Defoe and the London Wall: Mapped Perspectives

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> He read now like a man walking along a street might count the cracks in the pavement to the last and final page, the last and final word.[1]
>
> William Faulkner, *Light in August*

Space in Defoe's London is admittedly hard to describe. "What does he actually show us?" Samuel Monk asks, and answers his own question: "Nothing."[2] Max Byrd agrees. For Byrd, Defoe's London remains "abstract civic space," "somehow two-dimensional, an abstract environment, so to speak, without colors or smells or windows and doors."[3] If we grant Monk and Byrd their frustration in describing the quality of space in Defoe's works, the question still has to be asked—what precisely does "abstract civic space" look like? How do we experience space in a Defoe novel when the cues we expect to find, those of Hogarth and Dickens, are not given us? Or perhaps a question that is more to the point, what are the cues that are given us in place of the ones we expect?

1 William Faulkner, *Light in August* (New York: Vintage, 1990), p. 112.

2 Daniel Defoe, *The History and Remarkable Life of the Truly Honourable Col. Jacque, commonly Call'd Col. Jack*, ed. Samuel Holt Monk (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. xix.

3 Max Byrd, *London Transformed: Images of the City in the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978), p. 13.

Critics who find that Defoe has no "eye" generally cite a particular kind of passage to demonstrate it, the lists of street names that he uses to describe the escape routes of criminal protagonists such as Moll Flanders or Colonel Jack. I would like to turn the tables and suggest that these lists of street names hold the key to a rival tradition for visualizing urban life, one that fits Defoe's culture and generation, and one that may well be unfamiliar to us, since it belongs to late seventeenth-century and early eighteenth-century practices of northern European map reading and map production.[4]

Maps in any era occupy a privileged position determined by their self-promoting claims to offer information in a straightforward and unproblematic manner.[5] In fact, of course, maps never come to their viewers as pure and transparent bearers of information at all, but they bring, unannounced, three highly problematic complications. First, maps are phenomenological artefacts—that is, they are themselves visual images that cause readers to believe they are having other visual images, like those stripmaps that prime us, with their little forest icons, picnic tables, and filling-station pumps, for the dubious joys of the family car trip.[6] Second, they are fictions, but fictions produced from a particular union of visual images and written text. Third, they are rhetorical texts—that is, they have a point to make.

A comparison of "street" passages in Raymond Chandler's *The Big Sleep* (1939)[7] and Defoe's *Moll Flanders* (1722)[8] reveals differences in the cognitive operations expected from early eighteenth-century map readers and map readers in our own era. In the familiar passage in which Moll

4 I am indebted to Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), for her discussion of the relation of Dutch mapmaking to the representation of urban space in Dutch art. References are to this edition. Maximillian E. Novak, in a recent essay, "Picturing the Thing Itself, or Not: Defoe, Painting, Prose Fiction, and the Arts of Describing," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 9:1 (1996), cites Alpers, as well, for suggesting connections that link Dutch art to Defoe's "sense of scene, his sense of the visual" (pp. 2, 5).

5 John Pickles, "Texts, Hermeneutics and Propaganda Maps," *Writing Worlds: Discourse, Text and Metaphor in the Representation of the Landscape*, ed. Trevor J. Barnes and James S. Duncan (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 194.

6 Daniel Dennett, "Two Approaches to Mental Images," *Brainstorms: Philosophical Essays on Mind and Psychology* (Montgomery, Vt.: Bradford Books, 1978), cited by Ellen J. Esrock, *The Reader's Eye: Visual Imaging as Reader Response* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), p. 7.

7 Raymond Chandler, *The Big Sleep* (New York: Random House, 1992). References are to this edition.

8 Daniel Defoe, *The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders, &c*, ed. G.A. Starr (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1981). References are to this edition.

confesses stealing a gold necklace from a little girl in a dark passageway, she describes her escape route through the streets of the 1720s City:

I went thro' into *Bartholomew Close*, and then turn'd round to another Passage that goes into *Long-lane*, so away into *Charterhouse-Yard* and out into *St. John's-street*, then crossing into *Smithfield*, went down *Chick-lane* and into *Field-lane* to *Holbourn-bridge*, when mixing with the Crowd of People usually passing there, it was not possible to have been found out. (p. 194)

Philip Marlowe, the detective hero of *The Big Sleep*, trails a suspect in a taxi through the streets of 1930s Los Angeles:

I saw the truck two blocks away when we got to Franklin. We had it in sight to Vine and across Vine and all the way to Western. We saw it twice after Western. There was a lot of traffic and the fresh-faced kid trailed from too far back. I was telling him about that without mincing words when the truck, now far ahead, turned north again. The street at which it turned was called Brittany Place. When we got to Brittany Place the truck had vanished. (p. 52)

In Marlowe's ride through Los Angeles, we, along with Marlowe, "see" the truck through the windshield of the taxi, but we also employ, in equal measure, a bird's-eye view of the chase. Ellen Esrock cites a study in *The Reader's Eye: Visual Imaging as Reader Response* demonstrating that visual maps and verbal maps alike produce mental images that operate as if they exist in time and space. In one experiment, subjects were asked to memorize a real (visual) map given them, and then to imagine moving their eye from one spot to another on this mental map. They were timed, and when the subject's eye had arrived at the intended place on the mental map, the subject was asked to press a button. In a second experiment, subjects were simply given a map verbally, told to memorize it, and then, as in the first experiment, instructed to move their mental eye along an imagined route from one object to another. These subjects were also timed. The results were "practically identical," writes Esrock. In fact, the "times for moving from one spot to another" in both experiments were "linearly related to the actual time that would be required for this operation if one were actually looking at a map."[9] In other words, both the visual map and the verbal map produced mental images that operated as if they existed in time and space. We read Marlowe's list of Los Angeles streets and, in effect, view it as a narrative picture framed by the windshield *and* as a car map. We cooperate with Chandler by supplying information from our

9 This experiment was conducted by Michel Denis and Marguerite Cocude, "Scanning Visual Images Generated from Verbal Descriptions," *European Journal of Cognitive Psychology* 1 (1989), 293–307. Cited by Esrock, p. 93.

experience with North American grid-plan street patterns, our own driving estimates of likely distances, speeds of taxis, and relationships of volume (street intersections and car sizes) not specified in the passage at all. Even if we have never been to Los Angeles, we "remember" it from Chandler's novels, the mapped 1930s city, *as if* we had actually seen it.

When we consider the Defoe passage, we meet a different set of mapping conventions with which we are not so comfortably at home. First of all, Moll Flanders reports the route of her escape in a rapid-fire string of street names, with no leisurely reflections on bystanders ("fresh faced kids"), or time or distance ("all the way to Western," "far ahead," "when we got to"), or even to the points of the compass ("turned north again"). Moll's world seems to us strangely blinkered. Paradoxically, however, Defoe's list of street names, more like the index of a map than a map itself, is surprisingly more focused and vigorous than Marlowe's ride through lotus-land. It is as if, in the experiment cited by Esrock, we are asked to press the buzzer at the end of street names, since they are themselves the markers of Defoe's urban map, each name itself the buzzer call for another turn down a different street, for a disappearance act around the next corner. Anyone with the slightest experience of the old quarter of a European city understands the pattern, the way one gives and receives directions, always lists of streets and turns, and, always, the utter dependence of the pedestrian on his or her understanding that a turned corner (the fresh street name) is identical to a turned line on a map. It really makes no difference whether or not a contemporary reader would have been familiar with the topography of the particular London streets that Defoe names. The reader would have recognized the operation of a map. As Paul Hunter reminds us, in the seventeenth century the passion for lists, maps, atlases, indexes, and collections of all kinds was the "most direct route to secrets of nature ... the record became, in fact, a kind of rival to life."[10]

In the Defoe passage, we see a frankly two-dimensional mapping of streets with, somehow, a three-dimensional human figure running through them. In contrast, in the Chandler passage, we see a dramatic scene through the frame of the taxi's windshield from which we construct a map from the information we gather (or already possess from cultural experience). The different cognitive actions demanded by these two different ways of experiencing the mapped city correspond to Svetlana Alpers's distinction in *The Art of Describing* between traditional Italian perspective and the "mapping impulse" of seventeenth-century Dutch art. In the Italian tradition

10 J. Paul Hunter, *Before Novels: The Cultural Contexts of Eighteenth-Century English Fiction* (New York and London: W.W. Norton, 1990), p. 199.

(Chandler's visual reference), Alpers argues, it is the "framed window to which we bring our eyes" that defines the perspective; in the Dutch tradition, it is the camera obscura that projects a depiction of space on a flat wall, a visual representation in which "the picture takes the place of the frame and our location is left undefined." Seeing itself is privileged in the image offered by the camera obscura, and not the viewer (p. 45). In Italian art, Alpers argues, man is at centre stage; in Dutch art, man is a small figure, repetitive, undistinguished, and existing in unbound space (pp. 144–47).

It was the great mid-to-late seventeenth-century northern European mapmakers and topographic artists, especially the Dutch, who provided contemporaries with graphic access to London. The mapmakers, Wenceslaus Hollar, Ogilby and Morgan, Faithorne, along with other recorders of the urban scene—Marcus Laroon the Elder in his *Cries of London*, for example—construct a spatial world like the one we find in Defoe's novels. These northern European graphic representations of the mapped city engage in the same rhetorical practice of gathering and recording facts that Defoe does in creating his fictional city.[11] Theirs is not the dramatic, staged space, say, of Hogarth, nor does it serve the same purpose. As Alpers reminds us, in Italian art, history is narrative; in Dutch art, history is taxonomic.[12]

The northern mapmakers make graphic play with the cognitive paradox that belongs to two-dimensional representations of three-dimensional space. John Norden explores the convention in his eccentric map of Westminster, published around 1600 (figure 1). In Norden's map we find two views of Westminster. At the top, a river panorama of the city stretches itself across the map; then, with that surface of the map "peeled away" in a deliberate *trompe-l'œil* joke, we find a street plan of Westminster revealed beneath it. The point of the joke rests on conventions of mapmaking and map reading that, as Alpers argues, accept art and maps, the projected picture space of the camera obscura and cartographic representation, as undivided, a union devoted to describing the world, that is, in the taxonomic sense, a union devoted to representing its facts.

A more common play on the convention happens when the mapmaker combines a panoramic view of the city in the bottom third of the map with a street map of the city in the top two-thirds, yoking two different "maps" of

11 J.B. Harley, "Deconstructing the Map," Barnes and Duncan (pp. 231–47), argues that "rhetoric is part of the way all texts work and that all maps are rhetorical texts" (p. 242). Pickles claims that "the map image itself is also linguistic" and that "the message is achieved largely in terms of the interplay and duality of graphic and linguistic meaning" (p. 221).

12 Alpers, pp. xxvii, 84.

the city which, taken together, are assumed to be formally the same, both of them equally "surface," two-dimensional transformations of a three-dimensional phenomenon (figure 2). In such an arrangement, the street map at the top simply acts as an extended version of the pictorial panorama at the bottom, the implied surface of the city tipped up, as it were, for the better convenience of the viewer.

In Defoe's novels, these are the visual conventions that produce urban space. It happens quite literally in his *Journal of the Plague Year*[13] where H.F., Defoe's narrator-protagonist, traces the map of London both with his feet and with his pen. As an historian, H.F. uses a bird's-eye view to report the plague's advance, parish by parish, across the map of London. And, as an in-the-street observer, he descends from this mapping height to walk the streets, to join with the urban inhabitants, who, he observes, as de Certeau does of a later city, are "prisoners" of the map.[14]

The objections of Monk and Byrd to Defoe's "abstract civic space" must shift the perspective, as it were, to accommodate the revelations of the northern European mapmaker's space. The ancient wall of the City, a line on a map, but also a substantial presence in the urban environment, becomes the topographic site of contention that defines the mapped world of the *Journal*. H.F., for example, notes with amazement that "People had for a long time a strong Belief, that the Plague would not come into the City" (p. 190), that is to say, it could not pass the City wall. His professed amazement notwithstanding, he proves that he more than half shares their baseless hope as he measures the plague's progress across the map, suburb by suburb (pp. 16, 37, 187), carefully noting the exact moment when it breaches the wall (p. 52). Even when the City is invaded by the plague, H.F. takes comfort that the wise management of the City's magistrates causes it to do less damage within the wall than it does in the suburbs outside the wall (pp. 38–46, 183–85).

In short, H.F. invests London's ancient wall with political and mythic powers that define urban spaces within and beyond its embrace. When Defoe laments in his *Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724–26)[15] that London has spread "in a most straggling, confused manner, out of

13 Daniel Defoe, *A Journal of the Plague Year*, ed. Louis Landa (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1969). References are to this edition.

14 See Michel de Certeau, "Practices of Space," *On Signs*, ed. Marshall Blonsky (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), pp. 122–45, for a semiotic analysis of unhappy twentieth-century New Yorkers whose mapped bodies are "criss-crossed by the streets that bind and re-bind [them] following some law of their own" (pp. 122–23).

15 Daniel Defoe, *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, ed. Pat Rogers (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1971). References are to this edition.

all shape, uncompact, and unequal: neither long or broad, round or square" (p. 287), he invokes by implicit contrast an imagined ideal of urban order, a Renaissance walled city, a map "conceived," according to D. Cosgrove's study of symbolic landscapes, "as a unitary space, an architectural totality, a changeless and perfect form ... delineated" specifically, writes Cosgrove, "by a fortified wall, circular or polygonal in shape."[16] In fact, Defoe was not alone in his nostalgia for the ancient wall and the order it represented. After the Great Fire, both John Evelyn and Christopher Wren rushed forward with plans to make London's wall the controlling visual device of their new maps, submitting plans that emphasized the polygonal outline of the wall as the City's symbolic fortress against the recurrence of civic chaos (figure 3).[17]

However, London maps from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century show a steady weakening of the powers of the wall. The Tudor map of Braun and Hogenberg (1572) presents a proper, walled Renaissance city. This map of London shows the city neatly enclosed on the north side and the east side by the City wall and by the river on the south. The unavoidable leg of Westminster and the western suburbs are given enclosed form by the sharp contrast of gardens and fields that outline their edges. Moreover, the wall itself receives extra prominence in coloured versions of the map, as do the dividing fields, by colour contrasts of the green fields and brick-red urban spaces.[18]

A hundred years later, in 1665, Wenceslaus Hollar's map of post-Fire London again marks the wall prominently (figure 4), but with a different message sent by the shocking field of empty map space that extends across the City and beyond the wall's western flanks. Hollar's rhetorical gesture underlines the failure of the wall's mythic power in the face of such a catastrophe. Ogilby and Morgan's map of rebuilt London, eleven years later in 1676, incorporates the change in perception by directing the rhetorical emphasis of their map away from the wall altogether. In place of the wall as the controlling device of civic order, roads now organize urban space. In the Ogilby and Morgan map, prominent north-south and east-west roads criss-cross to give form and order to the city's great sprawl (figure 5), a city

16 D. Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (Totowa, NJ: Barnes and Noble, 1984), p. 94. Quoted by Anne Buttimer, *Geography and the Human Spirit* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), p. 103.

17 Joseph Rykwert, *The First Moderns: The Architects of the Eighteenth Century* (1980, Cambridge, Mass. and London: MIT Press, 1991), p. 144.

18 An excellent reproduction of the Hogenberg map of London is found in Felix Barker and Peter Jackson's *The History of London in Maps* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1990), pp. 12–13.

no longer defined by the containment of Braun and Hogenberg's wall, but by national thoroughfares whose out-of-London destinations, in the expanded map, receive an extra fillip of emphasis at the cartographer's hand. John Strype's map of London, published in 1720, roughly the same period as Defoe's *Journal of the Plague Year*, his *Tour*, and his London novels, inscribes the ancient wall of the City with elegant clarity, but with such a fineness of notation that the wall appears as little more than an accepted anachronism, an antiquarian marker.[19] H.F.'s insistence on the powers of the wall, the efficiency of the City's traditional magistrates, their prompt action, their emergency measures, their maintenance of civic order, their charities, their success in keeping the City supplied with food, reads suspiciously like special pleading, either a nostalgic celebration of an order that has passed or an exhortation to return to civic values represented by the older walled City.[20]

Colonel Jack (1722), published the same year as the *Plague Journal*, also takes the wall as a site of contention between traditional civic power and the challenge of the suburbs, but with a significantly changed focus, one more in tune with the king's exhortation to Parliament in 1721, to extend "our commerce upon which the riches and grandeur of this nation chiefly depend."[21] Jack, illegitimate and abandoned by his parents, is raised by his foster-mother in an area near Goodman's Fields, outside the wall and just north and east of the Tower. When she dies, Jack, still a child, finds shelter in a glass-factory in nearby Rosemary Lane, where, in winter, he sleeps in the ashes beneath the "Nealing-Arches" (where glass is put to cool), and, in warmer weather, beneath the booths and stalls that project into the street from the local shops. Defoe's choice of Jack's topography determines the power relations of the narrative. With his street-hero situated in this

19 For a reproduction of this map, see Barker and Jackson, pp. 50–51.

20 Valerie Pearl, "Change and Stability in Seventeenth-Century London," *The Tudor and Stuart Town: A Reader in English Urban History, 1530–1688*, ed. Jonathan Barry (London and New York: Longman, 1990), argues for the sustained power of the City "at least until the Restoration and perhaps for another decade" (p. 146). The period of decline of City power that Pearl sets at the Restoration fits the historical setting of the *Plague Journal*, a decline that would be patently obvious from the vantage point of 1722 when the *Journal* was first published. Manuel Schonhorn argues in his essay, "Defoe's *Journal of the Plague Year*: Topography and Intention," *PMLA*, n.s. 19, 76 (1968), 387–401, that Defoe's emphasis on the orderliness of civic government in the old City was intended as propaganda support for economic programs of the government announced by the king in 1721 (p. 397), a point similarly made by Pat Rogers in chap. 10, "'This Calamitous Year': *A Journal of the Plague Year* and the South Sea Bubble," of his study, *Eighteenth Century Encounters: Studies in Literature and Society in the Age of Walpole* (Sussex and New Jersey: Harvester Press, and Barnes and Noble Books, 1985), p. 166.

21 Cited by Schonhorn, p. 397.

area outside the wall (a slum then and in Tudor times),[22] Defoe presents a calculated pattern of criminal penetrations of the wall: in the beginning, from Rosemary Lane, Jack's street-home, through the gate by the Tower, and into the City itself (figure 6).

Jack's early companions at the glass-house introduce him to his apprenticeship in thievery: "the business was to go to *Bartholomew* Fair," Jack reports, "and the End of going to *Bartholomew* Fair, was, in short, to pick Pockets" (p. 19). The triviality of the loot, as well as the outside-the-wall location of the theft, Bartholomew Fair, suggests the juvenile nature of these first ventures: "A knife and a fork, a little Silver Box ... A Joynted Baby, and a Looking-Glass stolen off a Toy Seller's Stall" (pp. 13–14). The real and significant thievery (the basis of Jack's future fortune) involves the big money located topographically in the heart of the City. With a more experienced guide, the mode changes: "The first Day I went Abroad with my new Instructor, he carried me directly into the City" (p. 19). On the next adventure, "we went directly to the *Exchange*" (p. 42). And, later, "we Walk'd out again, and then we try'd our Fortune in the places, by the *Exchange* a Second time" (p. 45). And, as Jack confides, "We took many Walks of this kind" (p. 57)—to Lombard Street where goldsmiths (bankers) exchange notes for cash, to the Custom House where traders carry their bills in their pockets, and to ale houses where merchants and tradesmen count profits—to every place within the City wall where large sums of money would be changing hands.

Jack's escape routes from the scenes of his City crimes fall into a two-part topographic pattern: (1) a run for it, like Moll Flanders's with the stolen necklace, through a complex maze of City streets, and (2), once outside the City walls, a dispersal of the loot. The following passage, Jack's escape from an ale house where he has stolen a bag of money, shows the pattern:

> Run *Jack*, says he, for our Lives, and away he Scours; and I after him, never resting or scarce looking about me, till we got quite up into up into *Fenchurch-street*, thro' *Lime-street*, into *Leadenhall street*, down *St. Mary axe*, to *London-Wall*, then thro' *Bishop gate*, and down old *Bedlam*, into *Moorfields*. (p. 43)

The first part of the run takes the young thieves through the City and out the wall at Bishopsgate. The second part, beyond the wall, leads them to the open spaces of the public fields that extend their fingers into the surrounding suburbs—to Moorfields, Goodman's Fields, or across the river to St George's Fields in Southwark.

22 Mary Cathcart Borer, *The City of London: A History* (New York: David McKay Company, 1977), pp. 159, 219–20.

This listing of street names stands proof, of course, for critics who disparage Defoe's "visual eye." But in Defoe's defence, and in defence of the mapped London that he and his contemporaries understood, the escape is not a non-visual experience. It is both the action and the promoter of action taken as one, the product and process together, as Edward Soja suggests in *Postmodern Geographies*, where he argues that urban topography is "simultaneously a social product ... and a shaping force."[23] Defoe's visual world brings his protagonists and their topography into a relationship where the primary task, the reporting of data, grants equal status to cartographic space and the unframed space of the camera obscura's projection. A comparison with the visual world of Dickens can be instructive. In *Great Expectations* when Pip arrives at Mr Jaggers's office near Newgate, he is sent out to take a walk. He gets lost—something that would *never* happen to a Defoe hero. He escapes the maze of streets by sighting the golden cross on St Paul's dome. In contrast, Defoe's protagonists never look up, but keep their eyes where it matters, on the ground, that is to say, on the map. For them, horizons, cathedrals, and cathedral crosses hold no interest. When Jack robs a man in Grace Church Street, for example, he offers a *mapped* description of the event, one that contains in miniature the map-and-figure combination that typifies the visual world of the Defoe novel, or for that matter, the mapping impulse of Alpers's Dutch art: "he fell forward into the other part of the Court, as if he had flown in the Air, with his Head lying towards the *Quaker's-Meeting-House*; I stood ready, and presently felt out the Bag of Money" (p. 57).

The second part of the thieves' escape, the run for the safety of the suburban fields—Moorfields, Goodman's Fields, and St George's Fields—produces new meaning for the ancient City wall. The fields outside the wall give Jack and his companions unimpeded access to the belt of sparsely inhabited farmland that surrounds the extended city, and provides them, in effect, with a highway to reach unsuspecting victims in the distant villages and in the suburbs of Chelsea, Hyde Park, Knightsbridge, and Kensington. The central action of the novel thus becomes the revelation and discovery of a new, *secret* map—a *criminal* map—of greater London.

Like more respectable maps, this "secret" criminal highway also becomes part of the regular business of the City. After their robberies the boys meet in Moorfields, St George's Fields, or Goodman's Fields to divide the spoils, but Jack, the canniest of the youngsters, returns with his

23 Edward W. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London and New York: Verso, 1989), pp. 6–7.

loot to the City, where he, with the help of a kindly, respectable merchant, converts the stolen cash into safe London bills that Jack later draws on to establish himself as a plantation owner in America.

Taking inspiration from Edward Said, we might read the map of Jack's London as a paradigm of contemporary international trade: Jack, an outsider, penetrates the City wall to command his first stake in the economic life of the City (he takes a reward for returning bills he himself has stolen); he moves his "business" to the suburbs from whence he returns to the City with the spoils of these "foreign" adventures and invests them, with the help of the respectable merchant, in London bills.[24] In the last three-quarters of the book, Jack deploys the same pattern, going to America where he takes profits from the colony only to reinvest them each time, as before, in City of London bills. The cartographic lines between London and the "other" are bloodlines as well as plot lines. At one point, Jack, who fears that he has forfeited his citizenship by participation on the Pretender's side at Preston Pans, receives "a Packet from *London*"—all news of significance comes from London—containing information of a general pardon. "This was a kind of Life from the Dead to us both," he says of his and his wife's feelings (p. 275). At the conclusion of the novel, he and his wife, a London woman herself, return to London, presumably to live out the rest of their days on the proceeds, of course, from their adventures abroad.

The general topographic movement of the novel vibrates between core and periphery, displaying, as Soja describes it, "the doubly exploitative nature of the social and spatial structure."[25] Jack moves away from the City on infinitely extendable cartographic lines to reach the exploitable colonial world of America, returning at will to the centre, the City, on the same cartographic lines. In global terms the movement of Defoe's figures can be seen in a revealing map published by George Willdey in 1720 (figures 7–10).[26] On Willdey's map, London appears as the centre of the mercantile world by virtue of cartographic lines that radiate precisely from the City itself to extend by implication over the globe. In each of the four corners of the map, we find the map's cartographic rhetoric unfolded in pictures: in the upper left (figure 7), there is a panoramic view of the City, with an allegorical figure of Boreas filling a sail with wind; in the corner to the right (figure 8), we find a cartouche displaying English ships anchored off

24 Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993).

25 Soja, p. 112.

26 In the collection of the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

the coast of the New World and, beneath that, a native inhabitant sitting at rest with a club on his shoulder. In the lower right corner (figure 9), the native now labours with a basket on his shoulder, and beneath him we see a European colonist supervising the ongoing labour through a telescope directed up and over an inset advertisement for George Willdey's "Toy and Print Shop" in London. The lower left corner (figure 10) reveals the end and summation of all this mapmaking with a visual catalogue of George Willdey's stock, the riches of the world gathered together—including, significantly, a handsome standing globe.

A similar mapping logic informs Hollar's well-known figure of "Winter" standing firmly on the street before a panoramic view of the Exchange in the City of London (figure 11). This female figure belongs as arrogantly and firmly to the map of London as Colonel Jack, Moll Flanders, and Roxana. Power—political, economic, and personal—is the first message of Hollar's "Winter," but it is also a double-edged message. Fragmentation is the inevitable lot of Michel de Certeau's twentieth-century New Yorkers who suffer, of course, the traumas of a postcolonial history and a postmodern consciousness. In contrast, Defoe's protagonists in *Colonel Jack*, *Moll Flanders*, and *Roxana* emerge from their mapped spaces as entrepreneurs, jugglers, street people who own, or think they do, the streets they walk on. But, as Defoe well knows, it is a fragile accommodation. His look backward at the containing wall of the old plague city and his uneasy look forward in *Colonel Jack* at the unsettling spread of London show the problem. The map and the subject, as Defoe knows only too well, are divisible, but only at great cost to the subject. The shattered fate of any character who is finally loosed from his or her mapped world may be seen most disturbingly in *Captain Singleton*, in *Robinson Crusoe*, and even in *Roxana*, who concludes her story in exile, in Holland, "brought so low again, that my Repentance seem'd to be only the Consequence of my Misery, as my Misery was of my Crime."[27] At the close of his troubled travels, Captain Singleton returns to London for refuge, using a map metaphor to articulate his goal: "to purchase a kind of a Centre, to which I should tend in my future Actions; for really a Man that has a Subsistence, and no Residence, no Place that has a Magnetic Influence on his Affections, is in one of the most odd uneasy Conditions in the World."[28]

27 Daniel Defoe, *Roxana, The Fortunate Mistress*, ed. David Blewett (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1982), p. 379.

28 Daniel Defoe, *The Life, Adventures, and Pyracies, of the Famous Captain Singleton*, ed. Shiv K. Kumar (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 276.

Those small, insignificant figures that Alpers sees in seventeenth-century Dutch art are the more typical inhabitants of Defoe's urban space. Narrative or dramatic inevitablity has no truck at all with their existence. Defoe's nameless little people—the shopkeepers, saucy jades, pickpockets, and honest merchants of his novels—hold onto space, and existence, solely by their rights to the map of London. They owe their fictional lives—and our perspective of them—to the mapping operation of Defoe's camera obscura, that remorseless cataloguer of visual reality.

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