you see, here was some unhappy vessel boarded off that coast. God help the poor souls that manned her—coral long ago” (38). The ledger places Captain Flint in the waters off Caracas, Venezuela, near the Leeward Islands and the eastern side of the Caribbean Sea, the location and meticulous record-keeping depicting the Captain as a professional pirate with exhaustive knowledge of the Spanish Main.

Upon finishing with the book, Dr. Livesey and the squire turn to the sealed paper, which is folded like an envelope:

The doctor opened the seals with great care, and there fell out the map of an island, with latitude and longitude, soundings, names of hills, and bays and inlets, and every particular that would be needed to bring a ship to a safe anchorage upon its shores. It was about nine miles long and five across, shaped, you might say, like a fat dragon standing up, and had two fine land-locked harbours, and a hill in the centre part marked “The Spy-glass.” There were several additions of a later date; but above all, three crosses of red ink—two on the north part of the island, one in the south-west, and, besides this last, in the same red ink, and in a small, neat hand, very different from the captain’s tottery characters, these words:—“Bulk of treasure here.” (38)

Much the inverse of what a treasure map promises, this passage primarily provides a way of appraising the map as an illustration rather than demonstrating how it might be used to find the treasure. This approach importantly reveals that the map is the product of multiple hands, and that someone else other than the Captain—the person with “small, neat” handwriting—had buried the treasure. It presents itself as a hybrid map and chart

(that is, representing both terrestrial and marine information), with depth markings near the harbor approaches as well as ‘X’ markings on land marking the locations of treasure. The map is a letter from the past, folded like an envelope in epistolary style, and marked by both Captain Flint and his mate William “Billy” Bones.

This map as described in the narrative, however, is not the one Stevenson reproduces in the frontmatter of *Treasure Island* (see Figure 2b)—the treasure map’s third contradiction. That reproduction has been altered by Jim Hawkins, notably in his removal of the coordinates of the island, which he admits in a tiny inscription in red on the bottom: “Facsimile of Chart, latitude and longitude struck out by J. Hawkins.” Upon the treasure map’s discovery, Jim turns the paper over and discovers a list of written directions for finding the treasure after landing at the island’s major harbor. From this point, Captain Smollett asks that the map be “kept secret” from him and the crew to avoid its theft and a mutiny—all of which, of course, happens anyway *because* of the secrecy surrounding the map (53, 63). Consequently, Jim never reveals the longitude and latitude of the island, instead relying on Captain Flint’s informal, relative directions:

“Tall tree, Spy glass shoulder, bearing a point to the N. of N.N.E.
 “Skeleton Island E.S.E. and by E.
 “Ten feet.
 “The bar silver is in the north cache; you can find it by the trend of the east hummock, ten fathoms south of the black crag with the face on it.
 “The arms are easily found, in the sand hill, N. point of north inlet cape, bearing E. and a quarter N.

“J.F.” (38)

The two different though not incompatible versions of locating the treasure casts graphical representation as the domain of history and confused authorship, and the list of directions as always anticipating armed conflict over the treasure. The captain’s use of “fathom,” a six-foot length measurement often used to denote marine depth,

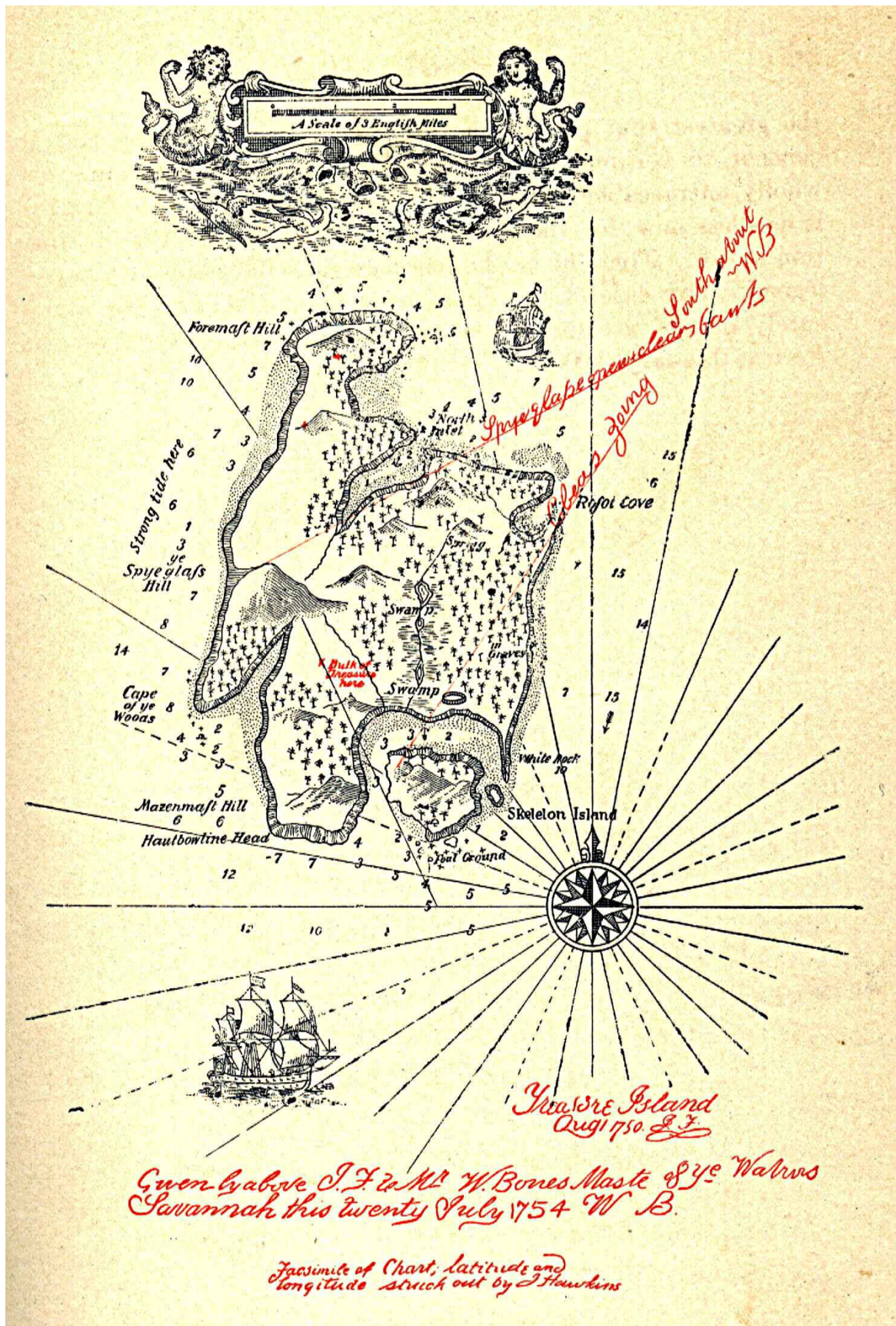


Figure 2b: Robert Louis Stevenson and Thomas Stevenson, treasure map for volume edition of *Treasure Island* (1883).

simultaneously evokes the surveying of the island with a depth seemingly just too shallow to bury a body at sea. Stevenson's overall effect is to make the narrator uncertain about the treasure's location but certain about the locations of the pirates' weapons, so that preparing to search for treasure is actually tantamount to preparing for armed conflict. As Jim's episode in the apple barrel indicates, in which he overhears a mutiny plan on board the ship, only former pirates and not the bourgeois-gentry coalition of the adventuring party understands this tacit rule of sea adventure. This misunderstanding occasions Jim's fleeing the landing party upon alighting at the island, and then his eventual encounter with Ben Gunn, the marooned sailor whose racial indeterminism makes him, in the narrator's calculus, the human key to finding the treasure. By the time the adventuring party and their pirate crew comes to Treasure Island, the treasure map is mostly forgotten.

By producing the treasure map from within the narrative and divorcing that map from the actual finding of the treasure, Stevenson calls attention to how the narrative's attempts to find a core, authentic experience of maritime adventure is an impossible task. This is true not only of Stevenson's narrative and that narrative's treasure map, but also Stevenson's own original sketch of the treasure map itself. By his own account, when Stevenson conceived of the idea for *Treasure Island*, he was sitting on top of a mountain in the Scottish Highlands, north of his parents' home where he was living at the time for reasons of financial expediency. According to his account of the novel's composition, Stevenson thought back to the pirates of *Robinson Crusoe*, looked out over the Highlands before him, and, inspired, drew a map of an island with a mountain in its center, bridging the rural British periphery and sea adventure fiction. From this map, the novel flowered

forth. This original Highland-born map, however, was lost in transit to Stevenson's publisher. Stevenson drew the replacement map we do have with some help from his father, who, as Stevenson writes, "*forged*" the crimson signature of Captain Flint and Billy Bones.¹⁵¹

If the treasure map is a facsimile, what did the original look like? Would the map have ascended to paradigmatic cultural status as *the* archetypal treasure map if we had actually gotten to see exactly what Jim, Captain Smollett, and Dr. Livesey discovered in Chapter VI? Sally Bushell calls this the problem of *Treasure Island*'s "Ur-map"—the original constantly present, but never seen.¹⁵² Jim's admission to recopying and redacting information from the original treasure map, along with Stevenson's redrawing of his own original with his father, deliberately conflates the positions of narrator and author (a familiar feature of the novels treated in this dissertation). "The map was the chief part of my plot," Stevenson says of the novel's composition.¹⁵³ And though important criticism has discussed the map as kind of origin point, its recopying, loss, revision, and disuse suggest that the novel really dramatizes the planned obsolescence of cartographic regimes.¹⁵⁴ Even as it somewhat reluctantly fulfills the adventurers' lust for treasure at the end, by popularizing the phrase "X marks the spot," this archetypal treasure map advertises its novel's dénouement as an inevitable set of spatial coordinates. In this sense,

¹⁵¹ Robert Louis Stevenson, "My First Book," *McClure's Magazine* 3, no. 4 (September 1894): 288, 292, emphasis in original.

¹⁵² Bushell also applies this idea to *King Solomon's Mines*. However, Bushell's comparative analysis of Stevenson and Haggard in the context of some new concepts in cartographic theory is less convincing than her individual readings. Sally Bushell, "Mapping Victorian Adventure Fiction: Silences, Doublings, and the Ur-Map in *Treasure Island* and *King Solomon's Mines*," *Victorian Studies* 57, no. 4 (Summer 2015): 633.

¹⁵³ Stevenson, "My First Book," 292.

¹⁵⁴ See Monica F. Cohen, "Imitation Fiction: Pirate Citings in Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island*," *Victorian Literature and Culture* 41, no. 01 (March 2013): 153–173; Deane, "Imperial Boyhood."

the arc of the treasure map's rise runs tangent to John Plotz's idea of portable property, since for Plotz, portability implies a conception of British culture "in its most particularist and nonteleological sense."¹⁵⁵ Stevenson's treasure map, by contrast, is all telos, and the presence of not one but three X marks on the map makes the novel's plot teleology into a guessing game as to where spatially the adventurers will end up. To Plotz's point, the treasure map is eminently portable, and it presents a very particular vision of British imperial culture in the friction between the map's blank edges and the narrative's ability to reach the homeland. By graphically representing the primary space of the plot, but allowing the narrative to extend beyond the map's blank edges, from Treasure Island to the outskirts of Bristol, the Admiral Benbow inn, Jim's overbearing parents, and the rest of Britain and its reading public, Stevenson's novel dramatizes the connection between a domestic conception of English life and Britain's late nineteenth-century overseas expeditions that sought plunder along with territory. On top of this, the novel's generalized eighteenth-century historical setting along with the treasure map's use in the service of piracy points to how pirates, who had, in the eighteenth century been one challenge to the overseas influence sought by the British crown, had become a playful way to glorify violence on the high seas while concealing the maintenance of imperial sovereignty resultant from treasure seeking by privateers loyal to the crown.¹⁵⁶

Though the treasure map is portable, it's at once unclear who it belongs to: is it property, or loot? Of the three authors examined in this chapter, Stevenson is most

¹⁵⁵ Plotz, *Portable Property*, 20–21.

¹⁵⁶ According to Ymitri Mathison, the Stevenson's treasure map is the archetypal cartographic instantiation of this tendency. Ymitri Mathison, "Maps, Pirates and Treasure: The Commodification of Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century Boys' Adventure Fiction," in *The Nineteenth-Century Child and Consumer Culture*, ed. Dennis Denisoff (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008), 176–77.

interested in the dubious moral status of plunder, be it legally obtained or ill-gotten. There's no question as to whose property is whose in Trollope, as the drama of his plots frequently turns on property's strictly delineated changing of hands, and even in some cases the particular material and legal status of the paperwork that makes property transfer possible. And Haggard wastes little ink wondering whether the death of past adventurers who have contributed to Allan Quatermain's map might mean he owes them a figurative or literal debt, or whether murdering indigenous peoples and ransacking their sacred diamond chamber should give Quatermain's band pause. Remembrances of ransacking and native death in Haggard in fact end up as domestic kitsch, adorning Sir Henry's home in England. Just as Stevenson's treasure map testifies to having multiple authors, the conditions of its ownership are analogously unclear. For a piece of paper meant to enable the exploitation of a discrete colonial geography, the treasure map is as poor a license to plunder as it is a navigational tool.

The mobility the map enables also implies liability—the liability of turning a fictional island into an imperial playground for financial gain—with the island's indeterminate geographic coordinates reflecting back upon the more precisely located roots of the parties to that imperial adventuring. The treasure map has its origins in a typically English set of adventurers drawn from the seaport towns of the South West. For Stevenson and Trollope, born in Edinburgh and London, respectively, their focus on the West of England speaks to an attempt to ground their obsessively drawn fictional locales in the cultural authority of West Country provincial heritage. Whereas the intersection of Trollope's realism and cartographic imagination, I've claimed, puts forward the local history of land ownership as his novel's central interest, Stevenson's cartographically-

authorized imperial romance is double edged, wanting to straddle the Spanish Main and the English coast, planting the British flag and treating enemies of the Empire benevolently. By removing his plot from the British mainland and setting it in a land created purely from his imagination—but by also tethering it, beyond the treasure map's blank edges, to the West Country—Stevenson removes British adventuring from its piratical and expansionist histories and from its imperial present to the realm of fantasy, while at once knowing that performing this maneuver while casting a critical eye to rapid imperial expansionism is impossible. His treasure map embodies these contradictions: an imperial graphic that disavows its ability to be sourced—all versions, no original—except back along its geographic traces to the English provinces, along the quiet coastal roads outside Bristol, in a room upstairs at the Admiral Benbow inn.

Haggard's Bad Romance

These treasure maps' ideological work is structured by a tension between a typographical dislocation from the text of the novel and their embeddedness in its narrative. This isolation from a broader geographic context and a larger moral world renders the space more vulnerable to exploration, seizure, and exploitation (or, in Trollope, at least property foreclosure). The way that the novel, therefore, represents people close to the land is doubly ethically charged. When Jim Hawkins encounters the Ben Gunn in *Treasure Island*, he describes him as “a white man like myself” with a physiognomy that is “burnt by the sun; even his lips were black.” What is important about this racialization of the person who is also the key upon which the plot turns is not

only that Gunn's closeness to the treasure turns him "black," but also that this blackness comes from exposure to a space created whole cloth by the map for imperial plunder. Inasmuch as this chapter might treat two empire fictions that are species of adventure fiction, one way that adventure registers is in the cartographic creation of an imperial space where the conquerors' enrichment depends on instrumentalizing landed knowledge: of ancestral Barsetshire residents in Trollope and of the "man of the island" in Stevenson. Treasure maps' inability to enable navigation and their blank edges are both negative kinds of formal knowledge. The novel's detailed representations of these places and especially the moments on which the plots turn—the division of the Chaldicotes estate, the discovery of the treasure—depends on knowing the history and topographic intricacies of the land. Though the ethical stakes of losing a ritzy back yard and stealing buried treasure are wildly different, Mr. Sowerby and Ben Gunn are nonetheless both instrumentalized by the narrative to pry free a source of wealth from the very land they are close to, and furthermore their connection to the disconnected geographies portrayed by their respective novel maps set up the narrative climaxes of both novels by exposing their land to exploitation by outsiders. Whether in Barsetshire, Treasure Island, or in Haggard's Kukuanaaland, these maps' dislocations from their broader geographical contexts of the West Country, the Spanish Main, and Sub-Saharan Africa spurns a search for a geographic informant to bridge the formal framework of these novels' cartographic narrative operations and the interlopers' avarice.

The blank edges in Haggard's map for *King Solomon's Mines* (see Figure 2c) testify to one of the many original moral failings of his novel: his inability to imagine individual the interior lives of the Kukuana. Perhaps this is unsurprising, given that

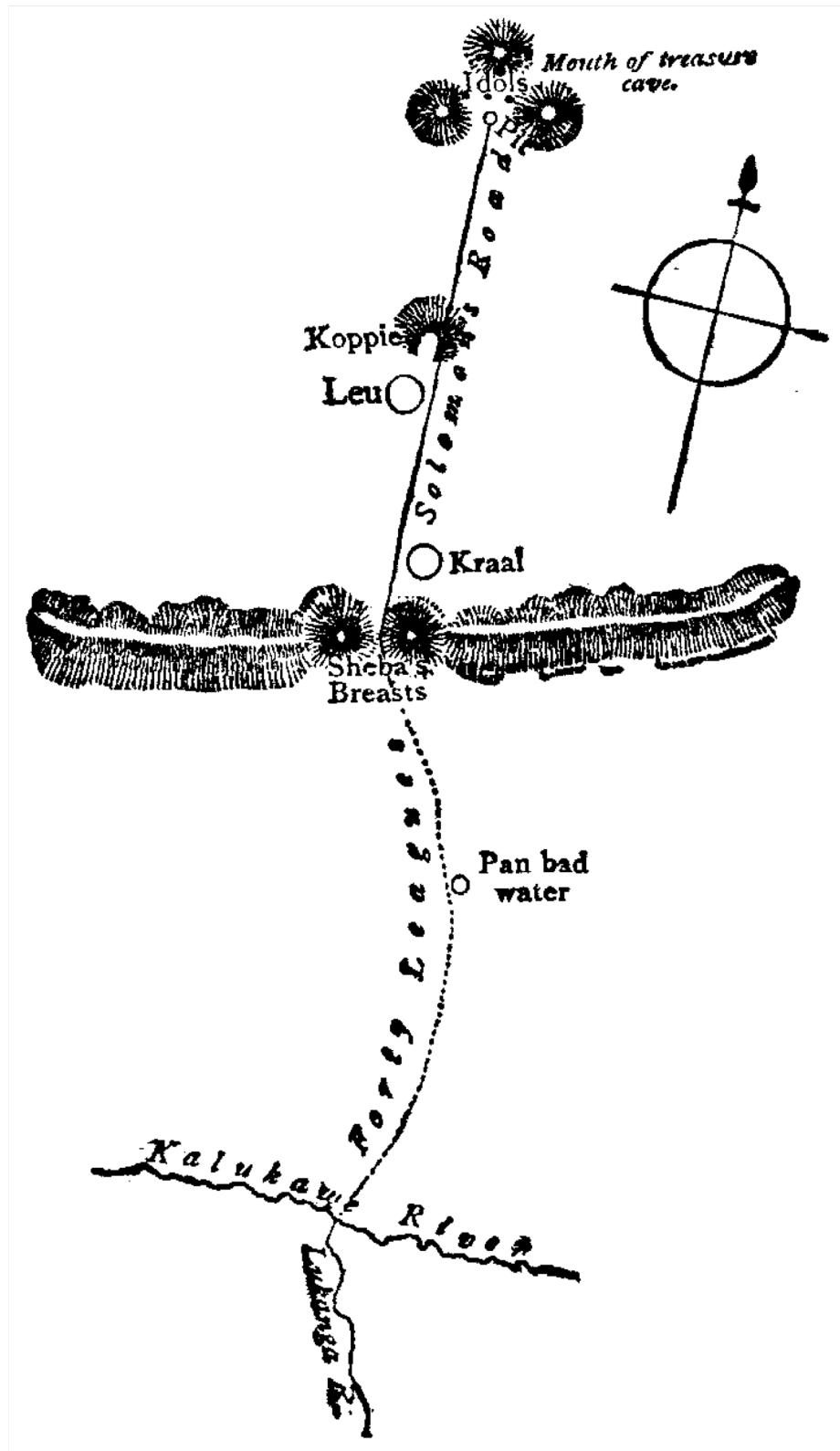


Figure 2c: H. Rider Haggard, British treasure map for *King Solomon's Mines* (1885).

Haggard invents this African tribe for the purpose of providing his Allan Quatermain's adventurers with armed resistance in their quest to violently dominate barely-charted native land and strip that land of its own buried treasure. Anne McClintock's essential analysis of Haggard's treasure map turns on the blank edges of colonial maps, which she claims mark "the failure of knowledge"—that is, of colonial lands and their inhabitants—"and hence the tenuousness of possession." McClintock reads Haggard's treasure map as a sexualized figure of a woman's body tuned upside down, embodying Haggard's reaction against his tenuous knowledge of African peoples and the British Empire's tenuous hold on Africa by narrating the male adventurers' imperial rape of Kukuanaaland.¹⁵⁷

This machismo that spurs Quatermain's adventurers forward resonates with the story of the novel's creation, in which Haggard's brother bet him that an unknown author could not possibly write a "thriller" superior to *Treasure Island*.¹⁵⁸ He wrote the novel that became *King Solomon's Mines* in just a few months, and after many rejections, Stevenson's own publisher Cassel & Company took it at first on a limited basis. In order to hedge what they thought was a gamble of their own on to a surer thing, Cassel's ratified the comparison of Haggard's wager into their marketing and typesetting by using the same bright red cloth binding and gold lettering for *King Solomon's Mines* as was used for *Treasure Island*, suggesting that the two volumes came from the same series. The novel almost immediately became the bestseller of 1885 and one of the most popular novels of the nineteenth century.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 28.

¹⁵⁸ Quoted in Monsman, "Introduction: Of Diamonds and Deities in *King Solomon's Mines*," 11.

¹⁵⁹ Monsman, 11–12.

Haggard ostensibly wanted to cash in, and cash in big on the imperial adventure fiction craze Stevenson had ignited, but the aura surrounding his novel and its creation myth obscures the political motivations behind Haggard's work. The story of the wager makes the novel seem like a product of genius spurned by the establishment—a small bet with a family member producing a sales juggernaut and a great work of empire fiction. The five shillings the writer wagered—about 23 pounds or thirty U.S. dollars today—would have been a significant sum to Haggard, who had just returned from Africa from a colonial administrative position that had started out as unpaid favor to his father, and as such was struggling financially. He had multiple brothers, all of whom had been educated at prestigious boarding schools, but Haggard instead was forced to attend a local grammar school due to his ancient landed family's descent into insolvency. When his novel was published, Cassell's decision to make the binding resemble *Treasure Island* suggests anxiety that *King Solomon's Mines* might not have been a successful book without Stevenson's deep following built by his novel and its prior serialization (1881-82), when it did not have lookalikes to rely on. So, *King Solomon's Mines* was, in fact, the big break of a struggling man, a representative of a dying aristocracy standing on the shoulders of a more successful parvenu.

Most crucially, Haggard's bet with Stevenson's success reflected the former's desire to intervene in contemporaneous conversations about the future of the British Empire. When Haggard's romantic fantasy successfully, if inartfully, one-upped Stevenson's novel, it meant that Victorian and early Modernist empire fiction would labor for decades in the shadow of Haggard's disguising of rampant imperial expansion in the form of adolescent masculine adventure, a turn aligned with the concurrent

movement away from the benevolent imperialism of mid-century and toward the militarized “New Imperialism” operative from the 1880s until World War I. The way this all plays out is indeed boyish, both in the political sphere—the “Scramble for Africa,” the major imperial initiative of the 1880s, is a name that could have been coined by a thriller writer or one of his adolescent heroes—and in Haggard’s dedication of the novel, “To all the big and little boys who read it,” written in an imitation of Stevenson’s address to an originally young audience (37). Haggard gleefully links the masculinist swagger of his literary ambitions, political views, and characters’ attitudes toward imperial adventure with the violent possession of native land.

This is complicated, however, by the fact that Haggard’s novel has two treasure maps. The famous map justly read as representing the sexual domination of a feminized landscape appears, differently from others examined here, in-line in the novel’s text at the moment of its emergence from the notebook of Sir Henry, the gentleman benefactor of the novel’s diamond quest who evokes Stevenson’s Squire Trelawney in his decorum. The other treasure map is an older version on which Sir Henry’s was based, and appears, as others do, in the frontmatter of the novel. This map was written by a dying sixteenth-century Portuguese trader named José da Silvestra who—using his own blood as ink and his own cleft bone as a writing instrument—wrote a long set of instructions informing future treasure seekers how to find the entrance to the diamond mine and avoid his fate (see Figure 2d). The sexualized geography and the path Haggard draws on his version are British imperial inventions based off da Silvestra’s inscription. As Allan Quatermain and the adventuring party follow these directions and close in on the first major landmark, two mountains called Sheba’s Breasts, the adventurers struggle to find a place to sleep for

the evening: “[W]e were not so lucky as to find a sheltering rock to guard us from the glare of the sun, with the result that about seven o’clock we woke up experiencing the exact sensations one would attribute to a beefsteak on a gridiron. We were literally [!] being baked through and through. The burning sun seemed to be sucking our very blood out of us” (89). This metaphorical exsanguination resonates with the presence of the original map and its dead creator over the novel’s narrative. Rebecca Stott claims that this way of exaggerating thirst makes the adventuring party more susceptible to the sexualized image of Sheba’s Breasts, and thereby the “imperialist temptation of the desire to possess and conquer.”¹⁶⁰ The blood that Quatermain feels evaporate also resonates with da Silvestra’s creation of his map, which he wrote on a piece of clothing using his own bone as a writing instrument and his own blood as ink (56).

The relationship between these two maps, however, is more vexed than this sanguine association would suggest. This map appeared as an oversize flyleaf fold-out in early editions of the novel, providing readers with a simulacrum of verisimilitude even before they read the novel (see Figure 2e). Given that Portuguese would not have been a common language for the average British reader, the fold-out beckoned the reading public inside, where it would encounter the safe and legible British map that became synonymous with Haggard’s adventure. Da Silvestra’s map appears as a document from the colonial and historical peripheries, torn “literally” (as Haggard would exaggerate it) from the fabric of an actual imperial adventure. When Sir Henry sanitizes this map into black ink and white paper, he reflects the imperial romance’s transformation of the individual histories and ethnographies behind Trollope’s map of Barsetshire into a racial

¹⁶⁰ Rebecca Stott, “The Dark Continent: Africa as Female Body in Haggard’s Adventure Fiction,” *Feminist Review*, no. 32 (Summer 1989): 78–79.

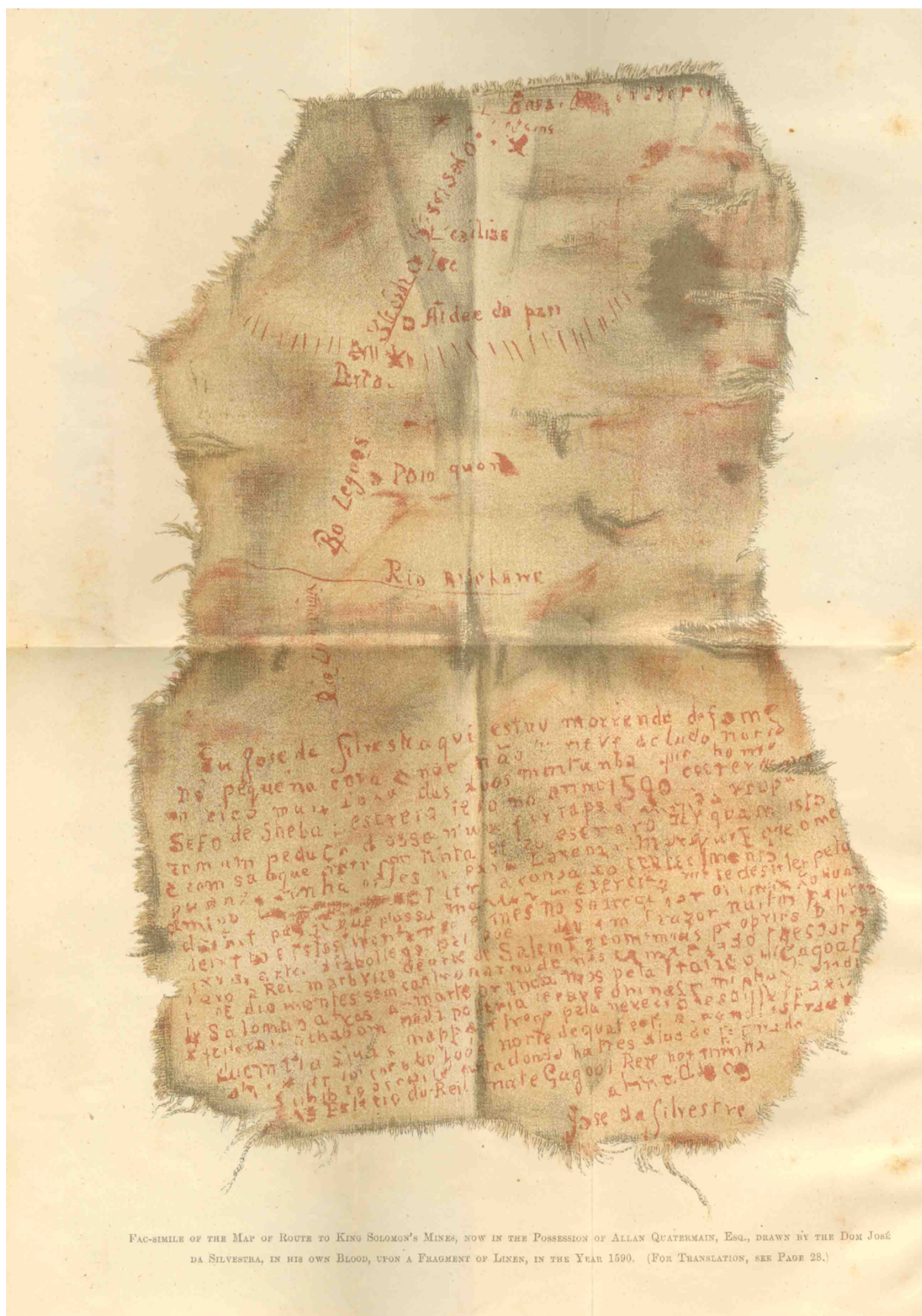


Figure 2d: H. Rider Haggard, Portuguese treasure map for *King Solomon's Mines* (1885).

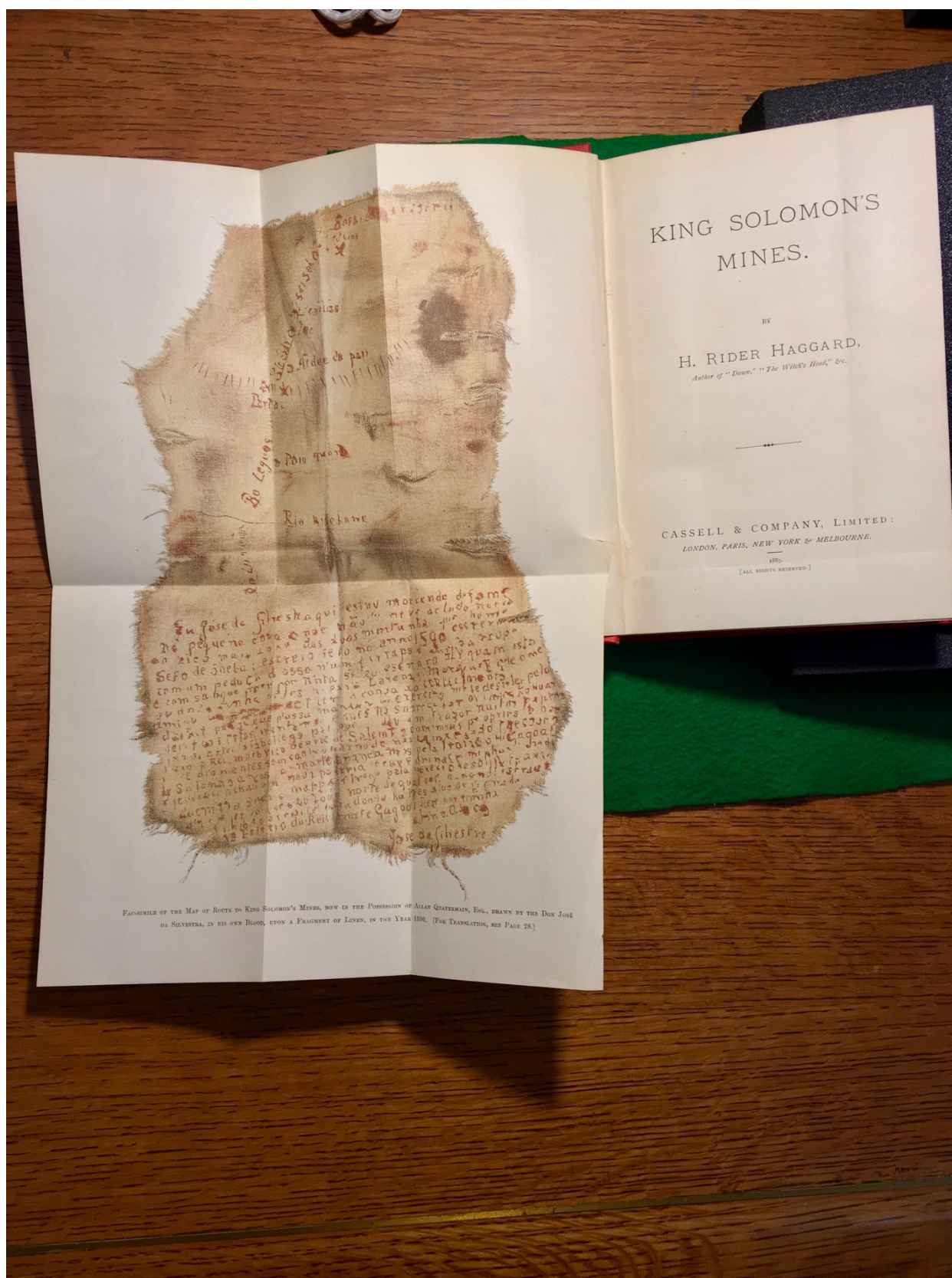


Figure 2e: Fold-out Portuguese map in first edition of *King Solomon's Mines* (1885). Author's photograph reproduced with permission. George Arents Collection, New York Public Library, Arents S 1401.

calculus of plunder and dispossession. In da Silvestra's account, the Kukuana fight off the Portuguese, and their resistance to Columbus-era voyages of discovery is successful. Haggard's revision of the map rewrites this native history of resistance to European exploration as the reverse: the successful instrumentalization of native labor and knowledge to dominate indigenous territory, suppress native military power through violence, and extract treasure to enrich the homeland.

The version of the homeland Haggard had in mind, however, was different from both Trollope and Stevenson, and that difference has important consequences for the kind of novel Haggard wrote. Haggard was a kind of Briton under increasing pressure in the late nineteenth century: the landed aristocratic ne'er-do-well. Feeling that his idea of Britain was under siege, Haggard made his bet to write a better novel than *Treasure Island* in part to secure a fortune for his family, as well as to advance a conservative argument with the realist novel, which he saw as the cultural avatar of the modern Britain leaving his class behind. In a study of geographic representations of Africa in Haggard's fiction, Lindy Stiebel shows that Haggard's choice to write in the mode of an exaggerated imperial romance reflects the landed aristocrat's view that vast landscapes are "fertile" ground, literally and metaphorically, for the imperial romance's quest for treasure.¹⁶¹ Part of Haggard's argument with Stevenson, I suggest, was not only that a Scottish interloper was redefining what imperial adventure was going to be, but that he was doing so within a romance idiom that clearly owed some debt to Trollopian realism.

The novel he wrote was engineered for popularity, and though popularity does not speak to literary quality one way or another, *King Solomon's Mines* is not an exemplar of

¹⁶¹ Lindy Stiebel, *Imagining Africa: Landscape in H. Rider Haggard's African Romances* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2001), 39, 43–44.

nineteenth-century writing (or writing of any century). In the passage above, where Haggard describes the heat of the African landscape, the clumsy use of “literally” is just one of the passage’s literary faults. The metaphors are clichéd, and appear one after another with no perceptible interrelation. The passage, “[W]e woke up experiencing the exact sensations one would attribute to a beefsteak on a gridiron,” contains a logical fault: an attempt to describe “exact sensations” (the literal) from what “one would attribute” (the speculative).

I bring all this up because the Haggard’s literary badness is important to the novel’s place in a literary history of imperialism. With the treasure expeditions of New Imperialism and the “Scramble for Africa” well underway, Britain was at this time trafficking heavily in representations of the what is now called the Global South, especially the Cape Colony (South Africa and Namibia today). In this context, *Treasure Island* would represent, to a landed aristocrat in favor of extending a romanticized vision of imperial sovereignty across the ostensibly untrammelled hills of Africa, a serious threat to the social authorization of British expansionism. By grounding his treasure narrative in an actual British colony, portraying the landscape and indigenous peoples as equivalently hostile, and trying from the start to eclipse *Treasure Island* in the popular imagination, Haggard cast the accelerating pace of overseas expansion and its attendant violence, especially in Africa, as a quest for riches and glory for Britain whose allure depends on its quixotism. Presenting his novel as an adventurer’s travelogue turns the bad writing and deplorable ethics into a reality effect of a quest narrative from the imperial frontier, the excitement of finding the biblical diamond mine promised by the discovery of a treasure map. As much as the map documents imperial desire, its blank edges also testify

to nationalist anxiety. What other source of riches exists beyond the maps blank edges? What if the Cape Colony slips through Britain's grip (as it slowly would over subsequent decades)? Haggard's bet with Stevenson and the badness of the novel that resulted are important to the literary history of British imperialism, especially to the work the treasure map does for the novel, in how this badness and these lacunae can provide an alibi for Haggard's leaving these crucial questions unanswered. The maps, in their pretension to narrative authority through their appearances in the plot and their material condition—the realistic unreality of da Silvestra's blood—authorize Haggard's imperial romance to not only narrate a tale of imperial plunder, but to suggest that such a tale is integral to imperial mapping, and to the spatial imagination of the British novel at large.

Two Pistols and Two Islands

Haggard's novel charts an ideological journey undertaken by British imperialists as they transition from a posture of worldwide expansion to the movement, from the mid nineteenth century to the early decades of the twentieth century, across the Global South. This will to expand the empire depended on a vast bureaucratic scaffolding and set of technical skills that undergirded imperial ideology and thereby allowed the Empire to function on a global scale. Discourses of imperial skill have often been seen as the literary *métier* of mariner-turned-novelist Joseph Conrad, and according to Margaret Cohen, Conrad gave up sailing and took up writing as a protest against "the decline of craft" at sea with the transition from sail to steam power.¹⁶² Though Conrad in particular

¹⁶² Margaret Cohen, *The Novel and the Sea* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2010), 200.

romanticized the craft of sailing as a kind of art, many writers of empire fiction shared an interest in the technical skills necessary to making their imperial worlds operable and navigable. In particular, Cannon Schmitt has powerfully demonstrated how the logic of Stevenson's sea fiction depends on the protagonist's attainment of nautical mastery. When Jim Hawkins rescues his mostly-abandoned *Hispaniola* from pirate mutineers he must save it from being blown to sea. According to Schmitt the highly technical narration ("Of course, when the schooner canted over, the boom had swung out-board, and the cap of it and a foot or two of sail hung even under the water," for instance [141, and quoted in Schmitt]) synchronizes with the pseudonym under which the novel was originally serialized—Captain George North—to reinforce “novelistic verisimilitude” and spur forward the fulfillment of Jim's developmental plot.¹⁶³

Something else happens in this episode that makes Jim's display of nautical excellence possible. Just before Jim rights the ship, he kills someone at close quarters. After he boards the *Hispaniola*, he encounters the coxswain Israel Hands, left to guard this ship, and observes that the pirate is nearly incapacitated by his own drunkenness. Caught off guard by adversarial but casual banter, Jim allows Hands to pin his shoulder to the mast with a dirk (a small dagger). As Hands approaches Jim, he shoots the pirate with his two pistols, the force of the gunshots throwing Hands overboard: “In the horrid surprise of the moment—I scarce can say it was by my own volition, and I am sure it was without a conscious aim—both my pistols went off, and both escaped out of my hands. They did not fall alone; with a choked cry, the coxswain loosed his grasp upon the shrouds, and plunged head first into the water” (139). After this passage, the chapter ends

¹⁶³ Cannon Schmitt, “Technical Maturity in Robert Louis Stevenson,” *Representations* 125, no. 1 (Winter 2014): 68.

and Hawkins proceeds with his nautical procedures. That both the killing of Hands and Hawkins's demonstration of his sailing prowess take place in close proximity and indeed, that the latter depends upon the former, underscores how tightly sutured together technical skill and the will to dominate one's adversaries at any cost are in the British imperial imaginary, even in adolescent tales of imperial adventure. Even more significantly, Hawkins experiences the killing of Hands as an out of body experience. Framed as a respectable reaction to an episode of severe fright (amidst "the horrid surprise of the moment"), the killing is carefully divorced from Hawkins's individual will. "I scarce can say it was by my own volition," he testifies, saying that the pistols "escaped" from his grasp and that they had practically aimed themselves, evoking both the martial and intentional senses of the word "aim." As the pistols fall to the deck, so does Hands fall to the water, cleanly ridding Hawkins of evidence of the deed, both the weapons and the body. The fact that he had two pistols explains (as if such explanation were needed in an imperial romance) why Hands might be struck with enough concussive force to knock him overboard, but they also obscure which weapon—which hand—might have dealt the killing blow. After playfully but warily conversing with Hands for the better part of a chapter—a chapter that bears the name "Israel Hands"—a life is not really ended as much as a human obstacle to imperial progress is erased from the narrative and from Jim's consciousness. The long swath of blank paper denoting the chapter break following this passage typographically testifies to this erasure.

The dash-enclosed hedging of the two statements of personal involvement in this killing—"I scarce can say it was by my own volition, and I am sure it was without a conscious aim"—make the killing of Hands seem like it was not a choice, but was not

quite an accident either. This stance toward the killing of Hands aligns the imperial operations of *Treasure Island* with the contemporaneous refrain that the British Empire sprang into being without very much conscious aim at all, and that its existence and maintenance are simply natural expressions of British character. This view was memorably described in a lecture by historian J. R. Seeley, delivered in 1881, the year Stevenson's novel began serialization, and published as *The Expansion of England* in 1883, the year Stevenson's novel appeared in volume form. Seeley's most famous statement is strikingly consonant with Stevenson's attitude toward imperialism in the novel:

There is something very characteristic in the indifference which we show towards this mighty phenomenon of the diffusion of our race and the expansion of our state. We seem, as it were, to have conquered and peopled half the world in a fit of absence of mind. While we were doing it, that is in the eighteenth century, we did not allow it to affect our imaginations or in any degree to change our ways of thinking; nor have we even now ceased to think of ourselves as simply a race inhabiting an island off the northern coast of the Continent of Europe.¹⁶⁴

Seeley's lectures inspired the name of Bernard Porter's *The Absent-Minded Imperialists*, one of the most well-known modern studies of British imperialism and imperial culture. Of the absent-mindedness statement, Porter claims in a parenthetical: "([Seeley] meant it, however, sarcastically)."¹⁶⁵ I am rather inclined to take Seeley at his word. As befits the style of a lecture, Seeley writes as though this idea might be dawning on him as he proceeds. Nonetheless, in the sentence after his "fit of absence of mind" suggestion, he strongly claims that an ideological cornerstone of the eighteenth-century foundation of the British Empire is that imperial expansion affects neither British "imaginations" nor

¹⁶⁴ J. R. Seeley, *The Expansion of England: Two Courses of Lectures* (London: Macmillan, 1883), 8.

¹⁶⁵ Bernard Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 18.

“ways of thinking”—in other words, British cultural and social life. If this statement seems bizarre in its falsifiability—Exhibit A being the mountains of novels, poems, and plays engaging with and representing imperial space—consider how Stevenson through Hawkins narrates the killing of Israel Hands, and how that tracks with Seeley’s pronouncement. Both start digressively and by allaying responsibility (Stevenson: “I scarce can say it was by my own volition”; Seeley: “We seem, as it were”); the action is grammatically phrased to divorce action from actor (“both my pistols went off, and both escaped out of my hands”; “to have conquered and peopled half the world in a fit of absence of mind”); and both are equanimously presented as disturbing very little about everyday life (“In the horrid surprise of the moment”; “we did not allow it to affect our imaginations or in any degree to change our ways of thinking”). For Stevenson and Seeley, imperial agents need to be trained both technically and ideologically, and part of that training involves divorcing oneself from the moral consequences of what those technical skills enable.

This stance depends on Britons thinking of themselves simultaneously as being situated at the center of a great empire and, as Seeley describes, “[S]imply a race inhabiting an island off the northern coast of the Continent of Europe.” In the sentence immediately following the famous passage quoted above, Seeley describes a mode of unconsciously forgetting the existence of Britain’s imperial population—but nonetheless considering their territory a part of the empire—in a manner that is of a piece with Jim’s relationship with his two pistols. They simply fall away without thinking. Seeley continues: “We constantly betray by our modes of speech that we do not reckon our colonies as really belonging to us; thus if we are asked what the English population is, it

does not occur to us to reckon-in the population of Canada and Australia.”¹⁶⁶ It is significant that Seeley discusses Canada and Australia, which technically were British dominions and not colonies. Because dominions had strong central governments, they were spaces of settlement before plunder.¹⁶⁷ Several decades after the literary-historical moment discussed here, Haggard himself wrote a report for the Colonial Office about the suitability of establishing a massive British settlement in Australia. He wrote that “the assets of Australia” include “her vast territories, her extraordinary fertility, her climate, her insular position, which makes her safe from attack, except by sea, and her membership of the British Empire which throws over her the cloak of its protection.”¹⁶⁸ The key differences from the Africa of *King Solomon’s Mines* are Australian resources’ origins in the earth and not a fabled treasure cache, the existing settlers’ buy-in to the British imperial project, and Australia’s status as an island: “her insular position.” Feeling his own belatedness, a New Imperialist par excellence is looking for the same protection that shores and shoals and sovereign borders afford Britain.

He goes on to describe the changes in attitude since the outset of the New Imperial era into which he was writing his novel:

Twenty years ago it was the fashion for most people to talk of the terrible over-population of Great Britain, but now it is becoming evident that with all these drafts upon our flesh and blood, coming at a time when natural increase, at any

¹⁶⁶ Seeley, *The Expansion of England*, 8–9.

¹⁶⁷ Dominion status was created in order to shift the load of governance from homeland to the periphery, and were an increasingly important governmental form in the Empire in the early twentieth century. Dominions would eventually form the basis for the British Commonwealth during the mid-twentieth-century era of decolonization. Robert MacGregor Dawson, *The Development of Dominion Status, 1900–1936*, 2nd ed. (Abingdon, UK: Frank Cass & Co. and Oxford University Press, 1965), 3–4, 5–10, 139–40; Dan Freeman-Maloy, “The International Politics of Settler Self-Governance: Reflections on Zionism and ‘Dominion’ Status within the British Empire,” *Settler Colonial Studies* 8, no. 1 (2018): 85–86.

¹⁶⁸ H. Rider Haggard, “Letters to the Right Hon. Lewis Harcourt from Sir Rider Haggard Relating His Visit to Australia and New Zealand as a Member of the Dominions Royal Commission” May 27, 1913, 20, MS Harcourt 501, Bodleian Libraries, Oxford University.

rate of the fit, is lessening, it is under-population that we have to fear before another generation has gone by. The British Empire covers a quarter of the globe, and the matter of its adequate settlement with white men of our own or kindred blood is one in which its permanence is involved. Without a sufficient white population our Empire is an edifice built upon sand and, compared to this imperative need, all our other anxieties and problems are but as froth upon the wave. The question of the future will be, how to people the British Empire adequately with Britons.¹⁶⁹

At the dawn of the twentieth century, and a year before the outbreak of World War I, Haggard suggests a new direction for the British Empire. In this little-examined colonial document, Haggard marries settler colonialism with Stevenson's insular geographic (un)consciousness and the militarized white supremacy of *King Solomon's Mines*. This new vision of Britain's imperial future relies on an island on the other side of the world, further decentering the centrality of the metropole and placing at the feet of an imperial dominion—an island larger than Britain itself—the responsibility to carry the Empire into a new century. It is perhaps comforting that, given Haggard's hateful rhetoric, the metropole would face its ultimate decentering—decolonization—and that all Haggard would wind up holding in his grasp was an edifice of sand.

What Haggard's texts ironically reveal about the direction of the Empire—even if he would be furious at this analysis—was that colonial Britishness rooted in aristocratic tradition and genteel cultivation was doomed to give way to settler colonialism in some cases, or postcolonial self-determination in others, both opposed to classical British imperialism if not quite as much to each other. Given his imperial politics, Haggard would never wind up understanding that Australia's largeness was less culturally important than its distance from the center, and thereby its ability to put forth a vision of British imperialism as a series of laterally connected spaces across the globe. In viewing

¹⁶⁹ Haggard, 21.

the future of British imperialism as a cultural crisis, Haggard unwittingly articulated how charted outlying spaces would eventually eclipse the metropole's hold over imperialism's cultural imagination, even if these spaces could not slough off the Empire's history. This view of the imperial world reveals that as Britain stretched its reach over increasing shares of the planet—whether “a quarter of the globe” (Haggard) or “half the world” (Seeley)—the colonialism that had sought out these spaces for control and exploitation began to fragment, leaving these outlying geographies and their nascent literary interrelations as a newly vital to the conceptualization of imperial space.

Postscript: North and South

The layout of the roads and railways in Trollope's map of Barsetshire suggest that the development of the British West Country proceeded as a process moving on an East-West axis. As it goes east, the railway goes “To London,” the map tells us, and it splinters into branches and undulations as it proceeds West, towards far flung places like Penzance and Land's End. Why, then, are *The Chronicles of Barsetshire* preoccupied with movement that traverses latitudes, rather than longitudes? The plots primarily see characters moving from south to north, and vice-versa. I suggest this has to do with the long history of what north-south navigation meant in a world perennially obsessed with east-west exploration and East/West civilizational dichotomies. In a study of Christopher Columbus's crossings of the Atlantic, Nicolás Wey Gómez writes:

[W]hile longitude may have initially represented for Columbus the nightmare of crossing an unknown ocean, it was latitude that would tell Columbus again and again—when he admired the gold ornaments on indigenous bodies and when he gazed overhead at parrot flocks so dense they obscured the sun—that he had

indeed arrived in the Indies, or at least in a place that shared the same nature with the old Ethiopia and India.

Most unfortunately, while longitude may speak to a technical feat that many of Columbus's contemporaries deemed impossible, latitude speaks to a geopolitical process that Bartolomé de las Casas called the 'destruction of the Indies' (*destrucción delas yndias*). The history of Columbus's westing has been, and will remain, largely a chapter in the history of the technical challenges that long involved attempts to measure longitude... Columbus's southing is another matter. His conscious distinction between the higher and traditionally 'cooler' latitudes of Mediterranean Europe and the lower and traditionally hotter latitudes of the Indies irrefragably points to an intellectual and material culture that in the course of a little more than a century—from Portugal's taking control of the North African port of Ceuta in 1415 to Elcano's completing the first circumnavigation of the globe in 1522—reached the problematic realization that Europe was the only northern neighbor to a vast and immensely rich and populous world to the south. The fact is that the bulk of discoveries carried out by European explorers in this early phase of exploration and colonization—first in Atlantic Africa, then in the Americas and the greater basin of the Indian Ocean, and finally in the Pacific Ocean—took place within the region of the globe we know today as the belt of the tropics... [T]his process was fraught with changing certainties concerning the nature of that belt and of its peoples.¹⁷⁰

The movement from north to south in Trollope, Stevenson, and Haggard enacts analogous latitudinal judgments on the people they represent. The "changing certainties" about these people, I have claimed, leads to territorial dispossession and violence as graphically represented on the geoformal figure of the treasure map. In *Barsetshire*, the Spanish Main, southern Africa, and even eventually Australia, population difference across latitudes is used to control and instrumentalize those populations' lands and identify targets for plunder. (Recall, also, that Stevenson's vessel in *Treasure Island* is called the *Hispaniola*.) The novel of literary cartography depicts north-south navigation as a deep historicism of the national and cultural calculi at the heart of its narrative.

As Wey Gómez would remind us, overseas colonization entails maritime exploration. The geopolitical residue of this exploration is the provincial port settlement

¹⁷⁰ Nicolás Wey Gómez, *The Tropics of Empire: Why Columbus Sailed South to the Indies* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2008), 49–50.

where explorers first make landfall after their northerly and southerly journeys. Chapter Three will treat the provincial ports of George Eliot's *The Mill on the Floss* (1860) and Joseph Conrad's *Nostromo* (1904), focusing on the maritime traffic in and out of St. Ogg's and Sulaco and these novels' depiction of the ecological destruction wrought by inland development and resource extraction. These novels conceptualize the provincial port as a site that connects marginalized geographies to world systems through the conjoining of nature and capital, showing how in the late afternoon of imperialism and realism, the international commerce these two novelists depict presages the literary development of ecological consciousness.

PART II: Environments and Social Futures

Chapter Three:

Overflowing Seas: The Provincial Port in George Eliot and Joseph Conrad

Introduction

Can a town with docks that derives its global prominence from maritime trade be called a port if it is not actually on the coast? At least one authoritative source appears to assume that a port would normally be on the coast, listing at the end of its standard definition: “Now also occasionally: an inland port.”¹⁷¹ Both St. Ogg’s in George Eliot’s *The Mill on the Floss* (1860) and Sulaco in Joseph Conrad’s *Nostromo* (1904) fit this “occasional[I]” sense of the word.¹⁷² St. Ogg’s lies significantly inland from the sea, and Sulaco is situated on the mouth of a large bay. Though oceanic trade figures prominently in both novels, neither place is actually situated on a coastline. To emphasize their remove from the sea, in this chapter I term St. Ogg’s and Sulaco provincial ports. My “provincial” modification of “port” emphasizes that Eliot and Conrad situate these locales close to, but removed from, the commercial and aquatic currents of the ocean.

¹⁷¹ “Port, n.1,” *OED Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed November 3, 2017, <http://www.oed.com.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/view/Entry/148088>.

¹⁷² George Eliot, *The Mill on the Floss*, ed. A. S. Byatt (1860; repr., London: Penguin Books, 2003); Joseph Conrad, *Nostromo: A Tale of The Seaboard*, ed. Véronique Pauly (1904; repr., London: Penguin, 2007). References will be made parenthetically to these editions.

The respective types of distancing and the kind of oceanic waters matter in their resonant specificity. For both novelists, the sea is a zone of trade, exposing St. Ogg's and Sulaco to the wider world—as we'll see, Conrad's phrase for this is “a trading world”—which leaves each locale vulnerable to ecological exploitation by metropolitan business interests. These ecological speculators seek the cooperation of the areas' residents for the property rights to and knowledge of their land, attempting to tie their external capital to lucrative natural resources through intermarriage with long-tenured families.

Like the provincial spaces of Chapters One and Two, St. Ogg's and Sulaco are implicated in, but pointedly distanced from the metaphorical currents of global capitalism. The forces of the marketplace nevertheless find their way to the towns through the actual currents of the maritime and maritime-adjacent bodies of water extensively described in each novel. Both novelists place a geographic bulwark between the ports and the sea, a protective zone that physically enforces the provincial distancing of the port from the center of the trading world. In Eliot, that bulwark is the Lincolnshire fens through which the Floss runs to the sea (and the sea runs into the Floss as well, which I describe in what follows), and in Conrad, that bulwark is the Golfo Placido, a massive gulf that is so named for its lack of wind. Each port's location in the interior territory of the regions the novels depict pose technical challenges, challenges addressed by inland development in Eliot—the construction of other commercial ports, spread of irrigation systems, and use of inland waterways as shipping and transportation routes—and technological innovations in Conrad—the advent of steamships on commodity shipping lines under the auspices of the Oceanic Steam Navigation Company. These inland penetrations in outlying spaces enable acts of violence to be performed upon the

natural features that made these locations ideal for settlement in the first place, damaging the ecologies on which the residents of St. Ogg's and Sulaco rely for life and livelihood, and which structure the literary form undergirding the novelization of those lives.

In moving from borders to maps, to ports now and later to agrarian plains, this project's trajectory traces the long nineteenth-century novel's engagement with different provincial spaces under colonial influence. In the arc of this project, this chapter marks a mid-nineteenth-century shift away from imperial projects of direct sovereign control to ones of ecological manipulation. Imperial sovereignty is of course still important in the eras in which Eliot and Conrad were writing. The focus of this chapter and Chapter Four, however, will take us away from discussions of sovereignty and land administration and toward the more indirect forms of imperial influence involved in these projects of ecological transformation and manipulation. In this second half of this project, my approach is to identify a strong interest in the nineteenth century novel toward the environment, its manipulation by partnerships (often unequal ones) between local residents and external actors, and the disturbances to the social order that inevitably result. In *The Mill on the Floss* and in *Nostromo*, the dominant external actors do not attempt to control St. Ogg's or Sulaco in the manner of direct administration, much less, say, territorial expansionism in the broader Lincolnshire coast or the Republic of Costaguana. Rather, these two main actors—Guest & Co. and the Oceanic Steam Navigation Company—are interested in maintaining a colonial-economic form of influence over the targeted locations in each novel: the Tullivers' ancestral home of Dorlcote Mill, and St. Ogg's docklands in Eliot, and the San Tomé silver mine in

Conrad.¹⁷³ Though European empires did of course expand from the mid nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, the international commercial actors whose trade routes imperialism forged are more concerned in Eliot and Conrad with access and extraction, the maintenance of which requires projection of influence to a greater degree than it requires sovereign control.

This kind of semi-direct imperial influence is characteristic of British imperialism in the era examined here and has been historically linked to the expansion not of territorial extent, but of the opening of commodity marketplaces for the homeland. A common term for this not-quite-soft but less-hard imperial power is “informal imperialism,” a form of governmentality most notably developed by the British in the early nineteenth century and applied with the greatest success to South America. In South America under British influence, “the technological advantages of the home country,” writes historian Wolfgang J. Mommsen, enabled “the penetration of the peripheral economy by means of large scale overseas investment,” lending informal imperialism the alternate moniker “free-trade imperialism.”¹⁷⁴ Around the turn of the century, the South America in which Conrad would set *Nostramo* was increasingly pulled between American and British influence, as reflected in jumble of American financiers and naval forces, and British mine administrators and company functionaries in the novel. Four years before Conrad wrote *Nostramo*, U.S. Secretary of State John W. Foster wrote that whatever one’s opinion on “the policy of territorial expansion, all seem to be agreed upon

¹⁷³ It is true that the conversion of Dorlcote Mill into a mill for linseed oil does require the transfer of property, but this is done through a deception of provincial economics, discussed later, and is quite distinct from territorializing ideologies that see land possession as a natural precondition for expansion.

¹⁷⁴ Wolfgang J. Mommsen, *Theories of Imperialism*, trans. P. S. Falla (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 90, 93.

the desirability of commercial expansion.”¹⁷⁵ The famous historian of the British Empire E. J. Hobsbawm cites Foster’s opinion as emblematic of a corresponding British stance. Imperialism in the mid nineteenth century through to World War I “was the natural by-product of an international economy based on the rivalry of several competing industrial economies,” he writes, a competition that “relied on raw materials which, for reasons of climate or the hazards of geology, were to be found exclusively or profusely in remote places.” According to Hobsbawm, this gave rise to an expansion of resource-extractive industries across what we would now call the Global South. Mines—“the major pioneers in opening up the world to imperialism”—and rubber tree tapping operations in “Congo,” “the Amazon,” “Malaya [the Malay Peninsula],” “Chile,” “Peru,” “Zaire,” “Zambia,” and “South Africa” all brought metals, diamonds, and rubber to international markets. Oilfields in the Middle East had not been fully developed yet, and so Russia remained a major supplier of oil.¹⁷⁶ These ecological industries of later phases of international imperialism parallel the Russian linseed that Guest & Co. wishes to refine at Dorlcote Mill in Eliot, and the San Tomé silver mine caught between British and American empires in Conrad. Because St. Ogg’s and Sulaco are crucial points in the resource pathways of global economics, systems of imperial power are implicated in the trade that occurs every day at their ports.

This chapter examines ecological change and catastrophe wrought by these international economic regimes at the provincial port, focusing on rural development in Eliot and imperial capitalism in Conrad. Here, I attempt to bring the oft-remarked

¹⁷⁵ Quoted in William Appleman Williams, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*, 3rd ed. (New York: Norton, 1988), 51.

¹⁷⁶ E. J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914* (New York: Pantheon, 1987), 45, 63, 67.

economic focus of these works into alignment with the actual geographic nature of the spaces Eliot and Conrad go to extensive lengths to portray. Of course, maritime trade exerts clear pressure on various characters' fates, an aspect of both novels that this chapter will discuss. More broadly, I am concerned with how the interactions between land and water around each port reflects the narratives that contain these characters' story arcs. Specifically, I claim that the geo-hydrographic presentation of these outlying spaces of maritime commerce structures the narratives of each novel and epistemologically circumscribes the types of resistance to imperial capitalism that are possible in the novel (if any). In Eliot, the intermingled flows of inland and oceanic waters at St. Ogg's reflects the entanglement of agrarianism (the land) and capitalism (development in the service of trade); and in Conrad, the extraction of silver from the earth—rendered accessible to international markets by sailing technology—prefigures the rooting out of the corrupt Costaguanan government and Sulaco's declaring its independence, a form of self-determination purchased at the price of the wholesale exploitation of *all* of the area's saleable natural resources. (In this way, Costaguana eventually becomes a microcosm of nearly all those locations in the Global South that Hobsbawm lists as sites of resource extraction.)

Accordingly, I base my analyses of these novels on extensive readings of the interactions between the bodies of water that flow into and out of these provincial ports and the land that abuts that water which give the ports their physical shape and make the trade at these sites possible. At these ports, the novels' economic, ecological, and social narratives all intersect. From these geo-aquatic readings, I argue that the specific interactions between land and water structure the novel's developmental logic: both in

how these interactions enable economic development and ecological manipulation, as well as how the intermingled geographies and hydrographies circumscribe the types of characterological development possible and furthermore the provincial futures available for each community. In Eliot, the intermingled flows of different types of water underpin the shifts in the Tullivers' fortunes and in Maggie's and Tom's simultaneously independent and interdependent narrative trajectories. In Conrad, the extractive logic of the silver mining operation—the actual mining and refining of silver ore along with its local administration and underwriting through international investment—presages Sulaco's movement away from local rule by the unstable Costaguanan government toward ecological self-determination, a state of putative independence that in fact entails being even more fully beholden to imperial capitalism.

Accordingly, I take very seriously the extensive elaborations of the interactions between land and water that occupy a great deal of the narrators' attentions in both novels, and read these long descriptions as containing the foundations of both novels' narrative logics. Past readers of *The Mill on the Floss* have oddly overlooked that the primary aquatic site of the novel is not actually a river, but an estuary—that is, a place where fresh water and salt water meet and mix. I take this observation as a point of departure for my argument, claiming that the particular hydrography of the St. Ogg's estuary structures the area's economic development in two entangled ways: first, in how its status as a mercantile gateway makes that development possible; and second, in how its convergent currents and tides circumscribe the kinds of development (economic and otherwise) possible in the novel itself. Tom and Maggie's "embrace never to be parted" and their shared grave at the end are often seen as postdiluvial reminders of their

ultimately entwined fates. Here, I demonstrate how the novel prefigures that final entwinement in the aquatic entanglement that is at the center of the novel's geography. In *Nostramo*, the novel's geographic center—the San Tomé silver mine—is alienated from the primary source of narrative agency, a place that multiple characters compete for over the course of the novel. The friction between the Golfo Placido's ostensible protection of Sulaco from international economics and the imperial regimes that participate in those marketplaces, and the mine's lucre which forces Sulaco on to the global stage, sets up the narrative as not only a curious adventure tale of the silver of the mine, but also an exploration of whether geographic isolation is possible in Conrad's "trading world." Conrad's novel, I claim, sets the provincialism of geographic-hydrographic interactions and the internationalism of imperial capitalism against each other. That resource extraction powers the novel's narrative of semi-postcolonial (really just differently-colonial) self-determination, I further show, demonstrates how water—in its ability to enable trade—betrays the ecological interests of land in a world structured by the interaction between commodity markets and the increasing Southern expansion of European and American imperialisms.

By discussing hydrography under the rubric of geographic form, this essay demonstrates how ecological transformation is central to the structuring of these novels' respective narratives. Though my discussions here do analyze scenes of ecological destruction, I largely eschew the temptation to suture a story of the decline of nature on to the strong pull of each plot's catastrophic telos. John MacNeill Miller has recently suggested that ecocriticism which fully inhabits and explores ecological decline can "reject the linear apocalypticism of so much environmental storytelling" and "overcome

the closure of anthropocentric narrative.”¹⁷⁷ My focus on the economic activity centered around the St. Ogg’s and Sulaco takes the novels’ initial invocations of bodies of water and trade as a serious joint injunction to explore the interactions of those two forces as primary loci of formal meaning. The entanglement of water and economics in *The Mill on the Floss* and *Nostromo*, I claim, transpires on the novels’ deepest formal levels, and realizing that depends on not seeing the manipulation of provincial hydrography or geography as a zero-sum game (e.g. the flood taking revenge on rapacious capitalism, or the silver’s power bringing internal revolution to Sulaco). Rather, if maritime trade is important to the fate of the characters and their surrounding geographic areas, then the way water and land work together should accordingly be important to the structuring of the narratives in which those characters reside. Accordingly, I base my analyses of these novels on extensive readings of the aqueous regions that abut and surround the provincial ports in order to geographically describe the locations where the novels’ economic, ecological, and social narratives intersect. From my geo-aquatic readings, I show how the particular hydro- and geoformal influence on economic development exerts a circumscribing pressure on the types of social development possible. In this way, Eliot and Conrad’s explorations of provincial development also conceptually chart the provincial futures available for the St. Ogg’s community and the nascent city-state of Sulaco, along with the waters that both have made their ways of life possible and have put their corners of Lincolnshire and South America on the map.

The ports at St. Ogg’s and Sulaco are provincial in how they are at once distanced from metropolitan centers and yet rooted in their own sense of time and place. My

¹⁷⁷ John MacNeill Miller, “Composing Decomposition: In Memoriam and the Ecocritical Undertaking,” *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 39, no. 5 (2017): 395.

terming the port “provincial” builds on recent work by Josephine McDonagh and John Plotz. McDonagh’s definition of the novelistic provincial as a sense of being entrenched in a place that is always aware of its remove from other places, in particular resonates with Eliot’s novel, where spatial awareness implies connection and detachment in equivalent measure.¹⁷⁸ Neither McDonagh’s sense of distance nor Plotz’s “semi-detach[ment] or “portab[ility]” concepts evoke temporal distance that would support a more typical conception of provincial timelessness.¹⁷⁹ Eliot’s provincial distancing from international markets nonetheless contains a firm sense of rootedness in a specific era as well as a specific place. In both *The Mill on the Floss* and in *Nostromo*, this combined sense of spatiotemporal rootedness combined with the proximate distancing from the sea results in an awareness of being torn between local ecology and global forces’ desires to manipulate that ecology via the maritime trade that has made each location interesting to novelistic narration in the first place. Internationalism may seem alien to provincialism, but as McDonagh claims, the power center from which this novelistic provincial is distanced is the global, not the urban. “[T]he provincial in the mid-nineteenth century is not the subordinate partner of a metropolitan/provincial binary,” she writes, “but rather is a term that is rooted from its beginning in emerging global networks.”¹⁸⁰ Eliot’s novel is a compelling test case for this argument’s historical scope, as its publication in 1860 lies just as the mid-century is reaching its tail end, and the novel’s setting around the late 1820s or early 1830s is in that not-quite-Victorian era where a sense of “global networks” was present but still “emerging” (or developing). For Eliot, recognizing the international

¹⁷⁸ McDonagh, “Rethinking Provincialism in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Fiction,” 419.

¹⁷⁹ See Plotz, “The Semi-Detached Provincial Novel”; Plotz, *Portable Property*.

¹⁸⁰ McDonagh, “Rethinking Provincialism in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Fiction,” 401.

economic implications of the region's new global modernity and shrugging off the sense of agrarian timelessness that once typified life in St. Ogg's and the surrounding communities are the keys to survival, for one's livelihood and for one's actual life. As Jed Esty argues, developing a sense of one's place in history is the primary demarcation between "premodern St. Ogg's" and the region's accession to nineteenth-century modernity.¹⁸¹ In the early twentieth century, Conrad will transform this globally-attuned provincialism into an environmental consciousness with a keen awareness of natural resources' ability to effect political change and necessitate the region determine its ongoing relationship to international markets in the years to come. The ability to break from provincial timelessness in Eliot and geographic isolation in Conrad, and to then recognize each space's implications in specific levels and intersections of historical time is the key temporal dynamic underlying both narratives' extensive elaborations of the provincial port. Before discussing each novel in succession, I will first read the opening paragraphs to both novels, and then elaborate on how the details of the bulwarks' separation of the sea from the provincial port in each location are crucial indicators of the geographic basis of the corresponding novel's formal structure.

Openings: An Estuary and a Gulf

The geographic homologies between *The Mill on the Floss* and *Nostramo* become apparent when the opening sentences of each novel are read together. Both openings describe the environment surrounding the port, laying out the interactions between land

¹⁸¹ Esty, *Unseasonable Youth*, 55.

and water, and indicating the presence of the port's geographic bulwark from the sea. In Eliot's novel, the opening begins a chapter titled "Outside Dorlcote Mill," casting proximate removal from the scene of the plot action as an originary narrative method:

A wide plain, where the broadening Floss hurries on between its green banks to the sea, and the loving tide, rushing to meet it, checks its passage with an impetuous embrace. On this mighty tide the black ships—laden with the fresh-scented fir-planks, with rounded sacks of oil-bearing seed, or with the dark glitter of coal—are borne along to the town of St. Ogg's, which shows its aged, fluted red roofs and the broad gables of its wharves between the low wooded hill and the river brink, tinging the water with a soft purple hue under the transient glance of this February sun. (9)

Of course, the "impetuous embrace" of the first sentence presages the "embrace never to be parted" that Maggie and Tom Tulliver share in their death at the novel's end (542).

But before we actually meet either Maggie or Tom, we come to know the novel's first embrace as one between "the broadening Floss" and "the sea," between "its [the Floss's] passage" and "the loving tide" of the sea. That is, not only is the novel about an embrace between "Boy and Girl," as the first volume of the novel is titled, but also in the first sense about the specific entanglements of different types of ecologies—specifically, different types of water *and* the forces that move those waters. This narrative interest in ecological entanglement gains an aesthetic dimension when, in the next sentence, land and water blur together. This occurs in discrete stages. First, the traders' ships "are borne along to the town of St. Ogg's, which shows its aged, fluted red roofs and the broad gables of its wharves between the low wooded hill and the river brink," casting the eye of the narrator down from the broad descriptive view from roof to gable and then from hill to bank, each pairing associating the topographical ("red roofs" and "low wooded hill") with the maritime ("broad gables of its wharves" and "river brink," respectively).

Subsequently, in the sentence's last clause, this blending occurs on the surface of the

river itself. Made reflective by the “transient glance of this February sun,” the red roofs and wooded hills “ting[e]” the blue water with a “soft purple hue.” That this mixing takes place on the surface of the water made only seasonally reflective—the “transient glance” attributed to the particular month of winter light—casts the types of land-water entanglement at St. Ogg’s as being subject to periodic change in the conditions of the water itself.

In the midst of all this is the raw material of rural development. Brought to St. Ogg’s by the “mighty tide,” traders’ ships come “laden with the fresh-scented fir-planks, with rounded sacks of oil-bearing seed, or with the dark glitter of coal.” Each resource has that gleam that shines across the surface of the whole landscape. It is easy to wash that gleam off by identifying the three resources as lumber, oil, and fuel, and pointing out that these resources are necessary to the operations of Guest & Co. and the construction of Mr. Pivart’s irrigation works (discussed below). Even before that, though, the narrator describes the origins of the ships that bear those resources: “the sea.” In Eliot’s original manuscript, “the sea” was instead “Northern Sea,” referring the body of water off the East Coast of Britain between the home islands and northern Europe that we know simply as the North Sea (552n9a). The provenance of the linseed is later identified as Russia (126), confirming the body of water’s status as the North Sea and recalling Hobsbawm’s discussion of Britain’s reliance on Russian oil in the period. In the same breath that the novel gives the area’s potential development a glowing visual quality, the novel casts those projects as dependent on St. Ogg’s connections to international markets.

It’s common for critics of *The Mill on the Floss* to discuss this opening, especially in terms of its potential for foreshadowing. An exemplary reading by Jules Law, for

instance, connects the “impetuous embrace” of the first sentence with the “seed” of the resource trio to cannily claim that in the opening “[t]he proleptic overlapping of the novel’s sexual, social, and economic narratives of destruction is accomplished through the dominant, ubiquitous figure of water.”¹⁸² Another reading discusses some real-life parallel rivers in the Midlands and East of England, and suggests that the Floss’s tidal nature mirrors the River Trent’s propensity to flood twice a year.¹⁸³ These compelling riparian readings focus in essence on the plot’s telos—specifically the ending and its flood, which has occupied a great deal of critical attention over the years. Departing from the conventional way of reading the river and its maritime affluent waters, I suggest that water and flow structure the novel at the deepest level. I claim that the overlapping types of mixture—between current and tide, land and water, development and stasis, provincial and global—constitute the underlying formal structure of *The Mill on the Floss*. The links between St. Ogg’s and international marketplaces, between Dorlcote Mill and Russian linseed, is made possible by the confluence between salt water and fresh water at the provincial port.

The name of a place where salt water and fresh water meet is an estuary. That is the body of water on which the port at St. Ogg’s is situated, and that is how this chapter will discuss the primary hydrographic space and the novelistic form of *The Mill on the Floss*. I have not encountered any criticism that has discussed Eliot’s novel in estuarial terms, but of course there is plenty of discussion of tides and the sea meeting the current

¹⁸² Jules David Law, *The Social Life of Fluids: Blood, Milk, and Water in the Victorian Novel* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2010), 75.

¹⁸³ Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Richard Marggraf Turley, and Howard Thomas, “‘Moving Accidents by Flood and Field’: The Arable and Tidal Worlds of George Eliot’s *The Mill on the Floss*,” *ELH* 82, no. 2 (Summer 2015): 714.

of the river. What my discussion of the area as an estuary newly brings to an analysis of Eliot's novel is an acknowledgement that the multiple levels of entanglement—the types of mixtures listed above and the mixture of those entanglements together—cannot be pulled apart. At the site of the provincial port of St. Ogg's, a complex hydrography characterized primarily by dynamics of intermingled flows and submersions brings together the novel's two main structuring interests: bodies of water and rural development. This also acknowledges that the zone around the St. Ogg's port lacks a descriptive designation in the text even though it is the most important ecological feature of the novel. What I call the St. Ogg's estuary is where trade and the flood intersect, the feature that draws Mr. Pivart and Stephen Guest to the area, where the protective band of fens that stretch far East into the sea is punctured and the interior of Lincolnshire is opened up to the international marketplace. As “the broadening Floss hurries on... to the sea,” that same sea “rush[es] to meet it,” the hurrying of the current “check[ed]” by the “loving tide,” later the “mighty tide,” the “impetuous embrace” of current and tide, of fresh and saline at one of the sites where local ecology can most clearly be seen becoming novelistic form.

In *Nostromo*, the international marketplace is an explicit subject from the outset, and is rooted in the early history of transatlantic European imperialisms. Conrad writes:

In the time of Spanish rule, and for many years afterwards, the town of Sulaco—the luxuriant beauty of the orange gardens bears witness to its antiquity—had never been commercially anything more important than a coasting port with a fairly large local trade in ox-hides and indigo. The clumsy deep-sea galleons of the conquerors that, needing a brisk gale to move at all, would lie becalmed, where your modern ship built on clipper lines forges ahead by the mere flapping of her sails, had been barred out of Sulaco by the prevailing calms of its vast gulf. Some harbours of the earth are made difficult of access by the treachery of sunken rocks and the tempests of their shores. Sulaco had found an inviolable sanctuary from the temptations of a trading world in the solemn hush of the deep Golfo

Placido as if within an enormous semi-circular and unroofed temple open to the ocean, with its walls of lofty mountains hung with the mourning draperies of cloud. (5)

In the discussion of Conrad's novel later in this chapter, I will read this passage in full.

For now, it is important to note how the lack of wind and not the mountains themselves have historically provided Costaguana's protection against "the temptations of a trading

world." The immensity of the gulf and the forbidding sight of its mountains are less

important for Conrad's conceptualization of the global exposure of his provincial port

than the seafaring technologies required to access the interior of the gulf. Instead, the

mountains—whose impressiveness is delineated in the subsequent paragraphs—are

initially presented as part of the overall aesthetic, the "luxuriant beauty of the orange

gardens" extending to the clouds "hung" upon the mountains like curtains ("draperies").

The domesticity of these ecological descriptions analogizes the gulf to a domestic

interior, with the flora as gardens and the clouds on the mountains as window decor. The

ecological features of this domestic metaphor are exactly what the clipper ships are able

to bypass, and so at the outset of his novel, Conrad glances back at an early spatial figure

in the history of the provincial novel and casts it aside. For Conrad, the key spatial

relationship in his novel is, as in Eliot, the economic one between land and sea. The

ability of contemporary maritime trade to bring international capital to Sulaco and impel

the extraction of the silver from the the San Tomé mine disturbs the placidity of the Golfo

Placido and, in the end, spurs political change in the service of altering the local

population and their ecology's relationship to the regimes of informal imperialism that

have brought the "trading world" to the shores of Sulaco in the first place.

“You Can’t Pick It up with a Pitchfork”

Though *The Mill on the Floss* is well remembered for the tragedy of Maggie and Tom’s late reconciliation, permanently forestalled by an ecological catastrophe I will later suggest is exacerbated by manmade hydrographic projects, Mr. Tulliver is an earlier victim of the novel’s harsh logic that punishes those who misunderstand water’s conjoined economic and historical narrative role. In this way, this line of argument discusses construction projects and international trade rather in place of the novel’s potential status as a bildungsroman, of which *The Mill on the Floss* has been called an odd or hybrid species, but nonetheless reveals what narrative ends and potential futures are possible for Maggie, Tom, the rest of the Tulliver family, and St. Ogg’s at large.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁴ This is not to dismiss the importance of generic analyses of the novel, especially those approaches that discuss the novel’s developmental plot. Indeed, such work could be said to be the backbone of *Mill on the Floss* criticism. The body of work appraising Eliot’s novel as a novel of development is too vast to characterize in its totality here. What does broadly typify this body of criticism since at least the 1970s is how readers of *The Mill on the Floss* identify some kind of rupture or defect in the developmental plot caused by invidious social pressure, and how those readings are sutured to the ostensible narrative closure of the flood. Elizabeth Ermarth, for instance, comprehensively demonstrates that “the norms [of St. Ogg’s] Maggie struggles with are sexist” by reading her social expectations against the prospects of the various boys and men in the novel, characterizing her fate as a “long suicide,” as Philip Wakem calls it, given a “physical corroboration” in the flood. Reading George Levine’s claim that Maggie owes her incomplete development to the lack of sophistication of her rural society, John Hagan claims that we should shift our attention to how the flood arrests Maggie’s development by severing her relationship with Tom. While Barbara Waxman and Sarah E. Maier characterize the novel as a “female bildungsroman” focused on Maggie, Jerome H. Buckley and Charlotte Goodman call it a “double” bildungsroman, emphasizing the ruptures between Maggie’s and Tom’s uneven developments. Recently, Jed Esty has claimed that the novel holds “elements of classic German *bildung*” up for “a critique that is not only squarely feminist, but incipiently late Victorian in its attunement to the problem of national-historical time”—that is, the pressures put on Englishness in the late industrial period. Susan Fraiman’s own authoritative reading of these and other interpretations suggests, referring to the flood, “Eliot’s controversial ending provides a final image of the relation between Tom’s conventional narrative of formation and Maggie’s counternarrative.” Image is important here, though as we will see, the hydrographic reading I advance incorporates development and the flood in a more capacious view of the novel’s form. Elizabeth Ermarth, “Maggie Tulliver’s Long Suicide,” *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 14, no. 4 (Autumn 1974): 587, 601, and passim; George Levine, “Intelligence as Deception: *The Mill on the Floss*,” *PMLA* 80, no. 4 (September 1965): 405–7; John Hagan, “A Reinterpretation of *The Mill on the Floss*,” *PMLA* 87, no. 1 (January 1972): 56–57; Barbara Frey Waxman, “Heart, Mind, Body, and Soul: George Eliot’s Female Bildungsroman,” *VIJ: Victorians Institute Journal* 11 (1982): 61–82; Sarah E. Maier, “Portraits of the Girl-Child: Female Bildungsroman in Victorian Fiction,” *Literature Compass* 4, no. 1 (January 2007): 317–35; Jerome H. Buckley, “George Eliot’s Double Life: *The Mill on the Floss* as a Bildungsroman,” in *From Smollett to James: Studies in the*

Prioritizing the economic rather than generic sense of development, I show how Mr. Tulliver's apprehends the hydrography of St. Ogg's as exclusively local. In other words, he sees the aquatic world through the lens of the wrong kind of provincialism. The Tulliver patriarch hews to the provincial timelessness McDonagh and Plotz abjure, and this misunderstanding of the river—to say nothing of its oceanic exchanges—costs him his claim to its waters.

Early in Book II of Eliot's novel, Mr. Tulliver discusses the extent of his entitlements to the river with his extended family. Mr. Pivart, a newcomer to the area, has purchased land upstream from Dorlcote Mill that he plans to irrigate. The concern, as the narrator phrases it, is that upstream irrigation "either would be or were bound to be (on the principle that water was water) an infringement on Mr. Tulliver's legitimate share of water-power" (163). Mr. Tulliver had previously enlisted his lawyer acquaintance Mr. Wakem to bully Dix, another upstream neighbor, into abandoning less extensive irrigation plans. "Law was a sort of cock-fight in which it was the business of injured honesty to get a game bird with the best pluck and the strongest spurs," the narrator writes of Mr. Tulliver's view of the legal arbitration process governing water rights—a statement that reveals Mr. Tulliver to be out of step with the modernity creeping into the area (164). As Nathan K. Hensley argues, the once the flood comes, the "harvest temporalities" of the Dodsons and the Tullivers are replaced the modern temporality of

Novel and Other Essays Presented to Edgar Johnson, ed. Samuel I. Mintz, Alice Chandler, and Christopher Mulvey, xiii, 301 pp. vols. (Charlottesville, Va.: Virginia University Press, 1981), 211–36; Charlotte Goodman, "The Lost Brother, the Twin: Women Novelists and the Male-Female Double Bildungsroman," *NOVEL: A Forum on Fiction* 17, no. 1 (Autumn 1983): 28–43; Esty, *Unseasonable Youth*, 53; Susan Fraiman, "The Mill on the Floss, the Critics, and the Bildungsroman," *PMLA* 108, no. 1 (January 1993): 147.

law (Wakem)—which by extension points to the legal system underlying the economic operations of Guest & Co.¹⁸⁵ Mr. Tulliver, though, thinks in terms of the temporality of inheritance and ancestry: “Dorlcote Mill’s been in our family a hundred year and better and nobody ever heard of a Pivart meddling with the river,” he says to Mrs. Moss, his sister. “But I’ll *Pivart* him!” (163, emphasis in original).

The twisting of his neighbor’s own name into a hex (“I’ll *Pivart* him!”) resonates with the narrator’s uptake of Mr. Tulliver’s repeated tautology, “water’s water.” Early in the novel, the narrator characterizes the dispute as having been “a tangled business somehow, for it all seemed—look at it one way—as plain as water’s water,” later repeated as “the principle that water was water” as Mr. Tulliver holds forth to his family (18, 163). According to Jordan Brower, these aquatic tautologies refer to Mr. Tulliver’s “natural riparian rights,” and despite his ideas’ status as logical fallacies, he nonetheless would likely have had the legal upper hand had the law of the day been followed to the letter.¹⁸⁶ Of course, these riparian rights aren’t followed to the letter, the “cock-fight” of the law wrests Mr. Tulliver’s land from him, and after he dies the water he seemed to know so well eventually destroys the mill and his family. Of all Mr. Tulliver’s misunderstandings, though, the most important one comes when he expresses this aquatic tautology in his own reported speech. Around the same table with his family, he exclaims to his sister and her husband:

“Gore’s no fool—you needn’t tell me that,” he observed presently, in a pugnacious tone, as if poor Gritty [his sister] had been urging that lawyer’s capabilities, “but, you see, he isn’t up to the law as Wakem is. And water’s a very particular thing—you can’t pick it up with a pitchfork. That’s why it’s been nuts

¹⁸⁵ Nathan K. Hensley, “Database and the Future Anterior: Reading *The Mill on the Floss* Backwards,” *Genre* 50, no. 1 (April 2017): 126.

¹⁸⁶ Jordan Brower, “*The Mill on the Floss*, Riparian Law, and the Difficulty of Judgment,” *ELH* 83, no. 1 (Spring 2016): 220–21.

to Old Harry [his name for the Devil] and the lawyers. It's plain enough what's the rights and the wrongs of water, if you look at it straight forrard; for a river's a river, and if you've got a mill, you must have water to turn it, and it's no use telling me, Pivart's erigation and nonsense won't stop my wheel: I know what belongs to water better than that. Talk to me o' what th' engineers say! I say it's common sense, as Pivart's dykes must do me an injury. But if that's their engineering, I'll put Tom to it by and by, and he shall see if he can't find a bit more sense in th' engineering business than what *that* comes to." (164, emphasis in original)

In an immediate sense, Mr. Tulliver is right about one thing: "Pivart's erigation and nonsense won't stop my wheel." The mill does keep turning up until the flood destroys it. His concern that the mill might stop reveals a far more telling preconception about the nature of water. By linking the construction of irrigation canals—that is, the creation of additional miles of waterways—to the reduction of the amount of available water for him and his neighbors—the "injury" the irrigation canals threaten to do him—Mr. Tulliver appraises water as a precious natural resource with a finite supply, subject to a kind of scarcity generally attributed to resources extracted from the earth, such as gold or silver. When he refers to Pivart's irrigation canals as "dykes," Mr. Tulliver uses the original Old English sense of the word, referring to a narrow ditch.¹⁸⁷ These upstream projects, to Mr. Tulliver, fundamentally misunderstand what water is in the St. Ogg's area. In his logic, by feeding a farm that might grow wheat, which you can "pick... up with a pitchfork," irrigation's diversion of water from the river disqualifies that water from being seen as water at all. As he views it, water must follow its own currents and timeworn path in order to register in his folk understanding of how this precious resource can be allotted.

When Mr. Tulliver voices his tautological understanding of the nature of water, he distinguishes it from the narrator's formulations by referring to a specific body of water:

¹⁸⁷ "Dike | Dyke, n.1," *OED Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed July 14, 2017, <http://www.oed.com.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/view/Entry/52707>.

“It’s plain enough what’s the rights and the wrongs of water, if you look at it straight forrard; for *a river’s a river*, and if you’ve got a mill, you must have water to turn it” (164, emphasis added). Eliot allows Mr. Tulliver to name the body of water, and in doing so, Mr. Tulliver links himself not to fluids in an abstract sense but instead to a specific feature of the local hydrography. Unlike “water,” “river” implies movement. The current has enabled the Tullivers to operate their mill for over a century (at least in the family patriarch’s recounting), and the key question governing their future is ostensibly one of resource rights. Mr. Tulliver’s understanding of the key issues at the start of the novel would seem to prompt the question, Who can lay stake to certain shares of the River Floss? as the novel’s driving narrative problem.

Unfortunately for the Tullivers, this isn’t the case. The novel moves away from this kind of query and instead exploits Mr. Tulliver’s very misunderstanding of water as a dynamizing narrative tension. Clearly, the novel cares about Mr. Tulliver being wrong about water. But the important aquatic errors Mr. Tulliver makes, I claim, are not logical or legal ones, but rather ones of classification. First, he refers to the body of water as a “river” when Dorlcote Mill is in fact situated on the Ripple, which is a tributary and not a full river like the Floss. Second, and more crucially, these concerns about the water rights and current strength ignore the other, more powerful aquatic force in the area: the tide. In other words, to the extent that Mr. Tulliver’s understanding of water is fatally flawed, his failure—and even his family’s generational failure—to recognize the area as an estuary is the most fatal of those flaws. What Mr. Tulliver and his family fail to understand is that, in the broader logic of the novel, Dorlcote Mill is not just situated on the Ripple tributary of the River Floss; it in fact sits at an estuarial gateway between the North Sea and the

interior of Britain. In addition to the fact that St. Ogg's maritime exposure is exactly what draws the capital of ecological speculators like Pivart and the Guest family to the area in the first place, the tension at the heart of Mr. Tulliver's position is fundamentally caused by the collision of two different kinds of water powered by two different kinds of flow, already described in the novel's opening: river water "hurrie[d]" by "a lively current," and seawater "rushing" with "the loving tide" (9). As I discuss, this aquatic intersection is the fundamental hydrographic structure of the novel's form. It is also actually implicated in the Tulliver family's destruction and the ecological catastrophe of the dénouement. This muddying of formal structure and surface representation is, I think, what makes the novel's plot so troublingly sententious: anything on a repeat reading seems like a candidate to explain the moral meaning behind the flood. Ironically, recognizing the multiple valences of Eliot's estuarial form leads me to a suggestion for an ecological explanation for the flood that takes Mr. Tulliver's understanding of water as a scarce resource and turns it on its head.

What if Mr. Tulliver is not downstream at all? What if instead he is more saliently peritidal? Whereas the more familiar term "intertidal" refers to a coastal area covered at high tide, "peritidal" indicates a wider ecology encompassing areas both permanently covered by the tide and also areas typically above the high-water mark. According to an authoritative geological glossary, the highest and furthest inland area of peritidal zones lie "somewhat above [the] highest storm or spring tides."¹⁸⁸ Taking into account that the flood at the novel's end is meant to be extraordinary, and as I discuss below, is strictly speaking not caused by a storm, but rather by a biannual tidal pattern, Mr. Tulliver's

¹⁸⁸ Klaus K. E. Neuendorf, James P. Mehl, Jr., and Julia A. Jackson, eds., *Glossary of Geology*, 5th edition (Alexandria, Va.: American Geological Institute, 2005), 483, 344, 377.

position would indeed seem to be peritidal: within the tidal basin, but on its edges. The inland tidal patterns of the area around St. Ogg's and Dorlcote Mill are specifically characteristic of estuaries. According to Terry R. Healy, an environmental scientist and coastal science specialist, "Central to the concept [of an estuary] is that *estuaries are the tidal mouths of rivers*." Approximating a consensus among many sources in geology, Healy settles on "tidal river" as a term to describe the freshwater half of an estuary and the effects its maritime exposure has on its flow and water level.¹⁸⁹ This description applies to the St. Ogg's hydrography from the novel's beginning. Recall the entire opening sentence: "A wide plain, where the broadening Floss hurries on between its green banks to the sea, and the loving tide, rushing to meet it, checks its passage with an impetuous embrace." Here, at the tidal mouth of a river, the sea meets the current at the site of an estuary, well within the rising and falling tide. Subsequently in the novel's opening, the narrator broadens the perspective to move us to the edges of the tidal zone: "Far away on each hand stretch the rich pastures and the patches of dark earth, made ready for the seed of broad-leaved green crops, or touched already with the ting of the tender-bladed autumn-sown corn." As the view of the area broadens, the seasonality of the agriculture is drawn closer to the movement of the estuary's conjoined flows. In this context, the narrator introduces the Ripple and Dorlcote Mill, expanding the water table and adding a non-tidal fresh water element to the scene: "Just by the red-roofed town the tributary Ripple flows with a lively current into the Floss." Significantly, this is the only time that "current" is used in the novel to refer directly to the movement of fresh water until the flood in the dénouement. (Subsequent parts of the novel use "current" to refer to

¹⁸⁹ Terry R. Healy, "Estuaries," in *Encyclopedia of Coastal Science*, ed. Maurice L. Schwartz (New York: Springer, 2006), 436, emphasis in original.

strong emotion, and at times metaphorically use aquatic imagery to convey the vicissitudes of sentiment.) After the narrator inserts herself into the scene—"I remember those large dipping willows... I remember the stone bridge..."—the mill that is close to the Floss, but not strictly speaking on the Floss, is named: "And this is Dorlcote Mill" (9). This naming of a different kind of water flow more typical to streams, tributaries, and other bodies of fresh water situates Dorlcote Mill on the outskirts of the tidal river Floss and the St. Ogg's estuary it flows into. Mr. Tulliver's peritidal mill and his claim to the Ripple are directly adjacent to the tide and the maritime exposure it provides, while also moving him just far enough inland from the provincial port to explain his lack of concern with the commercial development of Pivart's irrigation works and the shipping and development projects of Guest & Co. At root, Mr. Tulliver commits the most basic mistake that everyone first learns about the ocean: don't turn your back on the tide.

This reading is not meant to unfairly skewer Mr. Tulliver for not having a coastal geologist's understanding of tidal cycles commensurate with his understanding of the cycles of the wheat harvest. Rather, Eliot analogizes the seasonality of agriculture with the seasonality of the particular flood pattern of the river on which she modeled the Floss. In a study of the relationship between agriculture and tides in Eliot's novel, Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Richard Marggraf Turley, and Howard Thomas claim, "*The Mill on the Floss* is as much a tidal novel as it is an arable one.... [The novel] is a tidal novel in that its material and metaphorical realities, its flow and level, are informed and shaped by the tide. The Floss's status as a tidal river shapes the land through which it runs; it makes that land fertile, and it offers those who live on its banks a power that is simultaneously

productive and threatening.”¹⁹⁰ This concept of the tidal river, though, only focuses on flow in one direction (the tide’s physical influence on inland water level); does not take into account the differences in the types of flow at work here (current and tide); and loses sight of the sea as a key imaginative space for the novel, even if it is one that is not directly represented. In the context of my discussion, the many confluences here—tidal and arable, material reality and metaphorical reality, water power as both productive and threatening—are clearly suggestive of estuarial structure, both as an actual feature of the hydrography and as a feature of the novel’s formal presentation. But Archer et al. do not discuss the area as an estuary. Rather, for them, “[t]he Floss’s status as a tidal river” is the primary lens through which they view their inquiry. In describing the tidal-and-arable dynamic—not a dichotomy, not yet a dialectic—as crossing “material and metaphorical realities,” Archer et al. apply the tidal river primarily to thematic analysis. While this essay’s formal treatment of *The Mill on the Floss*’s aquaculture is only glancing, it goes to exemplary lengths to demonstrate Eliot’s deep research into Lincolnshire’s tidal hydrography. According to the authors, Eliot traveled to Gainsborough to observe a “tidal bore,” the biannual event where the river rises by around one and a half meters.¹⁹¹ The historical name for this is the “Aegir,” though Eliot uses the Old English spelling “Eagre”¹⁹² in her description of Tom and Maggie’s collective knowledge of the event:

It was one of their happy mornings. They trotted along and sat down together with no thought that life would ever change much for them: they would only get bigger and not go to school, and it would always be like the holidays; they would always live together and be fond of each other, and the mill with its booming—the great chestnut tree under which they played at houses, their own little river, the Ripple, where the banks seemed like home, and Tom was always seeing the water-rats,

¹⁹⁰ Archer, Turley, and Thomas, “Moving Accidents by Flood and Field,” 702, 714.

¹⁹¹ Archer, Turley, and Thomas, 714.

¹⁹² “Eagre, N.,” *OED Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed July 16, 2017, <http://www.oed.com.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/view/Entry/58945>.

while Maggie gathered the purple plummy tops of the reeds which she forgot and dropped afterwards, above all, the great Floss along which they wandered with a sense of travel, to see the rushing spring tide—the awful Eagre—come up like a hungry monster, or to see the Great Ash, which had once wailed and groaned like a man—these things would always be just the same to them. (44-45)

The long sentence that constitutes the majority of this passage is couched in an uncertain combination of conditional speculation (“they would always live together and be fond of each other”) and some subordinated, generalized past tense (“Tom was always seeing the water-rats, while Maggie gathered the purple plummy tops of the reeds”). Though sandwiched between two em dashes, the periodic flood, “the awful Eagre,” is one of the only parts of the reverie not couched in an uncertain conditional tense. By naming the Eagre, the narrator strongly suggests that Tom and Maggie have witnessed it, though given the grammatical uncertainty cast over the whole sentence, it is possible that the Eagre’s periodic flooding is simply a common occurrence they have heard of without actually having seen it for themselves. In either case, Eliot’s narrator clearly presents local flooding as a part of the folk knowledge of local residents.

This makes the sentence following this passage’s mentioning of the Eagre—the only such mention in the entire novel—all the more striking. The narrator continues by separating out the thoughts of the two siblings: “Tom thought people were at a disadvantage who lived on any other spot of the globe, and Maggie when she read about Christiana passing ‘the river over which there is no bridge’ always saw the Floss between the green pastures by the Great Ash” (45). It’s possible to read this in gendered terms, as the male sibling being more knowledgeable about the world and the sister being more concerned with affairs closer to home. I read the narrator’s presentation of the two indirect snippets of consciousness as overlapping, mixed like two types of interflowing waters. Tom unexpectedly lends the passage a sense of the global, though as Nancy

Henry attests, Eliot's narrator in *The Mill on the Floss* consistently casts her characters' consciousness to locales at the fringes of British imperial space.¹⁹³ Specifically, Tom discusses this global sense with the potential for the local knowledge his family has of Dorlcote Mill. The phrasing "any other spot of the globe" implies a deep-rooted provincialism of a piece with their own, the "spot" pointing to potential for another pair of siblings to know their own "great chestnut tree" and have their own "Great Ash... wail[ing] and groan[ing] like a man." The narrator quotes Maggie's description of the fields by the Great Ash to indicate that "the river over which there is no bridge" is a reference to *The Pilgrim's Progress*, which is an important intertext for Eliot's portrayal of agrarian life (563n5.2). According to Garrett Stewart, the recollection of the "awful Eagre" puts Maggie in mind of death in the quoting of "the river over which there is no bridge," and aesthetically fates her to death by drowning in the flood.¹⁹⁴ It is important to note, however, that Eliot's exact rendering of the description of this metaphorical river does not appear in Bunyan's text. The closest approximation of this phrase occurs when the pilgrims encounter an actual river in the Land of Beulah: "In this land they heard nothing, saw nothing, felt nothing, smelt nothing, tasted nothing, that was offensive to their stomach or mind; only when they tasted of the water of the river over which they were to go, they thought that it tasted a little bitterish to the palate, but it proved sweeter when it was down."¹⁹⁵ Eliot's reference to a riverine location where Bunyan's pilgrims

¹⁹³ Nancy Henry, *George Eliot and the British Empire* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 30–31.

¹⁹⁴ Garrett Stewart, *Death Sentences: Styles of Dying in British Fiction* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), 115.

¹⁹⁵ John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress from This World to That Which Is to Come* (New York: Sheldon & Company, 1864), 463.

taste the mixing of “bitterish” and “sweeter” waters testifies to the centrality of the estuary as a literary antecedent as well as a formal model for her novel.

What is further important about Eliot particular reference to a possible estuarial forerunner is that whereas in *The Pilgrim's Progress* the pilgrims taste the different waters at varying depths, in *The Mill on the Floss*, both the townspeople and the external interlopers interact primarily with the water's surface. This is a crucial point for my claims here. Beyond identifying the St. Ogg's aquaculture as estuarial, my discussion of the intersecting types of flow further reveals how the ecology's surface representation and the narrative structure of the novel collapse into each other at the site of the estuary. Neither Tom nor Maggie, nor Pivart nor Stephen Guest, appear to have any sense of water as an ecological element with depth, only extent and power. In her powerful analysis of water flow and energy systems in *The Mill on the Floss*, Elizabeth Carolyn Miller claims that the characters' inability to fully comprehend the energy systems drawn from their surroundings testifies to the limits of individual consciousness of ecological time. “Humans are ill-equipped to understand the long temporal arcs of the energy systems they use,” Miller writes, and after the flood at the novel's end, when “Eliot's narrator is poised between the future and the past,” the novel demands that an ideal reader also inhabits these multiple temporalities.¹⁹⁶ While Miller is more focused on temporality, her analysis provides a compelling account of the formal doubling certainly elusive to the characters in the novel and implicitly elusive to the mode of reading the novel suggests. The depth of the water not only makes the flood that much more powerful

¹⁹⁶ Elizabeth Carolyn Miller, “Fixed Capital and the Flow: Water Power and *The Mill on the Floss*,” in *Ecological Form: System and Aesthetics in the Age of Empire*, ed. Nathan K. Hensley and Philip Steer (New York: Fordham University Press, 2018), 11–12. This essay is in a collection forthcoming in 2018. The citation here is from a Word document typescript supplied by the author.

and lethal; it also enables the area's navigability by those resource-bearing ships at the beginning of the novel that presage the presence and, furthermore, the endurance of Mr. Pivart, Stephen Guest, and their cohort of contemporary businessmen that thrive in "these days of rapid money-getting, when lavishness comes close on the back of want" (130). Further entangled with the saline and the fresh is the intersection of capitalist exchange and shipping capacity. Fully appreciating what the St. Ogg's estuary means for Eliot's vision of St. Ogg's conjoined places on the map of international commerce and the map of Britain itself entails discussing where, exactly, the flow can take us.

Estuaries matter to a reading of economics and ecology not only because they entangle, but because they lead to two different places. While Eliot is invested in the maritime exposure of her provincial port, ultimately her novel is an inland novel. Therefore, what comes of the entanglement at the heart of estuarial form will ultimately point to how the novel affects the inland precincts of Britain, and that is most clearly seen in how Eliot develops an idea of hydrographic capital along the shipping lanes that take provincial goods to market. According to Deanna K. Kreisel, the flood "is an end to both the 'economic' and 'romantic' plots," and the novel's voyages inland begin formally anticipating the dénouement as it brings economics and romance closer together (however unfortunate the voyages turn out).¹⁹⁷ If *The Mill on the Floss* has an idea of what capital is—not to the Guests of the world, but to its own form—it is inland navigability. Some contemporary ecocriticism has tended to conflate capital and ecology, especially in Jason W. Moore's influential work. But when he claims, "Capitalism takes shape through the co-production of nature, the pursuit of power, and the accumulation of

¹⁹⁷ Deanna K. Kreisel, *Economic Woman: Demand, Gender, and Narrative Closure in Eliot and Hardy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 114.

capital,” and further argues that “these three moments interpenetrate each other in the making of historical capitalism,” he does not take into account that the experience of ecological transformation often does not register to individuals as being swept up in a world system worthy of critique.¹⁹⁸ The characters of Eliot’s novel—a novel deeply invested in its particular historical moment—experience the global capitalism as land dispossession, destruction, and poverty, that is, as experientially local and systematically related to projects of ecological change, not to a world system. When coal, linseed, and timber make their way inland from the Northern Sea, the concern on the surface is with the use of the water, and with the ability to ship those raw materials to larger markets in inland locales like York and Scotland. It is only our reading of estuarial form that connects St. Ogg’s with global capitalism.

This is where Mr. Tulliver’s conception of “a river’s a river” comes back around with an improbably important insight into what, exactly, these businessmen are doing to the water in this novel. His concern that Mr. Pivart’s irrigation system would lessen the amount of water available for Dorlcote Mill misjudges the sheer amount of water in a robust river system in the first place, as discussed above. However, Mr. Tulliver nearly does identify that the actual resource in the novel is navigable capacity in the water table, one that development projects are working hard to increase. That is: Mr. Pivart’s irrigation system does not pose a significant threat to Mr. Tulliver in terms of the latter’s ability to run Dorlcote Mill. Mr. Tulliver appears to have a valid legal complaint with Mr. Pivart, in terms of his downstream water rights, but he likely does not have a valid hydrographic one. What actually does threaten the area’s ecology and, I suggest, raise the

¹⁹⁸ Jason W. Moore, *Capitalism in the Web of Life: Ecology and the Accumulation of Capital* (New York: Verso, 2015), 46.

flood's level of destruction is the system of inland shipping and recreation pathways developed by businesses like Guest & Co. Because these waterways are deep enough to be navigable, they contribute to an increase in the water table, and therefore the volume of tidal waters the estuary is forced to contend with—and, indeed, is unable to—at the heavy Eagre that washes the mill and the narrative away. Just as the Lincolnshire Eliot toured showed her tidal rivers she could adapt into the Floss, so did her native Warwickshire feature many of these shipping lanes that she could adapt into the Guest & Co. network.

Images of canals and the “glitter of coal” that could be carried on them featured prominently in Eliot's childhood. Eliot's father, Robert Evans, managed the properties of the aristocratic Newdigates, and in a critical biography of the writer, Nancy Henry describes how the canals within the Newdigate estate itself connected its coal mining operations to a vast canal system throughout England:

As estate manager for the Newdigate family, Robert had responsibility for overseeing the tenants, as well as for various forms of land usage including farming, timber-cutting, and coal mining. The coal seam beneath the Arbury property was particularly rich and had been exploited by the previous generation of Newdigates, remaining their primary source of income. Canals on the property were connected to a canal system that shipped coal throughout the north of England, where industrial expansion in the urban centers in turn enriched the landed aristocracy by creating new markets for coal. The image of coal-laden ships floating into port that opens *The Mill on the Floss* seems to be informed by a memory of coal barges on the canal from Mary Ann's childhood and transferred to her fictional River Floss, the “black ships—laden with the fresh-scented fir-planks, with rounded sacks of oil-bearing seed, or with the dark glitter of coal” [...] Commerce and the transportation networks that arose to serve it, including canals and eventually trains, connected isolated rural villages with the rest of the world.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁹ Nancy Henry, *The Life of George Eliot: A Critical Biography* (Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 26.

Eliot carries forward this interest in connecting the rural with the global into her work, but nowhere in pursuing these connections does she unite form and ecology quite to the extent that she does in *The Mill on the Floss*. The ships at the novel's opening that I discussed previously and that Henry cites above represent the "connect[ion ...] with the rest of the world" on the maritime side of the estuary. In order to make this global connection meaningful, though, these villages must then have some commercial connection to the rest of Britain. In *The Mill on the Floss*, it is not enough for Guest & Co. to simply receive the linseed from Russia for extraction at their oil mills, into which they intend to convert Dorlcote Mill. The oil must then be moved via a secondary connection to markets within Britain. That connection runs along inland shipping lanes analogous to the canal system Henry discusses. Though there is no estate with internal canals in Eliot's novel as there was in her childhood, there is a system of developed shipping lanes in the novel—a "transportation networ[k] that arose to serve" commerce in the area—that connects St. Ogg's specifically with northern marketplaces.

Shipping waterways surface at a crucial moment in the narrative: during Maggie's inland voyage with Stephen Guest, which turns into an abduction and a forcible marriage proposal. The narrator describes Stephen rowing the pair inland: "They glided rapidly along, Stephen rowing, helped by the backward-flowing tide" (484). Unlike the forceful Floss flowing toward the estuary and the sea—or even the small but enthusiastic Ripple contributing to it—the flow of this inland waterway takes them further away from St. Ogg's, and therefore against the natural direction of the area's waterways. Though the chapter title is "Borne Along by the Tide," the narrator specifies that Maggie and Stephen are borne along by a "backward-flowing tide," a tide against nature (477, 484). As the

day stretches into night, and the voyage becomes more disastrous, Stephen flags down a wind-powered Dutch shipping vessel that takes them to a town uninvitingly named Mudport, from which they return to St. Ogg's. Stephen recalls that "the steamer to Mudport" had previously passed them (488). When their recreation turns disastrous, the nautical salvation available on this waterway are, as Henry would have it, the representatives of the "[c]ommerce and transportation networks"—the Dutch sailing ship and the steamer to Mudport, respectively—that developed in the interior of Britain. As Stephen himself professes, his goal is to take them to Torby, a town within distance of York much further north (485). Their ability to travel north, away from the sea and against natural tides, testifies to the shipping system's extent and the effacement of conscious decision-making both from the scene of the voyage-turned-abduction and from the flow of the water itself. According to Nathan K. Hensley, Stephen and Maggie's voyage "is the crisis point in the novel's historical plot, where the old language of force and of possession has come into irresolvable conflict with the new voluntarist idiom of consent, of equal relations among sovereign agents."²⁰⁰ Hensley refers to the contrast between Maggie's strong protestations against Stephen's coercion and physical force—" 'Let me go!' she said, in an agitated tone, flashing an indignant look at him, and trying to get her hands free. 'You have wanted to deprive me of any choice' " (486)—and Stephen's protestations that they are not, in fact, conscious actors:

See, Maggie, how everything has come without our seeking—in spite of all our efforts. We never thought of being alone together again—it has all been done by others. See how the tide is carrying us out—away from all those unnatural bonds that we have been trying to make faster round us—and trying in vain. It will carry us on to Torby, and we can land there, and get some carriage, and hurry on to York, and then to Scotland—and never pause a moment till we are bound to each other so that only death can part us. It is the only right thing—dearest—it is the

²⁰⁰ Hensley, *Forms of Empire*, 74.

only way of escaping from this wretched entanglement. Everything has concurred to point it out to us. We have contrived nothing, we have thought of nothing ourselves. (485)

Maggie listens intently but is not fooled by any of this. While Stephen's account of his actions and their situation is untrustworthy, to say the least—an attempt to hijack the language of entanglement for his nefarious ends—he describes mostly accurately the currents underlying the physical movements of their boats. “See how the tide is carrying us out,” he says. “It will carry us on to Torby.” His description of the “backward-flowing tide” as “carrying us out” implies that the tide will carry them further “out” into a larger body of water. This is not strictly true (except in whatever dubious, metaphorical sense he may mean as regards his imagined future with Maggie), as the waterway does not promise to widen or empty into a lake, but it does promise to take them into ever-increasing spaces in Britain, from Torby to York to Scotland. As the shipping lane's ability to reverse the flow of the Floss's tide and provide access to these northern destinations is made clear, Eliot begins to pepper Stephen's speech with the language of enmeshment reflective of the novel's estuarial form: the “wretched entanglement” of their situation, and Stephen's desire to bind themselves to each other “so that only death can part us.” Like many passages, this presages the “embrace never to be parted” of the final flood, but formally, it serves as a reminder that the estuarial rhetoric of entanglement encompasses the entire novel, even on a developed waterway during a marriage proposal made in bad faith.

Unlike in Eliot's childhood, there is no active mining operation in *The Mill on the Floss*. Though we do see the fruits of mining in the coal and its “dark glitter” in the beginning of the novel, coal is only mentioned once again, when Mrs. Tulliver chastises Mr. Tulliver for splitting a large piece of coal into smaller pieces of coal that burn more

quickly (“it’s very wasteful, breaking the coal, and we’ve hardly got any large coal left” [279]). There does exist, however, a defunct mining operation: the Red Deeps, an extinct quarry near “the pleasant fields... bounded by the murmuring Ripple” overgrown into a classic pastoral ruin: “an exhausted stone-quarry—so long exhausted that both mounts and hollows were now clothed with brambles and trees, and here and there by a stretch of grass which a few sheep kept close-nibbled” (309-10). Here, Maggie makes her rendezvous with Philip Wakem against her family’s wishes—even though she thinks of him fondly but not entirely romantically. The aesthetic covering of the quarry and its framing of Maggie meeting a man she holds dear to me most significantly presage the novel’s ending—not the flood, but the postdiluvian conclusion, in which “Nature repairs her ravages—but not all” (543). Maggie and Tom are buried “among the trees of the Red Deeps, where buried joy seemed still to hover” (544). In this conclusion, trading operations have resumed, as the “wharves and warehouses on the Floss were busy again, with echoes of eager voices, with hopeful lading and unlading,” suggesting that the inland shipping network survives the flood, or is repaired (543). The details of the burial site and the shipping network’s continued operation would be linked for Eliot. The Coventry Canal, on which Eliot likely based the St. Ogg’s waterways, had a branch that served the quarry at Griff Hollows, the model for the Red Deeps. That branch is no longer operable today, having gone extinct like the Red Deeps itself.²⁰¹ Maggie and Tom’s intertwined burial—“two bodies that were found in close embrace”—in a single grave in an exhausted quarry near a shipping network for international commerce ends the novel with a testament to the pervasiveness of Eliot’s estuarial form. The Biblical

²⁰¹ John Burton, “George Eliot Country: A Self-Guided Tour” (Nuneaton and Bedworth Borough Council, March 2006), <http://www.weddingtoncastle.co.uk/uploads/1/9/5/1/19515001/georgeeliottour.pdf>.

epitaph at the end—“In their death they were not divided”—directly refers to Tom and Maggie’s fatal embrace (543-44). Formally, though, this epitaph underscores the estuarial entanglement that pervades the entirety of *The Mill on the Floss* as well as Eliot’s commitment to restoring the landscape scoured by the flood to its proper historical state. After the Eagre destroys the world of St. Ogg’s and Dorlcote Mill, Eliot takes care to rebuild both the mill and the area’s access to the trading world after the flood washes both away. Most of the Tulliver family does not survive, but the “eager voices” and their “hopeful lading and unlading—that is, the aspiration to commercial success—do.

“I Had No Notion that a Place on a Sea-Coast Could Remain So Isolated from the World”

In *Nostromo*, the mining operation is very much active. As the main reason for Sulaco’s prominent place on the global economic stage, the San Tomé mine and its silver are crucial to the story. Conrad is much more interested in describing the relationship between the area’s ecology and the town—and, furthermore, between that ecological surround and the townsfolk themselves. Ian Watt has said that *Nostromo*, along with other of Conrad’s later novels, is “not primarily concerned with the sea” and instead centers on “the movement of the protagonist towards another person or group.”²⁰² While Sulaco’s maritime exposure is very important to my reading of the novel, Watt’s claim illuminates a crucial distinction: *Nostromo* does not contain extended episodes on a ship

²⁰² The other late novels Watt groups with *Nostromo* are *Under Western Eyes* (1911) and *Victory* (1915). *Victory* is a novel about island life—its subtitle being *An Island Tale*—so Watt’s criteria for a novel’s being “concerned with the sea” would appear to be quite strict. Ian Watt, *Conrad in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1979), 32.

as *The Nigger of the "Narcissus"* (1897), *Heart of Darkness* (1899), or *Lord Jim* (1900) all do; instead, it is more specifically about proximity to the sea as an ecological, discursive, and colonial space, and the interactions between seaborne people and powers, the residents of the mining town, and that town's terrestrial resources. While I do not really think Conrad's novel has a single protagonist (it's a position shared by Carlos Gould, Doña Emilia, the titular character, and, in certain scene-stealing moments, Martin Decoud), my geographic reading does discuss the movement of smaller things toward larger forces: the silver toward overseas commerce, the people of Sulaco toward Euro-American imperialisms, and Sulaco as a political entity toward a resource-extractive type of self-determination.

In this narrative of ecological change under the pressure of international markets, I claim, reading for the relationship between the maritime and the landed is all the more important. As in Eliot, *Nostramo* features a geo-aquatic bulwark that limits the amount and kinds of mercantile traffic that can come to port. Unlike in Eliot, Conrad represents that entire protective zone, in which many locales are crucial to the plot. Because of this, the type of spatial interaction that formally circumscribes *Nostramo*'s narrative is not entirely aquatic, as it was in *The Mill on the Floss*. Indeed, it's not tidal at all. Instead, I argue, the geoformal logic of *Nostramo* is extractive. Here, I show how extraction in this far-flung town at the edge of imperial domains—but very much near center of imperial-capitalist consciousness—is a process that transpires over land and sea. Extraction in Conrad's narrative operates on multiple conjoined levels: the actual extraction and refinement of silver ore, which in turn depends on the extractive attachments to Sulaco's community of competing governmental and imperial power structures, namely the

unstable government of Costaguana, the Costaguanan rebellion, San Franciscan financiers and the global markets they serve, and the military force of European and American empires.

In order for these forces to reach Sulaco's port, they must pass through this novel's geo-aquatic bulwark: the Golfo Placido. Recall the opening paragraph to the novel:

In the time of Spanish rule, and for many years afterwards, the town of Sulaco—the luxuriant beauty of the orange gardens bears witness to its antiquity—had never been commercially anything more important than a coasting port with a fairly large local trade in ox-hides and indigo. The clumsy deep-sea galleons of the conquerors that, needing a brisk gale to move at all, would lie becalmed, where your modern ship built on clipper lines forges ahead by the mere flapping of her sails, had been barred out of Sulaco by the prevailing calms of its vast gulf. Some harbours of the earth are made difficult of access by the treachery of sunken rocks and the tempests of their shores. Sulaco had found an inviolable sanctuary from the temptations of a trading world in the solemn hush of the deep Golfo Placido as if within an enormous semi-circular and unroofed temple open to the ocean, with its walls of lofty mountains hung with the mourning draperies of cloud. (5)

As in Eliot's novel, the protective bulwark—the “lofty mountains” this time, as opposed to the Lincolnshire fens—permits only a certain kind of ship traffic, and in Conrad, those ships were once clippers and are now steamers. Consequently, the Oceanic Steam Navigation Company employs a great many residents of Sulaco, just as Guest & Co. directs much economic activity in St. Ogg's and its countryside. In both novels, the fictionalization of the location acts as a further formal barrier to what Conrad calls the “trading world.” Gainsborough, Lincolnshire has been called the model for St. Ogg's, and Costaguana appears to be an amalgam of Colombia, Panama, Bolivia, and parts of Uruguay and Argentina. Maya Jasanoff suggests that Conrad's research into the rural areas around the enormous Río de la Plata estuary and its basin, where Uruguay and Argentina's inland development gives way to farmland around the Atlantic Ocean,

inspired Conrad to wed a maritime plot with silver extraction, his novel's differing topography notwithstanding.²⁰³ At first this bulwark shields town residents from the full brunt of imperial capitalism. The removal of the silver from the mine, provoked by the latest civil war in the capital of Costaguana, brings the full forces of the revolutionaries and the economic imperialists to the little town of Sulaco, turning the Golfo Placido significantly less placid. Sulaco is on the narrative and economic-imperial map because the remoteness of this town at the center of an expansive, geoformally protective gulf has demanded the installation of a local regime to manage resources and port on behalf of the markets. As Stephen Guest and petty lenders enjoy economic power in St. Ogg's due to their situation on a key transit point in trade routes between Northern Europe and the North of Britain, so does the Anglo-Costaguanan Charles Gould enjoy the backing of San Franciscan investors in the San Tomé silver mine, authorizing his authority over a precious resource through the backing of American capital, as well as the naval forces that protect that capital.

While both Eliot and Conrad make use of a geographic bulwark to emphasize the inland situating of their ports, only in Conrad is this bulwark represented wholesale. As shown previously, in Eliot, the narrative flows back and forth from St. Ogg's to different inland locales. In Conrad, the narrative burrows deeper and deeper into Sulaco, both geographically and socially. We see the interior of the mine, the islands in the middle of the gulf in which Martin Decoud and Nostromo hide the silver, and the inner workings of Sulaco's society. The narrative is extractive not only because these scenes ultimately revolve around silver mining, but moreover because the narrative reveals how the arcs of

²⁰³ Maya Jasanoff, *The Dawn Watch: Joseph Conrad in a Global World* (New York: Penguin, 2017), 248–52.

these characters' lives bend around silver and the almost mystical power it contains.

Beneath the foothills, mountains, shores, and waters of the Golfo Placido lies an interlinked social web of unexpected depth—all knit together by the social activity organized around maintaining the mining operation.

While much work goes into the actual mining itself, Conrad's focus in this novel is on the administrators who run the mine and their interactions with military, financial, and cultural actors who are drawn to Sulaco by the town's curious position as a lucrative site of international commerce that is, at once, far on the outskirts of global consciousness. Macarena Gómez-Barris gives the name "the extractive zone" to the geographic bounds of communal life in an area defined by ecological imperialism. Perceiving forms of social life and customs that have grown up in areas of ecological manipulation, Gómez-Barris writes, prompts the critic "to question what lies beneath the visible world of *the extractive zone* and to seek out less perceivable worlds, life forms, and the organization of relations with them, while creating new methods to allow for this tracking."²⁰⁴ This type of conceptual, relational thinking typifies theory and criticism that raises the visibility of isolated spaces and connects them into a decentralized network, especially work in island and oceanic studies.²⁰⁵ Sulaco's link to the centralized power of

²⁰⁴ Macarena Gómez-Barris, *The Extractive Zone: Social Ecologies and Decolonial Perspectives* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2017), xv, emphasis in original.

²⁰⁵ Édouard Glissant is often credited as the pioneer of this type of relational thinking in cultural studies. Note that relational thinking in this context is mostly distinct from the psychoanalytic concept of relation. *Poetics of Relation*, trans. Betsy Wing (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1997).

See further Rebecca Weaver-Hightower, *Empire Islands: Castaways, Cannibals, and Fantasies of Conquest* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007); Lanny Thompson, *Imperial Archipelago: Representation and Rule in the Insular Territories Under U.S. Dominion after 1898* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010); Irad Malkin, *A Small Greek World: Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); John Brannigan, *Archipelagic Modernism: Literature in the Irish and British Isles, 1890-1970* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015); Brian Russell Roberts and Michelle Ann Stephens, eds., *Archipelagic American Studies* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2017).

imperial capitalism is enduring, which at the center of the Golfo Placido, Conrad's extractive zone, takes the form of the silver itself. As such, social relationality is organized around the hidden world of the mine and at times through actual silver ingots. The extractive task of the narrative is to unearth these hidden worlds and bring them to the novel's surface.

In this reading of the novel, what is all the more striking about the introduction is that this extractive logic spreads from the spatial to the temporal realm. As the narrator introduces the geographic basis for this narrative of silver mining and economic imperialism, it sees the region's past even as it prepares to change its future. Of the novel's first sentence, J. Hillis Miller argues, "If the space of the novel is a panoramic whole, the past, too, is panoramic, spread out as a unit before the narrator's total recall."²⁰⁶ After the narrator calls back to the Age of Exploration ("the time of Spanish rule"), he gestures toward an unspecified subsequent interval: "for many years afterwards." Excepting the few references to the time of the conquistadors, the entirety of this interval is the temporal location from which the narrator depicts Sulaco. From this roughly four-hundred-year vantage point, the story the narrator tells is one of the maturation of an economy's relation to the larger world. Specifically, over the four centuries contained in this paragraph, Sulaco transitions from a production economy to an extraction economy. Initially, the town engaged in a "fairly large local trade in ox-hides and indigo." This not only presages the fact that the San Tomé mine's initial investors would be San Franciscan—as San Francisco was a major consumer of indigo dye in the making of denim overalls and blue jeans for the California Gold Rush—but also

²⁰⁶ J. Hillis Miller, *Communities in Fiction* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2015), 157.

establishes the longstanding situation of the people's being torn between prioritizing mercantilism or the local ecology. Once the "clumsy deep-sea galleons of the conquerors" give way to "your modern ship built on clipper lines," innovations in seafaring technology make international trade at scale possible. An analogous transition takes place in St. Ogg's: once known for "well-crushed cheeses" and "soft fleeces," the expansion of inland shipping opens up larger possibilities in global markets (123). In both locations, moving from sending indigo and ox hides—or cheese and wool—to market, to exporting silver—or shipping the raw materials of the Industrial Revolution inland and north—marks the transition of these agrarian economies from petty mercantilism to providing the underpinnings of imperial capitalism through resource extraction. Clipper ships (in the temporal interval of the first paragraph) and then steamers (in *Nostramo*'s present) have already innovated their way past the "inviolable sanctuary from the temptations of a trading world" and in doing so they announce their presence in the narrative even before the narrator relates that this very sanctuary is the lack of wind in the Golfo Placido—a climatological anomaly whose protective power is already neutralized by the time it is narrated. In this way, *Nostramo*'s opening clears the way for the San Tomé mining operations to take center stage in the narrative's present. While the environment might have provided some protection from the "trading world" in the panorama of the past, as Hillis Miller would put it, the narrative's present and its look to the future is one specifically where the natural resources are subject to extraction and export for economic gain. Sulaco's theory of world history, then, is one that narrates the birth of capital from the womb of empire. By moving from the conquistadors to client-state agrarianism to full-blown imperial capitalism, Conrad moves through phases of

imperialism with an increasing emphasis on the ability of Sulaco to translate its environmental resources into commodities.

Toward the end of the novel, Doña Emilia (Don Carlos's wife, also known as Mrs. Gould) offers a conception of lived temporality that, while seemingly hemmed in by its domesticity, in fact links Conrad's interest in gathering the past, present, and future at a single point with the narrative spatialization of the mining operation:

Had anybody asked her of what she was thinking, alone in the garden of the Casa, with her husband at the mine and the house closed to the street like an empty dwelling, her frankness would have had to evade the question. It had come into her mind that for life to be large and full, it must contain the care of the past and of the future in every passing moment of the present. Our daily work must be done to the glory of the dead, and for the good of those who come after. (411)

This devotion to living in a thickly experienced temporality that amalgamates the past, present, and future gives Doña Emilia the magnetism that appears to draw the narrator to her (as in my subsequent reading of her touching the warm silver ingot). Watt claims that this passage speaks to a "[c]ommitment to human solidarity" no matter what "we experience at the spectacle of history," and while the former observation rings true, this passage does directly connect with the narrator's earlier thinking about the relation between silver extraction and historical time.²⁰⁷ In being narrated from the Gould home, where administrative and domestic power in Sulaco intersect, and in being bookended with references to the mining operation, this passage resonates with the narrator's initial description of the Golfo Placido, showing how the narrator's theory of history has a characterological analogue in Doña Emilia's lived experience. In this passage, the initial evocation of the mine is clear in the first sentence. The second reference, though, in her mention of the "glory of the dead," which recalls a moment early in the novel where the

²⁰⁷ Ian Watt, *Essays on Conrad* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 17.

narrator relates that she “knew the history of the San Tomé mine.” That history is a gruesome one: “Worked in the early days mostly by means of lashes on the backs of slaves, its yield had been paid for in its own weight of human bones” (42). Tonally, this passage is a far cry from the domestic scene above. Nonetheless, dredging up the history of the mine and describing “its own weight of human bones” as the price for Sulaco’s prominent place on the map of imperial capitalism celebrates the “glory of the dead” in a way befitting Doña Emilia’s place as an extractive operator in her own right. Reading this latter passage, Brent Hayes Edwards reminds us that Don Carlos still draws from the formerly enslaved indigenous population for inexpensive labor.²⁰⁸ In this way, the history and present of the San Tomé mine maps onto the history of the Potosí mine in Bolivia, a mine set up in the time of the conquistadors in which forced labor, relocation, and low wages ensured a steady labor supply and low labor costs for the local and eventually international investors.²⁰⁹ In addition to bringing multiple relevant historical moments to the fore, the narrator’s theory of history in the initial description of the Golfo Placido instantiates a mode of reading that mark these moments of spatiotemporal collapse as signal moments in the novel’s extractive formal logic. In Doña Emilia’s evocations of the dead, we learn and are made to remember that providing silver to international markets—both the mining activity and its administration—comes with a significant human cost.

Over the years, the silver of the mine has been subject to a variety of readings, many of them symbolic. It has been likened to a sexual fetish, a divine representative of a

²⁰⁸ Brent Hayes Edwards, “Introduction,” in *Nostramo*, by Joseph Conrad, ed. Brent Hayes Edwards (New York: Barnes & Noble Classics, 2004), xxv.

²⁰⁹ Jason W. Moore, “The Rise of Cheap Nature,” in *Anthropocene or Capitalocene? Nature, History, and the Crisis of Capitalism*, ed. Jason W. Moore (Oakland, Calif.: PM Press, 2016), 106.

material “god,” and a totemic symbol of the natural order.²¹⁰ All of these readings are compelling in different ways, especially this last one, but the broader tendency to ascribe an symbolic meaning to the silver—that is, outside of its commercial value or its aesthetic qualities—derives from the fact that Conrad rarely represents the actual precious metal that is such a crucial element of his narrative. There is barely any equivalent of the “dark glitter of coal,” that brief but memorable description from the beginning of Eliot’s novel (9). The silver is rarely even touched. On the one occasion when the silver is touched and that touch is depicted in somatic detail, it is so done while the metal is in a state of malleability. When Doña Emilia first toured the San Tomé mine run by her husband, she does one thing that no one else in the novel does: she touches the warm silver, still cooling after being molded into ingots. In the recollection of this episode, she refuses to ride to her home until

she had seen the first spungy lump of silver yielded to the hazards of the world by the dark depths of the Gould Concession; she had laid her unmercenary hands, with an eagerness that made them tremble, upon the first silver ingot turned out still warm from the mould; and by her imaginative estimate of its power she endowed that lump of metal with a justificative conception, as though it were not a mere fact, but something far-reaching and impalpable, like the true expression of an emotion or the emergency of a principle. (86)

As the warm silver comes out of its mold, still deep inside the earth, it almost seems as though it is being birthed in those “dark depths of the Gould Concession”—presumably close to the bones of the dead indigenous laborers buried in those same depths. The process described here refines and shapes the seilver, taking the ore and making it into an

²¹⁰ Brian Richardson, “Sex, Silver, and Biblical Analogues: Thematic and Intertextual Resolutions at the End of *Nostromo*,” *Conradiana: A Journal of Joseph Conrad Studies* 40, no. 3 (Fall 2008): 301–6; William E. King, “Conrad’s Weltanschauung and the God of Material Interests in *Nostromo*,” *Conradiana: A Journal of Joseph Conrad* 3, no. 3 (1971): 41–45; William R. Mueller, “Man and Nature in Conrad’s *Nostromo*,” *Thought: A Review of Culture and Idea* 45 (1970): 559–76.

ingot that can be tradeable on the “hazards of the world”—that is, hazarded in the sense of wagered, or ventured. As Doña Emilia touches the warmth of not-quite-raw capital—a resource become a commodity—her hands feel “an eagerness that made them tremble.” Her fearful eagerness comes from the warmth, one imagines, and more saliently from the feeling of power she “endow[s]” the ingot with. This occurs fairly early in the novel, and is a memory of Doña Emilia’s first days in Sulaco. Even at this early stage, when she touches the silver, she feels she a kind of ideology emanating from her touch to the still-malleable element, her “justificative conception, as though it were not a mere fact, but something far-reaching and impalpable.” Her ability to both be captivated by the silver and also imagine it connecting her to some “power” of “far-reaching and impalpable” proportions portrays the element as mythic and hypnotizing, a material that needs to be controlled, and demands the construction of systems of exchange and control, of economic imperialism in its “true expression,” around the silver’s extraction.

The local control of this silver depends on a confluence of technological innovation and flexibility of identity, particularly in one’s national allegiances. Earlier in the novel—but in the story’s present, so temporally later than the ingot scene—the chair of a railway company comes to Sulaco from London to plan for the construction of a rail line from Sulaco to the capital. The company and the capital mean for the link to remind Sulaco of its place in Costaguana, but the railway itself is of little consequence, as the port matters to the silver markets to a much greater degree. During the ceremony, though, Doña Emilia—called Mrs. Gould in the presence of the Londoner—is giving the railway functionary a tour around Sulaco. Unimpressed by the local history of which she displays deep knowledge, he exclaims that he is giving Sulaco “a future in the great world,” and

then says, his thoughts drifting: “But I had no notion that a place on a sea-coast could remain so isolated from the world. If it had been a thousand miles inland now—most remarkable! Has anything ever happened here for a hundred years before to-day?” (30). Aside from emphasizing the Londoner’s obvious incongruousness with the Sulaco milieu, his pronouncements about the town’s location in space and time suggest a particular type of misunderstanding of Sulaco and trading technology. Though his query is certainly boorish as well as outlandish, it really does not chafe all that hard against the opening paragraph’s account of Sulaco’s place in the world and in historical time. That paragraph’s four centuries of temporal displacement from its referenced past (“the time of Spanish rule,” later: “the glory of the dead”) seems to ask a more pleasant version of the railway chairman’s question as an incitement to the narrative, and the inland displacement references the immensity of the Golfo Placido and its still winds. That the queries come specifically from an employee of a railway company emphasizes, in the novel’s logic, how trains have been superseded as the dominant technology of the global marketplace by steamships. Later, the engineer in charge of the railway project expresses his frustration with the technical difficulty of the project, exclaiming “We can’t move mountains!” (34). In Allen MacDuffie’s reading, the engineer’s exclamation “suggests the ways in which capital is itself bound up in a belief system that is both required by the imperial project and threatened by contact with the physical realities of that project.”²¹¹ Doña Emilia is the bridge between the raw material of capital—touching and understanding the power of the warm silver ingot—and its social instantiations—managing the railway chairman’s buffoonery. She is, perhaps, even more of an ideal

²¹¹ MacDuffie, *Victorian Literature, Energy, and the Ecological Imagination*, 206.

administrator than her husband, Don Carlos, in her understanding of both the geographic and temporal depths of extractivism. Though the engineer cannot move those mountains that ring the Golfo Placido, she travels into their depths to understand the precious metal that has drawn them all to this far-flung locale. By virtue of her gender and the social conventions in town, she cannot supersede her husband in running the silver concession (nor does it seem like she much wants to), but nonetheless she is an integral part of the economic-imperial regime in Sulaco.

The novel presents the railway chairman's misunderstanding not only as one that sees the Londoner as out of step with the pace of innovation, but also out of place. Crucially, he does not understand the flexible nature of identity, especially national identity, required to administer a space within a country on behalf of the competing economic interests of British and American empires. Though Doña Emilia grew up in England, her integration into the local culture disqualifies her from being English in the eyes of the railway chairman. "She was the only English woman in Sulaco," according to the narrator, but the man remarks, "You seem very patriotic"—speaking of Sulaco, not of England (26, 30). The transformation of Mrs. Gould into Doña Emilia reads to the Londoner as repatriation, rather than her coming to know another culture. The mixture of identity here is not quite *mestizaje* as understood to a reader today, but is presented as a significant kind of identity flexibility in the novel, as Gould's status as a long-time resident of Costaguana and his hereditary status as an Englishman oscillate as the narrator calls him by his multiple names. By this process of seeing identity as primarily determined by national location and allegiance as tied to an affective commitment to one geography or another, Conrad's novel transforms Charles Gould and his wife into Don

Carlos and Doña Emilia. Since the national performance does not become racial, as it does in *Kim*, we can instead understand this in terms of what Homi Bhabha would call “the hybridity of colonial authority.” The Goulds’ dual status allows them to exercise administrative control both in the mine and with foreign visitors, or “the production of cultural *differentiation* as signs of authority” for Bhabha.²¹² Their ability to hybridize Costaguanero identity with British imperialist authority is a key expression of the novel’s extractive formal logic in the Goulds’ abilities to bridge local and imperial discourses, and in their deep knowledge of the ecological surround.

This flexibility between nationalities allows Don Carlos/Charles Gould to be the catalyst that moves Conrad’s narrative of resource extraction into its final phase of postcolonial self-determination. At first, he administers the concession on which the mine is located. Then, he hides the bulk of the refined silver from Monterist rebels. Eventually, he uses the mine’s economic power to seize control of Sulaco, join a growing independence movement, secede from Costaguana, and found the Occidental Republic of Sulaco. This political redemption, however, comes at the cost of Sulaco’s ecology. The United States is the first country to recognize the legitimacy of Sulaco’s new government and sends a naval detachment—tellingly headed by a cruiser called the *Powhattan*—to put an end to the conflict between Costaguana and the nascent state through sheer exhibition of force, which the narrator euphemistically terms an “international naval demonstration” (385). In order to satisfy the economic interests of American Empire, the administrative structure of the Gould silver concession is reorganized into the San Tomé Consolidated Mines, a state-run enterprise “whose territory, containing gold, silver,

²¹² Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 114–15, emphasis in original.

copper, lead, cobalt, extends for miles along the foothills of the Cordillera” (398). From a relatively small but productive operation where Doña Emilia can touch the recently-refined silver and feel its world-economic power in its warmth, the Gould Concession has become a massive strip-mining operation stretching from the port up into those once-protective mountains. It is difficult to believe that the *Powhattan* and its squadron will be back to put down the next act of aggression by Costaguana’s military if the ledgers in San Francisco do not indicate a steady flow of resources back to the United States. By relying on a rapacious imperial power for its security, Sulaco’s plans for its national future do not comport with what Rob Nixon calls “the *longue durée* of patient growth for sustainable collective gain.”²¹³ The imperial world makes resource-extractive independence possible, but unsustainable. Another four centuries hence, the Occidental Republic of Sulaco will likely be a memory.

The novel’s titular character seems to understand this, but because he chafes against the novel’s extractive formal logic, he is eventually killed at the novel’s end. Nostromo, whose nautical skill and trustworthiness is crucial in hiding the silver cache, looks down upon what he sees as the rapacious avarice of the whole mining enterprise: “There is enough silver to make a whole province rich, let alone a seaboard *pueblo* inhabited by thieves and vagabonds” (209). The narrative takes a turn away from his intended meaning—why mine silver at such a rapid place in the first place?—and toward the unintended consequence he implies: the creation of “a whole province” that bases its stability on its resource wealth. And fittingly, Nostromo’s comment is made to Decoud, the Paris-trained journalist who is the driving force behind Sulaco’s independence

²¹³ Rob Nixon, *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011), 135.

movement. A short time later, Nostromo says to Decoud: “ ‘Always remember, *señor*, before you open your lips for a confidence, that this treasure may be safely left here for hundreds of years. Time is on its side, *señor*. And silver is an incorruptible metal that can be trusted to keep its value forever ... An incorruptible metal,’ he repeated, as if the idea had given him a profound pleasure” (237, ellipsis in original). Nostromo’s nautical skill is unfortunately not commensurate with his expertise in the economic products of resource extraction. His statement betrays an obsolescence in the new order eventually to come to Sulaco. Nostromo’s conception of silver is more like that of a privateer of a previous century, a figure whose time has passed, despite the “profound pleasure” the idea gives him. “Incorruptible” is a term frequently applied to Nostromo himself, and the reason for his selection for this mission—a mission whose purpose he does not believe in. Others in Sulaco see him the way he sees the silver: as inexorably reliable. The entire defense of Sulaco and its emergence into nationhood depends on this chain of incomplete apprehension of true purpose. As if having read Nixon himself, Nostromo attempts to “gro[w] rich very slowly” once the new state is established (413). Nostromo’s anti-extractive temporality chafes against the rapid pace of growth demanded by the imperial-capitalist overseers of the new Occidental Republic of Sulaco. His demise sadly and ironically reflects his misunderstanding of the power of ecologically derived capital in the new Sulaco: he is shot dead because he is mistaken for a silver thief. The temporality of the very resource he hid so well, and whose trade he distrusted, is out of joint with his own. While silver is subject to commodity markets, Nostromo is enduringly reliable. And so finally, the master mariner whose hiding of the silver was crucial to Sulaco’s independence is eliminated from the narrative. In a practical sense, once Sulaco becomes

the master of its own destiny, Nostromo becomes expendable to the future he helped make possible.

Both *The Mill on the Floss* and *Nostromo* end with outbursts of violence that result in the killing of central characters—Maggie and Tom in Eliot, and Nostromo in Conrad—and the destruction of structures that seem to be long to another historical era—Dorlcote Mill and its grain milling operation, and the Costaguana client state to which pre-independence Sulaco is beholden. In both cases, the characters seem to belong to another historical era from the future envisioned by the types of commerce taking place at the respective provincial ports. Nixon has famously called ecological change that adversely affects the disadvantaged “slow violence,” but the rapid movement into a new historical era compels these novels to make their slow violence fast.²¹⁴ Moore has recently argued that historical change necessitates anthropocentric action:

History is not a world-historical ping-pong match in which one player, Society, volleys historical forces with another, Nature. Historical change is better reckoned as a cascade of environment-making processes and relations, through which particular bundles of human and extra-human nature flow, upon which these bundles act and re-form as they act. The bundle of transformations that gathered steam in the closing decades of the eighteenth century was *co-produced* by human and extra-human natures (in which the latter are also directly constitutive of so-called “society”).²¹⁵

Moore is right, of course, to militate against a “Society” vs. “Nature” binary. His “steam” pun refers both to the momentum of ecological transformation that led into the Industrial Revolution and to the steam engine that made much of that transformation possible. This passage, though, reveals an assumption in Moore, which is that capital and ecology are inextricably related by the historical condition he describes. A focus on society—which

²¹⁴ See Nixon, 128-149 and passim.

²¹⁵ Moore, *Capitalism in the Web of Life*, 174, emphasis in original.

emerges as a distant last priority behind capital, ecology, and history in Moore's world system—is one way in which economics and ecology can be pulled apart at the site of a deeply imagined, novelized vision of history, and where the values of a society can thereby be reckoned with. In their narratives of intersecting scales of capital and ecological change at the provincial port, *The Mill on the Floss* and *Nostromo* attempt to reckon with disturbing the entanglement between society and nature means for the futures of the ecological systems they describe, and therefore for the characters whose livelihoods and lives depend on both the health and the production potentials of those ecologies. Eliot's estuarial form and Conrad's linking of resource extraction with postcolonial self-determination entail the interpenetration of the fates of the environments and of the provincial port societies set up around those environments. From this vantage point, these novels' historical periods look strikingly contemporary: the promise of more development, further competition for resources, and further catastrophe—both in the narratives' presents, with the deaths of Maggie, Tom, and Nostromo, and in their futures, with the promise of more floods and more resource conflicts. Life goes on, as Eliot's "Conclusion" to her novel suggests, but it is unclear for how long. Before her narrator turns to Tom and Maggie's shared grave, she offers a resonant admonition: "To the eyes that have dwelt on the past, there is no thorough repair" (543).

Chapter Four:

Infinite Backcountries: Agrarian Plains in Thomas Hardy and Olive Schreiner

Introduction

Dorchester is a small place that feels large. The city—or town; it falls somewhere in between—is surrounded by high earthen walls overgrown with grass and shrubs, and which are reinforced with stonework in places. The walls were built by the Romans, at one time encircling the entire city with additional battlements on the southern and western sides, the directions from which invaders were most likely to attack as they moved from landing sites on the coast toward the high ground to the city’s north. Like most ancient walled cities, Dorchester eventually transformed the walls into shaded walkways once foreign invasion was no longer a regular concern. In the first two decades of the eighteenth century, the city government planted sycamore and chestnut trees along the tops of the walls. “The air is pure and wholesome, but sharp and keen” underneath the shade of these trees, writes one nineteenth-century historian of the Walks, the local name for the town’s elevated promenades.²¹⁶ On a recent visit to Dorchester, I turned back from an afternoon stroll on the East Walk and ducked into an inn on the high street that had been serving tea back when the Walks were still walls.²¹⁷ The proprietor brought fresh scones with preserves and orangey-yellow butter alongside an immaculately polished tea

²¹⁶ James Savage, *The History of Dorchester, During the British, Roman, Saxon, and Norman Periods, with an Account of Its Present State* (Dorchester, UK: Weston, Simonds, and Sydenham, 1833), 63–64, 111–12.

²¹⁷ The Old Tea House dates to 1635, and is, according to its website, the “oldest ‘freestanding’ house in Dorchester.” “The Old Tea House - Dorchester,” accessed July 17, 2014, <http://www.oldteahouse.net/>.

set. Then, with a solicitous yet forceful demeanor, at once “pure and wholesome” and “sharp and keen,” she asked me what exactly I was doing there. “We don’t get many Americans here,” she said.

The measured hospitality of this reaction to my presence in a seventeenth-century tea room on a research visit to Dorchester four years ago resonates with provincialism of Thomas Hardy’s novels. The reason I begin this chapter with a personal anecdote is not just that it took place in so-called “Hardy Country,” or that Hardy used to take his tea at the same inn where I took mine during breaks from the Dorset County Museum’s attic archives, or that his characters stroll along the novelistic versions of the Walks I strolled along in real life, or that the residents of both Dorchester and Casterbridge are welcoming to but also suspicious of outsiders—though all of these statements are true. Rather, the three late Victorian novels I examine here are all implicated in important contemporaneous and modern enterprises that attempt to correlate fictional places with real ones. My readings of these novels engage with these efforts in order to more deeply illustrate the distinctiveness of the provincial spaces under discussion here.

In this final chapter, I examine three late Victorian novels in which a rural community depends on gathering and farming in large adjoining provincial spaces for their livelihood and survival. In Hardy’s *The Return of the Native* (1878), Olive Schreiner’s *A Story of an African Farm* (1883), and Hardy’s *The Mayor of Casterbridge* (1886),²¹⁸ I claim that these novels’ formal presentations emphasize the narrator’s declining to represent the entirety of the provincial spaces in which these novels are set.

²¹⁸ Thomas Hardy, *The Return of the Native*, ed. Simon Gatrell (1878; repr., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Olive Schreiner, *The Story of an African Farm* (1883; repr., Mineola, N.Y.: Dover, 1998); Thomas Hardy, *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, ed. Dale Kramer (1886; repr., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). References will be made parenthetically to these editions.

This narrative operation at the sites of Egdon Heath, the karoo, and Casterbridge and its environs, frames the regulation of local social life and eventually the damage the novels' respective communities endure in these harsh landscapes. In these novelistic environments where the spatial extent of the whole provincial world is deliberately incompletely accounted for, the varying relationships of the characters to the unknown limits of that world speak to the novel's moral judgment of those characters the communities they belong to. In setting up the breaking up of each community, the formal circumscription of these spaces dramatizes the failure of those communities to effectively exert control over their landscapes through their attempts to use the area's natural resources for harvest, grazing, and agriculture, respectively.

This chapter's examination of how the contemporaneous and current propensities to correlate these fictional provincial spaces with real-world analogues will show how these efforts by professional critics and lay readers alike attempt to control for the spatial uncertainties I identify. This most saliently registers in archival documents discussed at length in the sections that follow, but also forcefully resonated in my experience of finding those documents. And so here, that experience will be presented as its own type of supporting evidence. That evidence is of course contingent, reflecting its minor status in this chapter's discursive hierarchy, but it is nonetheless resonantly illustrative of how the provincialism of these novels has endured not only as method of interpretation, but also as a method of living—which brings me back to the tea room, and the proprietor's query as to my purpose in Dorchester. Neighborly suspicion and Roman walls can keep a visitor both cozy and well behaved, turning the interaction into a microcosm of town custom—that is, a social regulatory mechanism that identifies the visitor as an outsider,

though a welcome one, and shows the visitor how to behave in this position of the invited outsider while enjoying himself inside the walls of the city. At the same time, this tells the visitor nothing of life outside the city walls, of the heaths and fields that stretch outward toward rivers and seas and which make up an inextricable part of provincial life, a fact which the novelists under discussion here were diligent in exploring and dramatizing in their narratives. Rather, this kind of interaction delimits the provincial world to the town center itself, making the Walks look like walls once again.

Hardy knew how quickly provincial amicability could turn into social regulation, both in social interactions and in the historic layout of provincial spaces. The evidence is in his novels, as I will discuss below. It is also in the placement of his Dorchester home, Max Gate: just outside the city walls, directly abutting what was once the eastern wall of the city, which is now the A35 motorway. Rather than living in Dorchester proper, Hardy lived tangent to it, connected to the life of the city, but residing outside its walls, and in sight of the wider world. As suggested by the positioning of Max Gate, in his novels Hardy was deeply concerned with characters of this liminal status of both outsider and resident, and who nonetheless attempt to reconcile their attempts to settle and integrate themselves into communities—or, to form new ones. This chapter will examine the formal strategies by which Hardy and Schreiner situated these linked states of tangency to social life and tentative integration into it in the context of the conspicuous emphasis they place on the limits of representing the full extent of their novels' harsh landscapes. These tracts of land can seem undifferentiated in their vastness. However, crucial moments in the novel that dramatize the ecological conditions' pressures on social cohesion take place in locales that reveal subtle differences in the landscape: a hillock

overlooking a pond and Clym and Eustacia's home in *The Return of the Native*, a pile of boulders with ancient paintings on the rocks' undersides in *The Story of an African Farm*, and the unexpectedly porous barrier between the Casterbridge slum of Mixen Lane and the corn fields beyond.

In my discussion of *The Return of the Native*, *The Story of an African Farm*, and *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, I will approach the limits of depicting these agrarian plains through the lens of the making and breaking of social structures. In this chapter's reading of agrarian plains in these novels, I show how social structures break down as the communal enterprise to gather naturally-occurring crops or to convert harsh tracts of land into arable farmland encounters resistance not only from the generally hostile social environments in each of these novels, but more saliently from the earth itself. I use "agrarian" in reference to the vast tracts of land with gathering, grazing, or cultivation potential on which each novel's plot hinges: the furze fields of Egdon Heath in *The Return of the Native*, the southern African karoo in *A Story of an African Farm*, and the corn fields outside of town in *The Mayor of Casterbridge*. "Agrarian" connotes multiple types of relationships between residents and the ecological features of their land. It implies a spectrum of ownership ranging from outright title to demarcated plots to itinerant but sustained use of common areas, and also connotes crops raised from agricultural endeavors as well as endemic flora.²¹⁹ What I want to emphasize about the furze that naturally grows on Egdon Heath, the endemic karoo bushes on which the Boer farm's livestock grazes, and the corn grown in the fields adjacent to Casterbridge, is not that they're crops that sustain the communities under discussion, but rather that their

²¹⁹ "Agrarian, Adj. and N.," *OED Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed March 5, 2018, <http://www.oed.com.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/view/Entry/4137>.

presence keeps those communities tied to their local ecologies. When Clym takes up furze gathering, or Em and Tant' Sannie's forebears settle and set up their farm in land cleared by colonial wars, or Henchard and Farfrae compete over the efficacious management of grain cultivation, the characters are not becoming masters of their agrarian domains, but rather binding themselves tighter and tighter to the punishing terrain in which they have settled.

As I show in this chapter, the formal presentation of this negative relationship to local ecology and the communal fracturing that results depend on the narrator's indication that these agrarian landscapes extend into infinity, that they may never end, and simultaneously on that narrator's declining to represent these spaces' actual limits. Frederic Jameson has influentially argued that depicting large interior spaces as infinite, such that they approach "some third reality" approaching "a kind of Kantian sublimity," is a signal feature of novelistic coloniality, both at home and abroad. Jameson's primary example is E. M. Forster's *Howards End*, from which he adopts the word "infinity" (which Forster uses to describe the Great North Road), but he also reads *Heart of Darkness* and, significantly, cites *Nostromo*'s phrase "material interests" as a way colonial space is abstractly described in terms of the affordances its terrain can yield. At "the border or limit of representation," Jameson writes, the description of "inner or metropolitan space itself" in the context of "the imperial world system... is now radically incomplete."²²⁰ The narrators' aspirations to simultaneously approach the borders of provincial and imperial space and represent their infinity instead of their actual limits lend the heath, the karoo, and the cornfields their sense of existing as "some third

²²⁰ Fredric Jameson, *The Modernist Papers* (London: Verso, 2007), 158, 160, 162–63.

reality.” In these spaces’ punishing conditions, the narrator’s description and the coordinated communal fracturing cast these agrarian plains as a negative sublime. The conversion of their ecologies into useful form for the communities is a potentially unending resource in these spaces’ putative infinities, but just as the narrators raise their characters’ gazes toward the unending horizon, the terrain reasserts its power by inflicting communal damage through its environmental features.

These representational restrictions and sources of social damage tend to be neutralized—or the attempt is made to do so, anyway—by extra-textual correlations between places and character backstories with potential real-world analogues. The impulses behind tying the tea room to Hardy’s frequent visits and the Walks of Dorchester to scenes from his novels have their origins, I show, in the initial correlation of Wessex place names with actual cities and villages in Dorset and the adjacent West Country counties. This critical project presents the reading of the Wessex novels as a form of tourism, and sidesteps the ostensibly powerful omniscient narrator’s declining to represent of the ends of Egdon Heath and the Casterbridge corn fields. A year after the publication of *The Story of an African Farm*, Schreiner’s friend Havelock Ellis, a physician and researcher of human sexuality, interviewed her and wrote up notes toward a case study of the author in which he correlated characters and events in her novel with family members and episodes in her life. His notes reveal an attempt to tame the wildness of Schreiner’s novel by symptomatically analyzing the literary biography he constructs, neutralizing the trauma wrought on the farm’s residents by the harsh conditions of the unending karoo with an inquiry into her troubles as a child and young adult. By examining how these novels’ receptions attempt to offset the charge of their challenging

content with extra-textual correlations, I show how the troubling material that these early interlocutors wanted to turn their eyes away from pinpoints where the novels' connections of spatial infinity with the fragmentation of the community can be most clearly seen.

This last chapter dramatizes the limits of spatial control of frontier ecologies both in the British provinces and on the colonial frontier. All of the previous chapters in this dissertation have analyzed discrete novelistic moments where ideologies of administrative control and ecological change begin to break down. This chapter is different in that this breakdown is built into the very formal presentation of these novels' primary geographies. The three narratives discussed here are built around degrees of social tragedy—Hardy, of course, has been labeled a novelistic tragedian by many an interlocutor—that leave us feeling as though the communities in which those tragedies occurred just did not figure out how to deal with the challenges posed by the conditions of their agrarian plains. This is also the first chapter in this dissertation in which the argument returns from colonial space back to Britain, and, indeed, back to the same fictional county where we begin. These two modifications of this project's discursive structure are linked, and furthermore depend on one another. By moving from Egdon Heath out to the karoo, and then from the karoo back to Casterbridge, this chapter discursively dramatizes the novels' depiction of the exhaustion of projects of ecological manipulation both at home and abroad.²²¹ As the chapter's chronological progression

²²¹ Egdon Heath and Casterbridge are not the same place and are topographically distinct, but they are both part of Hardy's Wessex, as will be discussed in the next section. As Figures 4a and 4b indicate, Egdon Heath and Casterbridge are nearly adjacent to each other, and in fact both of these Hardy novels reference the space of the other Hardy novel as being adjacent and easily accessible. At the very end of the latter novel, Farfrae and Elizabeth-Jane search the countryside for the missing Henchard, and in that search, they cover all of Egdon Heath (*Casterbridge* 306).

continues, these projects' failures become increasingly spectacular. By the time we reach the last novel, Henchard's full blown inability to either hold on to his elected position or maintain consistent grain production has torn open the social fabric of Casterbridge. Though the communities in Egdon Heath, the Boer farm, and Casterbridge will survive in some damaged form, the weakening of ideologies of social and ecological control at the century's end points to the fragmentation of the imperial projects in the decades to come.

Return of the Map

In the context of this project, any discussion of Hardy's Wessex novels prompts a comparison of Wessex maps with the maps discussed in Chapter Two, especially the map of Anthony Trollope's Barsetshire. A crucial difference between the two is that whereas the maps of Barsetshire, *Treasure Island*, and *Kukuanaland* had blank edges—a feature that was key to the cartographic claims in Chapter Two—Hardy's maps show coastlines and have clearly defined borders. Some Wessex maps had been drawn by avid readers of Hardy,²²² but Hardy drew his own map of Wessex in 1895, published in the omnibus collection *The Wessex Novels* that the writer's publishers put together after he famously renounced fiction following with that year's publication of *Jude the Obscure*. This map was a rather rough sketch, though, and was published on the page immediately after each of the novels' endings, thereby not presenting itself as key to authenticating the story.²²³ (See Figure 4a.) Wessex enthusiasts continued to draw their own maps and at times

²²² See, for instance, "Thomas Hardy's Wessex," *The Bookman* 1, no. 1 (October 1891): 26.

²²³ Thomas Hardy, *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, vol. 1, In *The Wessex Novels* (London: Osgood, McIlvaine and Co., 1895), 520. N.B.: though a page number is given in this citation, technically the map appears as unpaginated backmatter in each of the volumes of the series.

enlisted the assistance of professional illustrators. Still, Hardy's situating of Wessex within greater Britain, including coastlines and a map inset, would be carried forward for all significant Wessex maps. This was the case in one of the first authoritative maps of Wessex, published in Bertram C. A. Windle's *The Wessex of Thomas Hardy* (1902), and is probably most well-known version of the map that only shows fictional place names. Windle corresponded with Hardy and did his own research at the Dorset County Museum to ensure the map's accuracy, and produced a utilitarian map naming cities and villages familiar to readers of Hardy's novels in locations known to anyone familiar with the geography of England.²²⁴ The map, illustrated by Edmund H. New, is titled "The WESSEX of Thomas Hardy's Novels and Poems," though the volume itself focuses in large part on the novels. Windle's volume inserts the map as a full-page illustration between the preface and the first chapter.²²⁵ Each chapter focuses on a given locale on the map and explicates its importance across Hardy's Wessex literature. The map's borders and scale, clearly identifiable coastlines, and insertion of several real-world cities that have no Wessex analogue (Southampton and Plymouth, for instance) situate the novelistic locales within a clearly defined region of England. Windle and New's map has the effect of transforming Dorset and the adjacent counties into Wessex whole cloth, and then stitching that cloth into the fabric of the entire West Country (see Figure 4b).

Subsequent maps of Wessex, however, were different in an important respect: most of them printed the real-world analogue alongside the fictional place name on the face of the map itself. Though this difference may seem minor, it implies an entirely

²²⁴ Bertram C. A. Windle, *The Wessex of Thomas Hardy* (London and New York: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1902), xi.

²²⁵ Windle, 2.

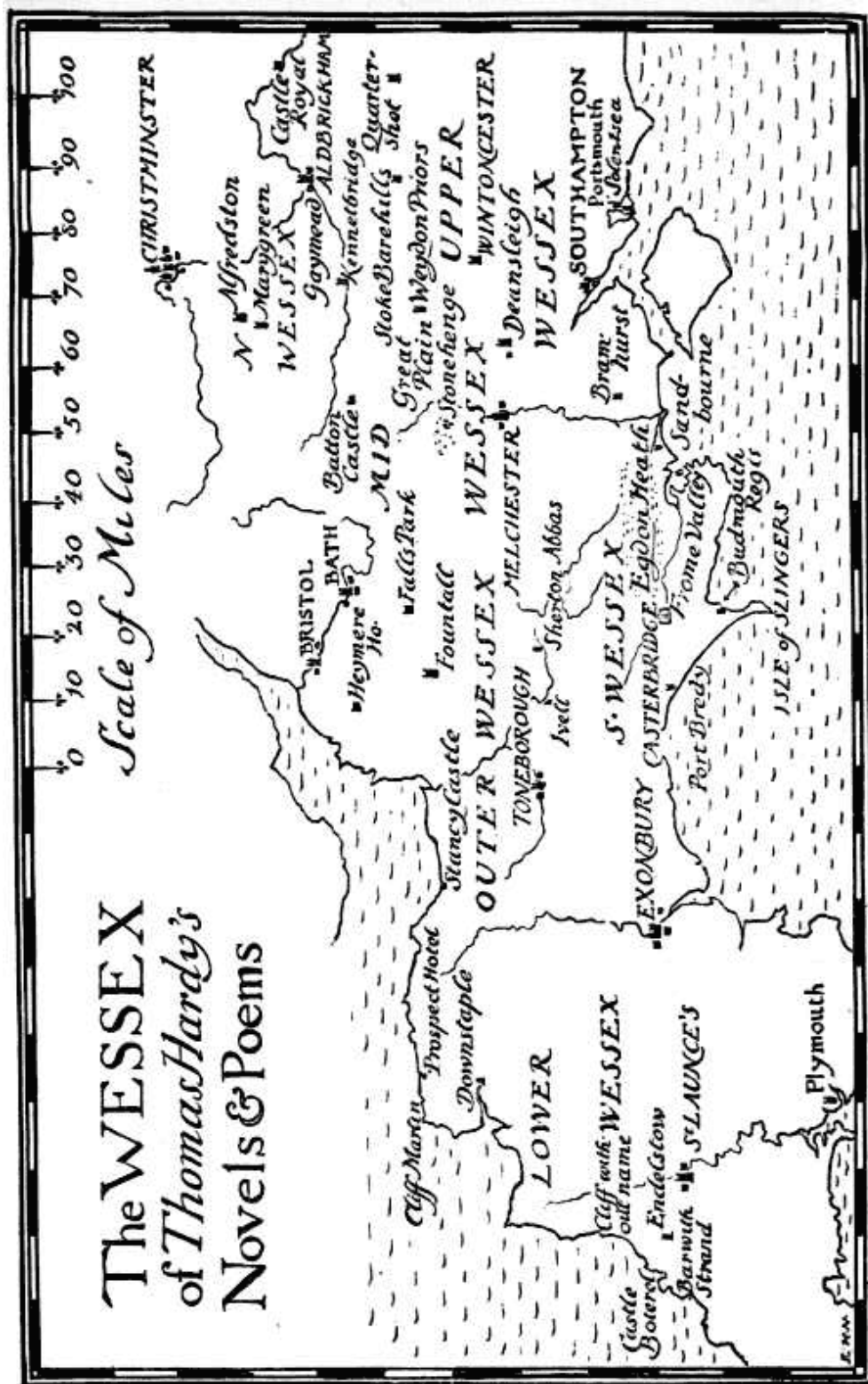


Figure 4b: Windle and New's Map of Wessex, from *The Wessex of Thomas Hardy* (1902).

different relationship to Wessex as a fictional space and to the Wessex novels as works of literature in and of themselves, especially in light of the project of the writer who published the first of these correlative maps. In 1904, Charles G. Harper published a book on Hardy's Wessex novels with a different goal from Windle's exploration of literary geography. To Harper, the novels are a pleasant matching game between the fictional and the real. In "Mr. Thomas Hardy's novels of rural life and character," Harper writes,

real places are introduced with a lavish hand. The identity of those places is easily resolved; and that feat performed, there is that compelling force in his genius which inevitably, sooner or later, magnetically draws those who have read, to see for themselves what manner of places and what folk they must be in real life, from whose characteristics such poignant tragedy, such suave and admirable comedy, have been evolved.²²⁶

In Harper's account, the critical method that Hardy's fiction invites is to collate its novelistic contents with "real life."²²⁷ The agency here, though, is transferred from the readership ("those who have read") to the novels, or rather, the "compelling force" of Hardy's own "genius." The genius, though, is reduced in the next sentence to confirming Harper's impressions while touring Dorset: "I have many a time explored Egdon, and observed the justness of the novelist's description of that sullen waste: have traversed Blackmoor Vale, where 'the fields are never brown and the springs never dry,' but where the roads—it is a cyclist's criticism—are always shockingly bad: in fine, have visited every literary landmark of the Wessex Novels."²²⁸ The description of Marlott from *Tess*

²²⁶ Charles G. Harper, *The Hardy Country: Literary Landmarks of the Wessex Novels* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1904), vi.

²²⁷ Such an effort had been previously made in an 1891 issue of *The Bookman*, along with a rough sketch that presented a few real-fictional correlations in Hardy's Wessex, and provided a literary tourist's guide to viewing the South West as Wessex. It is possible that this anonymous three-page article is an inspiration for Harper's book. However, Harper, for his part, does not reference this article. "Thomas Hardy's Wessex," 26–28.

²²⁸ Harper, *The Hardy Country*, vi.

of the *D'Urbervilles* counterpoised with his complaint that the roads were rough on his bicycle clarifies that the analytical lens through which Harper views Hardy's novels is through one of bourgeois tourism.²²⁹ He wishes for his favorable impressions of Wessex to translate to comfortable excursions through Dorset that confirm his memories of the novel, and does not wish to be inconvenienced by rough country roads.

The map Harper drew for his book evinces this tourist's ethos (see Figure 4c). On the map, real-world names are written small capital letters and often in boldface type, as in "**WINCHESTER**" and "**ISLE OF PORTLAND**." Harper renders their fictional counterparts, on the other hand, in a standard typeface and often in parentheses—"(*Wintoncester*)" and "*(Isle of Singers)*"—casting the map less as a guide to Wessex the novelistic space and more as a sightseeing guide to "The Hardy Country," as the map is titled after the name of the book itself. Further distinguishing itself from other maps of Wessex, this map is a fold-out map affixed to the book in the inside back cover. This might draw us back to Chapter Two once more, to the fold-out map in *King Solomon's Mines*, but there are two crucial differences between these two maps. Recall that in *King Solomon's Mines*, the fold-out map is folded in fours, unfolding as if beckoning the reader into a forgotten world, and is affixed to the inside front cover, in order to ensure that it was the first thing one would see when opening the crimson red volume. In Harper's book, the map folds out in thirds from the back, as if from a guidebook. This sightseer's guide to Wessex proved popular and was reprinted in a similar work simply called *Wessex*.²³⁰ The reception and interpretation of his works was of course important to Hardy, and he owned all of these books. In his personal copy of this book *Wessex*, Hardy made a correction to

²²⁹ Thomas Hardy, *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, ed. Tim Dolin (1891; repr., London: Penguin, 1998), 12.

²³⁰ Clive Holland, *Wessex*. (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1906).

the location of “**KINGSBERE** (Bere Regis)” —whose notation on the map in fact inverts the real and fictitious place names—crossing out the notation in northern “**HAMPSHIRE** (Upper Wessex)” and relocating it to just north of Egdon Heath (see Figure 4d). Harper’s map was far from the last one to present Wessex as a place where a reader’s preconceived ideas about the West Country might be confirmed—or where one might simply compare the reading experience of a Hardy novel to a bicycle ride through the countryside—but Hardy’s ownership of the particular volumes that contain the first such map and his correction of that map interestingly suggest that the accuracy of this exercise in provincial authenticity matters to him, and that it matters to the integrity of his fictional project. I would call Windle and New’s map, made in correspondence with Hardy, the most authoritative map of Wessex. Nonetheless, the matching of actual places with novelistic locales as a way of ostensibly authenticating the fictional content and corralling fictions unruly and dangerous discourses has endured.

This casts the Dorchester anecdote I began this chapter with in a new light, as the conflation of fictional and real-world place names and character names has continued well into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Ever since Hardy applied the word “Wessex” to Dorset and the surrounding West Country areas, Wessex has become part of the local tourism industry and has made its way into many businesses (the Wessex Royale Hotel, Wessex Car Sales, Wessex Group insurance services, Wessex Petroleum Ltd., etc). The term “Wessex” itself is not Hardy’s invention—it was the name of an Anglo-Saxon kingdom until the tenth century²³¹—but he was primarily responsible for

²³¹ A further discussion of Wessex, the medieval kingdom, and its relationship to Hardy’s fiction appears in the final main section on *The Mayor of Casterbridge*.

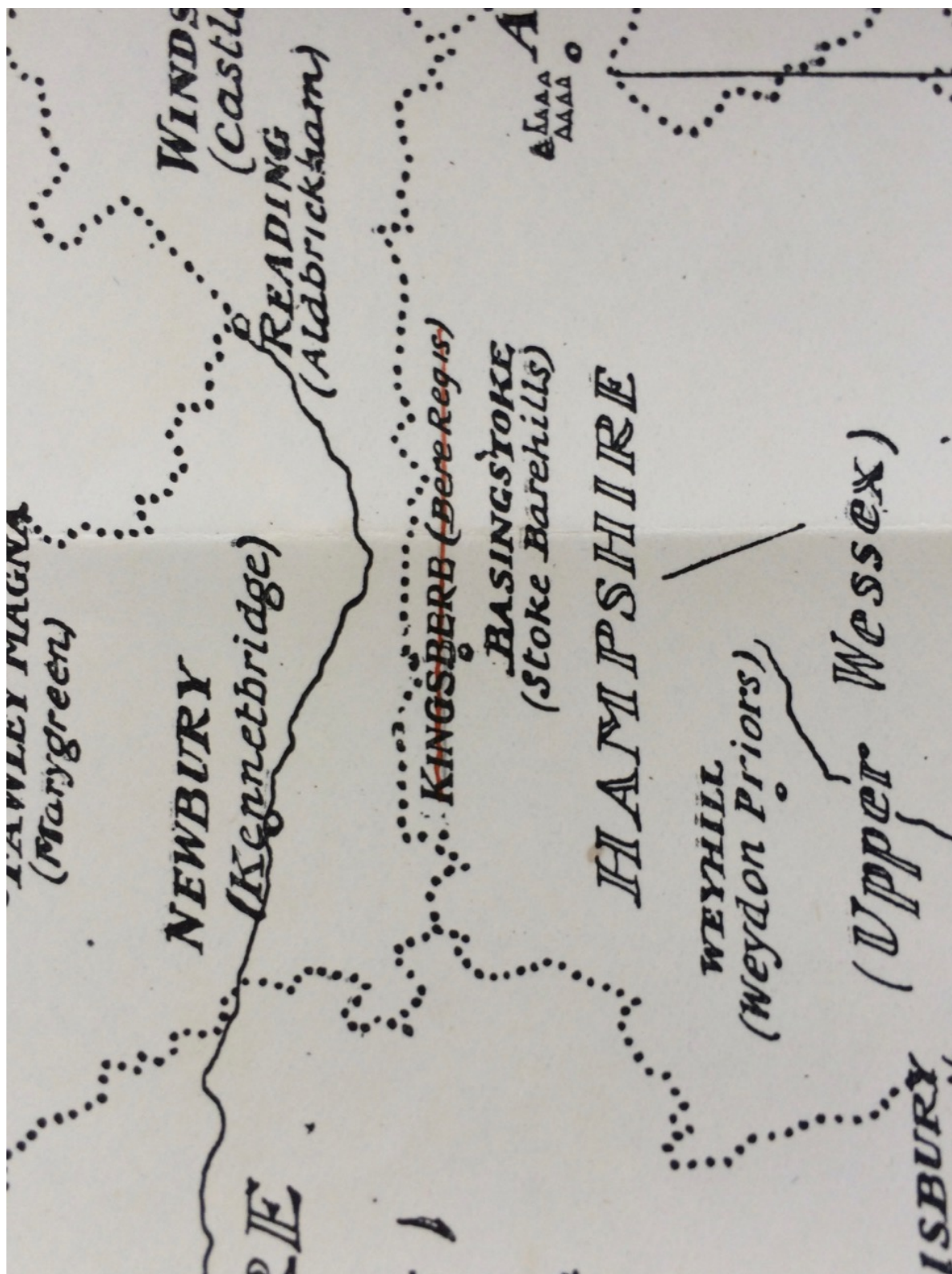


Figure 4d: Hardy's manual deletion of incorrect place name on Harper map, reproduced in *Wessex* (1906). Courtesy of the Dorset County Museum, Dorchester, UK.

popularizing it at a late-Victorian moment when Britons were increasingly nostalgic for rustic tales of their medieval past.²³² The conflation of the fictional and the real goes further, though, in some of the blue plaques around Dorchester. Usually, blue plaques in Britain mark the former residences of noteworthy cultural figures, especially authors, but Dorchester's blue plaques unusually mark the ostensible real-world analogues of the locations and events in Hardy's novels. At 10 South Street in Dorchester, a large blue plaque stands just above eye level to the left of the three-story building it adorns and reads: "This house is reputed to have been lived in by the MAYOR of CASTERBRIDGE in THOMAS HARDY'S story of that same name written in 1885" (see Figures 4e and 4f). Hardy's Wessex novels are so tied to a specific place that their fictionality threatens to be elided by the local tourism industry that sprung up as a result of their detailed novelization of those places. This is an example of what discourses on literary tourism have called a stop on a "tourist trail." The construction of that trail entails a dependence on fictional worlds, but subsequently supersedes those worlds as the primary narrative about a given space.²³³ The plaque implies that walking down the pedestrianized mall of South Street, past the densely packed row of chain stores on either side, is an experience upon which *The Mayor of Casterbridge* is based, and which is an experience that allows the literary tourist to know the fictional Casterbridge to commensurate degree as the reader of the novel.

²³² Patrick Parrinder, "Hardy and Englishness," in *Thomas Hardy in Context*, ed. Phillip Mallett (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 395; Henry Hitchings, *The Language Wars: A History of Proper English* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2011), 163–64.

²³³ Mike Robinson and Hans Christian Andersen, "Reading Between the Lines: Literature and the Creation of Touristic Spaces," in *Literature and Tourism*, ed. Mike Robinson and Hans Christian Andersen (London: Thomson, 2002), 8–9.



Figure 4e: Photograph of the ostensible house of Casterbridge's mayor, 10 South Street, Dorchester, UK. Author's photograph.



Figure 4f: Close up of blue plaque from previous photograph. Author's photograph.

Thus, the plaque rejects the literary. This, in fact, is a spatial interpretation of the Hardy built “conscious impracticality” into his 1895 map, going as far as leaving out the roads, paths, and railways that even Trollope’s highly impractical map includes.²³⁴ This lack of roads remains consistent through Windle and New’s and Harper’s maps. The South Street plaque in Dorchester distorts the relationship between the actual space of Dorset and the fictional space of Wessex that Hardy had worked diligently to maintain by first drawing his own map for *The Wessex Novels* anthology, and then by corresponding with Windle to ensure a measure of editorial control over their map, on which most subsequent maps of Wessex were based. While these maps can enable a limited form of tourism, the South Street plaque promotes it, implying that a passerby’s experience of viewing a potential candidate for Henchard’s and Farfrae’s house is more important than the actual narrative of the two mayors’ agricultural competitions with each other. (Another oddity about this plaque: the building it is affixed to is now the Dorchester branch of Barclays Bank.) After 1895, Hardy became increasingly uncomfortable with the public’s touristic relationship to his novels, feeling eventually that by paying less attention to the literary qualities of his novels, they implicitly endorsed the moral outrage after *Jude the Obscure*’s publication that led him to quit novel writing in the first place.²³⁵ In this way, the public’s misunderstanding of novelistic geography caused Hardy the kind of personal damage that he had inflicted for decades on his own characters, their own misunderstanding of their agrarian plains destroying the social structures they work throughout the narrative to build.

²³⁴ Nicola J. Watson, *The Literary Tourist: Readers and Places in Romantic & Victorian Britain* (Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 185.

²³⁵ Sara Haslam, “Wessex, Literary Pilgrims, and Thomas Hardy,” in *Literary Tourism and Nineteenth-Century Culture*, ed. Nicola J. Watson (Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 170–71.

This plaque does make one literary observation that is exactly right, even if it makes this observation by accident: by attempting fix the precise position of the mayor's home on a specific building in Dorchester, it does point out that the default spatial imagination of *The Mayor of Casterbridge* is highly localized in the town center. This default perspective is one that I want to expand in my reading of all three of these novels, and for *The Mayor of Casterbridge* in particular. In my reading of that novel, I will demonstrate how full picture of Wessex can only be apprehended through diligent attention to the outlying farmlands that support the local population and bring goods to the market that the mayor's house overlooks.

In the three novels treated here, there is an increasingly centralized settlement in which residents live and social structures form. On Egdon Heath, there are few towns, and as I demonstrate later, the actual physical center of the Heath mostly consists of open land; in the karoo, the farm has a homestead in which most of the residents live; and in Casterbridge, the town serves as the area's social center. Counterintuitively, the more centralized and organized the settlement is, the greater damage each one suffers by each novel's respective end. Though these spaces might seem more resilient, the consequences of incomplete knowledge of their agrarian surroundings are magnified when their heterogeneous societies are more densely concentrated.

Between Grasshoppers and a Heron

Egdon Heath is not really the center of *The Return of the Native* as much as a conspicuous lack of a center. Eustacia Vye and Clym Yeobright, natives turned into

outsiders in their own ways, attempt to create that center in their marriage. Unfortunately for Eustacia and Clym, it doesn't work out all that well. By the end, Clym's mother, Eustacia, and Eustacia's would-be paramour Damon Wildeve are dead, seemingly at the hand of the heath itself. The heath, of course, is often characterized as rugged and wild. In his noted book-length essay "Study of Thomas Hardy," D. H. Lawrence memorably described the heath as "the primitive, primal earth, where the instinctive life heaves up.... Egdon whose dark soil was strong and crude and organic as the body of a beast."²³⁶ This characterization rings true, and if Lawrence puts it perhaps a bit dramatically, so does Hardy. When Diggory Venn sees a mallard duck in the wild, Hardy writes: "The creature brought within him an amplitude of northern knowledge. Glacial catastrophes, snowstorm episodes, glittering auroral effects, Polaris in the zenith, Franklin underfoot... the bird, like many other philosophers, seemed as he looked at the reddleman [Venn] to think that a present moment of comfortable reality was worth a decade of memories" (86).²³⁷ If Hardy's duck is a philosopher, then Lawrence acquits himself well in matching the novelist's rhetorical register. The heath does feel "strong and crude and organic" in a way that both invokes impulsive behavior guided more by instinct than by reason and presents it as full of strange knowledge contained in that "instinctive life."

What is most striking about the heath for my purposes is how it never seems to end. Setting *The Return of the Native* around a space in Wessex whose extent seems infinite was a signal moment in the evolution of Hardy's fictional region. According to

²³⁶ D. H. Lawrence, "Study of Thomas Hardy," in *Study of Thomas Hardy and Other Essays*, ed. Bruce Steele (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 25.

²³⁷ "Franklin underfoot" refers to Sir John Franklin, a polar explorer who disappeared in 1845 on a voyage to discover the Northwest Passage (400n86). On Franklin in nineteenth-century literary culture, see Hester Blum, *The News at the Ends of the Earth: The Ecomedia of Polar Exploration* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2018).

Simon Gatrell, at the time of this novel's publication, Wessex was beginning to take root in the public's imagination not only as a "semi-fictional geographic space, but a social and cultural construct... a place where such perceptions inform, through the narrative structure, the fabric of life."²³⁸ At this critical juncture in the public lifecycle of the Wessex novels, that Hardy would construct a novel with no perceptible geographic center and instead organize his narrative around a figure for provincial spatial infinity testifies to how thoroughly Hardy entwines geographic isolation and vastness with the workings of social life set in those vast, isolated spaces. In this early Wessex novel, I claim, the narrator's repeated declining to provide a totalizing vision of Egdon Heath signals the narrative locations where social tragedy is set in motion or will soon occur. The longstanding critical discussion that ties Hardy's plots to a deterministic logic valuably identifies correspondences between the characters' fates and their exposure in Hardy's fiction to variety of discourses, including Darwinism and evolution,²³⁹ religious morality,²⁴⁰ and, more recently, biopolitics.²⁴¹ While I engage below with some of this work, my approach is distinct in how I do not view geographic description as unfolding

²³⁸ Simon Gatrell, *Thomas Hardy's Vision of Wessex* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 33.

²³⁹ See, among many others, Roger Ebbatson, *The Evolutionary Self: Hardy, Forster, Lawrence* (Brighton, UK: Harvester Press, 1982), 1–54; George Levine, *Darwin and the Novelists: Patterns of Science in Victorian Fiction* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 227–34; Caroline Sumpter, "On Suffering and Sympathy: *Jude the Obscure*, Evolution, and Ethics," *Victorian Studies* 53, no. 4 (Summer 2011): 665–87; Phillip Mallett, "Hardy, Darwin, and *The Origin of Species*," in *Thomas Hardy in Context*, ed. Phillip Mallett (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 316–27.

Gillian Beer's noted Darwinian reading of Hardy is discussed in this chapter's final section on *The Mayor of Casterbridge*.

²⁴⁰ See William Clyde Brown, "The Ambiguities of Thomas Hardy," *Notre Dame English Journal* 15, no. 3 (Summer 1983): 85–103; Robert Schweik, "The Influence of Religion, Science, and Philosophy on Hardy's Writings," in *The Cambridge Companion to Thomas Hardy*, ed. Dale Kramer (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 54–72; Oliver Lovesey, "Reconstructing Tess," *SEL: Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 43, no. 4 (Autumn 2003): 913–38; Stephen Platten, "'They Know Earth-Secrets': Thomas Hardy's Tortured Vocation," *Religion & Literature* 45, no. 3 (Autumn 2013): 59–79; J. Jedrzejewski, *Thomas Hardy and the Church* (Houndmills, UK: Macmillan, 1996), 170–210.

²⁴¹ Mario Ortiz-Robles, "Hardy's Wessex and the Natural History of Chance," *NOVEL: A Forum on Fiction* 49, no. 1 (May 2016): 84–85.

to match the telos of the plot. In both Hardy novels (as well as in Schreiner) we know very early, usually from the first chapter, that the narrator will decline to represent the massive agrarian landscapes in which the novel is set. Rather than reading an external discourse into the plot action of the novel in order to illuminate the characters' inevitably unfortunate fates, I claim that the social damage inflicted by the landscapes' harsh conditions results from the characters' abilities to more accurately perceive the fact that the extent of their geographies is unknowable. The narrator knows this from the outset, and in *The Return of the Native*, he ties his declining to represent to the ends of the heath with the depopulation of its small society at the hands of a cruel environment.

Hardy makes it clear from the outset that Egdon Heath is known to feel immense when he describes it as a "vast tract of unenclosed wild" in the first sentence. The entire first sentence, though, is revealing of Hardy's overall narrative method in this novel: "A Saturday afternoon in November was approaching the time of twilight, and the vast tract of unenclosed wild known as Egdon Heath embrowned itself moment by moment. Overhead the hollow stretch of whitish cloud shutting out the sky was as a tent which had the whole heath for its floor" (9). In this passage, the entirety of the novel's first paragraph, Hardy counterpoises the vastness of the space with the narrator's enigmatic envisioning of that vastness. J. Hillis Miller describes this quality of the narrator in the novel's opening sentences as a simultaneous presence and absence from the world of the heath.²⁴² It seems as though no one has ever seen the heath, that it has always existed a priori to any narration, and we know this precisely from narration's expansion of our knowledge of the space and the opening up of our perspective. Here, we can see from the

²⁴² J. Hillis Miller, *Thomas Hardy: Distance and Desire* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1970), 89.

start how the unfolding of the narrative does not neatly correspond with the forward progression of plot action, but does map on to the outward expansion of geographic knowledge.

The first sentence establishes not only that the heath is immense, but that it is also “unenclosed”—that is, that no landowner has any claim to it through Britain’s enclosure laws. The passing of the day is described as a process of “embrown[ing],” that is, from the perspective of the ground. Immediately, the narrator turns our perspective to the sky with the word “Overhead” tilting our collective heads up to look at the cloud cover. The last part of the second sentence contains the narrator’s first dramatization of the heath’s putative endlessness: a simile analogizing the clouds to the roof of a tent and the “embrowned” ground to the floor. There’s a telling redundancy at work in this simile, though. For the simple folk of the heath, any tent would likely have meager or no floor covering at all. The heath, in other words, doesn’t need to be figuratively likened to a floor. It already is the floor. This is a small point as it pertains to this sentence, but it reveals something crucially important about how the narrator operates when attempting to describe the heath in the rest of the novel: rather than depicting the ends of the heath, the narrator instead gestures toward spatial infinity, leaving the descriptions of the heath—or even the conceptualization of it as a knowable geography—perpetually incomplete.

This representational incompleteness has registered in the critical literature on Hardy as a mystery at the heart of the heath that influences the behavior of its residents. In a 1904 review of the omnibus collection *The Novels of Thomas Hardy*, Edward Wright wrote of *The Return of the Native*: “The informing idea of the novel consists of a subtle

study of the influence which a vast stretch of rugged heath exercises over the minds of its inhabitants. The feelings, now of passionate attachment, now of blank weariness, which it provokes in the principal characters in the story give rise to the conjecture of events involving the catastrophe.”²⁴³ Flitting from “passionate attachment” to “blank weariness,” Wright mimics how the emotions of the characters swing to and fro over the course of the narrative as the landscape itself remains motionless and unchanging. In Richard Benvenuto’s more recent formulation, the heath is so resistant to rational apprehension that it is without form: “Egdon Heath is a mystery, irreducible to formula or logic. It manifests no inherent structure of things and is of no help to men who seek the laws governing the universe.”²⁴⁴ In its formlessness, the heath compels Benvenuto to attempt—and inevitably fail—to divine a theory of everything (“the laws governing the universe”). Such a formless expanse must be, in this vein of thought, a universe unto itself. That it has no rules for Benvenuto means that ultimately it does not hew to any narrative logic. Jennifer Gribble would say that the heath’s stasis is its own kind of logic when viewed as a temporal effect on the narrative: “If Egdon begins as a landscape on which time makes but little impression, it comes most memorably alive not as brooding presence but as a living record of immediate sensation. The effects of its changing lights and weathers, its cycles of days and seasons, are caught in the lives of its creatures. Their moments seem overheard, snatched in passing from the stream of time itself.”²⁴⁵ Gribble aptly identifies how the difficult condition of life on the heath is best characterized as

²⁴³ Edward Wright, “Review of *The Novels of Thomas Hardy*, *Quarterly Review*, April 1904, No. 199, 499–523,” in *Thomas Hardy: The Critical Heritage*, ed. R. G. Cox (New York: Routledge, 2002), 367.

²⁴⁴ Richard Benvenuto, “*The Return of the Native* as a Tragedy in Six Books,” *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 26, no. 1 (June 1971): 86.

²⁴⁵ Jennifer Gribble, “The Quiet Women of Egdon Heath,” *Essays in Criticism* 46, no. 3 (July 1996): 237.

contingency, resonating with Miller's description of the uncertain presence of the narrator. In her wonderful formulation, "Their moments seem overheard," Gribble temporally analogizes the heath's diurnal and climatological rhythms to the perpetually changeable situations of the novels' characters. The condition of being "overheard" is to be perpetually dependent on being noticed at the right time and, indeed, at the right place. The narrator's gaze, per Gribble, would almost conjure the characters into being, passing on the face of the heath like clouds or rain.

These representative critical perspectives form a consensus that the vastness of the heath is a type of formlessness, and should motivate a criticism centered around identifying the characterological consequences of that formlessness. My analysis modifies this consensus by altering the lack of a defined structure to one of deliberate uncertainty, and conceptualizes that the declining to fully represent the space of Egdon Heath as a formal feature in itself. The way this spatial boundary is established, as limned above, is for the narrator to repeatedly ascribe an infinite extent to the heath from an Olympian perspective, often traversing multiple altitudes in a single paragraph, and all the while identifying—often explicitly, though not always—the perpetual incompleteness of the attempt to know the whole plain. To return to the first chapter, the first extended description of the heath starts the process of the narrator's perspectival ascents:

The heaven being spread with this pallid screen, the earth with the darkest vegetation, their meeting line at the horizon was clearly marked. In such contrast the heath wore the appearance of an instalment of night which had taken up its place before the astronomical hour had come: darkness had to a great extent arrived hereon while day stood distinct in the sky. Looking upwards, a furze-cutter would have been inclined to continue work: looking down, he would have decided to finish his faggot and go home. The distant rims of the world and of the firmament seemed to be a division in time no less than a division in matter. The face of the heath by its mere complexion added half-an-hour to eve: it could in like manner retard the dawn, sadden noon, anticipate the frowning of storms

scarcely generated, and intensify the opacity of a moonless midnight to a cause of shaking and dread. (9)

The first sentence mimes a look upward at the sky (“heaven being spread with this pallid screen”) and down at the ground (toward “darkest vegetation”), and then outward in the middle toward the “their meeting line at the horizon.” Such a view could easily be provided by one of the heath’s inhabitants standing on the ground. In the next sentence, however, the narrator is able to apprehend the “appearance” of the entire heath, cannily analyzing the darkness of its soil as a visual basis for its shorter-seeming days and a general source of its gloom. The narrator then installs one of the heath’s inhabitants—a “furze-cutter,” that is, laborer who cuts the thorny shrubs that grow in these desolate areas (392n9)—in the scene, and repeats the upward and downward glances of the first sentence. The sky and the ground would give a simple furze-cutter different impressions as to the time of day and therefore the viability of his work. In viewing this furze-cutter, the narrator moves above him significantly, and from this raised perspective, is able to apprehend the “distant rims of the world and of the firmament,” seeing beyond the horizon line with which the paragraph began.

What is crucial to note, though, is that this perspective does not enable the narrator to describe the entire heath with anything approaching comprehensiveness. Instead, the narrator further describes (in more evocative terms, to be sure) what he has already said: that the darkness of the heath’s soil makes the days seem shorter and the people gloomier. However, the total space of the heath lies somewhere between the “the earth with the darkest vegetation,” the “meeting line at the horizon,” and the “distant rims of the world,” and at the end of this paragraph that provides an entire theory of Egdon Heath’s climate and time in microcosm, the narrator is still stops short of indicating

where that space begins and ends. This representational incompleteness is really what causes the “shaking and dread” of the characters, and what consistently in the novel correlates with the catastrophes that punctuate their lives.

Tellingly, this description resonates strongly with Hardy’s own sketch map of Egdon Heath (see Figure 4f). While the narrator’s description isn’t quite an ekphrasis of the map, it could easily have been inspired by it. Aside from identifying the major locations where plot points take place, the map is generally just filled with nearly identical darkened hillocks, with particular darkness in the middle by the Black Barrow. The heath, though, goes on well beyond the borders of the map. This drawing seems presented the way it is simply to focus on Eustacia’s wanderings, which are denoted by single dotted lines. The dark shading at the map’s center seems to emphasize the darkness of the area, as described by the narrator above, and also to abjure the idea that the heath has an actual center from which the whole can be envisioned at all. Thereby, the map provides a graphical analogue to the narrative perspective’s spatial incompleteness. There is no firm center on the heath from which the entirety of the landscape can be represented, either narratively or graphically.

This potentially infinite extent draws characters to the heath as a place of possibility, but quickly becomes oppressive as the environmental gloom cuts short their prospects and, eventually, their lives. Clym’s return from Paris, where he was a successful diamond merchant, to the heath he grew up on lends the novel its title, but his status as a native is perpetually troubled. This might seem specifically linked to the cosmopolitanism of the Parisian diamond trade, but in fact, there is really nobody in the novel who seems truly at home. The brutal deaths of Mrs. Yeobright, Eustacia, and

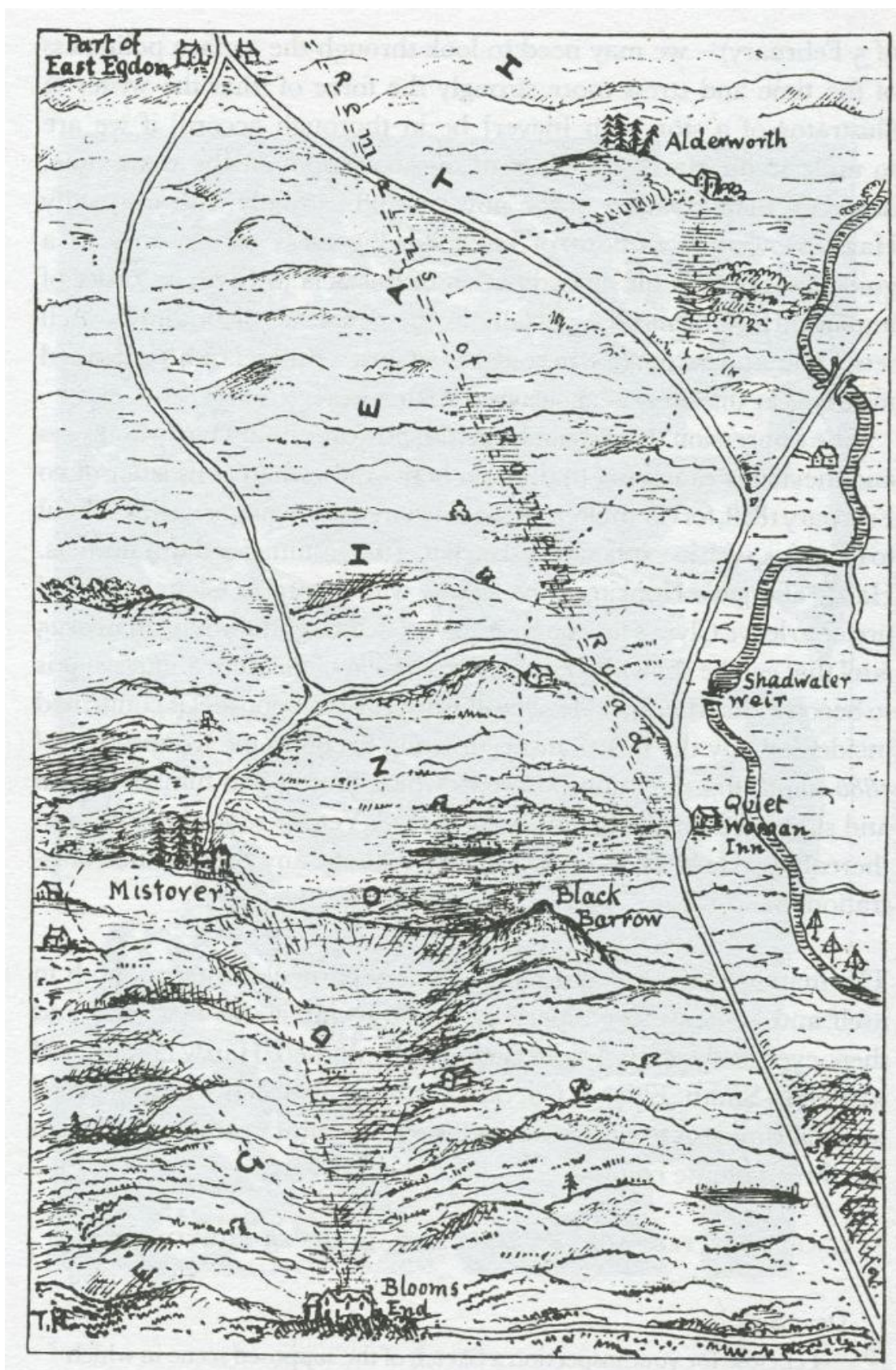


Figure 4g: Hardy, sketch map of Egdon Heath.

Wildeve suggests that perhaps no one (except maybe Diggory Venn) belongs on the Heath. As Lawrence argues, “The real sense of tragedy is got from the setting. What is the great, tragic power in the book?—it is Egdon Heath. And who are the real spirits of the Heath?—first Eustacia, then Clym’s mother, then Wildeve. The natives have little or nothing in common with the place.”²⁴⁶ Lawrence’s contention that the novel itself does not truly subscribe to the idea of the “native” comports with the landscape’s efforts to estrange its characters from the very scenes they inhabit, and to cast their eyes to the sky and indulge in fantasies of escape.

Such a scene occurs when Mrs. Yeobright travels to Clym and Eustacia’s cottage to make peace with her son. When she arrives, she finds the door shut due to a misunderstanding on Eustacia’s part, and this misunderstanding causes the Mrs. Yeobright to begin her journey back to her home, during which she will die from a snakebite. After she leaves the house, she pauses to catch her breath. During this pause, the narrator points out two scales of animal life, one terrestrial and one aerial, whose existences compare favorably to that of Mrs. Yeobright. As she nears the house, the sun sets further in the west, which is also her direction of travel. Consequently, the sun “stood directly in her face, like some merciless incendiary, brand in hand, waiting to consume her.” The sun completely blots out her perception, and “the departure of the boy,” her erstwhile traveling companion Johnny Nunsuch, “all visible animation disappeared from the landscape.” There is one scale of life, though, that remains active: “[T]he intermittent husky notes of the male grasshoppers from every tuft of furze were enough to show that

²⁴⁶ Lawrence lists the dead in an order that does not match the order of their death in the plot. I take his ordering to reflect his judgment of the deaths’ tragic significance: Eustacia’s death is the most tragic, followed by Mrs. Yeobright, and then Wildeve. Lawrence, “Study of Thomas Hardy,” 25.

amid the prostration of the larger animal species an unseen insect world was busy in all the fulness of life” (278). Right as a crucial moment in the fracturing of the heath’s society nears, the narrator evokes an entire alternate world that all this time had been taking place right beneath the characters’ noses. (As Mrs. Yeobright slows, the narrator relates that she “continued to creep along in short stages with long breaks in between,” miming the intermittent movement of insects, especially grasshoppers.) The evocation of another scale of life below the human, with its own “unseen insect world” functioning in the “fulness of life” suggests that the only natives on the heath might be animals, not humans.

Only the narrator can see the grasshoppers, with Mrs. Yeobright’s eyes being in the sun, but it stands to reason that she would be able to hear them. As she staggers forward, she sees an ant colony beneath her, and attains the Olympian perspective the narrator is never able to truly inhabit: “In front of her a colony of ants had established a thoroughfare across the way, where toiled a never-ending and heavy-laden throng. To look down upon them was like observing a city street from the top of a tower.” Just as the narrator stretches his spatial observations across multiple time scales, so does Mrs. Yeobright: “She remembered that this bustle of ants had been in progress for years at the same spot—doubtless those of the old times were the ancestors of these which walked there now” (278). Unlike the humans of the heath, whose social structures are under threat from the landscape, the insects are able to keep entire bloodlines going for generations and have those offspring make use of the land to ensure communal survival. As the narrator and Mrs. Yeobright look down, they see methods of social organization wholly unavailable to the human occupants of the heath.

When Mrs. Yeobright then casts her eyes up to a different animal, she sees an alternative to living on the heath. A heron rising from a nearby pond offers an alternative vision of escape:

She leant back to obtain more thorough rest, and the soft eastern portion of the sky was as great a relief to her eyes as the thyme was to her head. While she looked a heron arose on that side of the sky, and flew on with his face towards the sun. He had come dripping wet from some pool in the valleys, and as he flew the edges and lining of his wings, his thighs, and his breast, were so caught by the bright sunbeams that he appeared as if formed of burnished silver. Up in the zenith where he was seemed a free and happy place, away from all contact with the earthly ball to which she was pinioned; and she wished that she could arise uncrushed from its surface, and fly as he flew then. (278)

Here, the narrator rises once more with the heron, continuing to ascend as the heron turns west. As Mrs. Yeobright watches the heron, she sees it do exactly what she cannot do: move swiftly west toward the setting sun, and leave the heath. Unlike the two forms of insect life previously encountered, though, this heron is not coded as having a small community, like the grasshoppers, or extended social ties, like the ants. Rather, it is alone, and specifically identified as male, the mobility Mrs. Yeobright can never attain gaining a gendered as well as species-specific valence. As the heron rises in the sky toward “a free and happy place,” the narrator locates Mrs. Yeobright on “the earthly ball to which she was pinioned,” losing track of the heath between the insects, the human, the heron, and the earth itself.

As Mrs. Yeobright nears death, she experiences an ascent closer to the narrator’s position above the heath, and is able to perceive an increasingly greater range of successful non-human forms of social organization. In the tortuous theater of this walk home—a walk, recall, that she will never complete—her view of the heath becomes unstable as she sees further into the wide variety of life it is in fact able to support and also in the narrator’s struggle to represent its infinite extent. What she tellingly does not

perceive, however, is any way for human life to persist on the heath, presaging both her own death and Eustacia's (which leads to a kind of social death for Clym). Eventually, Mrs. Yeobright gets up and moves on, but not before the narrator ascribes a celestial altitude to her state of mind: "Had the track of her next thought been marked by a streak in the air, like the path of a meteor, it would have shown a direction contrary to the heron's, and have descended to the eastward upon the roof of Clym's house" (279). The strange violence of this description—wouldn't a meteor destroy Clym's house?—resonates with how Mrs. Yeobright herself is being emotionally pulled apart, and how her son and daughter-in-law will be pulled apart by the vortex of the Shadwater Weir at the novel's end. By analogizing Mrs. Yeobright's thoughts to a fast-moving celestial object, the narrator liberates a part of her from her earthly body struggling across the heath. But even the meteor cannot escape the gravitational pull of the earth, and the heath. Once we are out in space, the furthest from the heath the narrator ever takes us, we cannot help but crash back into a home on Egdon Heath, presaging the fracturing of the heath's social order at the very moment the heath continues to resist broad geographic description. The heath presents an indecipherable riddle—a space that wants to be seen, but does not want to be known—and in the unending struggle to solve that riddle, a small society is rent apart.

Colonial History and Schreiner's Past in the Karoo

The conception of provincialism advanced in this project—as a spatial rootedness that is, at the same time, mobile through novelistic form—manifests itself in what Hardy

read as well as what he wrote. The Dorset County Museum contains much of Hardy's personal library, including a copy of Schreiner's *A Story of an African Farm*. Hardy never mentions Schreiner's work at any length in his correspondence, and though the copy of the novel he owned is well worn, it is possible that could be shelf wear. When I went to examine his copy for marginalia (unfortunately not extensive enough for discussion here), I could not find the volume in the musty attic reading room that housed Hardy's books. When I asked the museum's Hardy curator about it, she responded, "It must be on exhibition." Initially, I was surprised that this book would be on display—and that, if it merited being on display on its own (perhaps even showcasing the marginalia I was after), that so few scholars had written about the connections between Hardy and Schreiner. I soon discovered that she had meant something entirely different. She led me across the main museum floor to a reproduction of Hardy's study, complete with much of his original furniture. We pushed our way through a crowd gathered around to see his writing desk and a selection of some of his books and writing materials. The curator produced a key from her pocket, and she opened the glass case surrounding the exhibition. She stepped inside the enclosure and beckoned me in. "Which one did you want?" she asked. The patrons gave each other (and me) confused looks. I pointed to Schreiner's novel on a shelf next to his desk. She removed the novel and handed it to me. As she was locking up, one of the patrons said, "Don't take that one!" I never did find out why he said that, though I did find out that Hardy owned and did not significantly annotate Schreiner's novel (which is not at all unusual for non-critical books in his library). Its place in a museum reproduction of Hardy's study, though, further suggests how these novels set in fictional spaces that are attached to recognizable outlying regions

of countries and colonies invite a kind of analysis that correlates the spatial markers of their fictionality with real-world spaces. Schreiner's novel about gender identity formation and colonial farming in the Cape Colony would, after all, stick out in the Dorsetshire archives of the famous hometown novelist. And so, where Charles G. Harper drew his Wessex map with real-world place names in mind, the Dorset County Museum created a study exhibit with the author's actual possessions. By placing Schreiner's novel in close to the actual desk where at least some of the fictional Wessex was born, the Dorset County Museum could both display Hardy's distinctive tastes and control for the book object's incongruousness with Hardy's local novels. The museum's incorporation of his copy of *The Story of an African Farm* into the exhibit version of his study is a performance of worldliness that does not require engaging with the actual world of Schreiner's novel. On the shelf in the exhibit, her novel remains enclosed between its covers.

As I will show in this section, this mode of engagement with *The Story of an African Farm* dates back to the novel's initial publication. When Havelock Ellis, a noted researcher into human sexuality, read the novel, he wrote to Schreiner and they eventually met a year after its publication, maintaining their friendship through their shared membership in the socialist and freethinkers' group the Progressive Association.²⁴⁷ Ellis interviewed Schreiner, both about the novel and her life, and was going to write a casebook about her—she was known to be both passionate and compulsive in her sexuality, which interested Ellis—but scrapped the project. He did, however, write up extensive notes from their conversations, and wove those notes about

²⁴⁷ Ruth First and Ann Scott, *Olive Schreiner: A Biography* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1989), 124–31.

Schreiner's family and sexuality with remarks on how those experiences were adapted for the novel, sometimes as indicated by Schreiner herself.²⁴⁸ (To my knowledge, these notes have not been published or read in connection with *The Story of an African Farm*, though Ellis's friendship with the novelist is the subject of much work on Schreiner.) Ellis's reading of Schreiner's novel against her life reveals a focus on moments in the narrative where the farm's social structure threatens to break down. Here, I claim that in these moments, the variegated homestead society's ability to make use of the land to raise livestock and support the settler colonial enterprise they have undertaken is at greatest risk.

As in *The Return of the Native*, *The Story of an African Farm*'s depiction of its primary geographic space is marked by the time of day. Schreiner's initial description of the karoo takes place at night, illuminated by moonlight: "The full African moon poured down its light from the blue sky into the wide, lonely plain. The dry, sandy earth, with its coating of stunted karoo bushes a few inches high, the low hills that skirted the plain, the milk bushes with their long, finger-like leaves, all were touched by a weird and almost oppressive beauty as they lay in the white light" (1). As before, the narrator situates the description of this frontier cropland in relation to the sky, and is careful to introduce the endemic plants that make this area fit for settlement. Here, though, the narrator situates herself close to the "dry, sandy earth" from which she observes the features of the "wide, lonely plain." At night, the horizon line is impossible to see, and instead, the prominent features of the karoo—the karoo bushes used for grazing; the hillocks, called kopjes in Afrikaans, that dot the landscape; and the milk bushes under which ants, beetles, and the

²⁴⁸ Havelock Ellis, "[Havelock Ellis Notes from Conversations Olive Schreiner]" June 6, 1884, Add MS 70572, British Library.

farm's sheep alike find shade during the worst heat of the day—become visible underneath the bright moonlight. The narrator is careful not to let the beauty of the scene go unremarked on, characterizing it as “almost oppressive” to prefigure the connection between the oppressiveness of the landscape and the harm done to the household that she introduces in the next paragraph. Of this ordering—introducing the karoo before the farm's homestead—Cherry Clayton cannily remarks (referring first to the tiny insects that live underneath the hardened red sand crust), “Both the microscopic creatures dwelling in the red sand and the Karoo's vast perspectives seemed to have predated human suffering.”²⁴⁹ Once more, the two primary spatial scales at work here are the “microscopic” and the “vast,” with the karoo's vastness casting human activity into the former category.

The moonlight of this scene would be remembered by Ellis as he wrestled with this history of pain brought upon an author he admired and someone he was beginning to see as a potential research subject. In his notes on Schreiner's early life and forays into writing that would become the basis for *The Story of an African Farm*, Ellis fixates upon her natural powers of observation, and identifies those senses as sources of pain in her life: “Her senses are all very acute (sight). Used to know at the Cape who was coming by the way of touching the door handle, and could tell to whom a hat, etc. belonged by its smell. She had a very exact sense of taste to estimate the nature and amount of ingredients in dishes. Her eyes owing to over-exercise, writing by moonlight, etc. gave her trouble.”²⁵⁰ Ellis's initial invocation of sight would seem to refer to her facility for geographic description, but his example instead moves her away from the harshness of

²⁴⁹ Cherry Clayton, *Olive Schreiner* (New York: Twayne, Prentice Hall International, 1997), 6.

²⁵⁰ Ellis, “[Havelock Ellis Notes from Conversations Olive Schreiner],” fol. 2.

the karoo and toward two domestic activities: greeting people indoors and appraising well-spiced dishes. The moonlight of the scene, in Ellis's recollection, takes over as the main obstacle in Schreiner's life, transformed here into a source of her poor vision. Regardless of her eyes' actual health, the Schreiner's narrator's visual faculties depend on the moonlight Ellis identifies as an obstacle to the author's primary activity: writing. Because she had to write by moonlight, her novelistic pursuits had to be secondary to her responsibilities to her employer. Through her travels across the Cape Colony, Schreiner came to know the karoo, and knew her geography—the karoo—as well as her pages initially by moonlight, rather than by the light of day.

When Schreiner introduces the farm's homestead, she situates it next to a "small, solitary kopje" that lies "[n]ear the center" of "the solemn monotony of the plain." As on Egdon Heath, this center arbitrarily references the narrator's perspective, not the actual geographic center of a recognizable division of the karoo. Instead, the farm becomes the center, starting from the homestead and expanding outward toward the farm's other buildings:

At the foot of the kopje lay the homestead. First, the stone-walled sheep kraals [corrals] and Kaffir huts; beyond them the dwelling house—a square, red-brick building with thatched roof. Even on its bare red walls, and the wooden ladder that led up to the loft, the moonlight cast a kind of dreamy beauty, and quite etherealized the low brick wall that ran before the house, and which enclosed a bare patch of sand and two straggling sunflowers. On the zinc roof of the great, open wagon house, on the roofs of the outbuildings that jutted from its side, the moonlight glinted with a quite peculiar brightness, until it seemed that every rip in the metal was of burnished silver. (1)

Once more, the beauty of the scene contrasts with the severity of the landscape in the daytime. As with the bushes of the karoo, the little vegetation that exists on the farm (the two sunflowers) "straggl[es]" in its fight against the harsh environment for its life. This struggle is moreover evident in the layout of the buildings, which, consistent with the

history of colonial wars fought in these areas, is arranged in a defensive posture. The kraals and outbuildings surround the “dwelling house” as if to fortify it. The consistent references to various walls and enclosures counterpoises a settler colonial defensiveness with the moonlight’s “dreamy beauty.” These consistent references to edifices of enclosure, such as the “thatched roof” of the homestead, “bare red walls” of brick, stone walls of the kraals, and zinc roofs of the outbuildings, contrast directly with what Elizabeth Syrkin calls the karoo’s “open spaces.” She writes, “The karoo here has agency in its inaction, inhabited yet resistant, constant among a layering of historical atrocities and occupations. And the farm of the novel’s title is presented as a claustrophobic intrusion on this unconquerable and unconquered karoo.”²⁵¹ The evidence for these “atrocities and occupations” may seem scant in the passage quoted above, but Schreiner references the past history of colonial conflict with early insertion of the “Kaffir huts.” “Kaffir” is a colonial term for Africans native to the Cape, a term considered a racial slur in modern Africa, and the novel ascribes an invidious racial calculus to Otto Farber, the farm’s German manager, when he interacts with them. The huts allow Africans doing domestic labor on the farm to keep out of the sun, and when Farber allows the wife of a man who is suspected of stealing Otto’s sheep, he turns the shade of the huts into a racial judgment: “The woman shook her head; she would sleep in the field. The German [Otto] reflected. Kaffir women were accustomed to sleep in the open air; but then, [her] child was small, and after so hot a day the night might be chilly. That she would creep back to the huts at the homestead when the darkness favored her, the German’s sagacity did not

²⁵¹ Elizabeth Syrkin, “Exilic Consciousness and Alternative Modernist Geographies in the Work of Olive Schreiner and Katherine Mansfield,” in *The Geocritical Legacies of Edward W. Said: Spatiality, Critical Humanism, and Comparative Literature*, ed. Robert T. Tally Jr. (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015), 192.

make evident to him” (47). The woman’s evident mistrust of the farm and Otto not only reflects her suspicion of hospitality in the face of the fact that her husband had stolen the farm’s sheep, but also, together with the layout of the farm’s buildings, reflects a violent history that allowed this land to be cleared for settlers. The farm’s status as a “center... of the plain,” then, is less a geographic appraisal of the karoo than an identification of the farm’s colonial claim to this area of the karoo and the danger the value of that claim will attract, initially under the destructive guise of Bonaparte Blenkins, and broadly in the form of the pain wrought by the harshness of the karoo itself.

The karoo’s punishing conditions are reflected not only in the heat of the day and the sparseness of the vegetation, but also in the resistance of the surface to reveal both its geographic and human histories. During the “great drought” of 1862, the three children of the homestead, Lyndall, Em, and Waldo, play hide-and-seek outside in the hot sun of “that thirsty summer.” During the drought, “Man and beast turned their eyes to the pitiless sky, which arched overhead like the roof of some brazen oven,” consistently invoking the two primary scales of geographic description on the karoo: earthbound flatness and an aspiration to an atmospheric perspective (9). During this summer, Blenkins, the agent of the homestead society’s fragmentation, arrives, and as he does, Waldo prophetically feels a hunger for a deeper knowledge of the karoo. “ ‘If *they* could talk, if *they* could tell us now!’ he said, moving his hand out over the surrounding objects—‘then we would know something. This kopje, if it could tell us how it came here!’ ” (13, emphasis in original). The objects surrounding Waldo are a pile of rocks by the homestead around which the children are playing. His desire, essentially, is for the ability to communicate with the earth, identifying each rock and each hillock as its own

actor with its own potential for agency. He continues: “The *Physical Geography* says... that what are dry lands now were once lakes, and what I think this—these low hills were once the shores of a lake; this kopje is some of the stones that were at the bottom, rolled together by the water. But there is this—how did the water come to make one heap here alone, in the center of the plain?” (13). In ascribing this agency to geography, and furthermore to prehistoric hydrography, Waldo implies that this geographic agency would have a sense of design, in making the great heap of rocks around which they are playing. Just as strategic design was required for the farm’s construction, and that defensive posture casts the farm as the contemporary karoo’s center, so does Waldo fantasize about nature having its own ability to affect geography in a deliberate way, and thereby create its own center in prehistoric times.

That these two figures of the karoo’s center are directly adjacent to each other is not an accident. Waldo’s fantasy about the karoo’s past provides an ancient justification for their farm’s location—a settler colonial center on top of an ancient one. Waldo ties this desire to commune with the karoo directly to the plain’s violent colonial history in a speech he subsequently gives to his adoptive sisters, in particular Lyndall, whose relationship with Waldo is central to the novel:

“Lyndall, has it never seemed to you that the stones *were* talking with you? Sometimes,” he added, in a yet lower tone, “I lie under there with my sheep, and it seems that the stones are really speaking—speaking of the old things, of the time when strange fishes and animals lived that are turned into stone now, and the lakes were here; and then of the time when the little Bushmen lived here, so small and so ugly, and used to sleep in the wild-dog holes, and in the slots, and eat snakes, and shot the bucks with their poisoned arrows. It was one of them, one of those old wild Bushmen, that painted these,” said the boy, nodding toward the pictures [painted on the rocks]—“one who was different from the rest. He did not know why, but he wanted to make something beautiful—he wanted to make something, so he made these. He worked hard, very hard, to find the juice to make the paint; and then he found this place where the rocks hang over, and he painted

them. To us they are only strange things, that make us laugh; but to him they were very beautiful.” (14, emphasis in original)

As Waldo desires to know more about the natural world, those permanent aspects of the landscape, primarily the rocks, testify to the presence of both a human and geologic past—Bushmen paintings and fossils—but deny access to the meaning of that past. In addition to making survival difficult, the harsh environment of the karoo makes understanding it geographically difficult by consistently effacing almost all traces of its histories. The settler colonists who came before did the rest of the work, as Waldo goes on to say: “Now the Boers have shot them all, so that we never see a little yellow face peeping out among the stones” (14). The karoo’s harshness and self-erasure and the Cape Colony’s history of colonial warfare, therefore, are directly connected in the logic of the novel. In Jennifer Beningfield’s reading of this passage, Schreiner’s linking of “the ‘emptiness’ of the landscape to the eradication of the ‘Bushman’ by the guns of the Boers” draws the “inhabitants and the landscape” and the landscape itself closer in their coordinated project: “the erasure of others.” She continues: “The hostility of the desert veld to dense botanical growth is analogous to its hostility to human occupation.... Waldo’s empathy with nature allows him to give voice to the history of the landscape and allow the stones to speak through him. In Schreiner’s Karoo, civilisation is an impediment to a deep understanding of the qualities of the land.”²⁵² Taking this logic one step further, it is the very logic of history itself that prevents Waldo from attaining the deep knowledge of the karoo he so ardently seeks. He implies here a logic of historical progress, that all past landscape and human history has converged upon his one particular

²⁵² Jennifer Beningfield, *The Frightened Land: Land, Landscape and Politics in South Africa in the Twentieth Century* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2006), 20.

game of hide and seek in the drought of 1862. Yet as Jed Esty thoroughly shows, the entire logic of Schreiner's novel, and in particular its geographic focus, is opposed to historical progressivism, in particular the "romance of imperial progress." Esty argues, "She organizes (or disorganizes) her novel according to a more random and cruel form of temporality, a naturalist clock whose uneven, unpredictable strokes cut across any sense of pure progress, whether individual or civilizational."²⁵³ In making this mistake, Waldo grounds the fantastic parts of his speech—the rocks that talk to him, in particular—in a progressivist ideology alien to the novel and, directly, to the landscape just outside the world he has constructed for himself in the kopje's shadow. He does not grasp the other inescapable fact that the narrator never forgets: it's just a pile of rocks. When he asks his adoptive sister, "Has it never seemed to you, Lyndall?" Always focused on human connection, she replies, "No, it never seems so to me" (14).

In his progressivist fantasy, Waldo conjures a talented artist among the Bushmen that he believes could be behind the paintings, one who had to labor greatly to gather the raw materials to make the paint. Waldo's invention of this noble savage figure testifies to the settlers' desire for culture and society and their conjoined dependence on the colonial conflict in the recent past. Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, and Neil Hultgren have all described the karoo as a place where the settlers struggle against the lack of civilizational rules. According to Gilbert and Gubar, the novel "presents the wilderness of the karoo as a liminal zone in which the characters freed from the normative restraints of western civilization can act out their desires and thereby dramatize the meaning of those

²⁵³ Esty, *Unseasonable Youth*, 83.

restraints.”²⁵⁴ Patricia Murphy cites this passage approvingly, aptly pointing out that some of the primary civilizational restraints that the novel struggles against have to do with gender, in particular Lyndall’s chafing against traditional gender roles for women, and the androgynous Gregory’s dressing as a woman.²⁵⁵ Gilbert and Gubar go on to analogize women to colonial subjects through Lyndall: “By situating Lyndall as prophetess in an alien African landscape, moreover, Schreiner implies that the New Woman has no place in the old world, and she therefore establishes a precedent for the identification of women with the colonized.”²⁵⁶ Gilbert and Gubar’s analogy joins women and colonial subjects along the lines of their shared removal from controlling their own social prospects and the denigration of their subjectivity. The reference to the “alien African landscape” has less to do with the specific features of that landscape and instead refers to Lyndall’s alienation from her surroundings and the farm’s odd social world situated in those surroundings. It is this alienation that makes Lyndall appear to occupy an analogous social position to colonial subjects.

This current of critical thought has been important to the analysis of Schreiner’s novel, and the condition of women in the novel is certainly deplorable, a condition that Lyndall explicitly resists. Reading the novel from the perspective of the karoo, though,

²⁵⁴ Along these lines, Hultgren argues: “Through print culture and other influences, the white settlers come to adopt European habits, yet the karoo lacks the institutions and communities that can help them sustain such habits. The main characters of *The Story of an African Farm* live in isolation from metropolitan forms of community and collectivity; they are failed subjects only partially European. Their goals, hopes, and interests are generated through an appreciation of European culture and an imitation of European ways of living, but the limited possibilities available to them on the karoo hinder the achievement of these goals.” Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *No Man’s Land: The Place of the Woman Writer in the Twentieth Century*, Revised, vol. 2: *Sexchanges* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989), 63; Neil Hultgren, *Melodramatic Imperial Writing: From the Sepoy Rebellion to Cecil Rhodes* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2014), 181.

²⁵⁵ Patricia Murphy, *Time Is of the Essence: Temporality, Gender, and the New Woman* (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2001), 254n5.

²⁵⁶ Gilbert and Gubar, *No Man’s Land*, 2: *Sexchanges*: 63.

reconfigures Lyndall's relationship to colonialism in the Cape, and reveals a history that is distinct from (though certainly not opposed to) the history of gendered violence and control of women's prospects and bodies that is part and parcel of nineteenth-century European custom. In the eastern part of the Cape Colony, the punishing karoo, filled with unknowably vast land for cattle grazing, is itself the colonial creation of a history of outright war, ethnic conflict, slavery, and settler colonialism. For the Boer farm to stake its claim to the land immediately around it and exert an informal claim over the grazing lands far from it, the land first had to be cleared of the native tribes that once occupied this swath of now-settled territory.

In the novel, this history registers in the different ethnic and racial groups the different characters represent. According to Christopher Heywood, Schreiner's novel "describes the eastern Karoo, a region in which the ancient San community had been subjected to genocidal extermination, the Khoi cast into slavery, and from which the Xhosa community had been expelled."²⁵⁷ The British settlers were intended as a buffer between Xhosa warriors seeking restitution and the rest of the Cape Colony."²⁵⁸ Against this historical backdrop, the novel's characters reference subsequent points in the forced expulsion of native tribes. The Boer ancestors of Tant' Sannie, and Em seized the karoo as farmland, whereas British settlers like Bonaparte Blenkins and Gregory married into Boer families to acquire this farmland.²⁵⁹ In the 1850s, Heywood writes, poor German

²⁵⁷ As Patrick Wolfe attests, genocidal killing and enslavement of native populations are hallmarks of settler colonialism, so as to clear land for the establishment of a colonial outposts. Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (December 2006): 387–88.

²⁵⁸ Christopher Heywood, *A History of South African Literature* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 87.

²⁵⁹ Blenkins is actually Irish, which he uses to his advantage to woo Tant' Sannie, but he presents as English so as to exercise authority over the farm and contrive to oust Otto Farber from his post as farm overseer.

settlers—like Otto and his son Waldo—settled farther to the East so as to provide a buffer between the heart of the karoo and the displaced Xhosa. Nonetheless, the settlers and the Xhosa remained locked in a “seemingly ceaseless border war.” The African survivors of colonial conflict, particularly the Khoi, are itinerant laborers, working on farms like Tant’ Sannie’s, but due to the threat of conflict, little trust exists between them and the settlers.²⁶⁰ By seeing the characters as emblematic of colonial forces that have reshaped the karoo, Lyndall’s place in the novel shifts. As the descendant of a Dutch father and English mother, she in fact represents those very marriages that English settlers engaged in to—at least in part—marry into landholding Boer families. Even as Lyndall is persecuted due to her gender and eventually dies due to complications from childbirth, her heritage is also aligned with colonial history.

By consistently identifying the farm’s characters with their various origins, and by emphasizing the divisions those differences instantiate, Schreiner denies the ability of the homestead to unite under a single colonial banner. According to Zarena Aslami, “In this fractious, heterogeneous settler colony, there are no ‘South Africans.’ The constant reference to the characters’ national or ethnic identities is just one example of the novel’s relentless refusal to allow the reader to imagine that a harmonious South African social body exists.”²⁶¹ Instead, Schreiner’s characters form social bonds through parent-like and sibling-like relations, even though only Otto and Waldo are the only characters who technically belong to the same nuclear family unit. In creating some semblance of a

²⁶⁰ Heywood, *A History of South African Literature*, 87–88; see further Wim Tigges, “A Feminist Mirage of the New Life: Utopian Elements in *The Story of an African Farm*,” in *The Literary Utopias of Cultural Communities, 1790-1910*, ed. Marguérite Corporaal and Evert Jan van Leeuwen (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010), 192.

²⁶¹ Zarena Aslami, *The Dream Life of Citizens: Late Victorian Novels and the Fantasy of the State* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2012), 28.

social structure from such a motley group—even in the racially-tinged paternalism of Otto offering the African woman shelter at his farm, despite the fact that her husband stole his sheep—*The Story of an African Farm* encodes the conflict of their varied and linked colonial histories into their relationships. Furthermore, in having them work on a farm whose prospects are so directly tied to the surrounding landscape, and by, at times, having them attempting to wrest control of the farm away from one another, which results in Blenkins's physical expulsion from the homestead, Schreiner brings the history of colonial conflict so readily available to the young Waldo into the extended, heterogeneous social structure itself. Though the karoo is a harsh and punishing environment, and though the farm is designed in a defensive posture, it is actually the homestead society itself where the colonial past and the hostility of the landscape meet.

At the beginning of the novel, the homestead is filled with conflict borne of Otto's naïveté. When Otto offers the African woman shelter, he offers her his jacket: "He took off his brown coat, and held it out to her. The woman received it in silence and laid it across her knee. 'With that, they will sleep warmly; not so bad. Ha, ha!' said the German. And he rode home, nodding in a manner that would have made any other man dizzy" (47). The novel goes to great lengths to satirize Otto's odd, sometimes foolish behavior—especially here, for as previously cited, the herder's wife has already made her own sleeping arrangements that will account for the weather, rendering Otto's token of magnanimity useless. For Schreiner, though, there was a dark side to that satire. Otto Farber is based on her father, and she viewed his intense religiosity as the root of his foolishness and their family's poverty. Ellis begins his notes on Schreiner with this fact: "Olive Schreiner. Otto Farber, the old German, is a portrait of her father, a German

missionary. Her relations, who do not like the book, acknowledge the truth of this portrait. He would give the coat off his back to anyone in need.” Otto’s gesture of giving his coat to the woman he takes in appears to be taken from life. Otto’s gesture, however, evokes Schreiner’s father’s compulsion to place the needs of others over the needs of his family. Consequently, the novelist grew up in poverty, a condition that scarred her and which returns as well in her fiction. Whereas for “two years he took things in blue bags to a poor woman who lived some miles off—riding by night,” Schreiner was often forced to “[go] around in boy’s clothes.” Her sisters married into wealth, and when Schreiner was “much in want of money she wrote to them and they refused to help her.”²⁶²

This would seem to prefigure the farm’s lack of material comforts and Gregory’s dressing in women’s clothing. More saliently, the perpetual alienation of traditional social ties recurs consistently in Schreiner’s early life. Consequently, according to Ellis, she was both drawn to domineering men and to governess positions so that she could fix the ills of father figures and regulate the lives of children. For instance, at age 18 Schreiner worked as a “clerk to an attorney,” a man who “tyrannised over her and at the same time wanted to kiss her.” She resisted his advances, and consequently the attorney gave her excessive amounts of work to do: “She was so hard-worked here that she use to sleep in her clothes from weariness and to save the trouble of dressing... At the end the man said ‘You stayed for your own pleasure’ and paid her nothing.” She then went to work as a governess in a Boer family and, according to Ellis, “was happy.” For her accommodations, “She had a small room with a mud floor, and a primitive bedstead and something to hold her clothes—nothing else except Mill’s ‘Logic’ to read. She used to

²⁶² Ellis, “[Havelock Ellis Notes from Conversations Olive Schreiner],” fol. 1, emphasis in original.

wash in the stream nearby... She was happy, but there was a vague restlessness, a sense of something in the future, of joy to come.” Ellis then relates how Schreiner was paid far less than she was worth in a subsequent post as a governess, emphasizing the simplicity of her situation as the basis for her domestic happiness. In Ellis’s analysis, the domestic sphere that Schreiner was able to simplify—when she was able to come to terms with her meager means—was much more conducive to her happiness than the working world, and this subsequently influenced her portrayal of the farm in her novel.²⁶³

In fact, the domestic space of the farm is ground zero for psychological damage. The characters’ yearning for outside knowledge reflects their desire to escape the farm and the karoo, and to transform their lives each in their own way. The novel’s foreclosure of most of those transformations reflects how the environment is far from a bucolic paradise where one might bathe in a nearby stream and is, instead, a crucible where broken social ties come under the dual pressures of a harsh environment and a bloody colonial past. This reading of Ellis’s notes against this section’s analysis of the homestead and the karoo reveals something deeply important about *The Story of an African Farm*: the ways the novel departs from Schreiner’s life reference those places where the colonial past and the karoo meet at the site of the farm’s makeshift social order. In the settler colonial homestead, Schreiner found a perfect vehicle for reckoning with the ways the colonial past informed her present understanding of South African geography.

Crop Circles

²⁶³ Ellis, fol. 1.

In writing his own novel about farming, Hardy also relied on a specific historical moment and the sudden appearance of an outsider to on a remote agricultural enterprise. *The Mayor of Casterbridge* is set during the era of the Corn Laws, a set of protectionist import taxes that kept the price of domestic cereal grain high enacted in 1815 and repealed in 1846.²⁶⁴ These regulations were designed to favor domestic grain producers, but an unintended consequence of these laws was that the cost of living for poor Britons went up greatly. By the time Hardy published his novel, forty years after the repeal of the Corn Laws, this era and the so-called “Hungry Forties” were a distant, unpleasant memory. In his 1895 preface for the anthology *The Wessex Novels*, Hardy identifies “the uncertain harvests which immediately preceded the repeal of the Corn Laws” as one of the three major events motivating the novel’s composition.²⁶⁵ In an amusing rebuke to late-Victorian kids-these-days, Hardy writes in this preface: “Readers of the following story who have not yet arrived at middle age are asked to bear in mind that, in the days recalled by the tale, the home Corn Trade, on which so much of the action turns, had an importance that can hardly be realized by those accustomed to the sixpenny loaf of the present date, and to the present indifference of the public to harvest weather.”²⁶⁶ The author here emphasizes that in the 1840s, during which the majority of his novel takes place, the rural poor were particularly dependent on the local harvest for food, and were especially vulnerable to price fluctuations caused by the weather.

²⁶⁴ J. A. Thomas, “The Repeal of the Corn Laws, 1846,” *Economica*, no. 25 (April 1929): 53–54; Donald Grove Barnes, *A History of the English Corn Laws, from 1600-1846* (New York: A. M. Kelley, 1965), 272ff; Peter H. Lindert, *Growing Public: Social Spending and Economic Growth Since the Eighteenth Century*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 68–70.

²⁶⁵ Of the other two events he references, one is fictional—Henchard’s sale of his wife Susan and their daughter Elizabeth-Jane at the novel’s beginning—and one is real—the visit of Prince Albert to the region.

²⁶⁶ Thomas Hardy, *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, vol. 3, In *The Wessex Novels* (1886; repr., London: Osgood, McIlvaine and Co., 1895), v.

In Hardy's novel, climate not only affects the corn harvest, but also affects the ability of a given mayor to stay in power. The mayor's primary duty as it pertained to average townspeople was to regulate local farming and ensure strong harvests so that the poor would not go hungry. When Michael Henchard fails in this duty, the Scottish agricultural prodigy Donald Farfrae takes his place, both as mayor and as patriarch, with his courting of and long-delayed marriage to Elizabeth-Jane. Henchard's inability to provide for the various social formations to which he is duty bound—the townspeople and his family—has often been seen as a reflection of his fatal flaw: the alcoholism that led to his selling his wife and daughter to the sailor Richard Newson at the novel's beginning. In this section, I want to build on this traditional reading by focusing on the relationship between Casterbridge's social order and the management of the corn fields, the two areas around which, I claim, the narrative is structured. In this reading, I will show how an individual's skill in managing the Casterbridge corn fields is the primary qualification for ascendance to the town's mayoralty, and for Henchard and Farfrae, this leadership position itself is a prerequisite for them to form stable families. That stability, though, is upended by both differences in agricultural talent, and also misunderstanding of the novel's multiple spatial regimes operating simultaneously—that of Casterbridge and corn fields, and that of Mixen Lane. *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, therefore, marks a distinct break with the *The Return of the Native* and *The Story of an African Farm* in its discussion of society's relationship with croplands. Egdon Heath and the karoo are harsh, quasi-deterministic spaces that both directly and indirectly inflicted physical and psychic wounds upon the ad hoc social structures in Wessex and the Cape Colony. In Casterbridge, however, the stable society of the town center readily facilitates marriage

and friendship. Rightness of conduct, as in many of Hardy's novels, determines whether an individual character can keep those social ties, and for Henchard and Farfrae, their talents for agricultural management reflect that righteousness. Of course, it doesn't take adherence to the bleakness of Hardy's moral universe to know that anyone who sells his wife for a drink of rum isn't a good guy. The catalyst of Henchard's downfall, though, is the fact that he's a bad farmer.

The Mayor of Casterbridge has been regarded as one of Hardy's more conventional novels, given that it is set in a recognizable town, focuses on two marriage plots, and ends with the death of a character identified from the beginning as having a tragic flaw.²⁶⁷ From a geographic perspective, however, the spaces of this novel are notably strange, particularly in how they are described as being pushed up against each other with no zone of separation. Elizabeth-Jane registers this as she and Susan approach Casterbridge for the first time: " 'What an old-fashioned place it seems to be!' said Elizabeth-Jane, while her silent mother mused on other things than topography. 'It is huddled all together, and it is shut in by a square wall of trees, like a plot of garden ground by a box-edging' " (27). The comparison of Casterbridge's compactness and the wall of trees—that is, the sycamores and chestnuts planted on the Walks—to a traditional garden neutralizes the defensiveness that might draw a natural analogy to Schreiner's farm, and instead connects Casterbridge, via the garden comparison, to that staple of the courtship novel: the manor house. What makes the area strange is how rusticity begins immediately at the city walls, as the narrator subsequently relates: "Its squareness was, indeed, the characteristic which most struck the eye in this antiquated borough, the

²⁶⁷ A compelling reading of Henchard's "tragic flaw" can be found in Kreisel, *Economic Woman*, esp. 150-152.

borough of Casterbridge—at that time, recent as it was, untouched by the faintest sprinkle of modernism. It was compact as a box of dominoes. It had no suburbs—in the ordinary sense. Country and town met at a mathematical line” (27). The precise linearity of the meeting place between rural space and the town center marks a sharp distinction between life in town and life outside of town, and spatially reproduces density of Casterbridge’s population in the close contiguity of town and country. This sets up the bridging of the two as a primary plotline in the narrative. That this apprehension is sparked by Elizabeth-Jane—who is actually Newson’s daughter, and not Henchard’s—ties what develops into the agricultural plotline with the plotline of social cohesion immediately at the novel’s outset.

Hardy goes on to describe the broader space of the novel, identifying the rural areas adjacent to the town as agricultural spaces. In doing so, he relies on a perspectival technique familiar from *The Return of the Native* and *The Story of an African Farm*: the shifting between a human and an Olympian perspective. He does this from an avian point of view:

To birds of the more soaring kind Casterbridge must have appeared on this fine evening as a mosaic-work of subdued reds, browns, greys, and crystals, held together by a rectangular frame of deep green. To the level eye of humanity it stood as an indistinct mass behind a dense stockade of limes and chestnuts, set in the midst of miles of rotund down and concave field. The mass became gradually dissected by the vision into towers, gables, chimneys, and casements, the highest glazings shining bleared and bloodshot with the coppery fire they caught from the belt of sun-lit cloud in the west. (27)

As in *The Return of the Native*, avian life is contrasted against sunlight and cloud cover. However, recall that as Mrs. Yeobright looks up at the heron flying west into the sun, the narrator remains focused on how she imagines leaving Egdon Heath, and then provides his own perspective on that fantasy of escape. Here, by contrast, Hardy’s narrator depicts

Casterbridge from the actual perspective of his “soaring” birds. The minds of animals are not generally available to the narrator in a Hardy novel, and so Hardy couches it in an uncertain verb tense (the town “must have appeared” as it did), whereas from the human perspective, the standard past tense implies assurance of that judgment. This shift in verb tenses and the description of the adjacent countryside as “miles of rotund down and concave field” sets up the narrator’s declining to specify where the corn fields end: “From the centre of each side of this tree-bound square ran avenues east, west, and south into the wide expanse of corn-land and coomb, to the distance of a mile or so. It was by one of these avenues that the pedestrians were about to enter” (27).²⁶⁸ Significantly, the “mile or so” specifies not how far the corn fields extend, but rather how far the avenues leading to and from Casterbridge reach into the fields themselves. This description epistemologically circumscribes the townspeople’s ability to understand the geographic extent of the agricultural space that is the primary source of their food—along with the mayor’s power—and finally sutures the narrator’s perspective on to the town’s street level. In appraising Casterbridge, the “level eye of humanity” is able to readily divine the features of a country town (“towers, gables, chimneys, and casements”) and aestheticize them (“the highest glazings shining bleared and bloodshot with [the sun’s] coppery fire”). Here, the narrator deliberately dramatizes how his approximation of a standard human perspective is unable to describe where the agrarian space in sight of Casterbridge ends.

²⁶⁸ A “coomb” is a short valley running to the sea. “Coomb | Combe | Comb, n.2,” *OED Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed January 2, 2018, <http://www.oed.com.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/view/Entry/41010>.

In her analysis of the logic of Hardy's plots, Gillian Beer claims, "Hardy's texts pay homage to human scale by ceasing as the hero or heroine dies."²⁶⁹ This strong point in Beer's evolutionary analysis feels intuitively correct to the reader of Hardy, especially in the context of the novel at hand; after all, the plot does end at Henchard's grave. My description of the narrator's emphasis on the individuals' inability to perceive Casterbridge's agrarian space, however, runs counter to Beer's emphasis on the human scale. While human life does cease in *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, what does not cease is the cornfields. This re-emphasizes my claim from the outset that my focus here on the infinite extent of these agrarian spaces shears the argument from the telos of plot. This is especially true in this section. Counterintuitively, in my analysis of this novel, a novel whose beginning and ending are so clearly tied to the lifespan of one man, I will emphasize spaces where that man is infrequently present. Because Henchard's facility for geographic perception is so limited, and because elaborations of the agrarian space and its administration frequently do not involve him—or at least involve residents more talented than him, such as Jopp or Farfrae—my analysis of this novel will barely touch on the character whose life gives the novel its plotted extent. What I will instead discuss is the relationship between the extent of the cornfields and the nested extent of Casterbridge. While my analysis of the cornfields' seemingly infinite reach is of a piece with my analyses of Egdon Heath and the karoo, in this novel, a second such space with indistinct boundaries exists: Mixen Lane, the infamous Casterbridge slum. My reading of that space shows that, like the cornfield, its boundaries can't be pinned down. Because of this, Mixen Lane threatens to bleed into Casterbridge proper, which it eventually does when

²⁶⁹ Gillian Beer, *Darwin's Plots: Evolutionary Narrative in Darwin, George Eliot and Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 223.

the denizens of Peter's Finger launch the skimmington ride that occasions dramatic social upheaval. My reading of the narrator's truly remarkable dramatization of the weird spatial slipperiness of Mixen Lane (a stark contrast with how distinct the area can seem in the mind of the reader) reveals how the novel's deep social fractures stem from the danger associated with the slum's undefined edges encroaching upon the Casterbridge's social center.

Even though this novel's formal presentation works to further develop the claim of this chapter—linking the narrator's declining to represent the croplands' extent with the fate of Casterbridge's social order—this novel is clearly different from the previous two works under discussion in that *The Mayor of Casterbridge* has a town center. Rather than compromising the novel's status as a rural or pastoral novel, the novel's focus on Casterbridge complicates what we appraise the novelistic provincial to be. Hardy criticism has long debated the relationship of narrative structure to Hardy's rural Wessex setting, historical context, and the circumstances of its production.²⁷⁰ *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, certainly, is a novel born of Dorchester. According to James Gibson, Hardy began writing the novel the same year that the Dorset County Museum opened (1884). At the new museum, Hardy was able to read his way back through *The Dorset County*

²⁷⁰ For instance, William A. Cohen demonstrates how the extensive description of Egdon Heath infiltrates and becomes an "inseparable" part of the characters' bodies as they move through the narrative. In Aaron Matz's discussion of *Jude the Obscure*, he claims that novel's distant, "suprahuman" perspective from which Hardy renders Christminster and the countryside reflects the author's own late career distance from the moral demands of novelistic realism. Jessica Martell's analysis of Tess's employment as a dairymaid in the lush Froom Valley assesses the grotesqueness of Hardy's descriptions of the valley as indicative of both the literal and figurative exhaustion of the pastoral mode in postindustrial modernity. William A. Cohen, *Embodied: Victorian Literature and the Senses* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 99; Aaron Matz, *Satire in an Age of Realism* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 48, 61–66; Jessica Martell, "The Dorset Diary, the Pastoral, and Thomas Hardy's *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*," *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 68, no. 1 (June 2013): 65–67.

Chronicles to the county newspaper's reports on life in the county under the Corn Laws and research the conditions of life in the era he depicts.²⁷¹ As in the novel's composition, in the novel itself, knowledge is power, particularly predictive knowledge based on the past and the ability to manipulate that information. Deanna K. Kreisel argues this point from an economic perspective: "In the plot of *The Mayor of Casterbridge* Hardy is concerned with economies of knowledge—how knowledge, truth, and information circulate and are exchanged."²⁷² As such, the arrival of new agricultural methods in the form of farming technology and in the person of Donald Farfrae, provokes an imbalance in this social economy. Tellingly, though, disturbances in agricultural methods do not just threaten Henchard's power. They also cut to the core of Wessex's very identity.

The narrator describes the arrival of a new seed sowing machine from the perspective of Lucetta's home, where she is talking with Elizabeth-Jane:

Suddenly after a rumbling of wheels there were added to [the bright day's] steady light a fantastic series of circling irradiations upon the ceiling, and the companions turned to the window. Immediately opposite a vehicle of strange description had come to a standstill, as if it had been placed there for exhibition.

It was the new-fashioned agricultural implement called a horse-drill, then unknown, in its modern shape, in this part of the country, where the venerable seed-lip was used for sowing as in the days of the Heptarchy. Its arrival created about as much sensation in the corn market as a flying machine would create at Charing Cross. The farmers crowded around it, the women drew near it, children crept under and into it. The machine was painted in bright hues of green, yellow, and red.... "Why, it is a sort of agricultural piano," [Lucetta] said.

"It has something to do with corn," said Elizabeth.

"I wonder who thought of introducing it here?"

Donald Farfrae was in the minds of both as the innovator, for though not a farmer he was closely leagued with farming operations. (156)

²⁷¹ James Gibson, *Thomas Hardy: A Literary Life* (Houndmills, UK: Macmillan, 1996), 95.

²⁷² Kreisel, *Economic Woman*, 163.

By turning from the domestic sphere where two eligible women are talking to the public display of the horse-drill, and then to both thinking of Farfrae as “the innovator” who brought the new invention to town, marital prospects—that is, the prospects for greater social cohesion by having Farfrae marry one of the town’s permanent residents—become linked to agricultural prowess. Initially, Lucetta interprets the machine in bourgeois domestic terms, comparing it to a piano. Later in the scene, Lucetta asks Henchard in the presence of Elizabeth-Jane whether Farfrae is the inventor, and he dodges the question in order to halt his rival’s rise in the agricultural sector and in the heart of his (supposed) daughter (157).

This domestic relationship to an agricultural innovation carries with it the simultaneous bonds to Casterbridge’s international future and its medieval past. By comparing the shock of a horse-drill’s arrival in Casterbridge to the arrival of a “flying machine” in the center of London, Hardy evokes the agricultural advancements that Farfrae was seeking as he traveled from his native Scotland to the grain fields of the United States via a Scot. That Scot’s settlement in town and his bringing advanced seed sewing technology to town implicates Casterbridge in a global agricultural network, according to Genevieve Abravanel.²⁷³ Simultaneously, Hardy emphasizes the centrality of agriculture not only to the town’s future, but also to the spatial rootedness of its history, and in particular, historically-validated agricultural methods, as the challenge the horse-drill offers to the seed-lip threatens farming practices that date back to “the days of the Heptarchy.” In invoking the Heptarchy, a military federation of seven medieval kingdoms, the narrator grounds farming practice in Wessex’s Saxon past. This ties the

²⁷³ Genevieve Abravanel, “Hardy’s Transatlantic Wessex: Constructing the Local in *The Mayor of Casterbridge*,” *NOVEL: A Forum on Fiction* 39, no. 1 (Fall 2005): 97–98, 103.

fictional county of Wessex with the actual Kingdom of Wessex. We have a relatively complete picture of the Kingdom's history because the West Saxons themselves were concerned with the maintenance of the historical record. In the ninth century, two Wessex monarchs, Alfred the Great and Edward the Elder, used their military might to make West Saxon the standard written dialect of Old English. Consolidating the vernacular in this way made it possible for the West Saxons to begin keeping the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, thought to be the first written work of English history.²⁷⁴ Just as the Wessex monarchs created the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* to control their place in history, so are Hardy's characters concerned with their town's relationship to modernity and, therefore, its fealty to its histories, both fictional and actual. Of course, the Kingdom of Wessex and Hardy's County Wessex are not the same, particularly in their governmental organization (nor are they exactly cartographically congruent, though the latter's area is modeled on the former's territory); unlike in medieval times, the leader of the Casterbridge government can be seen walking the street, and the mayor's seat passes from one resident to another—from a longtime resident to a Scot, no less—without significant political strife or violence.

Significantly, though, this medievalism does do violence to the social order in two signal instances, one of which does its violence by correspondingly ripping into the

²⁷⁴ Wessex was a medieval Southwest Saxon kingdom that was at once the most embattled and the most stable English kingdom during its four centuries of political existence—from the sixth century until the year 927, when England was unified by a West Saxon descendant. As a maritime, military, and scholarly cornerstone of the nascent English state, Wessex maintained its cultural hegemony until the Norman Conquest in 1066. Barbara Yorke, *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages* (London: Leicester University Press, 1995), 94–148, 240–90; F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 15–19, 63–66, 330–40, 364ff.

spatial fabric of Casterbridge and its surrounding area.²⁷⁵ In the first instance, Henchard resurrects the practice of wife selling at the novel's beginning, which was particularly endemic to medieval rural England.²⁷⁶ The second event is the infamous skimmington ride—also a rural medieval tradition²⁷⁷—which causes the death of Lucetta, who has married Farfrae and is suspected of adultery with Henchard due to their prior tumultuous courtship. What is significant about the skimmington ride for my purposes is not the event itself, but rather its origins in Mixen Lane. About halfway through the novel, Henchard's former agricultural manager Jopp returns from Mixen Lane, which Hardy describes in passing as “a back slum of the town, the *pis aller* of Casterbridge domiciliation” (170). This short description, sandwiched between two em dashes and using oddly affected language, conspicuously does nothing to let us know, exactly, where Mixen Lane actually is. Late in the novel, when the area is actually depicted, it is said to be located somewhere near Durnover, on the eastern side of Casterbridge, but that the area is “now in great part pulled down” (235).

As the narrator depicts Mixen Lane, just in advance of the planning of the skimmington ride at “the church of Mixen Lane,” a pub called Peter's Finger (237), it grows and grows in size until it seems as though it is an entire city unto itself. Mixen Lane starts out as being described as “the hiding-place of those who were in distress, and

²⁷⁵ Additionally, in *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, when Alec rapes the heroine, the Chase where he commits the deed is described as a “primæval” wood. Hardy, *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, 1998, 38.

²⁷⁶ Judith M. Bennett, *Women in the Medieval English Countryside: Gender and Household in Brigstock before the Plague* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 8. See also N. J. G. Pounds, *A History of the English Parish: The Culture of Religion from Augustine to Victoria* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 314–15.

²⁷⁷ Christine Peters, *Patterns of Piety: Women, Gender and Religion in Late Medieval and Reformation England* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 348; Theresia de Vroom, “Charivari,” in *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Margaret Schaus (New York: Routledge, 2006), 120–21.

in debt, and in trouble of every kind,” such as “[r]ural mechanics too idle to mechanize, rural servants too rebellious to serve.” After outlining the working-class population of the area, the narrator gives us the first sense of its layout:

The lane and its surrounding thicket of thatched cottages stretched out like a spit into the moist and misty lowland. Much that was sad, much that was low, somethings that were baneful, could be seen in Mixen Lane. Vice ran freely in and out certain of the doors of the neighbourhood; recklessness dwelt under the roof with the crooked chimney; shame in some bow-windows; theft (in times of privation) in the thatched and mudwalled houses by the sallows. Even slaughter had not been altogether unknown here. In a block of cottages up an alley there might have been erected an altar to disease in years gone by. Such was Mixen Lane in the times when Henchard and Farfrae were mayors. (236)

There is a section break before this section of the novel, and across that section break, it seems as if the narrator has transformed himself. This narrative voice is completely different from nearly all of the rest of the novel. The reader has known from the novel’s beginning that the narration issues from a retrospective stance (the novel begins: “One evening of late summer, before the nineteenth century had reached one-third of its span” [5]). But prior to this passage, the narrator had not staked such a clear position as being positioned after the events of the novel itself, as made clear by the narrator’s ability comprehensively describe Mixen Lane’s condition “in the times when Henchard and Farfrae *were* mayors” (236, emphasis added). From this position of temporal authority, the narrator changes the scale of the area’s depiction with dizzying rapidity. From the ground (the “cottages stretched out like a spit into the moist and misty lowland”), he begins to generalize about the activities of the residents, appearing to see all of their homes at once. When the narrator relates that, “recklessness dwelt under the roof with the crooked chimney,” the knowingness of the activities in the particular cottage and the blends the standard omniscience with a disconcerting sense of surveillance, as if the narrator has known what has gone on in Mixen Lane for years and is now just telling us.

This sense becomes more acute—and yet the spatial perspective much narrower—when we are told that in “an alley,” never mind which alley, there “might have been” a remembrance of a plague at some point in the past.

As the episode in Mixen Lane continues, parallel spatial operations to the ones at the beginning of the novel occur: as smaller and smaller spaces are described in Mixen Lane, it seems to take up more and more discursive space, and yet the boundaries of that space are entirely unclear. In this way, Mixen Lane at once acts like Casterbridge *and* the corn fields together as depicted throughout the novel. Mixen Lane has a center, but no end, even though, concretely speaking, of course the ends of the slum are just other parts of Casterbridge. The residents of the area have special access to the fields via a “secret bridge” used under the cover of darkness. Back alleys where a bowling-like game called “skittle[s]” emerge. Prostitution thrives in Mixen Lane, but rather than in an individual brothel, these women operate all over the area, marked by “the extensive whistling in the various domiciles—a piped note of some kind coming from nearly every open door.” Individuals and entire families are said to “vanish” both into thin air and into actual side alleys and holes in walls that only local residents know of, especially after illicitly gathering game from nearby estates (236-38). Just as Casterbridge residents are distinguished from strangers like Farfrae and Lucetta by their knowledge of local custom, so do the residents of Mixen Lane have their own customs, and significantly, their own ways of understanding and navigating the space of the novel.

As Casterbridge acts as the center of the broader region, Peter’s Finger acts as the center of Mixen Lane:

It was centrally situate, as such places should be, and bore about the same social relation to the Three Mariners as the latter bore to the King’s Arms. At first sight

the inn was so respectable as to be puzzling. The front door was kept shut, and the step was so clean that evidently but few persons entered over its sanded surface. But at the corner of the public-house was an alley, a mere slit, dividing it from the next building. Halfway up the alley was a narrow door, shiny and paintless from the rub of infinite hands and shoulders. This was the actual entrance to the inn. (237)

Peter's Finger is first situated socially, analogized to the Three Mariners, a rougher inn in Casterbridge proper that is further distinguished from the more upscale King's Arms. The apparently lowered social station of the pub contrasts with the immaculate door presented to the passersby, a performance of respectability that the Three Mariners does not engage in. The real entrance, reached only by those who have the detailed spatial knowledge of longtime residents of Mixen Lane, further allows for the initiated to exhibit their inside knowledge. It is here that the skimmington ride that destroys Lucetta and Farfrae's marriage is planned, from a hidden sanctum in the center of its own spatial regime. In Mixen Lane, the novel contains a doubled city and countryside, concealed in the shadows of darkness and poverty, that operates according to the same spatial rules as Casterbridge and its adjoining farmland. While Casterbridge's society is able to damage Henchard's social relations well enough, Farfrae and Lucetta's marriage is strong enough that it takes the more sinister power of the slums and their resurrection of a medieval shaming ritual to break their union apart. Even the savior of Casterbridge's agriculture cannot escape the damage caused by his implication in the town's social and spatial management.

Unlike much of Hardy's Casterbridge, Mixen Lane actually exists. His narrator's remark that it had "now in great part been pulled down" is a rare form of address to the readership, with the "now" implying that the address is coming both from the narrator and from Hardy himself. There still is a Mixen Lane in the lower eastern part of Dorchester, not far, as it happens, from Max Gate. Today, though, it is mostly a quiet

neighborhood of modest homes. The eponymous street itself, is essentially a narrow alley onto which driveways and small gated back yards empty. While it does not appear especially prosperous, it does not appear poor either, and certainly not a “back slum of the town.” By naming his dark city after an actual Dorchester space—a rare practice in this novel—Hardy puts Mixen Lane on the same level of discursive significance as the Walks. Though it appears late in the novel, Mixen Lane’s near-congruence with the spatial logic of Casterbridge and its being granted a real-world name implicates the novel’s very geography in the same moral system to which the characters are subject, and which tests their social bonds. Just as alcohol can turn Henchard from an industrious mayor back into that man who sold his wife in the furmity tent, so can night and a little local knowledge turn the productive corn fields and the cultural capital of Wessex into a den of iniquity where, reaching back to the days of the Kingdom of Wessex, Mixen Lane’s initiated can resurrect old customs to wield against the prosperous residents of Casterbridge.

Coda:

“Dual Aspects of a Single Reality”

The narrative energies charted in this dissertation have tended increasingly toward exhaustion. In the Scottish Highlands, Scott’s narrator spryly describes the mountain pass as Waverley and Evan Dhu traverse its length, deliberately unseen. Decades later, in the eastern reaches of the Cape Colony, Schreiner’s narrator seems to squint with fatigue as she looks toward the horizon across the karoo, brightly lighted by the hot sun. In Schreiner, recall, the karoo yields most easily to description at night, when moonlight often illuminates the plains.

With this tendency, the uncanny possibility of ecological agency has presented itself in a number of works. In Conrad, the warmth of refined silver that Doña Emilia touches appears to send pulses of energy along her hand, prompting her to most clearly perceive the metal’s world-economic importance from inside the confines of the mine. Egdon Heath, on the other hand, seems to just bide its time before it takes the lives of Mrs. Yeobright, Eustacia, and Wildeve, punishing Clym, the native of that novel’s title, for ever leaving its narratively indeterminate confines. Even in Scott’s mountain pass, the sharpness of the rocks and the roaring of the rapids feel as though they aspire to this type of power.

Tendentious though it may be to ascribe agency to the natural world, this is a foundational method in Amitav Ghosh’s recent book-length essay on climate change, *The*

Great Derangement (2016).²⁷⁸ In fact, Ghosh argues, the inadequacy of our cultural representations to conceptualize climate change—which he terms the “Great Derangement”—stems from our unwillingness to ascribe agency to the natural phenomena that ravage the world with increased force. Proceeding from the premise that climate change is a species of the uncanny, Ghosh writes: “On the face of it, the novel as a form would seem to be a natural home for the uncanny. After all, have not some of the greatest novelists written uncanny tales?” (30, 32). Here, “uncanny” is not a Freudian category. Unlike in its psychoanalytical use, Ghosh’s use of the word refers to the sheer bizarreness and complete unfamiliarity with natural disasters that seem to occur at random. “[T]he environmental uncanny is not the same as the uncanniness of the supernatural,” Ghosh writes. “It is different precisely because it pertains to nonhuman forces and beings.” By applying this expansive category of the “nonhuman” to environmental events, Ghosh means to draw a parallel between the unexplainable in literary fiction with that of our current climate reality: “The ghosts of literary fiction are not human either, of course, but they are certainly represented as projections of humans who were once alive. But animals like the Sundarbans tiger, freakish weather events like the Delhi tornado, have no human referents at all” (32). Though a “human referen[t]” is not necessarily a precondition for realism, or novel writing in general, it does reflect the broader sense that in their agency, climate change events seem out of place in a narrative populated by human characters.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁸ Amitav Ghosh, *The Great Derangement: Climate Change and the Unthinkable* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016). References will be made parenthetically to this edition.

²⁷⁹ Other novelists writing about climate change have ascribed agency to environmental features, including Claire Vaye Watkins in her novel *Gold Fame Citrus* (2015). In this novel, a massive sand dune shifts across a post-apocalyptic Southern California, moving either mystically or agentially, as characters

This state of affairs should sound familiar. In the introduction to this dissertation, I cited Dipesh Chakrabarty's claim that in attempting to place the time scales of humanity and the planet into dialogue, Anthropocene scholars have not fully taken into account how empire and global capitalism have placed pressures on ecology and culture.²⁸⁰ Ghosh cites Chakrabarty's essay and builds from it: "I would go further and add that the Anthropocene presents a challenge not only to the arts and humanities, but also to our commonsense understandings and beyond that to contemporary culture in general." "Culture," in Ghosh's essay, refers to the nexus of literary production, the influence of capitalism, and the history of imperialism. "[C]ulture is, of course, intimately linked with the wider histories of imperialism and capitalism that have shaped the world," he writes (9, 10). This claim masquerading as an assumption comes after a long paragraph that nimbly connects the history of Anglo-American fiction and film to their hidden representations of colonial spaces, reflecting the impress of postcolonial theory in the vein of Edward Said and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak on Ghosh's conception of global cultural modernity. Culture, for Ghosh, already contains the geographic and temporal flexibility required by Chakrabarty to bring itself into dialogue with Anthropocene discourses.

alternatively believe in the sand dune's divinity or its capacity for consciousness. Claire Vaye Watkins, *Gold Fame Citrus* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2015).

When the novel was published, Watkins told me in an interview I conducted for a literary magazine that in the initial stages of writing her novel, "I had this image of a gigantic sand dune, and the sand dune would be the main character. Obviously that's crazy." But as characters and plots cycled in and out of drafts, she kept returning to her "secret sand dune document," she said. "I really did have a sand dune for a long time as the only character in the book." "Interrogating the Myth of the American West": An Interview With Claire Vaye Watkins," *Vol. 1 Brooklyn*, September 28, 2015, <http://www.vol1brooklyn.com/2015/09/28/interrogating-the-myth-of-the-american-west-an-interview-with-claire-vaye-watkins/>.

²⁸⁰ Chakrabarty, "The Climate of History," 198, 220–22.

Ghosh's perspective on the "wider histories of imperialism and capitalism" are more fully developed in his second thesis:

In accounts of the Anthropocene, and of the present climate crisis, capitalism is very often the pivot on which the narrative turns. I have no quarrel with this: as I see it, Naomi Klein and others are right to identify capitalism as one of the principal drivers of climate change. However, I believe that this narrative often overlooks an aspect of the Anthropocene that is of equal importance: empire and imperialism. While capitalism and empire are certainly dual aspects of a single reality, the relationship between them is not, and never has been, a simple one: in relation to global warming, I think it is demonstrably the case that the imperatives of capital and empire have often been pushed in different directions, sometimes producing counterintuitive results. (87)

The counterintuitive result Ghosh references is the "paradoxical possibility" that British imperialism "*may actually have retarded the onset of the climate crisis*" by delaying widespread adoption of internal combustion engine and other fossil fuel technologies in Britain's Asian colonies through protectionist trade regulations (110, emphasis in original). To someone familiar with the history of the British Empire, this may seem like a canny environmental reading of that history, but ultimately not a groundbreaking one. After all, if you run back the clock of history far enough, you tend to end up in some imperial domain or another. However, developing a language for the relationships between environment, capital, and empire is a task that few have taken up so far, and fewer with as convincingly illustrated an account as Ghosh's.

Where Ghosh truly breaks ground is in uniting his Anthropocene hydra (environment, capital, and empire) under the cultural rubric of his subtitle's "the unthinkable." By staging the extinction of the literary and artistic imaginations at the conceptual horizon of our changing climate, Ghosh suggests that cultural failure may lay the groundwork for the actual extinction of species. Even if this inability to conceptualize the human scale of ecological crisis is eventually solved, Ghosh claims that this will stain

the cultural figures of our era as much as the lack of political leadership: “When future generations look back upon the Great Derangement they will certainly blame the leaders and politicians of this time for their failure to address the climate crisis. But they may well hold artists and writers to be equally culpable—for the imagining of possibilities is not, after, all, the job of politicians and bureaucrats” (135). As ostentatiously irritating as I find this claim’s treatment of those government functionaries in a position to reduce carbon emissions, I read it more as a call to action than as an actual statement of social analysis. Ghosh’s reading of current political discourse reveals the rhetorical basis of some of these intellectual limitations. In a comparative reading of the rhetoric of the Paris Agreement on climate change and Pope Francis’s encyclical on climate change *Laudato Si’*, both appearing in that banner year for extreme weather 2015, Ghosh observes that the Agreement professes confidence in the “sovereignty of Man” and humanity’s collective ability to solve its own problems, based largely on blind faith in technocratic solutions and generalizations about justice.²⁸¹ In contrast to the Agreement’s endorsement of international systems that have consistently failed to address humanitarian crises, the rhetoric of *Laudato Si’* in Ghosh’s reading admits to the limits of human consciousness that he claims are at the root of our current predicament (150-59).

²⁸¹ In a sad irony, a laudatory reading of *The Great Derangement* reproduces this very problem in its uneven translation of Ghosh’s humanistic framework to social science. Offering his support of the policy suggestions that end Ghosh’s book, the critic writes that recent studies suggest that “global inequality has worsened global warming, although we cannot confirm this, given that we have only one world and therefore nothing to compare it to.” Such a statement is, in fact, a prime example of the failure of imagination under the systemic constraint, only this time, the imaginative failure is in apprehending the broader implications of Ghosh’s argument, especially its account of the limits of our cultural perception. Prasannan Parthasarathi, “Empire, Inequality, and Climate Change,” in Julia Adeney Thomas et al., “JAS Round Table on Amitav Ghosh, *The Great Derangement: Climate Change and the Unthinkable*,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 75, no. 4 (November 2016): 932.

In this reading, admitting and knowing “the limits that circumscribe human agency” is the social precondition for solving our culture’s inability to fully conceptualize climate change in literature and art (158). In light of this dissertation’s project, especially in Chapter Four’s examination of the narrative declining to represent the boundaries of seemingly infinite spaces, Ghosh’s claim calls back to the literary history of the British Empire in its injunction for the wider public to understand how humanity’s ability to alter the world map for a narrower gain—whether for national culture or for profit—is always underpinned by social and cultural systems. Ghosh argues that the absence of widespread cultural representations of climate change, and the failure of artists, especially novelists, to fully conceive of its dangers distinguishes our era from those in the past. This dissertation’s conceptualization of the British imperial project in terms of its administration of land and its ecological manipulations, and more broadly its situating of this conceptualization in a genealogy of long nineteenth-century literature’s spatializations of outlying geographies, depends on that era’s commitment to representing its cultural and social margins. Hardy’s and Schreiner’s spatial infinities and their emphases on those spaces’ representational boundaries depend on their thorough knowledge of Egdon Heath, the karoo, and the Casterbridge corn fields, along with the social problems they plant in each of those spaces. What is troubling to Ghosh is that unlike the novel in the long nineteenth century, our cultural forms cannot broadly conceive of what the limits of our experiences under climate change could look like, much less how the lives of people across the globe will change in the coming decades and centuries.

To combat this, Ghosh refers to folklore and personal experience. Previously, I quoted a passage where he named two natural phenomena with no “human referents at all”: “animals like the Sundarbans tiger” and “freakish weather events like the Delhi tornado” (32). In the dense Sundarbans forests around the Bay of Bengal, it is common to find tiger prints, but so uncommon to actually see a tiger that local legend has it that to see one is to see a demon. For most visitors, they simply seem as though they exist in a limbo somewhere between folk narrative and the natural world: “In the Sundarbans, tigers are everywhere and nowhere” (28-30).

Ghosh’s reference to the tornado involves an ecological disaster that he actually experienced. When Ghosh was studying for a Master’s degree at the University of Delhi, he was caught in the eye of the 1978 Delhi tornado. On March 17 of that year, he experienced a squall on the street that later became a hailstorm, and which then grew into a tornado (11-15). Because Ghosh was in the eye of the storm, he could perceive the tornado from the inside:

The noise quickly rose to a frenzied pitch, and the wind began to tug fiercely at my clothes. Stealing a glance over the parapet, I saw, to my astonishment, that my surroundings had been darkened by a churning cloud of dust. In the dim glow that was shining down from above, I saw an extraordinary panoply of objects flying past—bicycles, scooters, lampposts, sheets of corrugated iron, even entire tea stalls. In that instant, gravity itself seemed to have been transformed into a wheel spinning upon the fingertip of some unknown power. (12-13)

In the eye of the storm, Ghosh perceives those limits of ecological catastrophe that he claims we, as a species being, cannot perceive. He does not claim that he has any kind of special vision, nor any insight into the origins of the “unknown power” spinning the material possessions of the people of Delhi round and around. Rather, this experience was temporary and extraordinary. After a few minutes, the tornado passed, and Ghosh saw “a scene of devastation such as I had *never beheld*” (13, emphasis added). And yet

moments before, Ghosh had experienced what seemed to him a tenuous moment of contact with agential nature: “[W]hat had happened at that moment was strangely like a species of visual contact, of beholding and being beheld” (14). The recognition of the tornado’s extent only lasted as far as he was in the eye, a temporary state dependent upon the storm’s existence, and Ghosh’s accidental placement in its dead center. The cultural bridges Ghosh calls for us to build would enable our ability to “behol[d] and b[e] beheld” by nature, to lend our species the ability to have a “species of visual contact” with the environments we have changed, extracted, and sold over the histories of our global imperialisms. If our environments are beyond repair, then we will have to settle for being beheld.

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