DANIEL DEFOE
AS A
COLONIAL PROPAGANDIST
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ABSTRACT

This thesis considers different aspects of Defoe's colonial propaganda: its ideological implications, its links to a discursive tradition, and its polemical strategy. Unlike previous contributions to the subject, it analyzes fully the nonfictional works as well as the fiction to give a comprehensive account of Defoe's contribution to colonial discourse.

Chapters I to IV examine four of Defoe's tracts as colonial propaganda. The first chapter scrutinizes An Historical Account of the Voyages and Adventures of Sir Walter Raleigh, a work designed to attract the South Sea Company to one of Defoe's favorite projects. The second studies the History of the Principal Discoveries, a tract which links up knowledge, trade, and empire to argue for the extension of Western man's dominion over the extra-European world. The next chapter considers Defoe's Plan of the English Commerce as a work composed to convince readers that colonization was essential for England's prosperity and power. Chapter IV treats Defoe as an expert on overseas affairs and notes his links to colonial circles. It focuses attention on his contribution to Atlas Maritimus, sees him
as a "geographer" in the Hakluyt tradition, reviews his colonial schemes, and discusses his views on other races and places.

The final four chapters investigate Defoe's fiction as colonial propaganda. Because the colonial aspects of the fiction have not gone unnoticed, Chapter V surveys the work that has been done and suggests the approaches that can still be taken to further illuminate Defoe's narratives as imperialist propaganda. Chapter VI examines in greater detail than has been attempted before how Defoe's settings reflect his colonial concerns. The next two chapters analyze Defoe's protagonists as prototypical colonizers. Both their rational, empire-building attributes as well as their unpleasant aspects are considered.

This study concludes with an assessment of Defoe's success as a colonial propagandist. It suggests that the tracts can be seen as significant as part of a body of writing which persistently upheld the cause of empire; it notes that Defoe's narratives have merited a distinctive place because of the appeal of their images of success and their influence on subsequent writers who have promoted colonial enterprise through fiction.
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ABBREVIATIONS


C   Caledonia, A Poem in Honour of Scotland, And the Scots Nation. Edinburgh, 1706.


ABBREVIATIONS, continued


Unless indicated above, works by Defoe were read in microform.
I want to express my thanks first of all to my supervisor, Professor Ian Ross; his criticism and quiet encouragement have been invaluable. I am also grateful to Professors David Macaree and Lee Whitehead for their suggestions. I am indebted to Dr. Aaly Rehman, Dr. Tirthankar Bose and A.E. Christa Canitz for reading several chapters of my dissertation and for saving me from many errors of expression. My deepest indebtedness, however, is to my wife, Nazma; her constant support and encouragement all these years enabled me to complete the study.
INTRODUCTION
Daniel Defoe as a Colonial Propagandist

For approximately thirty years (1700-1730), Daniel Defoe tried to convince the English nation of the importance of colonization. He proposed many projects for colonizing Africa and America and other parts of the world newly discovered by Europeans; he felt that there were still "infinite treasures of trade and Plantations to be search'd after" (HD, 269). He saw it as his task to present his projects to successive administrations, to financiers, and, indeed, near the end of his life, to the general reading public. He wrote tirelessly about the necessity of overseas expansion in his letters, periodicals, tracts, and narratives of adventure, imaginatively blending fact and fiction in the process. As voracious reader of tales of travel and tracts of empire, as adviser to influential figures, as expert on trade, commerce, and maritime affairs, as one-time merchant and a later shareholder in enterprises like the Royal African Company, as a writer of histories, polemical tracts, and fictions, and the encyclopedic Atlas Maritimus, Defoe participated actively as well as imaginatively in
Not surprisingly, Defoe's activities as a colonial propagandist have attracted scholarly attention. In particular, Maximillian E. Novak in *Economics and The Fiction of Daniel Defoe* (1962) and Peter Earle in *The World of Defoe* (1976) have each devoted a chapter of their works to Defoe's colonial projects and have laid the groundwork for a comprehensive study of him as a colonial propagandist. In his chapter, "Fiction as Colonial Propaganda," Novak has argued convincingly for reading books like *Moll Flanders* and *Colonel Jack* as extensions of Defoe's socio-economic interest in colonization; in his far-reaching chapter, "The Wider World," Earle spans the tracts as well as the fiction to outline Defoe's vision on trade, commerce, exploration, and overseas expansion. In *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire* (1979), a study of the relationship between adventure novels and imperialist history, Martin Green has devoted a chapter to Defoe's fictions and has discussed a few of the colonial tracts very briefly in his notes. Pat Rogers also apportions part of a chapter to the topic in his 1979 monograph on *Robinson Crusoe*.

Complementing these chapter-long surveys of Defoe's works as a colonial propagandist are essays devoted to the analysis of specific novels to bring out their colonial aspects. Inevitably, *Robinson Crusoe* has attracted the most
attention: O. Mannoni has psychoanalyzed Crusoe as a colonial in a paper published in *Prospero and Caliban* (1950); Novak has studied the political implications of Crusoe's claim to kingship of his island in *Defoe and the Nature of Man* (1963); in "Robinson Crusoe and the Cannibals" an essay which is more wide-ranging than its title suggests, E. Pearlman has treated Defoe's hero as a colonizer bent on domination. Gary J. Scrimgeour's "The Problem of Realism in Defoe's *Captain Singleton*" (1963) has shown that the African section of the book was designed to stimulate interest in the exploitation of the resources of the subcontinent. Finally, Jane H. Jack's "A New Voyage Round the World: Defoe's *Roman à thèse*" (1961) has endeavored to explicate a long-neglected work as a novel written specifically to attract attention to one of Defoe's pet projects for establishing English settlements in the southernmost part of South America.

Faced with these chapter-length surveys of Defoe's colonial schemes and essays on specific novels as colonial propaganda, one may well ask whether another study of Defoe's projects for overseas expansion is necessary. The publication of J.A. Downie's "Defoe, Imperialism, and the Travel Books Rediscovered" in the 1983 *Yearbook of English Studies* indicates, however, that interest in the topic has by no means been exhausted. Noting how critical attention to
the spiritual aspects of *Robinson Crusoe* has tended to divert attention away from other elements of the work, Downie proceeds to treat it and its sequel as an adventure story and as imperialistic propaganda. In the process, Downie reviews quite a few of Defoe's ideas about colonization and summarizes briefly some of his favorite colonial projects.

Despite its salutary emphasis on the importance of studying Defoe's imperialist vision, however, Downie's essay, like the chapter-length surveys of Novak, Earle, Green, and Rogers, is essentially an overview of Defoe's colonial schemes and their manifestations in the fictions. What is now needed -- and what this dissertation attempts to provide -- is not another summary treatment of the topic or examination of a single novel but a sustained analysis of the major nonfictional tracts as well as the fiction which will do justice to the complexity and breadth of Defoe's involvement in the colonial endeavor. Instead of generalizing on the subject or trying to outline it in a few pages or illustrating it through the discussion of a particular novel, this dissertation considers as fully as necessary the different aspects of Defoe's colonial propaganda. To this end, four of his more neglected but important colonial tracts -- *An Historical Account of the Voyages and Adventures of Sir Walter Raleigh* (1719), *The History of the*
Principal Discoveries and Improvements (1726), The Plan of the English Commerce (1728), and Atlas Maritimus (1728) -- and of the fictions which serve as colonial propaganda -- The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe (1719), The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe (1719), The Life, Adventures and Pyracies of the Famous Captain Singleton (1720), The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders (1722), The History and Remarkable Life of the Truly Honourable Col. Jacque (1722), A New Voyage Round the World, and a couple of the lives in A General History of the Robberies and Murders of the Most Notorious Pyrates (1724-1728) -- are scrutinized.

Certainly, one advantage of paying close attention to Defoe's colonial tracts is that they enable us to see more clearly than ever before the ideological aspects of his writings on overseas affairs. These tracts reveal that Defoe was drawn to colonial propaganda not merely by economic exigencies or superficial concerns about trade and commerce; they suggest that he was a fervent believer in the necessity of overseas expansion and had carefully thought out his ideas about colonization. In fact, Defoe's views on colonialism are ideological in the sense that they belong to a system of ideas congruent with, and supportive of, the concept of overseas expansion and the machinery of world domination available at that time (for example, government-
supported colonial ventures or projects sponsored by huge trading companies).

Previous commentators on Defoe have ignored or undervalued the extent to which Defoe was drawing consciously on such a system of ideas to persuade his readers that colonization was essential for England’s ascendancy. As our study of the nonfictional works will reveal, Defoe had arrived at his colonial schemes after a careful consideration of the achievements of men like Ralegh and after absorbing the ideas of writers like Bacon and the Hakluyts. Their activities and their ideas convinced Defoe that colonization was essential for England's power and prosperity.

In other words, Defoe's persistent efforts to promote overseas expansion must be seen as part of a larger intellectual endeavor directed at accomplishing mastery over the extra-European world. This study therefore restores Defoe's colonial writings to their contexts and considers them as belonging to a tradition or what we will also call a discourse, a body of knowledge and practice about colonization formed by accretion, which can be traced in England to as early as the sixteenth century. Whether invoking the example of Ralegh, or arguing the case for colonial activity from a quasi-Baconian perspective, or advocating more overseas settlements as the panacea for an ailing English economy, or exhorting his fellow Christians to fulfil the
Biblical injunction to multiply and replenish the earth, Defoe was articulating beliefs characteristic of a group of people who had argued for long for the extension of England's empire.

Since Defoe was a latecomer to this tradition, it should not surprise us to find that Defoe's ideas about colonization were unoriginal and the result of discursive formations -- of a kind of orthodoxy which tend to gather around objects and events, at times transforming untruths or half-truths or dimly-perceived concepts into certainties. For instance, beliefs about the indolence of the Spaniards, of their indifference to the land under their cultivation, or the docility of the South Americans, had become so persistent in English colonial thought that it kept out the truth about Spanish colonial activity and Indian behavior and became dogma for someone like Defoe. Or to take another example, Ralegh's vision of Guiana, despite his failure to realize it, had become so integral to English colonial propaganda that Defoe could embrace it and reaffirm the potentials of the region with conviction. However, if Defoe's ideas about colonization are unoriginal and his tracts very much a part of a tradition, he managed to transform the discourse in at least one important respect; as the conclusion of this study will note, in works like Robinson Crusoe and the New Voyage he effects a division of it so
that a purely fictional narrative became as valid a method of conveying colonial concerns as the nonfictional tracts.

To a great extent, Defoe managed to claim a place for himself in English colonial discourse by mastering the texts which propagated the idea of overseas expansion and by accumulating information on the subject of colonization. He was, quite self-consciously, and to a degree that has probably gone unnoticed till now, an expert on maritime affairs and, as such, felt compelled to use his knowledge to concoct schemes for men who were in a position to translate them into reality. One of the functions of the dissertation will be to evaluate Defoe's knowledge of colonial activity and to show how he tried to gather support for projects which he felt would lead to national power and prosperity. On occasions, as when he makes himself indispensable to a particular venture, or when he coyly refuses to reveal the full extent of his knowledge about a specific scheme in print, Defoe even gives the impression that he himself expected to benefit from his expertise. On other occasions, as in the case of the perspective he adopts in the *History of the Principal Discoveries*, Defoe celebrates the Baconian dictum that knowledge could lead to an extension of Western man's dominion over the earth. The attitude spills over into the fiction; consequently, we will examine a novel like *Robinson Crusoe* as well as the tracts to show how Defoe's
views on knowledge and power inform his colonial propaganda. In an essay collected in *The Ferment of Knowledge* (1980), a volume on the historiography of eighteenth-century science, Roy Porter has noted how scarce are studies which analyze "the links between political and cognitive imperialism, between the physical conquest of the globe and its mental appropriation;" it will be one of our tasks to note these links in Defoe's colonial writings, and to underline the importance of examining the way in which "physical and intellectual exploration complemented each other," even in the works of someone like Defoe who vulgarized the Baconian tradition.2

But though Defoe was undoubtedly an expert on colonial affairs, and though his expertise will be emphasized in our analysis of his nonfictional works, he was not above combining conjectures with certainties or untruths with facts to promote his favorite colonial schemes. If Defoe's views on colonialism can be seen as ideological in the sense that they belong to a system of ideas endorsing and advancing overseas expansion, his imperialist vision can also be seen as ideological in the pejorative sense of the word in that it led him to create false images or, at the least, images which touch up the truth to make colonization attractive to his readers. To put it directly, Defoe's bid to interest the reading public in overseas enterprise directed him towards
fiction and away from the verifiable and the substantiable. This movement in Defoe's colonial works away from the truth and towards the fabulous will also be discussed in this study.

To make his colonial schemes appealing to his readers and to disseminate his ideas about colonization in the most effective manner, Defoe had to call upon all his skills as a professional writer. In particular, he had to make sure that his projects were acceptable to different groups of people and had to create different structures for presenting them. In the Plan of the English Commerce, for instance, Defoe assumes the role of the knowledgeable writer on trade and commerce and designs his tract so that his readers would feel compelled to accept his projects for colonization. For the reader of Captain Singleton, on the other hand, he created a prototypical hero who illustrates through his adventures the feasibility of at least one of the projects described in the tract. Our consideration of Defoe's colonial propaganda involves therefore, an examination of Defoe's polemical strategy, of the art with which he constructs his works to deliver his message in different contexts for dissimilar groups of people, of the language he uses, the stance he adopts, and the images he creates to convince his readers of the potentialities of the still uncolonized parts of the world.
Ultimately, then, this study seeks to do more than just record Defoe's ideas on colonization in greater detail than has been attempted before. It endeavors to evaluate these ideas, examine their implications, and situate them in their contexts. It strives to assess Defoe's status as an expert on colonial affairs and offers a close and sustained analysis of Defoe's performance as a colonial propagandist.
NOTES


CHAPTER I
Ralegh, Defoe and Colonial Discourse

Defoe's *An Historical Account of the Voyages and Adventures of Sir Walter Raleigh* was probably published in 1720, though the title-page gives 1719 as the year of publication. The 1720 publication date has its significance, since it places the tract as following by a few months *Robinson Crusoe*, Defoe's first major success in the fictional mode, and preceding by a few the bursting of the South-Sea Bubble. In the spring of 1720, company officials had offered to assume practically the whole national debt, and the interest aroused had made the Company the center of a rush of projects for the development of the South Seas. Defoe's tract, "Humbly proposed to the South-Sea Company" -- the typical modest pretension of the projector which Swift would mimic so ingeniously -- was thus aimed at a specific audience -- the administrators of the South-Sea Company. The title-page also boldly outlines his particular proposal: "An Account how that Rich Country [Guiana] might now be with Ease, Possess'd, Planted, Secur'd to the British Nation -- and what Immense Wealth and Encrease of Commerce might be
Rais'd from thence."

The *Historical Account*, however, purports to be more than a project; it is also a history of Ralegh's discoveries and exploits, and of his attempt to discover a gold mine in Guiana. Defoe's tract is meant to be a vindication of that attempt; for Ralegh's scheme failed, according to the title-page, not due to "any Defect in the Scheme he had laid, or in the Reality of the thing itself," but because Ralegh's intention was betrayed to the Spanish.

Defoe's *Historical Account*, however, failed to attract attention then, or at any time, either as project or as history. Commentators of Defoe have ignored it or shown their indifference to it by consigning it to footnotes. Nevertheless, the tract is of interest to the student of Defoe as an example of his colonial propaganda. The choice of the subject, the "biographical" method employed, and the place of the project in Defoe's scheme for colonial expansion, are all relevant to a study of Defoe's method as a propagandist. Since Ralegh, along with the younger Hakluyt, initiated a discourse on colonialism which ultimately led to Defoe's project, the life and works of Ralegh provide one of the contexts of Defoe's colonial texts. Defoe's proposal for the colonization of Guiana in the *Historical Account* is based on his readings of the works on the region by Ralegh and his circle; his sketch of Ralegh is derived from the
image of Ralegh created by a discursive tradition. The pages which follow will, therefore, study the Historical Account as colonial text and biography; but we will also broaden the focus of our inquiry to consider the contexts of our text.

Defoe himself offers two reasons for the publication of the Historical Account. In the first place, he wants to rescue the memory of Ralegh from inadequate histories and biographies. He is indignant because a recently published book, Memoirs of Sir Walter Raleigh, is such a "superficial...empty...imperfect work" (HAR, 3). A "piece of Dramatic Drollery" enacted to honor Ralegh's memory is also dismissed as insufficient tribute to his greatness (HAR, 5). The only praise which will suffice is to stress his "glorious actions" so that others will be incited to imitate him. Men like Ralegh are unfortunate because they want biographers who will record their actions for posterity "in a manner equal to the Zeal they express'd when living, for the Honour and Interest of their Country" (HAR, 4). Aware that Ralegh's extraordinary deeds have "for want of Faithful Historians" become "almost turn'd into Romance" (HAR, 5), and that the numerous attempts to record Ralegh's voyages have failed because their authors "have not been equally masters" (HAR, 39) of their facts, Defoe offers his own
version. Defoe, however, does not see his own account as perfect, for while he is able to "supply the Defects" of his predecessors (HAR, 5), he is aware that "some abler Hand may follow these sheets as above, and make the work compleat". His facts, nevertheless, are authentic, for as he reveals to his readers a few pages later, he has the "Honour to be related to His Blood" (HAR, 8) and is heir to the "Family Tradition" which has kept alive Ralegh's "inmost thoughts and beliefs" (HAR, 9).

Although the impulse to write the authentic history of Ralegh's voyages and adventures, and to correct spurious stories about the Renaissance projector, appear to be the chief reason for the publication of the Historical Account, Defoe is really making a play for his readers' confidence before presenting his own proposal. The historical insight gleaned from Ralegh's adventures must be of use in the present. Not idle history but the profits to be reaped from a study of the past inspires Defoe's tract. The failure to act on Ralegh's project had resulted in the loss to England of "the Sovereignty of the Richest, Most Populous, and most Fertile Country in the World" (HAR, 41). Consequently, Defoe's "biographic" intention is soon overpowered by an overriding interest in empire.

Defoe's impulse to celebrate Ralegh, however, is
genuine. Despite his execution in 1618, or perhaps because of it, Ralegh had become a favorite subject of Puritan hagiography. By the time Defoe published his tribute, Ralegh's life and death had become -- as Defoe so aptly observes -- a "Romance". Christopher Hill has succinctly demonstrated that seventeenth century revolutionaries idealized Ralegh not only because he was an illustrious commoner in conflict with the king, but also because he fostered an English imperial policy which laid the basis for the English empire. Writers and scientists engaged in colonial propaganda proclaimed him their leader and dedicated their works to him, or prepared tracts commissioned by him. Ralegh was also a patron of the studies connected with navigation and exploration. As historian, he wrote of the "planting" of nations in new worlds and of the migration of tribes, and celebrated a tyrant like Nimrod as a colonizer. His History of the World occasionally becomes subtle propaganda for an English overseas empire in the Americas, and points a finger at Spanish imperial policy, as in the assertion that paradise must be somewhere near the equator, and the declaration that the Spanish could easily be expelled from America. As a projector, Ralegh concocted schemes for colonization which would appeal to a broad section of the English public -- the merchants of the city, younger sons, the common soldier, and anyone looking for spoil. His ventures led directly to the
foundation of the Virginia Company. As a mercantilist, he called for the active participation of the state in overseas ventures.

More significantly, Ralegh established some of the codes which governed English colonial discourse in texts like his *The Discoverie of Guiana*, the anonymously composed *Of the Voyage for Guiana* (written perhaps by Thomas Hariot for Ralegh), and Hakluyt's *Discourse Concerning Western Planting* (written at Ralegh's request and under his guidance). These texts fostered attitudes which eventually led to the creation of other colonial texts and of colonial institutions. In John Pym's Providence Island Company, in Cromwell's Western Design, in the works of editors like Purchas who preached about empire, Ralegh's vision of England's imperial glory lived on. His observations -- such as Spanish cruelty to the natives, native receptivity to English ventures, and the inherent superiority of the English for the task of colonization -- were perpetuated by his admirers and pervade a text like the *Historical Account*.

As a puritan, and as an active contributor to colonial propaganda, Defoe shared the impulse to revive Ralegh's memory and schemes. Even if the *Historical Account* had never been written, Defoe's veneration for Ralegh could have been ascertained from the many references to the Elizabethan in the Defoe canon. As C.E. Doble had noted in 1893, when the
Historical Account was still not attributed to Defoe, references to Ralegh appear in at least nine of Defoe's works, always accompanied with the highest of praise. And in the first hundred pages or so of his General History of Discoveries and Improvements -- a work not included in Doble's list -- Defoe makes extensive use of Ralegh's History and compares its author to Hanno of Carthage -- Defoe's ideal colonizing state. Indirect evidence of Defoe's fascination with Ralegh's works is also to be found in Defoe's library catalogue, where at least five titles by Ralegh are numbered.

We must remember, however, that Defoe chooses to claim special status as Ralegh's biographer not because he is a writer in the Puritan colonial tradition, nor because he has read Ralegh's works, but because he is a descendant of that great man. Recent biographers of Defoe have dismissed this claim of kinship or have ignored it. The least skeptical of them, James Sutherland, observes that if Defoe was really Ralegh's descendant, "by the time it [the blood of Ralegh] reached Defoe it must have been running rather thin." But if Defoe's claim to kinship can be questioned or set aside as hard to believe, his ploy for legitimacy should be seen as a fictive device which hints at the imaginative nature of his biography. Thus Defoe provides for his Historical Account a plot and creates first a seemingly reliable
narrator. The characterization of Ralegh itself, as we will try to show, seems to be based on Defoe's imaginative identification with his subject.

The plot of Defoe's Historical Account is one composed from the many legends that had grown around the Elizabethan. Sir Walter Ralegh, an "illustrious commoner" by birth (HAR, 3), employs his superior merit and virtues to win for his queen and country the treasures of the Americas. Unperturbed by disappointments and incarceration, he keeps alive his schemes, and acquires in the process settlements for the English in North America. Finally, at the age of sixty, he makes one last attempt to win the ultimate prize — the immense riches of Guiana — but is thwarted by Spanish machinations and is sacrificed to them.

The presentation of Ralegh's character is based on a projection of Defoe's own personality onto that of the masterspirit of English colonial policy. For example, the claims that Ralegh's projects originated in "the Depth of his Learning" (HAR, 8), that in university Ralegh read "books and not men", and narratives of adventurers like those of Columbus, Cortez, and Pizarro, though possibly true, appear to be based on no verifiable source, but on an imaginative identification with his hero. The catalogue of Defoe's library reveals, after all, an extensive holding in Spanish colonial literature, his self-portrait has him
poring over old maps, charts, and books about the new world, his ideal English Gentleman can make "the tour of the world in books", and his projects mostly originated in his study (CEG, 225).9

In the Historical Account, Defoe underlines the "rational" nature of Ralegh's plans for Guiana. According to Defoe, Ralegh concentrated on regions in the Americas which were not under Spanish rule, and concluded that certain regions were eminently colonizable (HAR, 10, 27). Defoe's projects for South America were themselves based on such a process of "rational" deduction. His study of South American geography and of Ralegh's work convinced Defoe that the southernmost part of the continent were still uninhabited by the Spanish; this region, as well as Ralegh's Guiana, were thus suitable objects for English colonial ventures.

According to Defoe, Ralegh's choice was also dictated by the assumption that the unpossessed space was "perhaps as Rich, as fit for settlement, and as easy to conquer" as Spanish America (HAR, 10). Two comments can be made about this observation. First, in a process typical of colonial discourse, space acquires for Defoe as it did for his ostensible subject, Ralegh, a quality whereby its emptiness is converted into potentiality. Second, the "perhaps" in Defoe's observation is significant, for it indicates that Ralegh's choice, in Defoe's opinion, was an educated guess.
Defoe's imaginative insight into Ralegh's method is again worth noting. In fact, in one of Defoe's favorite works, *The History of the World*, Ralegh had defended the use of conjectures in historiography and geography:

I neither do reprehend the boldness of Tornel-lius in conjecturing, nor the modesty of Scaliger and Sethus Caloisius in forbearing to set down as warrantable, such things as depend only upon like-lihood. For things whereof the perfect knowledge is taken away from us by antiquity, must be described in history, as geographers in their maps describe those countries, whereof as yet there is made no true discovery, that is either by leaving some part blank, or by inserting the land of pigmies, rocks of loadstones, with headlands, bays, great rivers, and other particularities, agreeable to common report, though many times controlled by following experiences, and found contrary to the truth....

Ralegh goes on to observe that the geographer does not have the same freedom as the historian, for in the age of the "greedy merchant" and the "subtle shipmen" the truth will soon out. Yet, "the same fictions (or let them be called conjectures) painted in maps do serve only to mislead such discoverers as rashly believe them."10

Inevitably, the division between truth and falsehood is obscured by such a method, and often conjectures are passed off as truths about the wider world. There can also be less than innocent transformations of empty spaces in maps to catch the attention of readers. And there is always the intriguing possibility that the cartographer would perhaps
get caught up in his own fictions. Something of the complexity of the process, and the pitfalls of the method, is unconsciously acknowledged by Defoe in his observation that Ralegh, after his conjectures about the blank spaces of America, and his conversations with sailors acquainted with the American coastline, concluded that a vast tract of land worth discovering existed; "and having in his working Head digested these things, and brought his thoughts to such a consistency, as to depend upon the Certainty of it, he resolv'd upon the discovery" (HAR, 11). Here, what was probable is soon made consistent and finally certain, at which point it must be translated into reality through action. Similarly, in Defoe's Patagonian project, what is probable soon becomes certain, and engenders a lifelong obsession with colonizing the region.

The use of gold as a motif in Ralegh's Discoverie and the Apology show how easily conjectures based on a mixture of truths, half-truths, and untruths can harden into certainty. Ralegh wanted to believe in El Dorado, accepted the testimony of some unreliable Spaniards and Indians, and embraced native legends as facts. However, he was also aware that "when men are constrained to fight, it hath not the same hope as when they are prest and encouraged by the desires of spoyle and riches." It was also of such knowledge that the evidence of a few auriferous rivers and native
gold ornaments along with the testimonies and legends became transformed into dogma about golden lakes and crystal mountains. It is probably a measure of Ralegh's obsession that by 1617, when he set out for his second Guiana expedition, he was willing to stake everything on the discovery of a gold mine whose existence he was unsure of. As one of his biographers has put it: "The final act in Ralegh's life was to be flawed fatally by this basic fraud, a falsehood that was part wishful thinking and part deliberate deception in which Lawrence Keymis connived -- for there was no mine, simply a belief in its existence."12

The fact that Ralegh staked his life on the existence of such a mine, however, gave credence to the belief that there was gold in Guiana. In the Historical Account Defoe typically pictures a Guiana "richer in Gold and Silver than Mexico and Peru" (HAR, 41). This, and the assertion that Guiana is a country "full of inhabitants, like Great Britain," are beliefs deduced by Defoe from Ralegh's writings. Here they are offered to the South Sea Company as certainties -- one more example of the way in which wishful thinking and, in part deliberate deception, soon came to be accepted as the truth.

There are other ways in which the blank spaces in maps teased Defoe into thought and led him to conjectures which hardened into certainties. What Defoe observes of his
biographical subject is certainly applicable to his own exertions on behalf of the undiscovered or unclaimed regions of the world: "As long as there had been any new world in the globe to discover (so long had he lived) would he have exerted himself for new Discovery" (HAR, 27). As we will see in the course of this dissertation, Defoe kept mixing fact and fiction in his unceasing efforts to attract English attention to South America and Africa. As a result, fictions occupy an integral part of his discursive prose. On the other hand, his full-length novels dealing with the South-Sea region (A New Voyage Round the World) and Africa (Captain Singleton) embody all the economic arguments needed to convince his readers of the necessity of colonizing these areas.

Other clues scattered throughout the Historical Account suggest the similarities between Ralegh's situation and Defoe's. They indicate that the portrait of Ralegh sketched in the tract was to a considerable extent the result of the projection of Defoe's own personality into that of his hero's. Defoe's reiterated point about "the constant misfortunes of men of superior virtue and merit" (HAR, 4, 7, 37), for example, is strikingly applicable to his own situation in 1719. Defoe also stresses the disinterested nature of Ralegh's projects and emphasizes Ralegh's patriotism (HAR 7, 12). Undoubtedly, he would have liked to
convey a similar selflessness and nationalism in committing himself to the public medium of print. Ralegh's "genius for great undertakings" makes him the ideal representative of "the enterprising genius of the age" (HAR, 7) and qualifies him for the post of the "Father of Improvement" (HAR, 27). This tribute comes, of course, from the author of the Essay on Projects and countless schemes, who had celebrated the general projecting "Humor" of his nation, and had labelled his era "the projecting age" (EP, ii).

The few brief references to Ralegh's emotions and thought processes in the Historical Account are also revealing. Thus the metaphor of birth is used by Defoe to explain how Ralegh nourished his scheme for over twenty years. The failure of Ralegh's first attempt is described as a "miscarriage" (HAR, 28); in prison he is "full of it" [his scheme for Guiana]; when released he is betrayed into another "miscarriage" (HAR, 36). These metaphors are almost habitual with Defoe. For example, Crusoe in Brazil has a head "full of projects" which was bound to lead him into future "miscarriages" and away from the tranquilities of "the middle station of life" (RC, 38). At one point in the Historical Account Defoe emphasizes how Ralegh's "great Heart was not to be so chok'd by Disappointment" as to give up his Virginia scheme because of a temporary setback (HAR, 20). Some such confidence in the potentialities of his own schemes must have sustained Defoe in his repeated endeavors to
translate them into reality. When Defoe describes a Ralegh "violently agitated" in spirit by the prospects of new worlds to be discovered (HAR, 27), he was possibly describing an emotion he had himself felt. Finally, Defoe's repeated reminders that Ralegh was sixty years old when he set out for his final Guiana gamble (HAR, 35, 36, 40) assume significance when we recall that he was himself about that age when he wrote the Historical Account.

Both Ralegh and Defoe trusted in the power of print when other persuasive techniques failed to promote their projects. Ralegh's The Discoverie of the Large and Bewtiful Empire of Guiana was written to silence skeptics and win over the uncommitted after his first Guiana expedition; the Apology was dashed off in 1618, a few weeks before his death, in a frantic bid to keep his project alive and make himself indispensable. In addition, he orchestrated the production of many colonial tracts to promote related schemes. These include Hakluyt's seminal Discourse Concerning Western Planting, Hariot's A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia, the anonymous Voyage to Guiana, and Dr. John Dee's chart of the North American coastline. This implicit faith in the power of the written word to propagate the gospel of empire amongst a wider section of the public and the effort to bypass the court through print are certainly among Ralegh's most important
legacies to Defoe. Again and again, when his most cherished proposals to men like King William and Harley were not acted upon, Defoe turned to print. Ralegh's tracts were addressed to the literate, mercantile public; Defoe's tracts and journals were directed at a similar audience. However, the Historical Account, also characterized as a "Speech to an incorporated Society of Men powerful enough for such a work" (HAR, 42), is more specific about its targeted audience; for by 1719 large financial institutions like the South-Sea Company had become the chief hope of colonial projectors.

Although the decision to commit their projects to print seems the very model of disinterestedness, neither Ralegh nor Defoe were about to divulge the full details of their scheme. It is in this context that a final comment can be made on Defoe's claim to kinship with Ralegh. Among the documents reproduced in part in the Historical Account are "The Letters patent granted by the Queenes Majestie to Sir Walter Ralegh, for the discovering and planting of new lands, and countries". Defoe claims to have the original of this document in his possession and reproduces two clauses from it which are "very necessary to be handed to Posterity" (HAR, 14). What is striking about the document, in the light of Defoe's claim to kinship, is the reiterated point that Ralegh, "his heirs and assigns" shall "have, holde, occupie and enjoy" forever the territories discovered according to
the terms of the patent (HAR, 15-18). The implication is that as heir to Ralegh, and as owner of the original patent, he is in a unique position to oversee any expedition sent out by the South-Sea Company to Guiana. The concluding pages of the tract disclose that the narrator has also accumulated further information on the region for such an expedition which makes him even more indispensable: "...the author of these sheets is ready to lay before them [the Company] a Plan or Chart of the Rivers and Stores, the Depth of Water, all the necessary Instructions for the Navigation, with a scheme of the Undertaking..." (HAR, 55). Both as a descendant, and as an expert who has all the facts in his possession, he is willing to negotiate with the Company. In other words, privileged and specialized knowledge is being offered to an organization able to put it to use.

If Defoe's claim to kinship can be set aside as unverifiable, the claim to knowledge can be seen as a matter of mastering the texts initiated by Ralegh and Hakluyt in an ongoing discourse on colonialism. The text of Ralegh's patent, for example, was available to Defoe in Hakluyt's *The Principall Navigations...of the English Nation*, as was the account of the voyage by Captain Barlow and the expedition under Sir Richard Grenville, all quoted in Defoe's tract. Defoe also quotes extensively from Ralegh's *Discoverie* to authenticate his project. Defoe's Guiana scheme, in other
words, is the result of his willingness to believe in what he had read about the region in Ralegh's Discourse and Hakluyt's collection.

Defoe's imaginative identification with Ralegh and the similarities in their attitude to colonialism, of course, should not obscure the substantial differences between these two projectors. For one thing, Ralegh's concept of the unknown, like that of most Elizabethans, was heroic as well as utilitarian. His Guiana expedition, though motivated by gold, glory, and empire, and based on a mixture of fact and fiction, was also "bound up with his imaginative conception of heroic action."13 Defoe, in tune with his era, displayed a more commercial mentality. John McVeagh has summed up the distinctive nature of Defoe's vision in these words:

Defoe's travel descriptions, trade accounts, economic pamphlets and the rest add up to a catalogue of the lavish excellence of natural creation, reducing its wealth to method, listing its place, quantity and kind. Always the reference is to what can be done with the raw materials, to how its potential usefulness can be tapped, its wealth extracted, to the details of process and consequence which give Defoe's writing its immediate relevance.14

In such a vision, knowledge which could not be put to commercial use, or a heroism which would exist in a state of tension with utilitarianism, did not have a place.
Defoe, unlike Ralegh, constructed his schemes explicitly on the assumption that England had now become a trading nation, and needed an aggressive commercial policy to sustain itself. J.G.A. Pocock has pointed out in the Machiavellian Moment, the "very rapid pace" with which "an entity known as Trade" entered the language of politics in post-Restoration England. Trade was something which "no writer, pamphleteer, or theorist could afford to neglect." In a time of war, it became "intimately connected with the concepts of external relations and national power." Consequently, "Machiavellian" assumptions like the perception of expansion by joint-stock companies allied to the court and the City of London financial establishment gave an unique flavour to Defoe's colonial discourse. Stylistically, as an analysis of Defoe's Review pieces on the South-Sea Company will reveal, Defoe employed, again unlike Ralegh, "a highly ambivalent rhetoric, replete with alternatives, conflicts and conclusions," which Pocock sees as characteristic of the political morality of early eighteenth-century England.15

Finally, and this is a crucial point to keep in mind, Ralegh based his observations on Guiana in the Discovery and elsewhere on personal observation as well as his reading. In total contrast, Defoe relied entirely on other writers and hearsay in concocting his colonial schemes. Consequently, while Ralegh's observation about Guiana is often concrete,
Defoe's depiction of the New World is almost always generalized and superficial. The blurred and dimly realized Patagonia which emerges in Defoe's colonial writing, for example, is the inevitable consequence of his total reliance on other sources. The inability to visualise clearly forces conjecture; the Africa of Captain Singleton is thus the product of the imagination supplementing inadequate knowledge and received information.

Certainly, Ralegh or the other sources used by Defoe were not completely accurate, thorough, or realistic in their description of distant lands, despite the fact that they had been there. Some legends like El Dorado die hard, and preconceived notions or the beliefs generated by a discursive tradition often prove more potent than the testimony of the senses. As Margaret T. Hodgen has observed in her Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, "even Sir Walter Ralegh, that scholarly and skeptical traveller, was not immune to the suggestive power of the fabulous. Without hesitation, he repeated the existence of the semi-human beings, fit only for a place below man himself in the hierarchy."16

In a manner consistent with his penchant for play-acting, Ralegh also perpetuated the myth of himself as the successful adventurer and colonizer, whereas his Virginia schemes and his Guiana ventures, though pioneering, were all
failures. Indeed, as David B. Quinn observes in his *Ralegh and the British Empire*, Ralegh's place in the history of English overseas expansion is due not to his "long protag-on-ism of English as against Spanish imperialism, nor from any lasting achievement in the establishment of English authority overseas" but to his contribution to English colonial theory. And it is in the realm of theory that Ralegh and Defoe meet. As biography, the *Historical Account* is inadequate because it is largely fictive, based as it is on the stuff of legends and Defoe's projection of his own personality. It overlooks Ralegh's failures, evasions, distortions and role-playing. But in its concrete proposal it revives Ralegh's imaginative concept of a tropical empire, which would unfold its treasures for the English, and become the ideal market for English industry. Although of no significance in itself, Defoe's *Historical Account* is in the line of Ralegh's tracts, along with countless other similarly obscure or little-read pamphlets, and constitute a tradition which would ultimately bear fruit in the shape of a tropical English empire. "Guiana is a country that hath yet her Maidenhead" wrote Ralegh in his *Discoverie*; Defoe quotes the line with approval (HAR, 48) and appropriates the image of violation in his title-page promise about Guiana -- "how that rich country might now be with Ease, Possess'd, Planted and Secured to the British Nation"; in the not-too-distant
future the image would be translated into action; the violation would be complete; the vision of a tropical empire would become a reality.
NOTES

1 On p. 176 of *A Checklist of the Writings of Daniel Defoe*, 2nd ed. (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1971), J.R. Moore has this to say about the date of publication of this tract:

Dottin dates it in Jan. 1720. But as late as 26 Aug. 1720 it was advertised in *The Daily Post*: "This Day is publish'd, Humbly proposed to the South-Sea Company." If the tract had actually appeared in 1720, this late ad. might have been no more than the publisher's effort to arouse interest in it at a time when the South-Sea bubble was nearing its collapse.

2 Defoe is probably referring to *Memoirs of Sir Walter Raleigh: His Life, his Military Naval Exploits, his Preferences and Ventures, In which are inserted the Private Intrigues between the Count of Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador, and the Lord Salisbury, the Secretary of State*, written by Mr. Lewis Theobold. This tract was published in 1719; it was evidently quite popular, for it went into three editions in that year.

3 Moore points out that in a 1717 political pamphlet Defoe quoted 6 lines from the manuscript of Dr. George


Like Hill, many other scholars have observed how Puritans tended to romanticize Ralegh's life and his colonial projects. The historian of his Guiana project, V.T. Harlow, for example, observes: "The seventeenth century, smarting under Stuart misgovernment, idealised the great days of Elizabeth, and revered the name of Ralegh (himself the victim of a Stuart) as the champion and martyr of a national liberty." According to Harlow, Ralegh's Guiana scheme had a "profound" influence on "Puritan businessmen and statesmen". Its "subtle mixture of religion, politics, and commerce" appealed to someone like Cromwell. Ralegh's "prophetic imagination called up a vision of England overseas" which continued to inspire many till it was translated into reality. Harlow's comments on Ralegh explain how his ideas and
projects became part of the English colonial tradition and basic to the thoughts of a projector like Defoe. The quotations are from pp. xvi-xvii, xli, xliii of Harlow's Introduction to his edition of Ralegh's The Discoverie of the Large and Bewtiful Empire of Guiana (London: The Argonaut Press, 1928).


6 "The Memoirs of Captain Carleton: Swift or Defoe?" Academy, XLIII (20 May, 1893), 438-439.


8 James Sutherland, Defoe (Philadelphia and New York: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1938), p. 2. Sutherland's comments and the silence of the other leading Defoe biographer of this century, John Robert Moore, on Defoe's claim to kinship with Ralegh indicate that it is something that is unverifiable.
9 See Heidenrich's Introduction to the Libraries, pp. xix-xxi for comments on Defoe's collection of voyages and topographies; the self-portrait is to be found in Defoe's Life and Recently Discovered Writings 1716-29, III, ed. W. Lee (London: J.C. Hutton, 1869), pp. 435-436.


15 J.G.A. Pocock, The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition


CHAPTER II

Baconianism and Defoe's The History of Principal Discoveries and Improvements

I

Defoe's The General History of the Principal Discoveries and Improvements, In the Several Arts and Sciences, Particularly the Great Branches of Commerce, Navigation, and Plantation, In All Parts of the Known World first appeared in four numbers between October 1725 and May 1726. In December of 1726 the four numbers were bound together and -- along with a conclusion and an index -- published as a single book with a new title page and a slightly altered title, The History of the Principal Discoveries and Improvements, In the Several Arts and Sciences, Particularly the Great Branches of Commerce, Navigation and Plantation, In All Parts of the Known World. The work belongs to a period when Defoe was turning his attention away from fiction and political pamphlets to guidebooks and to didactic, encyclopaedic treatises. Typically, these works were directed towards the more commercial section of the reading public and
offered them "compleat" prospects and "general" views of various "profitable" subjects. New developments in trade and commerce, scientific discoveries, the latest geographical discoveries, and schemes of self-improvement flowed from his fertile mind at an amazing rate.

Defoe knew that the discoveries of the Moderns were transforming society and opening up new horizons for his readers. In *The History of the Principal Discoveries* he took upon himself the task of stirring up their curiosity by an account of the advances made in earlier times. Furthermore, he intended to "kindle new Desires after the further Discoveries and Improvements which are still behind" (HD, vi). His subject, he says, is the "improvement in Commerce and Manufactures, discoveries in Art, Science, Navigation and Plantation" (HD, 196-197); he will also convince the reader that "What's yet discover'd, only serves to show/How little's known, to what there's yet to know" (HD, iv, 240).

In the course of the work, however, it becomes quite clear that despite his sweeping claims, the "discoveries" Defoe is interested in, the "Improvements" he wants to talk about, and the schemes for the future he will reveal are predominantly colonial discoveries, colonial improvements, and colonial projects. For the true subject of *The History of the Principal Discoveries* is the fruitful interaction of science, trade and empire, the material benefits accruing
from advances in navigation, commerce, scientific inventions, and the voyages of exploration. Viewing history as process, only temporarily impeded, he thinks, by the stasis of the Middle Ages, Defoe presents in this work his vision of a bountiful future, resulting from the mastery of unclaimed nature. The application of scientific knowledge is the key to such an enterprise, for it is the knowledge of the Moderns which is opening up the wider world for European domination.

Put this way, Defoe's vision in *The History of the Principal Discoveries* has a Baconian quality; it is Baconian in its celebration of progress through technology, its scornful dismissal of the knowledge of the Ancients, its implicit assumption that knowledge is the key to mastery over nature, and even its attempt at being a kind of history of some useful arts and sciences. This, however, may appear as too large a claim to make on behalf of a writer like Defoe, for he is not easily seen as a Baconian ideologue. For this reason we will postpone for the moment the study of *The History of the Principal Discoveries* as a Baconian text and will turn instead to a survey of Baconianism and its relationship to colonial discourse and Defoe's links to this tradition. As before, our interest is in the contexts of our text, the discursive nature of texts, and the dialectic between text and tradition.
II

A convenient place to begin this attempt to link Baconianism to colonial discourse is G.N. Clark's lucid discussion of the socio-economic context of technological improvement in the seventeenth century in his *Science and Social Welfare in the Age of Newton*:

There were men who, though not quite scientists, were enthusiasts for education and organized discovery, like John Amos Comenius and Samuel Hartlib. These belonged to a class of which the greatest was Bacon, and they were all carried forward by a great wave of adventuring hopefulness which we may trace back to the fifteenth century. The age believed in action; the world was its oyster. Pistol set out to open it with his sword, but there was active thought too, and there were many who plied their mathematical instruments with the same aggressive energy.2

Clark's objective is to single out the status of a group of men who believed in action and progress; not quite scientists, they applied themselves energetically to knowledge and discovery. These men were stimulated by the discoveries of the fifteenth century, the century which witnessed a renewed interest in the organized exploration of the earth's surface by the likes of Bartholmew Dias, Christopher Columbus, John Cabot, Vasco de Gama, and Amerigo Vespucci. The same mixture of optimism, "active thought", and "aggressive energy" went
into the projects of Bacon and his successors, whose energetic application of knowledge would yield them power over nature.

The links between knowledge and power, between scientific/geographic discoveries and dominion over unclaimed nature, Baconianism and colonization, come clearly into focus in Aphorism CXXIX of the First Book of Bacon's *Novum Organum*:

Again, it is well to observe the force and virtue and consequences of discoveries; and these are to be seen nowhere more conspicuously than in those three which were unknown to the ancients, and of which the origin, though recent, is obscure and inglorious; namely, printing, gunpowder, and the magnet. For these three have changed the whole face and state of things throughout the world; the first in literature, the second in warfare, the third in navigation; whence have followed innumerable changes; insomuch that no empire, no sect, no star seems to have exerted greater power and influence in human affairs than these mechanical discoveries.

Further, it will not be amiss to distinguish the three kinds and as it were grades of ambition in mankind. The first is those who desire to extend their own power in their native country; which kind is vulgar and degenerate. The second is of those who labour to extend the power of their country and its dominion among men. This certainly has more dignity, though not less covetousness. But if a man endeavour to establish and extend the power and dominion of the human race itself over the universe, his ambition (if ambition it can be called) is without doubt both a more wholesome thing and a more noble than the other two. Now the empire of man over things depends wholly on the arts and sciences. For we cannot command nature except by obeying her.
These paragraphs are seminal because of the clarity and the conviction with which they state Bacon's basic thesis: mechanical discoveries are transforming the condition of human life by extending man's power over nature. Consequently, science should be pursued not out of self-interest but for social amelioration. This Baconian ethic of scientific research sanctioned, with some reservations, the doctrine of national power through empire, while embracing whole-heartedly a more direct involvement with nature. Finally, the dominion of man over nature and his empire over things depended on the successful application of knowledge.

Bacon reacts imaginatively to the geographical discoveries of his age as well as to purely mechanical discoveries. He scoffs at the travels of Democritus, Plato and Pythagorus and compares them to recent discoveries in the new world whereby "our stock of experience has increased to an infinite amount." He likens his speculations in the Novum Organum to Columbus's before he embarked on his voyage across the Atlantic, speculations which were "the causes and beginnings of great events." He enlists in his aid Biblical prophecy to advocate the expansion of man's dominion over unclaimed nature and to link the advancement of knowledge with the appropriation of the New World:

Nor should the prophecy of Daniel be forgotten touching the last ages of the world: - "Many shall
go to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased;" clearly intimating that the thorough passage of the world (which now by so many distant voyages seems to be accomplished, or in course of accomplishment), and the advancement of the sciences, are destined by fate, that is, by Divine Providence, to meet in the same age.

For Bacon, there is a dialectic of reinforcement by which "the breath of hope which blows on us from that New Continent" will stimulate men to further discoveries.

Knowledge for Bacon, then, is not a meditation of the known but an exploration of the unknown, a discovery of uncharted lands. Among the most ubiquitous tropes of the Novum Organum is that of discovery; the word itself is used for both scientific and geographic discovery. A similar inclusiveness characterizes Bacon's use of the word "empire"; empire over things includes political domination. It is precisely the ambiguities in Bacon's use of these words which allowed later writers to apply them in strictly colonial contexts.

That Bacon was interested in organized discovery on behalf of an English empire comes out clearly in his non-scientific works. Howard B. White has analyzed these works and has discussed Bacon's theory of empire in Peace Among the Willows. White observes that "Baconian imperialism was a naval imperialism;" for it was Bacon's belief that England's island situation necessitated a strong fleet and acquisition
more "of remote than of contiguous territories." Focussing on Bacon's discussion of geographical problems in "The True Greatness of the Kingdom of Britain", White notes that it is Bacon's contention that colonies should be established which could be held "without too great a struggle" and through a constant supply of people. Naval supremacy was thus essential as was the constant search for profitable colonies. It is certainly because of the great importance Bacon attached to the conquest of the ocean that item 120 of Bacon's "Catalogue of Particular Histories" in his projected History of Trade is "the History of the Art of Navigation and of the crafts and arts thereto belonging."

Another Baconian essay, "Of Plantations", spells out in detail the practical aspects of his program for empire. Here, though he recognizes the need for "speedy Profits", he urges long term investment for greater rewards. Only skillful people, and not vagabonds, are to be transported. Careful observation is to be made of the vegetation and the products of the land are to be diligently cultivated. His attention to detail is notable; not only does he direct his readers to plant what is essential to a plantation, but he also advises them on what must be imported, where the plantation is to be founded, what sort of administrators are needed, how the natives are to be treated, and so on.

A final aspect of Baconian imperial policy, also noted
by White, must be discussed because of its importance in English colonial discourse. In his essay, "Of Empire", Bacon develops the notion of what White calls "an apprehensive war". To put it bluntly, the doctrines of national greatness and necessity were just causes of war, and since expansion in Europe was neither necessary nor just, Britain had to expand its dominion through colonial wars. Spanish territory in the Americas and Turkish possessions were thus the most likely targets of an expansionist policy; the hostility of these nations was all the more reason for attack.

Bacon's response to the opening up of the New World was thus complex. It filled him with hope and stimulated him into framing a program whose goal was to extend man's dominion over nature through the application of knowledge. It caused him to formulate an imperial policy which would contribute to national greatness and prosperity. It also led him to fiction -- for his fable of *New Atlantis* is a final imaginative response to the great discoveries.

The description in the Prologue of *New Atlantis* of the voyage of a European ship from Peru into the uncharted South Seas is an obvious example of Bacon's use of the literature of voyaging. Like many others of his century he was interested in the region and wondered aloud "whether there [were] any Southern Continents or only islands and the like." In all probability, Bacon's vision of an island utopia was
influenced by the imaginative and enthusiastic accounts of the region. His account of a ship blown from its course to the island after the sailor's supplication to a God "who sheweth his wonders in the deep" was meant to be instructive, but there was also the feeling that undiscovered parts of the South Seas "might have islands or continents, that hitherto were not come to light." The narrator's description of the riches of the island -- its wholesome drinks, fruits, gold, and silver -- was also in accord with the speculations in contemporary literature about the wealth of these islands. The essentially Baconian cluster of knowledge, conquest of space, and empire come together in the comment made by the Father of Salomon's house that the objective of the institution was "the knowledge of Causes, and secret motion of things; and the enlarging of the bounds of Human Empire, to the effecting of all things possible."9

Bacon's influence after his death can be seen in parallel movements. His thought stimulated the growth of experimental philosophy and fostered a spirit of cooperation among men whom we would not now hesitate to call scientists; on the other hand, Baconianism affected men who were primarily propagandists for social reform and interested mainly in applying the new knowledge for the efficient utilization of the world's resources. The first group found one of its most able exponents in Robert Boyle; the second included men
like Samuel Hartlib and his associates, men whom one historian has classified as proponents of "vulgar Baconianism", since "they had abandoned Bacon's 'experiments of light' for inflamed apocalyptic speculations, his 'experiments of fruit' for the uncontrolled elaboration of gadgets." There were, of course, several links between the two groups; for example, Boyle was a disciple of Hartlib, and what is more to our purpose, both groups were actively engaged in colonial activity.

In Robert Boyle and the English Revolution, J.R. Jacob has pointed out how Boyle and the Royal Society upheld an aggressive, acquisitive, and imperialistic ideology and how the new experimental philosophy was utilized early in the efficient exploitation of colonial resources. As Jacob puts it: "Even before it was incorporated in 1662, the Royal Society was encouraged by the king to survey the riches of the empire. And after it received its royal charter it spent much of its time attempting to promote industry, empire and trade." Thomas Sprat's History of the Royal Society records this aspect of the Society's activities. In his "Epistle Dedicatory", Sprat cites the honor accorded to the "authors of Natural Discoveries" even in Antiquity over speculative philosophers and martial heroes. As in Bacon, the word "discovery" embraces the discovery of new worlds, and among the discoverers praised are those who "find out
new colonies." Cowley's Ode, prefixed to Sprat's history, emphasizes the colonizing mission of the Society: "From you, great Champions, we expect to get/Those spacious Countries not discover'd yet." In the text itself, Sprat reintroduces the Baconian program of establishing "Dominion over things" and reminds his readers of the opportunity lost to English discovery when Columbus was forced to turn away from an English court which lacked confidence in his project for new discoveries. Sprat reproduces in his text several examples of information collected by the new Baconian empiricists from distant regions in accordance with the directions of the Royal Society. His *History of the Royal Society* also reflects the confidence of men of his generation that "human art" and "diligence" would reveal "new creatures, minerals, plants, Handicrafts, since this has always been the case with new Discoveries." The scope of the Society's activities, in Sprat's view, should be extended to include the whole globe, for he is confident "that the Discovery of another New World is still behind." Sprat concludes that once America is colonized by Europe, "either by a Free Trade, or by Conquest, or by any other Revolution in its Civil Affairs, America will appear quite a new thing to us and may furnish us with an abundance of Rarities." He demonstrates how the society could assist in overseas plantations; for example, he theorizes how "transplanting out of
one Land into another" useful plants and animals would contribute to economic self-sufficiency.12

Although Sprat himself was no scientist, his record of the ideals and activities of the Society reveals the imperialistic aspect of "High" Baconianism. Another clerical apologist for the new science, and one who was somewhat more scientifically inclined, was Joseph Glanvill. His Plus Ultra; or, the Progress and Advancement of Knowledge Since the Days of Aristotle (1668) was meant to supplement Sprat's History and celebrate the purely scientific contributions of Boyle and his fellow scientists. Glanvill's polemical intention is to celebrate the discoveries of the Moderns, and to focus attention on the future. As much as Bacon, he resorts to the Scriptures to draw attention to "an inexhaustible variety of Treasure which Providence hath lodged in Things, that to the Worlds end will afford fresh Discoveries" for those who "go down to see His wonders in the deep." Like Bacon, he makes the same connection between scientific discovery and empire when he reminds his readers how "one Experiment discovered to us the vast America." Like Bacon, Glanvill relishes the contrast between the restricted travels of the Ancients and the distant voyages of the Moderns: "But it hath been the happy privilege of later Days to find the Way to apply the wonderful Vertues of the Loadstone to Navigation; and by the Direction of the Compass we securely
commit ourselves to the immense Ocean..."13

Glanvill devotes two chapters to discuss specifically the contributions made by Boyle. The second of these chapters draws on the latter's unpublished writings to offer a complete account of Boyle's scientific intentions. This includes a scheme for empire, as the following passage shows:

Another section of the Usefulness of Experimental Philosophy, as to the Empire of Man over inferior Creatures; where he intends to premise some general Considerations about the Means whereby Experimental Philosophy may become useful to Human Life; proceeding thence to shew, That the Empire of Man may be promoted by the Naturalists skill in Chymistry, by his skill in Mechanicks, or by the Application of Mathematicks, both pure and mixt: That the Goods of Mankind may be much increased by the Naturalist's insight into Trades; That the Naturalist may much Advantage men, by exciting and assisting their curiosity to discover, take notice, and make use of the home-bred Riches and Advantages of particular Countries, and to increase their number, by transforming thither those of others....14

Familiar Baconian dicta like the utilitarian nature of the new philosophy, the Empire of Man and its extension through experimental philosophy here mingle with a clear mercantile-imperial purpose: the naturalist could contribute to a country's wealth by assisting those involved in colonial trade and administration. His knowledge, in other words, is useful to colonial enterprise.
Boyle and his Royal Society associates, however, were not content merely to theorize on behalf of the new science for colonial activity. A key aspect of Baconianism, after all, was the welding of theory and practice for the extension of western man's empire. True to this conception, Boyle worked as an energetic member of the Council for Foreign Plantations which, along with the Council of Trade, "was to make policy for and oversee the administration of the English colonies in the West Indies and North America."\(^{15}\)

The Royal Society recruited seventeenth-century voyagers to its scientific projects and gave them guidelines for the accurate collection of facts about distant lands. These projects had very worldly goals, as is indicated by the Royal Society *Transactions* note on accounts of voyages:

> The present Collection reaching to the most distant Parts of the Southern and Northern Regions of the Globe and being performed by skillful Navigators, and Faithful Observers, must needs Contain many uncommon and useful things upon most of the Heads of Natural and Mathematical Sciences, as well as Trade and other Profitable knowledge, which contributed to the enlarging of the Mind and Empire of Man.\(^{16}\)

Scholarly scientific discourse is here allying itself with the European search for markets and empires. Science, trade, and empire are again combined, and there is the same linkage of cognitive and political imperialism. That the travellers
took the Society's directions seriously is shown in Dampier's *A New Voyage Round the World*, a work dedicated to the President of the Royal Society and containing scientific records of natural phenomena and the produce of the New World.

If Boyle and the practitioners of "High" Baconianism were actively involved in colonial discourse, Hartlib and his group of "Vulgar" Baconians were not lagging far behind in their contribution to it. They too believed in extending man's dominion over nature and furthering the cause of Empire through knowledge and organized discovery. In his magisterial survey of the scientific, medical and social ideas of the English Puritans, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform, 1626-1660*, Charles Webster has discussed at length how colonial ventures "increasingly absorbed the puritanic imagination" and how the Puritans, like Bacon, linked the Scriptual "running to and fro" and the "increase of knowledge" of Daniel to "the opening up and exploitation of the New World."17 In a sense, of course, the Puritans were reviving the interest in colonies of earlier intellectuals like Ralegh; but such Baconian premises as a pronounced anti-scholasticism, a clear commitment to experimental philosophy for its possibilities for social improvement, and the importance of collaborative effort gave a distinctive character to this generation of colonial enthus-
Macaria (1641), a utopian work, printed anonymously, but very self-consciously in the tradition of Bacon's New Atlantis, and almost certainly a product of the Hartlib circle, shows the important shift in emphasis in the colonial schemes of the "vulgar" Baconians. In this dialogue between a traveller and a scholar, addressed to social reformers in general and parliament in particular, the projects discussed include the Council of Trade and the Council for New Plantations:

In the Council of Trade by Sea there is established a law, that all Traffick is lawfull which may enrich the kingdom.
In the Council for new Plantations there is established a law, that every yeare a certaine number shall be sent out, strongly fortified, and provided for at the publicke charge, till such times as they may subsist by their own endeavours; and this number is set downe by the said Council, wherein they take diligent notice of the surplusage of people that may be spared.18

This has a distinctively economic edge; the utopia of the Puritans is the product of the new knowledge applied to social and practical concerns. There is a movement away from descriptive natural history or predominantly scientific concerns to rational economic organization. In a parallel movement, these Baconians moved away from scientific histories of trade to more general economic histories and pro-
jects.

A key text in this respect, one which "succinctly placed Baconian science in its wider economic and ideologi­cal context" and typifies the approach to colonies of the "vulgar" Baconians, is Benjamin Worsley's Profits Humbly Presented to this Kingdom. Worsley believed fervently in the importance of saltpetre as a fertilizer and had devised a new process for its manufacture. Worsley begins his tract with scientific considerations -- he will exhibit a way of producing saltpetre in abundance -- but soon moves on to economic considerations. Using the idiom of the projector, he spells out the benefits to be derived from his scheme. This includes more colonies and more plantations since salt­petre could be used more effectively in a tropical environ­ment by England's surplus population. Such Baconian preoc­cupations as the use of the new science for social ameliora­tion, "the enlargement of Dominions," and the pursuit of new discoveries are now placed in a specifically colonial con­text.

As was the case with the "High" Baconians, Hartlib's circle involved itself in the practical as well as the theoretical aspects of empire. In The Great Instauration, Webster has shown how the formation of the Council of Trade in 1650 was affected by the views of Worsley and his associ­ates. The members of the Council included many of Hartlib's
supporters and Worsley himself was appointed the Secretary of the Council. Worsley was also involved in the formulation of the Navigation Act of 1651 which anticipated many other acts designed to control colonial trade and shipping.

The "vulgar" Baconians were thus involved in English colonial enterprise, both as ideologues interested in the use of the new science for social improvement and as policy makers involved in the efficient utilization of colonial resources. Worsley's text also shows how a scientific scheme can give way to a projector's concern; the attempt to write a scientific tract yields to the proselyte's imaginative, sweeping claims on behalf of colonization.

III

The crucial link between the Baconians and Defoe is the Dissenting Academy in Newington Green where he studied. Its founder, Charles Morton, was a Puritan educational reformer who carried on the projects and values of the Puritan Revolution and inculcated in his students the values of Hartlib and his circle. He was a man of pronounced scientific interests and something of a projector; his proposal for the use of sea-sand as manure was a typically utilitarian attempt to enlist scientific knowledge for social improvement. Among his legacies to Defoe was a copy of the *Compendium Physicae*,...
a book which "shows an extensive range of familiarity with the best and latest scientific knowledge of the period."\textsuperscript{20}

Defoe's *The Compleat English Gentleman* records imaginatively the importance he assigned to the education in the sciences that he had received in Morton's Academy. His ideal English gentleman has "treasur'd up a mass of experiments of the nicest nature" and has "the Phylosophic Transactions almost by heart" (CEG, 142). In Astronomy he is so proficient as to be perfectly at home among the planets. The "Compleat Gentleman" feels that since science is "a publick blessing to mankind" it ought, like "sacred knowledge, [to] spread over the whole earth, as the nations cover the sea" (CEG, 198). The ideal tutor teaches his pupils the works of John Keill, Newton and others, and is proficient in Natural and Experimental Philosophy. To Defoe, "experimental as well as natural philosophy" is the most "agreeable as well as profitable study in the world" and fit for the most gifted members of the human race (CEG, 228). Like Bacon and the Baconians, he celebrates the inventions of the magnet, the compass, and geographical discoveries.

It is clear, though, that Defoe, despite his knowledge of science, was interested in it like the Baconians of the 'Hartlib' circle only insofar as it could be applied to social amelioration. Indeed, Defoe vulgarizes the Baconian ideal even further than the Worsleys and consciously stakes
a claim for this tradition. This comes out clearly in his first major success, *An Essay Upon Projects* (1697). Defoe declares in it that "new Discoveries in Trade, in Arts and Mysteries, of Manufacturing Goods, or Improvement of Land" were as important as any discovery made by "all the Academies and Royal Societies in the World" (EP, 15). Consequently, improvements in the engine of warfare, the lode-stone and even the recent innovation of the Penny-Post get honorable mention. Indeed, so great is Defoe's enthusiasm for schemes of public improvement that his concern with what we now call science seems even more remote than the puritan reformer's of the seventeenth century. Similarly, it often becomes almost impossible to acknowledge Defoe's enthusiasm for colonial discoveries as related to his interest in science and scientific discoveries.

Occasionally, and in the most startling manner, we do become conscious of how deeply embedded Defoe's attitudes are in seventeenth-century science, and how curiously they come out in his colonial writings. Some convenient examples can be culled from *Robinson Crusoe*: the hero learns to adapt to his island environment by adopting the scientific approach, "...by stating and squaring every thing by Reason, and by making the most rational Judgment of things, every Man may be in time Master of every mechanick Art" (RC, 68). Later, while meditating on what course to take "to know the
Vertue and Goodness of any of the Fruits or Plants which I should discover," Crusoe regrets that he had made "so little Observation" while in Brazil (RC, 99). He soon learns, however, to observe and record with the eye of the naturalist, as his description of the seasons in his island (RC, 106), and his accounts of its flora and fauna suggest (RC, 109).

Nevertheless, it is in The History of the Principal Discoveries that Defoe made his only sustained attempt to link himself with the new science. In doing so, and in mixing science, trade, and empire, in assuming a millenial stance, in advocating a return of man's dominion over unclaimed nature, in stressing the increase of national power through science and technology, in his belief that the Europeans needed to rise to the opportunities offered them by the Age of Discovery, Defoe was writing a Baconian text, albeit a "vulgar" one. Now that we have provided the context of our text, it is to it that we must turn.

IV

Like the Baconians, Defoe defines knowledge in The History of the Principal Discoveries in essentially utilitarian, imperialistic terms. His interest is in "useful knowledge" which has contributed to "the good of mankind" and this is going to direct his history of useful discoveries
It is his hope that many of these now forgotten discoveries may be "profitably reviv'd" (HD, vi). The gradual improvement of the world through discoveries deserves a history because without such knowledge several fertile countries cannot be reclaimed and replanted, countries "which would abundantly satisfy as well our ambition, as our avarice by their Product and Capacity of further Improvement" (HD, 4).

A pervasive assumption of Defoe's History of the Principal Discoveries is that by applying knowledge men could command nature and shape the world to meet their needs. In a literal as well as imaginative sense, men's empire could be extended through an active search into nature's secrets. Knowledge, in other words, is seen as strength, as in the case of the Carthaginians, a nation Defoe glorifies, whose skills in navigation gave them an advantage in colonial power over the Romans: "the improvement of their Navigation was an improvement to their Power, and extended their Empire wherever their ships would come" (HD, 43). This is one of the reasons why the first two parts of the work return obsessively to the achievements of the Phoenicians and their successors, the Carthaginians: through "their eager desire to improve in knowledge" they increased in power, thereby becoming a perpetual source of inspiration to Defoe (HD, 74).
Defoe retains the millenial, scriptural framework of the Baconians. We have already seen how Bacon enlisted Biblical prophecy in the cause of discovery by quoting from Daniel and how Glanvill returned to the Bible to link schemes for overseas exploration with God's design for the universe. Like them, Defoe sees the pursuit of discoveries as part of man's mission on earth. God delivered the globe to man as a "Universal Blank" which would yield its treasures only after "further enquiry" (HD, 1). He asked men to "people it, and spread a numerous race upon it." God schemed so that "all the intrinsick Wealth which Heaven furnished the Globe with [could] be found out and made use of" (HD, 6). Biblical history provided examples of the colonizing and planting of the world by Noah's descendants. The Phoenicians had followed the dictates of their Maker -- "to replenish the earth" (HD, 80). But it was only in recent years, and according to God's designs, that man was in a position to fulfil Biblical prophecy and possess the world through the great discoveries. It is obvious to Defoe that "Heaven has open'd these Treasures of Wisdom and knowlege to the world" for the benefit of trade, commerce, and colonization (HD, 306). Typically, the spread of knowledge is equated with the spread of the European all over the world; it is amazing for him to see how "they took the Alarm almost all together, preparing themselves as it were on a sudden, or by a general
Possession or rather Inspiration to spread Knowledge through the Earth..." (HD, 237).

The belief that human history forms a movement towards a desirable future which could be achieved through the application of knowledge in the cause of discoveries also links Defoe to the Baconians. Science in his view has been contributing more to human welfare in his age than ever before; advances in mathematics, astronomy and navigation have transformed the condition of man's existence on the earth. He is confident, however, of advances in future ages which will make those of his own age obsolete. Repeatedly, he expresses his confidence in the discovery of another new world; the only barrier to such a discovery was the establishment of an exact method of determining longitude. Already, the fact that the "Northern Nations" had been placed in a position of superiority which allowed them to "despise the rest of the world" who were ignorant of the discoveries of his age confirmed to him the power of knowledge to work wonders in this life (HD, 305).

The rapid advances made in navigation since the Middle Ages and the consequences they had in changing the world exemplify the power of discoveries. As was the case with Bacon and the Baconians, Defoe is aware that the extension of the European's empire depends on control of the high seas. Defoe thus attempts to write, however unsystematically
and inadequately, a history of navigation. He points out that very little had been accomplished in developing navigation till the modern era when the discovery of the loadstone revolutionized this branch of the useful arts. Characteristically, he feels that it was heaven's design to keep the techniques of mathematical navigation for his age (HD, 119). He is quick to point out how the prosperity of Venice, Germany, Spain, Portugal, Holland, and England depended on the improvements made in navigation (HD, 231).

Defoe gives full credit to Copernicus as the herald of the new age; he discusses Copernicus' contribution and that of Tyco Brahe and emphasizes the central importance of the telescope in the discovery of the new world. He declares that between 1400 and 1600 "almost all the great and most illustrious Improvements in the sublimest parts of knowledge have been found out, or at least extended in these parts of the World" (HD, 227). These include the discovery of printing, the compass, the improvements made in "the art of warfare", and, of course, the discoveries made in the new world. Quite as much as Bacon and the Baconians, Defoe's imagination responds fully to these discoveries; they fill his mind with schemes for the appropriation of the resources of the world for the benefit of man. He is amazed at the differences they have made for man's future and the rapid strides man has been able to take through them.
In other words, Defoe speaks as a Modern taking up a well-defined position in the controversy which had erupted since the Renaissance. Apart from the enterprising, colonizing Phoenicians and the Carthaginians, Defoe has very little praise for ancient civilizations. In his belittling of the achievements of the Ancients and his dismissal of the philosophy of the schoolmen, Defoe is again quite Baconian. For the Moderns are not only heirs to whatever learning the Ancients possessed but also equipped with knowledge and mechanical aids which had given them immense advantages in their bid to restore man's dominion over nature.

Defoe cannot resist mocking the knowledge of the Ancients, as when he proves how small St. Paul's "Very great Vessel" described in Acts really was (HD, 37); or when he dismisses the belief of Seneca, Vergil, Juvenal and other Ancients that Thule was the limit of the world (HD, 38). Like Bacon, he is condescending in his reference to ancient travels; the Roman sea-trade with India, for example, is dismissed as no more honorable than what a contemporary "would boldly attempt at any time in a Gravesend wherry" (HD, 81). With their maps and charts and other navigational aids, the Moderns have made "such vast conquests and Discoveries as no History can parallel; not all the rapid Conquests of Alexander the Great, or of Cyrus before him; not Julius Caesar with his boasted motto veni, vidi, vici
ever came up to the conquering Army of Cortez and Pizarro" (HD, 273). At times, it is true, he will give credit to the Ancients for their knowledge in Astronomy and their courage, but more often than not, he dismisses the trade, commerce, sciences, and education of "Dull Antiquity" (HD, 76).

As with the Baconians, science, trade, and empire are closely linked in Defoe's world-view. The Phoenicians illustrate ideally how the three can be inter-related: "their Correspondence necessarily begat Trade, Trade begat Navigation, Navigation by making Discoveries begat Plantations, and remote Plantations again increas'd Correspondence" (HD, 80). Adopting the anti-heroic view characteristic of Puritans, Defoe dismisses the achievements of the Greeks and the Romans. As far as he is concerned, Alexander the Great or the Roman conquerors showed no interest in colonization, conquering only for the sake of conquest. They are, therefore, treated coolly by Defoe. Thus Caesar's conquest of the North of Europe is slighted since it is not "a discovery of Commerce but a mere possession by Armies for Conquests" (HD, 169). The Portugese, on the other hand, had demonstrated recently the profitability, and thus the desirability, of a link between organized discovery, commerce, and colonies.

Defoe's admiration for profitable knowledge, for knowledge which led to mastery over nature, his confidence in progress through trade and organized discovery, his admira-
tion for the Moderns and contempt for the Ancients, all come together in this very rhetorical passage of The History of the Principal Discoveries:

What was the World before? And to what were the Heads and Hands of Mankind apply'd? The Rich had no Commerce, the Poor no Employment; War and the Sword was the great Field of Honour, and the Stage of Preferment; and you have scarce a Man eminent in the World for any thing before that Time, but for a furious outrageous falling upon his fellow Creatures, like Nimrod and his Successors of modern Fame.

Where were the Men that arriv'd to Characters, to Fame, and to Distinction, by Trade, by the Mathematicks, by the knowledge of natural or experimental Philosophy? Where was the Sir Walter Raleighs, the Verulams, the Boyls, or Newtons of those Ages? Nature being not enquir'd into, discover'd none of her secrets to them, they neither knew, or sought to know, what now is the Fountain of all human knowledge, and the great Mistery for the wisest Man to search into, I mean Nature (HD, 238-239).

In addition to its Baconian assumptions, and the explicit allusion to Bacon, the passage is significant because it reveals Defoe's admiration for the restless, curious, active discoverer who will pry into nature's secret to make it his own. The History of the Principal Discoveries thus celebrates Noah as the first planter, the Carthaginian general Hanno as the Ralegh of his generation eager to pursue new discoveries, Copernicus and Tyco Brahe for their contribution to Astronomy, the navigational skills of Columbus and Diaz, the colonizing expeditions of Cortez and Pizarro, and
the works of Roger Bacon and Boyle on magnetism. (Defoe's work includes a nine page summary of Boyle's works on magnetic properties).

A related but curious feature of the work is Defoe's praise for mythic and legendary dabblers into nature's secrets and his explanation of their mythic or legendary status. Daedalus, for example, is discussed as a great pioneer in navigation who devised canvas wings for flight by observing the movement of birds. Prometheus is described as "eaten up or consum'd with an eager desire for knowledge" through the observation of the stars. This obsession, according to Defoe, led to exposure and eventually death (HD, 82). The weight on Atlas' shoulder is explained as the great burden imposed on him of directing human government because of his "great knowledge of Astronomy, and his great Wisdom". Solomon's wisdom -- exemplary for Bacon and his followers -- is emphasized, though his inability to find a shipping route to the Indies is treated as a sign of the limitation of his knowledge. Defoe also laments the fate of Dr. Faustus, Friar Bacon and some other Moderns, those "more than ordinary intimate searchers into nature" with "a stock of knowledge" so superior to their contemporaries that they were inevitably misunderstood and mistreated (HD, 304).

Defoe is not content, however, merely to praise other men for their discoveries and contributions to the extension
of man's empire; he puts himself in their tradition and offers his own schemes for consideration. Just as the *Historical Account of the Voyages and Adventures of Sir Walter Raleigh* was not meant to be a "meer Biography", the *History of the Principal Discoveries* was not designed to be a mere record of the discoveries made by other men. Ever the projector interested in the efficient utilization of the world's resources, Defoe details his own projects for his readers. As with the schemes of Hartlib and his friends, the utilitarian spirit mixes in him with the scientific; this results in proposals that are not easily seen as scientific.

Defoe first offers his "Schemes of Improvement" to his readers in his Preface. They include:

(i) The discovery of several parts of the world, and passage to them, which have not yet been known.

(ii) The further discovery of such parts as yet, but imperfectly known.

(iii) The better improving, as well the Soil as the Commerce of those Countries which are fully known and Discovered.

(iv) The discovering several branches of Commerce not yet known, or meddled with in the World.

(v) The extending our present Commerce in several parts of the Known World, where it has not yet been practis'd (HD, viii).

It comes as no surprise to us that Defoe's proposals are mostly colonial in nature or that he has moved away from
scientific to commercial considerations. Like Worsley in *Profits Humbly Presented to this Kingdom*, Defoe, in assuming the projector's idiom, places his attitude to discoveries in a wider economic and ideological context. As an "expert" in history, organized discovery, the applied sciences, and geography, he will offer his utilitarian schemes to an audience interested in translating them into reality.

In effect, Defoe's "Schemes of Improvement" involve two different projects. The first of these is concocted out of his reading of African history and his speculations about the African Continent. Basing his assumptions on Biblical history and Ralegh's *History of the World*, Defoe creates an Africa of immense, unexploited riches. The rich African trade of the Phoenicians and the flourishing Carthaginian empire encourage him to believe that a return to prosperity in these regions through efficient exploitation was desirable. Though Carthage was destroyed and North Africa reduced to a barren desert, Defoe has a vision of a rejuvenated African trade and flourishing European colonies in the region. The only way to exploit the riches of Africa was to put it "into the possession of the diligent industrious nations of Europe, who were noble, and had a genius apt to cultivate the Soil, and raise the Product in the same height, which it may be, and has been" (HD, 112). This involved the expulsion of its present inhabitants, Muslims,
who everywhere "laid the World waste [rather] than cultivated and improv'd it" (HD, 134).

Chapter XII of *The History of the Principal Discoveries* offers a rationale and a program for the conquest of Africa. Bacon's doctrine of "an apprehensive war" now reappears in a specifically imperial context. Since the present inhabitants of Africa are not only "Enemies to God, and to the Christian Religion but Enemies to Mankind," since as pirates and tyrants they oppress their neighbors and Christian subjects, and since they abuse Commerce (HD, 137), they should be overwhelmed and driven out by a powerful pan-European army. Such an expedient would protect their neighbors from their raids. Also, such an "Experiment" would bring profit as well as glory. Defoe anticipates objections to his schemes; for example, the danger of the victors fighting over their spoils can be avoided by his detailed scheme of war where every nation would attack and profit from a specific part of Africa. As he puts it: "Africa is so large in its extent, and the Country on the Coast everywhere so good that there is enough to satisfy every Pretender, and let every one keep what they conquer" (HD, 153).

The second of Defoe's two "schemes of Improvement" is a plan for the colonization of the southernmost part of South America. Defoe's interest in the region is well-known and
has been discussed by many scholars; here we can note that following Ralegh's conjectural approach to Guiana, Defoe assumes vast, unclaimed but rich regions which would be ideal for planting. He opines that such a remote region, properly secured, peopled, and supplied could be defended easily and would soon repay the effort and the investment handsomely. Unlike the African proposal, this one is meant specifically for his English readers; Defoe is confident that organized management and exploitation would make a colony in Patagonia ideal for the English colonizing spirit. Chapter XXII of *The History of the Principal Discoveries* offers a detailed proposal for a new settlement in South America. Based mostly on Sir John Narborough's description of this region and his own fertile imagination, Defoe creates the picture of a land of great potential. He lists the advantages to be had from such a colony and concludes in the manner of the confident speculator: "If any man enquires after the prospects of future Improvement promis'd in this work, let him take this for one" (HD, 297).

Though these are the only two projects discussed by Defoe in *The History of the Principal Discoveries*, he assures his reader that he has planned to take up the question of other improvements to be made in the future, especially of the most profitable Ethiopian commerce, in another work. He is confident that with the new aids to knowledge
man will continue to discover new worlds and expand his trade and empire. As he puts it in his conclusion: "There are no doubt new Countries and Lands yet to be planted, which was never discover'd or planted before; and which is still worth our consideration those already Planted are capable of new Improvements and farther Planting" (HD, 306). Before concluding, however, he cannot resist a final proposal which will demonstrate his "scientific" approach to empire. This proposal, rather like Sprat's comments on transplanting, is based on the assumption that a precious item like coffee, now obtainable only at great cost from the Arabian Gulf, could be profitably planted in the West Indies, the mouth of the Rio Grande, or Sierra Leone, places which were in the same lattitude as the coffee-growing regions of Asia. Defoe is entirely scientific, reasonable and confident about his proposal: "Let the Experiments be made and the Negative prov'd, and then indeed no Man will oppose it; for Demonstration puts an end to all Arguments; but till then we must be allow'd to judge as Reason and the nature of Things direct us" (HD, 307).

V

As befits a historian of the discoveries occasioned by the new approach to knowledge, Defoe constantly invokes
reason and emphasizes the rational nature of his assumptions and historical method. He will offer no schemes which have "neither probability of success" nor "rational foundation" (HD, vii); he is conscious of the fact that "Reason and Necessity" are the "allowed Parents of all new discoveries" (HD, 54). What is reasonable and necessary must also be profitable; thus his scheme to send a formidable European fleet to destroy the Africans must be considered cheap, honorable "and indeed reasonable" (HD, 150).

Related to these repeated assertions of the rationality of his schemes are Defoe's reminders that his meanderings through history are ultimately methodical. He intends to be analytical; the subject of his inquiry is the "How", "by what steps", "when", and "by whom" (HD, 2). Consequently, he will begin at the beginning and move selectively through recorded history till he will bring the reader to the present and prospects of future glory. If he dwells on the past at any one point it is not because he is interested in history for history's sake, but because the study of what has been must lead to what may be (HD, 100). Throughout The History of the Principal Discoveries Defoe reminds us that he is following a careful plan, focussing on what is important and promised by his title and omitting what is irrelevant. Always, he leads us to believe, his course is dictated by the usefulness of his subject to the present.
Defoe also tries to assure us of the reasonableness of his undertaking and the soundness of his method by a continuous display of learning. Always rankled by the doubts cast by his detractors about his knowledge, he repeats at one point one of his most cherished beliefs -- and one which reappears in *The Compleat English Gentleman* -- that the true scholar is not one who studies only the Classics but one who knows the contemporary European languages, astronomy, geography, mathematics, trade, engineering, navigation, and all the branches of history (HD, 215). As if to prove his point he parades his knowledge of most of these fields throughout the text.

Indeed, *The History of the Principal Discoveries* appears to be one of the more learned and allusive of Defoe's works. In addition to the frequent references made to the Bible and to Ralegh's *History of the World*, he refers to classical authors like Lucan, Tibellius, Claudian, Juvenal, Seneca, Strabo, and even catalogues the learned men of antiquity (HD, 216). Among English authors, he quotes from or mentions venerable authors like Camden, Milton and Rymer, but is not above quoting "a homely distich" when he feels the need of one (HD, 220). Often, his sources are not identified, as when he alludes to a "Learned Writer" to show how the first boat was floated (HD, 22), or refers to a French writer "whose name I cannot now recollect" to discuss Tyrian
surgical skills" (HD, 93), or cites the calculation of the "Best Authors" to give his estimate of the number of Africans to be overcome by his proposed expeditionary force (HD, 137). His sources for early explorers and exploration include the Bible and Ralegh, and for later discoveries Hakluyt, Neihoff, Texcera, Orleinna and Sir John Narborough. As befits a historian of scientific discoveries, he has also read the relevant scientific tracts. He alludes to the writer of _The History of Navigation and Commerce_, with whom he takes issue about the extent of Roman trade, the "Learned Author" of _Lexicon Technicum_, and "the Learned Mr. Boyle" (HD, 176, 250, 251). And where written sources have proved inadequate, he goes to unpublished ones. For example, he attempts to describe early vessels on the basis of illustrations which he has seen as well as writers he has read (HD, 36). On one occasion, he has even "consulted" the best shipwright there is, adding in parenthesis that he has "critically inquired," to find out how the Romans made their ships, though he has his doubts if they could really be called such (HD, 57)!

Defoe's display of learning, like his claims to rationality and method, however, cannot disguise the essentially idiosyncratic nature of his history. In dealing with the age of discoveries, and in striving to change people's minds about what they can do in the present to achieve a better
future, Defoe rewrites history and more or less ignores the deep past of classical antiquity and the economic life of Greece and Rome. As Manuel Schonhorn observes in his thought-provoking paper, "Defoe, the Language of Politics, and the Past," Defoe "has no parallel among his contemporaries in his wholesale dismissal of that attitude that sought any secure truth in the opinion of past ages," no respect for the accomplishments of classical civilization, and no use for custom and tradition. Such a radical denial of the past meant that he was ready to write his own version of it or to treat history to some extent as a form of fiction. Consequently, when he praises only a handful of nations for their colonizing activities before the modern period, or when he belittles the colonial and commercial successes of Greece or Rome, he does so not because he was ignorant, but because history does not serve his immediate aim: to show that progress throughout the ages can be equated with a dynamic, expansionist society which uses science, technology, and commerce for continual discoveries.

From Defoe's vantage point, past societies can be easily divided into two camps, those for and those against colonization and the exploitation of the world's resources. According to Defoe, Noah and his sons, the Phoenicians and the Carthaginians, and Western Europeans in recent times belong to the side of the progressives; the Greeks and the
Romans and the Middle Ages deserve contempt because they dabbled in unprofitable knowledge or because they conquered without colonizing. Large chunks of history, innumerable important discoveries, and the contributions of other races are ignored, dismissed, or glossed over. It is not that Defoe is unaware of them; rather, he chooses not to see whatever does not conform to his basic thesis or confirm his prejudices. Thus, he is conscious that many have opined that "almost all our nicest Discoveries were found out, and in practice in China before they were discover'd here" (HD, 226). But he dismisses such claims, for could it be rationally believed, for example, that "Powder could be known, and the force of it, and Nature not direct Man to fight with it" (HD, 226)?

Defoe's conjectural approach to historiography also contributes to the fictionalization of his text. Actually, a method which proposes to show what can be done solely on the basis of what was possible is bound to be speculative. At his most candid, Defoe is willing to concede that our "search into Antiquity" must be "imperfect" because of the gaps in our knowledge; what can be done though is "to deduce things from just originals" (HD, 305). But his originals themselves -- like Ralegh's history or the Bible -- are at times suspect as history while his deductions are always motivated by the theory that history must be of use
in the present. A good example, and one also meant to contribute to a contemporary controversy, is his thesis that America was first peopled by the Carthaginians, since it is "rational" that "a People wholly dedicated to search after new discoveries and boldly venturing into all Parts of the World for them" would also be the first to cross the ocean and settle in unknown lands (HD, 76). His portrait of the flourishing Carthaginian empire, with three thousand populous cities on the coast of Africa, and millions of citizens engaged in all sorts of productive labor is similarly motivated by his desire to present the region as ideal for recolonization.

Defoe, of course, was writing at a time when the "fictive" nature of history was more widely acknowledged and the imagination allowed considerable latitude. It is not surprising then that many fictive devices contribute to the imaginative nature of The History of the Principal Discoveries. His narrative stance, his mode of emplotment, and his use of language further characterize his history as a form of fiction.

Defoe's narrative stance, as outlined above, is that of the progressive, rational, commercial projector-historian looking at the past rationally, methodically, knowledgably. His actual point of view, however, is really arbitrary, unsystematic, and partial. Defoe sees in the past what he
wants to see in it; all his display of learning cannot hide his biases. Similarly, his claims to method are constantly undercut by his ideological imperatives. This can be seen in his discussion of Carthaginian trade and discoveries when, after "craving leave" from his readers, he suddenly shifts his attention to the present inhabitants of Africa and the reasons for expelling them (HD, 135). In another instance, Defoe proceeds to number the many improvements made in the art of warfare as something appropriate to his theme but abruptly changes his direction "in order to bring Things more Antient up to an even line of Time with them; and particularly to speak of the Discovery of unknown Countries, as well for Conquest as for Commerce" (HD, 231).

Though Defoe makes a perfunctory attempt to supply dates and provide a genealogy of the principal discoveries from time to time, his work is primarily plotted to reiterate his central thesis -- further colonial ventures are necessary for a progressive nation -- and highlight his age as on the threshold of a glorious future. The manner in which he presents his two projects indicates how he manipulates history for these purposes. As we have seen, The History of the Principal Discoveries was first published in four numbers; the first two climax in the proposal to conquer and settle North Africa and the second pair in the project to colonize South America. Within these numbers,
Defoe selects, organizes, distorts, and adapts history to lead us up to the proposals. The first number, for example, begins with a rapid survey of the dispersion of Noah's descendants after the Flood and then settles on the Phoenicians; it concludes with the picture of a thriving Carthage. The second more or less concentrates on the Carthaginian empire and ends with his scheme to revive its riches. The third glances over the "ruinous" condition of trade after the fall of Carthage and then discusses the major discoveries of the modern era, concluding that after such knowledge, limitless progress was possible. The fourth number continues this theme and after tracing the expansion made possible by the advances in navigation suggests that the crowning achievement would be the possession of Patagonia.

The fictive nature of Defoe's *The History of the Principal Discoveries* is most clear in his handling of language. Homely and commonplace metaphors, images drawn from diverse sources, and image patterns testify to the imaginative nature of his discourse. Defoe can thus borrow stock metaphors from the Ancient-Modern controversy to depict the Modern as standing on "the shoulder of three thousand years application" or depict the Ancients as ushering the Moderns to "the very door" of great discoveries (HD, iii). To the men who had survived the Flood, the world appeared as "a rough Diamond, that has its intricate Value
in itself, but the outside conceal'd the inside;" it was up

to them to polish it so that "its Lustre might reappear
again" (HD, 1). Cadmus, whom Defoe credits with a new method
of writing, is described as a "merchant" who trades with his
"Cargo of Learning" (HD, 85). Since according to Defoe,
commerce had been destroyed twice, once by Nebuchadnezzar,
and then by the Romans, it is compared to "a man running a
Race, who by some unhappy disaster, or mistake, has his
Ground to run all over again" (HD, 126). Elsewhere, in a
pessimistic section, commerce is imaged as "a Boat adrift
...and left as it were rolling upon the Water without a
Rudder" (HD, 153). Such an image is curiously appropriate to
a text dealing with the history of navigation, as is the
image of his account of the woollen trade when brought to
its "meridian height" (HD, 214). To attract the attention of
his readers, Defoe constantly resorts to human emotions and
experiences. The Portugese explorers, for instance, are
described as casting "many a wishful eye...upon the vast
extended Indian Ocean" before the invention of the compass
(HD, 250). But with it, they and other European nations can
find their way in remote regions "as directly as a Carrier's
Horse does his road, or as the Carrier himself does the Inn
he is to lodge at" (HD, 260).

An example of Defoe's use of image patterns in The
History of the Principal Discoveries is his use of animal
imagery in the discussion of North African history after the destruction of Carthage. Carthage, its colonies, and their inhabitants are likened to "infants thrown out to the wolf" because of the Roman conquest (HD, 25). After the Muslim conquests centuries later, the Africans turned into "a Generation of Drones", despising industry and thriving on robbery and piracy (HD, 134). The countryside then became a den for these rapacious creatures, "a kind of wild beasts infinitely more destructive to the world" than tigers and lions. These "Beast of Prey" lived on "the Spoil of their innocent and industrious neighbours" (HD, 137). They are consistently described as "wild beasts" and compared to "a Bear or a wolf" or "a swarm of locusts" who later spread over Spain (HD, 143, 149, 186). In contrast, the Christian victim is like that noble animal, the horse, "overwrought and not able to exert himself to the satisfaction of his cruel Driver;" consequently, he sinks and dies "under his load" (HD, 140). How deliberately Defoe is using animal imagery comes out clearly when, in the climactic part of this section, he anticipates his reader's "desire": "Curiosity now might lead the Reader to desire me to enter into particulars and to lay down a scheme how I would have them share this Bear-Skin" (HD, 150).

Finally, we must note a few of the many rhetorical devices in our text; for despite Defoe's claims to "plain
English" and "plain dealing" he was never wholly artless. He is, as always, aware of his audience; on one occasion he even tries to characterize it: "When I speak in the first personal Plural or Nationally, under the terms we, and us, I mean not England or Britain only, but as the trading nations of Europe taken completely" (HD, 201). He has designs on it and brings all his skills to work to move his reader. A very rhetorical passage where Defoe emphasizes the achievements of the Moderns when compared to the Ancients has already been quoted above (HD, 238), but there are other instances of his use of rhetorical devices. One other such passage occurs when he tries to work up the emotions of his readers through a series of rhetorical questions planned to emphasize the expenses incurred and the pain endured by the European nations because of the North African pirates (HD, 149). Very early in the text, when he is focussing on the beginning of commerce and navigation, he apostrophizes Tyre and its merchants for their success in trade, navigation, and colonization, climaxing the apostrophe with a quotation from Vergil (HD, 71). Another of his favourite devices to heighten the emotional effect is parallelism; he uses it, for example, in his Preface to emphasize the many discoveries of his ancestors (HD, v).

An idiosyncratic approach to history, a deceptive narrative stance, a carefully structured text and the delib-
erate manipulation of language, then, indicate the fictive nature of *The History of the Principal Discoveries*. Though these devices and Defoe's populist intentions disguise its link to the Baconian tradition, we should now see it in its true context: *The History of the Principal Discoveries* is a Baconian text in that it assumes that knowledge is the key to world domination. In a study of Defoe's works as colonial propaganda, it has its rightful place; it shows his links to a tradition which argues for colonization as essential for progress and reveals the ingenuity with which he presented some of his pet projects for overseas expansion.
NOTES

1 John Robert Moore's A Checklist of the Writings of Daniel Defoe, 2nd ed. (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1971) comments on the circumstances of the work's publication. Apparently, the four numbers were to come out in successive months, but the last two fell well behind the publication schedule. When finally published by the firm of W. Mears on 13 December 1726, it "was made up by binding the monthly parts together by adding a Conclusion and an Index, and by substituting one new general title-page for the four separate title-pages" (Moore, p. 200).


4 Bacon, Works, vol. IV, pp. 73, 91, 92, 102.


7 White, pp. 89-90.


14 Glanvill, p. 104.

15 Jacob, p. 144.


17 Charles Webster, The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform (London: Duckworth, 1975), p. 44. I should acknowledge the debt I owe to Webster's study in writing this section of my dissertation.

18 Descriptions of the Famous Kingdom of Macaria, rpt. in Samuel Hartlib and the Advancement of Learning, ed.

19 Webster, p. 457. Worsley's tract is reproduced in Appendix V of The Great Instauration, pp. 540-546.


CHAPTER III

Defoe's Plan for English Commerce: the Economic Imperatives for Colonization

I

Daniel Defoe's A Plan of the English Commerce is one of his few tracts which has merited more than one printing. It was first "Humbly Offered to the Consideration of the King and Parliament" on 23 March, 1728 as a "Compleat Prospect of the Trade of the Nation, as well the Home Trade as the Foreign." A second edition, dated 1730, but published on January 13th, 1731, used unsold sheets and contained a separately paged forty-page appendix "Containing a View of the Increase of Commerce, not only of England, but of all the Trading Nations of Europe, since the Peace with Spain." An Humble Proposal to the People of England (1729), also published during Defoe's lifetime, was "largely based" on this text.¹ A third edition of the Plan, published in 1738, attributed it to the "late Ingenious Mr. Daniel De Foe." In this century the work has been reprinted twice, once in The
Shakespeare Head Edition of the Novels and Selected Writings of Daniel Defoe (1927), and again in the series Reprints of Economic Classics (1962).²

The Plan has continued to attract attention primarily because of its contribution to Defoe's economic theory. Defoe's views on economics have always been considered important. He himself acknowledged his preference for his writings on trade and commerce on several occasions. Consequently, Defoe the economist has been discussed at some length by his critics and admirers.

A number of scholars have by now outlined the essentials of Defoe's ideas about trade and commerce. John R. Moore in Daniel Defoe and Modern Economic Theory (1934), Maximillian E. Novak in Economics and the Fiction of Daniel Defoe (1962), Peter Earle in The World of Defoe (1978), and Laura Ann Curtis in her introductions to the selections in The Versatile Defoe (1979), have all contributed to our understanding of Defoe the economist. Novak and Earle, in particular, have served readers well in establishing convincingly Defoe's eclectic but unoriginal ideas about trade and commerce, showing their relevance to the study of his fiction, and placing him firmly in the tradition of mercantilist thought.

All of the writers listed above have used the Plan as one of the sources indispensable for a reconstruction of
Defoe's world. The work has also benefited from E. Anthony James' rhetorical study of Defoe's prose style and literary method in *Daniel Defoe's Many Voices* (1972). James, exclusively interested in the stylistic aspects of the work, finds in it evidence not only of Defoe's "self-indulgent enjoyment of the task at hand and enthusiastic love of the subject," but also of his proselytizing zeal on behalf of trade.

Still, despite the popularity of the *Plan* as a source-book for Defoe's economic ideas and James' stylistic analysis, no study has been made of the structure of the work. No one has attempted to show how Defoe has designed the book to introduce some of his pet projects for colonization or how he has made colonization the panacea for all the obstacles to English trade. No one has tried to see the *Plan* as part of a desperate campaign to arouse interest in overseas expansion. No one has tried to demonstrate how Defoe has placed his expertise in English trade at the service of national profit and power. Also, his links to a discursive tradition, perhaps first recognizable in the writings of Richard Hakluyt the elder, have not been noted. The rest of this paper will thus focus on these neglected aspects of the *Plan*; in doing so it hopes to catch Defoe in the process of fashioning the economic imperatives for colonization.
II

The first chapter of Defoe's Plan is his paean to trade. He attributes to it all the riches of the world and makes it the measure of a country's prosperity. Trade creates employment for people, the real wealth and strength of a nation. Where trade flourishes and there is full employment, wages are high. Where wages are high, people can spend more; this situation increases the demand for manufactures. Given the monopoly of a commodity always in demand and ideal because of the number of hands employed in its production and distribution, a country could achieve full employment, high wages, and subsidiary industries to meet consumer tastes. As a paradigm of the process by which trade created employment and prosperity, one which Defoe had used twice before, in the Review in the summer of 1709 and in A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain (1724-26), Defoe presents in the Plan the details of "a calculation of Trade for the Planting a New Town in the South Part of England" (PEC, 20).

Defoe's proposal, originally published as a project for the rehabilitation of Rhenish Palatinate refugees in England, incidentally illustrates the kind of dynamics he anticipated in the ideal colony and the consequent spin-offs for English trade. According to Defoe's calculations, a colony in which each farmer is allowed two hundred acres of
land and given some other benefits will generate employment to attract eventually one thousand people, mostly tradesmen selling their wares to the colony. Though Defoe himself does not apply this scheme to an overseas settlement, a similar expectation of increase in trade, employment, and consumption underlies his proposals for English colonies later in the *Plan*. Since Defoe considered the colonies an integral part of England and felt that a nation became most prosperous through a trade where the market was far away from the center of production because of the greater number of people engaged in the distributive process, his hopes for English trade through overseas settlements were even greater. As he puts it in his conclusion:

...An Encrease of Colonies encreases People, People encrease the Consumption of Manufactures, Manufactures Trade, Trade Navigation, Navigation Seamen, and altogether encrease the Wealth, Strength, and Prosperity of England (PEC, 367).

In the Appendix added to the 1730 edition he declares that every Englishman was "of ten-fold more value in real substance to the public Treasure of England" and to the all-important Balance of Trade when in the colonies than in England because of his more productive labor and because of his role in creating consumption (PEC, Ap. 36-37).

Having illustrated the importance of trade and the
benefits to be derived from settlements, Defoe switches his attention in the first chapter of the Plan to another favorite theme: the limitless room for improvement and space for cultivation in the different parts of the world. This leads him to the praise of "the adventurous Merchant in Pursuit of Trade, and pushing on Discoveries, planting Colonies, and settling Commerce, even to all Parts of the World" (PEC, 35).

The celebration of trade, especially foreign trade, and colonization, and the stress on full employment through manufactures and navigation is characteristic of mercantilist thought, though Defoe was decidedly in a minority in advocating high wages. Another mercantilist assumption pervading the first chapter, and indeed the entire work, is the pursuit of national strength and prosperity through trade, always at the expense of other nations who were pursuing similar objectives in a very competitive world. Defoe was one of the many mercantilist writers who offered their services to the country at large and involved themselves with what Fernad Braudel has called "the insistent, egoistic and presently vehement forward thrust of the state." Attempts to treat mercantilism as a "system of power", however, have been controversial. An outline of the debate will situate Defoe's ideas in their context. The controversy
erupted after the publication of *Mercantilism*, a work in which Eli F. Heckscher tried to discuss mercantilism as a system of power. To Heckscher, Bacon's attitude to economic policy was representative of this aspect of mercantilism, as when the Elizabethan wrote with approval of Henry VII's decision to carry goods in English ships from "a consideration of plenty to a consideration of power;" or when he advises sovereigns in his essay, "Of Empire," to take care that no neighbouring prince outstripped them in strength or wealth; or when he demonstrates a static, almost Hobbesian view of economics in the essay, "Of Seditious and Troubles," where it is held that nations compete aggressively for trade of necessity, since "whatsoever is somewhere gotten is somewhere lost." According to Heckscher, such assumptions meant that the mercantilist organized his activities to gather as much profit as possible for the sake of state power. As a result, mercantilists stressed economic self-sufficiency -- often to be attained through colonies which supplemented the produce of the mother country and took off its surplus. They also held that a favorable balance of trade was essential, since money and precious metals could provide the "sinews" of war. Colonies would help in achieving such a balance, as could elaborate systems of prohibitions, shipping laws, and bounties to discourage imports and promote exports. Colonies thus fitted conveniently and indispensably into mercantilist
schemes for state profit and power as sources of raw materials, precious metals, re-exports, or as markets for the produce of the mother country. The English navigation laws, framed to secure the colonial trade, were proofs of the extent a state would go for the sake of profit and power.

Heckscher's blunt statement that mercantilists made economic policies subservient to power came under attack from other economic historians. The most cogent criticism came from Jacob Viner in "Power Versus Plenty as Objectives of Foreign Policy in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries." Viner has no trouble in disproving Heckscher's propositions that mercantilists considered wealth exclusively as a means to power or that power was the sole end of their policy; however, he agrees that mercantilists overemphasized power as an end and wealth as a route to power. This is how Viner summed up his view of the matter:

What, then, is the correct interpretation of doctrine and practice with respect to the roles of power and plenty as ends of national policy? I believe that practically all mercantilists, whatever the period, country, or status of the particular individual, would have subscribed to all of the following propositions: (1) wealth is an absolutely essential means to power whether for security or for aggression; (2) power is essential or valuable as a means to the acquisition or retention of wealth; (3) wealth and power are each proper ultimate ends of national policy; (4) there is a long-run harmony between these ends...
Certainly, Defoe's Plan is a typical early eighteenth-century mercantilist tract in embodying these propositions; for Defoe writes continually with the twin goals of national profit and power in view. Though occasionally willing to share the loot when an expedition is too big for any one nation, most of the time he sees England as competing for a slice of the international trade; since the rest of Europe is "conspiring to break in upon it, or block it out, we are the more engaged to look out for its support" (PEC, ix). It is as a lookout that Defoe conceives his role in the Plan: he must spot new markets and sources of supply, preferably in overseas colonies, and presumably before the projectors of other nations did the same. It is his task to use his knowledge to draw up schemes "worthy of a king, and worthy of a powerful Legislature to consider of" (PEC, xv).

Defoe emphasizes the connections between a prosperous nation and a powerful one, illustrating his proposition by instancing the strength and wealth of the Venetian and Dutch Republics (PEC, 19, 28, 52, 53). He delights in making the point again and again: "Thus Trade is the Fountain of Wealth, and Wealth of Power;" "'tis the longest Purse that conquers now, not the longest sword;" "Thus Money raises Armies, and Trade raises Money; and so it may be truly said of Trade that it makes Princes powerful, Nations Valiant" (PEC, 52-54). Elizabeth's expansionist policies, particular-
ly her success as an exponent of naval imperialism, is admired by him since "they that command the Sea, awe the World, and to be Master of the Marine Power, is to be Master of all the Power, and all the Commerce in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America" (PEC, 147). In his conclusion, when he is summing up his proposals for colonization and addressing his readers directly, Defoe also sums up his arguments for profit and power through overseas expansion: "...your strength, as well as Wealth, grows with your Colonies, the Climax is really pleasant to look upon" (PEC, 366).

In the appendix to the 1730 edition, which Defoe wrote as a sort of stop-press item to take into account recent developments in international affairs, Defoe's preoccupation with profit and power resurfaces. As he now puts it: "Trade goes always with the present Possessor, so it is an acquisition to the People possessing, as it was before to those that were dispossessed" (PEC, ap. 2). The perception that trade involves aggressive action is not untypical, as is his belief that as a writer it is his role to use his expertise to point to new fields of action and areas ripe for possession. Though Defoe wrote his appendix explicitly to argue against internecine warfare in Europe since wars were harmful to European trade, he makes it clear that wars which lead to expansion elsewhere are praiseworthy. Thus he approves Czar Peter's contemporary conquests: "with those
Conquests what unbounded addition of Commerce have they [the Muscovites] made" (PEC, ap. 5). Hence he wants to direct English eyes not to acquisitions in Europe but in Africa and America which are the true sources of profit and power for English ambitions.

III

As a prologue to his study of English commerce, then, Defoe highlights the vital importance of trade for full employment and for a country's prosperity and power. Defoe also uses his first chapter to introduce another theme which he will develop throughout the Plan: the role of the colonies in stimulating trade, manufacture, and navigation. He next focuses on English trade, tracing it from its origin to its present magnitude. His methods in this part of the Plan are illuminated by two observations to be found in Peter Earle's The World of Defoe. Earle notes at one point that though Defoe "may have been a bad historian...he always explained things in an historical way." In another context, later, Earle points out that England's rapid rise to power and wealth "continually fascinated Defoe." Defoe obviously felt that in the course of history the English had discovered the winning formula to acquire profit and power; his task was to survey history to reveal the formula and argue
to the King and Parliament for its continual application.

Defoe has no doubt that England's present strength and wealth are the result of her success in the wool trade or that the origin of this trade and England's greatness lay in the moment when the English took control of their destiny by restricting the export of their raw wool and switching to woollen manufacture. The beliefs that England's destiny was tied to her wool trade and that the success of that trade depended on success in finding new outlets for England's woollen manufactures persisted in English mercantilist thought for a long time, despite periodic opposition from interest groups such as the merchants and their spokesmen in the 1690s. In affirming these beliefs, Defoe places himself in a tradition which dates back at least to 1541 when, as E. Lipson points out in his history of the woollen and worsted industries, "according to the report of Chapuys, the Privy Council deliberated about 'sending two ships to discover a passage between Iceland and Greenland, where it was thought the great cold would cause a good sale for woollen cloth...'"9

Not surprisingly, the search for a market for English woollens played a crucial role in English colonial discourse. One of the first initiators of this discourse, and one whom Defoe must have studied, was Richard Hakluyt the elder, the English lawyer who provided much of the stimulus
not only for his kinsman, Richard Hakluyt the preacher, author of the *Discourses on the Western Planting* and editor of *The English Voyages*, but also for much of the colonial activity of the period. The elder Hakluyt was involved in Gilbert's attempt to establish an American colony and with the Ralegh colonies. As the documents authored by him and printed by his cousin illustrate, he was also one of the earliest proponents of overseas markets for English cloth. For instance, in his instructions to a dyer in 1579, he pointed out that English wool was the best in the world; what was needed was knowledge of the art of dyeing for the "great and ample vent of our clothes; and of the vent of clothes, will follow the setting of our poore in work."\(^{10}\) Writing as a consultant and an expert on trade, Hakluyt the elder gives detailed instructions in this and other documents on the production and marketing of woollens.

For the elder Hakluyt, the interest in a market for English cloths leads naturally to an interest in colonies. For the Northwest expedition of 1580 he composed a note which offered advice on surveying methods which would result in a site for a combined naval base, trading post, and colony. He asked the expedition to note the harbors, the flora and the fauna, the fertility of the soil, and all the marketable commodities of the region.\(^{11}\) Later documents prepared by the elder Hakluyt for other New World ventures
show him listing more and more reasons for colonization. No longer merely interested in finding an outlet for English woollens, he was now drawing up practical proposals for the colonizer; the importance of the site, the proper utilization of the resources of a colony, the relationships with natives, all attracted his attention.

Successive writers, including the younger Hakluyt in the *Discourse of Western Planting*, continued to write about the prospects of finding a market for English cloth outside Europe. They stressed the superiority of English wool, its role in employing the English workers, its suitability as an export item, and the necessity of finding newer outlets for woollen manufactures, preferably in colonies. Though more than a century separates the elder Hakluyt's writings from Defoe's *Plan*, the similarity in their outlook is striking. Like the Elizabethan, Defoe urges for the discovery of new markets for English cloth, expresses interest in the natives as customers, and suggests plans for suitable sites for colonies with cash-crops which would make the sale possible:

New planting colonies then, and further improving those already settled, will effectually encrease this Improvement, for like Causes will have like Effects; Clothing new Nations cannot fail of encreasing the Demand of Goods, because it encreases the Consumption, and that encreased Demand is the prosperity of our Trade (*PEC, x*).

And this indeed is the Sum of all Improvement in Trade, namely, the finding out some Market for
the Sale or Vent of Merchandize, where there was no Sale or Vent of these Goods before; to find out some Nation, and introduce some Fashions or Customs among them for the Use of our Goods before...(PEC, 325).

Like the elder Hakluyt, Defoe often lists other reasons for colonizing, but as far as commerce was concerned the most important one was the need to find markets for English wool. Like the two cousins, Defoe was close to many of the trading companies, but like them he was committing his schemes to print because he believed in publicly-supported colonizing ventures. Employing the same vocabulary and offering the same solution for what they considered the vital section of the economy, the two Hakluyts and Defoe placed their knowledge of trade and the wider world at the service of state power and prosperity.

The Hakluyts were only two of the many actors who were involved in the great Elizabethan drama of expansion. Defoe viewed their actions with veneration and treated Elizabeth as the great patron of the age in which the English assumed control over their future and began exporting woollen manufactures all over the world. As he saw it, Elizabeth not only decisively stopped the export of raw wool and encouraged its manufacture throughout England but also "spread the Commerce of England, into the remotest Parts of the then known world" (PEC, 131). She led "an enterprising Age" when
"the English merchants spread the Seas with their Ships," and with her encouragement Englishmen "rang'd the Seas having then no Rivals, searching the Globe for Discoveries, planting Colonies, and settling Factors in all Parts of the World" (PEC, 132-33). It is clear to Defoe that Elizabeth's expansionist policies and active promotion of English woollens resulted in the flowering of England as a trading nation and maritime power. It was also the age when the foundations of England's later strength and wealth were laid. Defoe does not miss the opportunity in his review of England's economic history to spell out the significance of Elizabeth's actions and those of her subjects for his readers:

N.B. The Success of those glorious Attempts for the Encrease of Commerce, and the generous Care for the Prosperity of the Nation, tho' the Issue could not be seen, or the Advantage be reap'd till some Ages after, is a noble Pattern for the Princes, and for the Legislature of the present Age; moving them to lay such Foundations, as present themselves for the future Advantage of their Subjects, tho' the Benefit should not immediately be felt, and tho' the Prospect be something remote, of which something farther remains in the Design of this Work (141).

The last sentence anticipates his proposals for colonization just as the nota bene as a whole reminds his reader of the real purpose of his meanderings through English history. Having thus established the connections between trade,
England's prosperity, and power; her woollen manufactures, and state-induced overseas expansion in the age of Elizabeth; and having presented the seventeenth century somewhat unhistorically as a period of continual growth for the English export trade, Defoe turns to the state of English commerce in his own time. He has no doubts that it is greater than that of any other nation. The increase in the number of sheep-growing regions all over England, the vast numbers employed in woollen manufactures and other industries and trades all prove his point. Defoe scrupulously lists all the other branches of English commerce. It is quite obvious, however, that he really exults in England's supremacy in the cloth trade. For "while she has the Wool, her Trade is invulnerable, at least no mortal, final, destructive blow can be given it..." (PEC, 173-74). This is the basis of English prosperity, so obvious in the Englishman's not always laudable habits of conspicuous consumption.

IV

To recapitulate Defoe's strategy in the first part of the Plan: having begun with a chapter on trade where he sings its praises and reveals such typical mercantilist beliefs as the importance of full employment, manufacturing industries based on the control of raw products, colonies,
and an aggressive trading policy geared to the increase of the state's strength and wealth, Defoe moves on to discuss English trade in particular. He traces the rise, growth, and maturity of English commerce, attributing its continued success to the effective marketing of English woollens. Throughout the first part of the work Defoe professes to be impressed by the magnitude of England's trade and the prosperity of her inhabitants because of it.

Given Defoe's confidence and pleasure at the prospects of a thriving English trade, however, it is something of a surprise to find him engaged in the second part of the Plan in a defence of the notion that English trade was really thriving. Apparently, there were those who felt that English trade, especially the all-important wool trade, was languishing. Defoe devotes the two chapters of the second part of the Plan to answering the objections of these cavillers. Specifically, as the chapter titles indicate, he debates two propositions: "Whether our Trade in general, and our Woollen Manufacture in particular, are sunk and declined, or not?"; "whether the Exportation of our other Goods, the Growth, or Manufacture of England, or Home Consumption of them is decreased or declined."

Defoe's diagnosis of the health of the English trade is unambiguous. As he points out in the concluding paragraph of the second of the two chapters:
Upon the Whole, after the narrowest Search, and with the utmost Impartiality, I cannot see that we have any Room to say our Trade is decreas'd, whether we speak of our Woollen or other Manufactures; whether of Goods imported or exported; whether of Home Consumption, or the Consumption of our Growth abroad. On the contrary, we have great Reason to insist, that our whole Trade is encreased to a very great Degree.... (PEC, 297-98).

But while this sounds conclusive and is meant to be unequivocal, we notice on a closer reading of the two chapters the many concessions Defoe has to make in the course of the imaginary debate he conducts with his opponents. Indeed, a reading of Defoe's own A Brief Deduction of the Original, Progress, and Immense Greatness of the British Woollen Manufacture, published only the year before the Plan, and a knowledge of the economic climate of the 1720s, make it abundantly clear that the state of England's economy, particularly of the vital wool trade, was not as sound as Defoe made it out to be in the Plan. Was he, then, deliberately and misleadingly painting a rosy picture of English commerce? Was he in the position of a man who protests too often only because he fears what he hears is too true? Or was he, while truthfully noting the nation's prosperity, alerting his readers to the real dangers facing England's trade thus preparing his readers for his own solutions in his own indirect manner?
To answer these questions and to assess the accuracy of Defoe's reports and his motives in carrying on a rather long debate about England's economic wealth is no easy task. Despite Defoe's asseverations about England's prosperity, there is plenty of evidence in the Plan itself that there were many clouds on the horizon. For one thing, English endeavors to find new colonies, and hence, new markets for English goods, especially its woollens, had come almost to a full stop, a fact corroborated by at least one twentieth-century historian, Peter Earle, in The World of Defoe, and voiced by Defoe in his preface:

It is surprising that in a Nation where such Encouragements are given for planting and improving, where Colonies have been settled, and Plantations made with such Success; where we may truly be said to have filled the World with the Wonders of our growing Possessions, and where we have added not Provinces only, but Kingdoms to the British Dominion, and have launched out Even to an Ocean of Commerce. That now, We should, as it were, put a full Stop at once to all our great Designs; and from a kind of mysterious unaccountable stupidity turn indolent on a sudden (PEC, xi).

Particularly alarming in this respect was the knowledge, at a time when it was held that "one country can only gain if another country loses", that every other European state was gaining new empires. Even the "indolent" Spanish and the "decay'd" Portugese were subduing whole nations, thereby bringing them "to be subservient to Trade as well as to
Defoe's anxiety about England's indifference to colonization certainly motivated him to write this and other tracts which urged colonial activity. But there are other reasons for concern which had moved him to draw his plan for English commerce. For instance, he knew from personal observation that England was still far from achieving full employment. His tour of the English countryside had made him aware of many thinly-populated and "unemployed Counties" where the women and children and most of the men were idle (PEC, 89). Or, as he puts it in a hyperbolic vein when he is specifically urging colonization: "Do we not encrease till we are ready to eat up one another (I mean in Trade)? and can we not spare enough of the unprofitable Part of our People, those who are rather said to starve among us than to live?" (PEC, 362).

Then there is the threat from the woollen manufacturers of other European nations. In his more complacent moments Defoe dismisses the threat from France, since its cloths "were no way equal in goodness to the English manufactures of the same kind" (PEC, 41), but in more objective accounts he has to concede that "there are in all Markets a sort of Buyers, who take up with Goods of an inferior Quality, for the sake of a cheap Price, and those will buy the French Cloths" (PEC, 177). Similarly, though he often treats Swed-
ish, Prussian, and other European efforts to imitate the English product as at worst a form of flattery, he is forced to concede on other occasions that such inferior items were replacing English "coarse Dussels, Wadmill, Half thicks, and in general a kind of the coarsest Kersies" (PEC, 182). Elsewhere, Defoe acknowledges the truth of his shadowy opponent's assertion that other countries were trying "to work up their own Wool, and employ their own Poor" because it was in the nature of things (PEC, 249).

Not surprisingly, countries which were setting up their own woollen industries were also taking steps to prohibit the importation of English manufactures. Once again Defoe attempts to place these distressing symptoms in the best possible light. It was true that French diligence had, despite "the shifts they are put to for wool", resulted in adequate supplies for their own country (PEC, 175); nevertheless, only their tyrannical system of Government, which forced them "to wear their own Works, however defective" had prevented them from wearing English woollens. It was true that some rulers had prohibited "Such particular Sorts as their own Wool, and their own People can make; but where is the Prince, or People, Kingdom or Empire in the World, the Indies excepted, who will, or indeed could blame the said Princes for this, for we do the same" (PEC, 249).

More depressing than the burgeoning manufacturing
industries or proliferating protective actions pursued by other European nations was the indifference showed by the English themselves to their most valuable product. Fashionable English gentlemen now preferred Dutch or Flemish linens; lighter textiles were now desired by most Englishmen. Even if the complaints about the decay of the home trade were true, the remedy was near at hand: "...Why do not the People of Great Britain, by general Custom, and by universal Consent, encrease the Consumption of our own Manufactures, by rejecting the Trifles and Toys of Foreigners" (PEC, 252)? Unfortunately, Defoe confesses, the habits of English ladies, "their Passion for the Fashion, has been frequently injurious to the Manufactures of England; and is so still in some Cases" (PEC, 253). Even here, Defoe tries to find some consolation at the growth of Cotton Manufactures in Lancashire and Cheshire and linen manufacturing in Scotland, Ireland, as well as England (although, in other contexts, he reveals his ambivalence about manufacturing industries in Scotland and Ireland).

The one symptom of decay which Defoe is willing to admit without any equivocation or excuse is that of overproduction. He accounts for the glut in the home market for woollens by blaming producers who fail to adjust production after a sudden and abnormal but temporary increase in demand, caused for instance by the Treaty of Utrecht or the
Plague in France. But even this was no cause for alarm; judged in perspective, such gluts were not signs of the decline of English commerce: "it is no more but a Return of the Stream to its usual stated Bounds, bringing Trade into its right Channel again, and to run as it did before." (PEC, 261).

Thus, throughout, Defoe endeavors to answer critics who were carping about the decay of English trade, conceding some of their points, dismissing others, but professing extenuating circumstances for all possible symptoms in the drop in demand for manufactured woollen goods. Though Defoe, as we shall see, affects such complacency here because of his own plans for English commerce, in another context he is much less sanguine. This context is provided by his 1727 tract, A Brief Deduction of the Original, Progress and Immense Greatness of the British Woollen Manufacture, where Defoe voices his alarm, and even reveals a sense of "weariness, and pessimism about the future of England's greatest industry."14 Openly admitting that the industry was in a state of decline, he sets out the reason for the decay and offers solutions to revive it. Most distressing to him is the problem of overproduction: the industry's magnitude is such "that we may say it is too great, and that not too great for the Country only, but too great for the Whole World" (BD, 3). Colbert's promotion of French textiles and
the protective measures adopted by the French were real blows. The switch to lighter cloths, first made by the French and then imitated by the English, also posed a threat since "these new Foolish things, neither employed an equal Number of Hands, or consumed an equal quantity of the Wool" (BD, 40). Moreover, the French were better in making the light cloth; consequently, the French product appealed more to English taste than the native version. Then there was the case of the "late Prohibitions of the English Woollen goods in Spain and in the Islands of Sicily, at Lintz, Vienna, and other Places in the Emperor's Dominions" (BD, 44). And while their wool was obviously inferior, several Germanic States, as well as Sweden, and even the Swiss cantons were marketing woollen manufactures in abundant quantities. Finally, he declares that he must "take the freedom to insist, that our Manufacture is in a State of Decay too from our Conduct at home" (BD, 49); for the English were exhibiting real foolishness by "running into the Wear of printed Linnens, Callicoes, etc." (BD, 51).

How could Defoe express his pessimism about the future of the English wool trade in his Brief Deductions, while expressing his confidence about it in the Plan? Was there any truth to the picture of English prosperity which he paints in the Plan and were there any real threats to it? A survey of some twentieth-century economic histories of the
period helps in clarifying some of the problems raised by the two tracts. They suggest that the vital wool trade was indeed languishing, but growth elsewhere, and especially the stimulus provided by the English colonies, was buoying up the English economy.

Thus, while English foreign trade in general did not actually decline between 1700 and 1750, there is evidence that it was stagnating in some areas. In fact, according to Phyllis Deane and W.A. Cole in *British Economic Growth, 1688-1959, Trends and Structures*, the export industry as a whole showed fifteen years of stagnation between 1715 to 1730.\(^{15}\) In an article on the English foreign trade between 1700 and 1774, R. Davis observes that the wool trade in particular, for long the chief stay of England's export trade, lost its "momentum of growth" and did not recover it; the European market "showed almost complete stagnation" during the first half of the century.\(^{16}\) Moreover, as Davis observes, "the growing contribution of other manufactured exports to the total English trade in Europe was in too small a scale to compensate for the failure of this one great traditional product."\(^{17}\)

Still, one could, as Defoe does while concentrating not merely on the wool trade as in the *Brief Deductions*, justly claim continued prosperity for the average Englishman. Despite the slow growth or absence of it in some sectors, a combination of slow population growth and increased produc-
tion contributed to improved living standards. Food prices were falling and wages were high. As a result, the working man had more to spend and his habits of consumption stimulated industry, trade and finance. More significantly, Defoe could and does take comfort from the substantial contribution being made by the steadily increasing English trade with the North American colonies. Even if the wool trade with Europe was declining, and if the English were neglecting their woollen manufactures, even if the threat of overproduction was sobering writers on commerce, there was one area of growth for trade in general and the wool trade in particular. In the words of D.C. Coleman:

For all that has been so glowingly written about the expansion of Europe in the sixteenth century, it was during this 1650-1750 period that England began to reap the benefits of expansion....it was an "import-led" advance, that is, its impetus came from a surge of imports, from America and Asia...[analysis reveals]...the continuing importance of Europe as a market for re-exports, despite its long-term decline as a market for domestic exports; and the notable increase in the importance of America as a market for both re-exports and, particularly, for exports of domestic produce. Here, at last, was the true "new market" for English manufactures....

Or as W.E. Minchinton has commented: "The main development in English trade in the eighteenth century was the expansion of trade with America: the growth of imports of tobacco, sugar, rice, indigo, furs, dyewoods, grain and lumber and of
exports of English manufactures, notably iron and wool-
lens."

An attempt can now be made to answer the questions asked a little earlier. Defoe was not misleading us in painting a picture of a prosperous England. He was aware of the real dangers to English trade and was asking his readers to take note of the dangers facing it. However, in this work at least, he does not let this knowledge depress him. The future of English trade lay in developing the resources of its colonies and in finding more and more colonies. This was the substance of his plan for English commerce and the basis of all his optimism. This was the source of the buoyancy of the Plan. Trade and colonization were the sources of a country's prosperity; the English wool trade and her colonies were the foundations of England's national greatness; even if the trade was stagnating in Europe there were possibilities of expansion elsewhere as the evidence from the North American colonies proved.

Even in the pessimistic Brief Deductions, Defoe had hinted at the ultimate solution to the problems of the English wool trade: "As these Invasions [by other European manufacturers] are increasing, so our Manufacture must be declining in proportion, unless it could be said that some yet further Branch of Foreign Commerce can be found out for the Consumption of our Manufacture, which it is time enough
to speak of when we see it in Prospect" (BD, 49). The time to speak had come in the Plan; hence the work continually urges colonization, points to the colonies as sources of raw materials and re-exports, and elaborates on the potentialities of colonies as markets. Hence the work concludes with some concrete proposals for colonization as the panacea for English trade. A familiar refrain in Defoe's colonial tracts is now adopted as an essential economic measure: "This is the Substance of this Tract: 'tis the original Thought which gave Birth to the whole Work; if our Trade is the Envy of the World, and they are conspiring to break in upon it, either to anticipate it, or block it out, we are the more engaged to look out for its Support; and we have Room enough." (PEC, ix).

The third and final part of the Plan is thus designed to show where there is room enough to maintain the volume of the English wool trade at a high level through colonizing activity, thereby maintaining England's status as a strong and prosperous nation. In effect, Defoe offers five schemes for colonization in this part of the Plan. The first of these renews one of the two proposals he had made in his History of the Principal Discoveries: "A Proposal for root-
ing out those Nests of Pyrates, the Turks and Moors of Tunis, Tripoli, Algier, and Sallee, who have for so many Ages infested the Mediterranean Seas..." Rehashing the material he had used in the earlier work, he writes about the enterprising Carthaginians, the rapacious North Africans of his time, the prospects of the region for commerce. His plan for joint European action to drive the natives inland and his scheme for the equitable division of the spoils is retold. Also repeated from the *History of the Principal Discoveries* is his portrait of the region as "a fruitful rich country" (PEC, 323), which European diligence could transform into thriving colonies which would eventually "be so many new Markets for the Sale of these Manufactures, where they had little or no Sale or Consumption before" (PEC, 325).

The second of these proposals would have the West Coast of Africa under English control. He had already written about this area voluminously in his *Essay Upon the Trade to Africa* (1711) and in several issues of the *Review*. Restating his objections to interlopers whom he thought had ruined the trade by teaching the natives the true value of their products, he proposes its revival. He has several suggestions for the cultivation of what was surely a rich and fertile country. Several cash crops could be introduced; the natives could be civilized and made customers of English
cloths. Reminding his readers of the English success in "Civilizing the American Savages" (PEC, 338), he presents again his vision of colonization:

...Encrease of the Civiliz'd People is an Encrease of Commerce in the Main, let the Degree of their Demands be more or less. What then have the People of England more to do, but to encrease the Colonies of their own Nations in all the remote Parts, where it is proper and practicable, and to civilize and instruct the Savages and Natives of those Countries, wherever they plant, so as to bring them by the softest and gentlest Methods to fall into the Customs and Usage of their own Country, and incorporate among our People as one Nation (PEC, 340-41).

This same vision underlies Defoe's third proposal for the increase of English commerce. This time he shifts his attention to the East Coast of Africa where undoubtedly there were "vastly populous Nations, nay Empires, where there are Millions of People to trade with" (PEC, 343). Once more the natives are targeted, despite the heat of the country, as customers who "would buy our English fine Cloth in particular" (PEC, 347). As in the other proposals, he lists the produce of the country which he thinks is exportable and outlines the potentialities of the region. It is worth noting that Defoe had first made this proposal very briefly in the History of the Principal Discoveries as another unexploited area for colonization.

Having thus unloaded "three great Articles for the
Improvement of the English Commerce on the Coast of Africa only, all practicable, and all capable of raising an immense Consumption of our Woollen Manufactures, where there was little or no Consumption for them before" (PEC, 348), Defoe presents a much less original, indeed, commonplace proposal for the improvement of the North American colonies. Like many of his contemporaries, he saw the Baltic trade as unfavorable for the English since the Scandinavians were not interested in English goods and insisted on using their own ships in exporting naval stores to England. In mercantilist terms this was the worst kind of trade since it meant a loss of specie. As an alternative, Defoe, like many other English writers on trade, suggests the production of naval stores in the North American colonies, arguing that the main objection to this proposal -- the great cost of transporting such heavy commodities across the Atlantic -- could be overcome by removing duties on the export, prohibiting the Baltic products, and raising an impost on all English goods shipped to the colonies to pay the shipping costs. Maintaining that the colonies would not balk at this proposal since they were tied to England by that "indissoluble Bond of Trade, their Interest," Defoe imagines "what a glorious Trade to England it would be to have those Colonies encreas'd with a Million of People, to be cloth'd, furnish'd, and supply'd with all their needful Things, Food excepted, only from us" (PEC,
Defoe prefers not to identify the location of his fifth and final site for an English colony. Instead, he tries to arouse his reader's curiosity by asking them to suppose a place in the world which was ideal for the diligent Englishman which could offer subsistence to him and his fellow colonizers, even an "Hundred Thousand" of them. "Grant me," Defoe asks his readers, "but that they wear Cloth, build, furnish Houses as they encrease, and that they gain enough to provide necessary Things for themselves; Is not the Supply of these, all Gain to us" (PEC, 367)? And in concluding, he asks his readers to take him on trust: "...if I do not find out such places, I have been saying nothing all the while" (PEC, 367).

Although Defoe does not disclose the location of his fifth colony, to a reader familiar with his colonial projects, this site seems to be very much like the Patagonia which he wrote about in so many of his projects. Defoe never tired of imaging this region as ideally suited for the English colonizer. Preferring to keep it anonymous on this occasion, Defoe ends the Plan on the note that there were still unclaimed spaces in the world suitable for colonization and English commercial activity.
VI

In Daniel Defoe's Many Voices, E. Anthony James examines Defoe's assumption of the role of a "knowledgable pedagogue" in his Plan. James notes Defoe's efforts to be clear and factual, and his adoption of a kind of commercialese to convince his readers of his knowledge of English trade. Numerous tables, charts, lists, typographical offsets are also used to "impress upon the reader Defoe's grasp of his subject." These are supplemented by "various guarantees of the reliability of his assertions and the soundness of his methods." As James observes: "Every page of the Plan testifies to Defoe's competence as an expert in trade, and justifiably sure of himself, he is often far more assertive, argumentative and pedantic than is usual in his writings."  

We have, of course, met Defoe the expert before. In his Historical Account he had claimed such distinction as someone who had access to the innermost thoughts and private documents of Sir Walter Raleigh; in the History of Principal Discoveries he had assumed authority as a Modern fully cognizant of the important discoveries of the era and as a progressive. In the rest of this chapter we will add to James' observations and uncover some more techniques used by him to impress his readers. We will also supplement James' stylistic analysis and study some of the methods by which he wants to convert his readers to colonialism.
Thus Defoe offers himself as a guide and a projector at the service of the people influential enough to change the course of affairs. The world of commerce has become too complex -- an "unbounded Ocean," a "trackless and unknown Sea," a "Maze or Labyrinth" (PEC, vii). A sort of division of roles prevents anyone from seeing it as a whole. Also, "Trade, like Religion, is what every Body talks of, but few understand" (PEC, 1). He, on the other hand, is a man with a plan. Coyly, he makes himself available to the people who matter: "If courtiers and statesmen are ignorant, let them enquire where they may be inform'd" (PEC, 357).

Metaphors of sight project the author as a man of vision engaged in an effort to make others see. He, for example, can see how "bringing the naked Savages to Clothe, and instructing barbarous nations how to live, has had a visible effect already" (PEC, x). The world of trade is a spectacle worth presenting to his readers; it is full of "large Scenes of Trade, new Platforms for Business" (PEC, xiv). If he introduces rhetoric into his account of trade and colonization, it is because he knows that "The View and Prospect of Gain inspires the World with the Keenest Vigor" (PEC, 32). If he takes the liberty to address "the supreme Powers of the British Government," it is because he can sketch "the several Prospects for the further manufactures of England which yet remain, and which perhaps have not been
so thorowly consider'd by any other Hand" (PEC, 128). Defoe can glory in England's past achievements as a colonizing nation, but he is not merely interested in "looking back to what is past" since he knows that "the Eyes of Mankind are rather fix'd upon things before them" (PEC, 311).

But making his readers see is not enough for Defoe; he must move them to action. Accordingly, he will endeavor to have "the adventuring Spirit reviv'd" and have "some Men fired with Warmth for the Undertaking" (PEC, xiv), thereby setting the "Wheels of Improvement", that is, the king and Parliament, into "due Motion" (PEC, xv). To do so he often resorts to rhetoric and hyperbole though he claims to use "no Rhodomontades or Boasts" to make his case (PEC, 169).

It is interesting to note that whenever Defoe has the opportunity to talk of colonization at any length, we are likely to encounter purple patches in his prose. For instance, his account of English colonial ventures under Elizabeth is marked by an increase in the use of metaphors and similes at this juncture: the Englishman is compared to a skillful, strong, and swift rider who now takes the lead; the nation is said to be on fire (PEC, 147). England's naval power and commerce are compared to twins who cannot live without each other; together they sustain the life of her colonies (PEC, 150-51). Defoe's barely concealed excitement at England's rapid success in trade and colonization is
communicated also by his sentence structure. Repetitive
devices, rhetorical questions, lists of proper nouns fill
these pages (PEC, 146-48). Defoe also appeals directly to
our emotions in depicting the heroism of the pioneering
settlers: "How often famish'd, and frozen to Death by the
Severity of the Climates, and Want of Supplies? How often
massacred by the treacherous Natives...." (PEC, 150)?
Similar heightened passages to convey the same basic idea
occur later in the book (PEC, 304-06, 360-62). Almost
breathless with excitement in listing the products and the
benefits to be derived from colonies in the last of these
passages, Defoe pauses only because he has to: "I have not
Room to say more, tho' I scarce know when to leave it off"
(PEC, 362).

Defoe's use of organic metaphors throughout the Plan to
convey his ideas about trade and colonization is also note­
worthy. He often compares trade to running water: it is a
"flowing tide" which when "bank'd out in one Place...spreads
by other Channels at the same Time into so many Different
Parts of the World" (PEC, viii); or it is like a "flowing
stream" sustaining the nation when allowed to run, overflow­
ing its banks and causing ruin when overstimulated; approp­
riating new markets in some areas while losing others (PEC,
256-61). Alternatively, trade is compared to a living organ­
ism. Overproduction becomes, according to the medical theory
of the time, an excess of blood in the vein, which must be let out (PEC, 255); or it is imaged as a disease which suffocates the patient, who must be relieved if he is to survive (PEC, 267). The implications of these metaphors are obvious: if English manufactures are losing their markets in Europe, they must find new markets for them elsewhere; if English trade is suffering from overproduction, the excess must be let out at some convenient spot. Defoe then becomes a social engineer who can direct trade into proper channels, or a physician who can not only examine the body of the patient, but can also cure him!

Finally, to James' observations about the stylistic devices used by Defoe to convince us of his rationality, factuality, and accuracy we can add that Defoe also uses allusions to buttress his claims. Defoe refers us in various contexts to "Hakluyt's Voyages" (PEC, 137); to the records of the proceedings of Parliament (PEC, 144); to the rates in the Level Books (PEC, 157); to the researches of an authority like "the late Dr. d'Avenant" (PEC, 164), or the mistaken calculations of that "great pretender to political arithmetic, Sir William Petty" (PEC, 172); to his own calculations based on his study of excise returns (PEC, 197) and Custom-house entries (PEC, 207). There are, in addition, references to anonymous sources and his own observations.

Thus in the Plan, as in the other texts we have been
studying, we encounter Defoe the expert as well as Defoe the artist. Diligently, he fashions the economic arguments for colonization and contrives to make colonial activity desirable. Using his knowledge of the economy and standard mercantilist arguments, Defoe structures his work to present his own plans for English commerce. For Defoe, colonial action was imperative for the preservation of England's woollen trade and, consequently, her strength and wealth. The Plan is thus another indication of the importance of colonies in Defoe's scheme of things and part of his unending propaganda on behalf of overseas expansion. It is his contribution to the economics of colonial discourse and part of the ceaseless European search for markets and resources.
NOTES


2 Since the 1962 reprint of the *Plan of the English Commerce* in the Reprints of Economic Classics series (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1967) also reproduces the appendix of the second edition, it is used as our text in this paper; all page references are to this volume.


4 Joyce 0. Appleby's recent work, *Economic Thought and Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), alerts us to the dangers of generalizing about seventeenth-century economic thought or applying labels to the writer of the period. Appleby demonstrates that ideas about free trade circulated freely for a period after the Restoration, though writers returned to the balance of trade concept by the first decades of the eighteenth century since it assimilated national as well as economic interests. To Appleby, the harbingers of economic
freedom, the merchants and the speculators, had to yield to the manufacturers, the clothiers, and their propagandists who resurrected the mercantile arguments. Thus while the post-restoration pamphleteers concerned themselves mainly with the prosperity of the individual, only in the eighteenth century was national power regularly evoked as a central benefit of the growth of trade (Appleby, p. 81).

Appleby's arguments, though demolishing the belief that two centuries of economic thought could be discussed under the rubric of mercantilism, does not discredit the assertions made in the next few pages as to what is characteristically mercantilist in Defoe's thought. It should be obvious that he was adopting standard mercantile ideas, resorting to the balance-of-trade theory, writing on behalf of or for the clothiers, and evoking national power as well as prosperity as justifications for his programmes.


11 See the elder Hakluyt's "Instructions for the North-east Passage," Document 25 of The Original Writings, pp. 147-158.

12 Thus Earle in p. 52 of The World of Defoe: "Defoe's lifetime coincided with a lull in the tempo of exploration. The dates of the latest discoveries give the game away. Most of them are Australasian discoveries made by Dutchmen in the early 1640's, though Dampier's Straits between New Guinea
and New Britain (1700) is a sign that the freelance buccaneering explorer still existed."

13 Voltaire, as quoted by Braudel in *The Wheels of Commerce*, p. 544.


17 Davis, p. 102.

19 D.C. Coleman, *The Economy of England, 1430-1750* (London: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 137-38. As Coleman points out elsewhere in the work, there was one area of rapid growth in the English trade between 1650 and 1750, one with tremendous implications for the future: the growth of lighter woollens, linens and cotton textiles. The move towards new cloths and new draperies was to lead towards the industrial revolution. Defoe mentions them but does not approve of them or foresee their triumph and importance in English economic growth.


21 James, p. 69, 73, 77, 80.
CHAPTER IV

Atlas Maritimus & Commercialis: Defoe's Map for the World

One constant in the three texts that we have studied so far is Defoe's claim to expertise in overseas affairs. Whether arguing the case for colonization from the point of view of Ralegh's kinsman or of the progressive Englishman, or of the concerned economist, Defoe speaks with authority and flaunts his knowledge of the world. For us as twentieth century readers, however, it is tempting to question such a display of authority and knowledge; it is all too easy to treat Defoe's claims as the window dressing of the hack. Similarly, although the biography of Ralegh is addressed to the South-Sea Company, the History of the Principal Discoveries to "the trading Nations of Europe taken completely" (HD, 201), and the Plan of English Commerce to "the king and Parliament", we can question whether these tracts were read by anyone of importance or considered as anything other than additional outpourings from the still active mind of a superannuated projector.
Defoe's *Atlas Maritimus & Commercialis; or, a General View of the World so Far as Relates to Trade and Navigation*, however, silences the skeptic and shows the author's formidable mastery of history, geography, and commerce. Moreover, because it was published by subscription, the work offers some evidence of Defoe's standing as an expert in commercial and colonial circles. It suggests that an influential as well as interested audience awaited Defoe's advice. For these reasons, we will postpone an analysis of the *Atlas Maritimus* as a colonial text and concentrate instead on the circumstances of its publication.

*Atlas Maritimus* was first attributed to Defoe by John Robert Moore in a 1954 lecture on the Defoe canon. The lateness of the discovery of the work and its authorship is surprising since, as Moore points out in his valuable comments on the work, the text is characteristic of Defoe.¹ One reason for the delay in detecting Defoe's contribution to the collaborative effort is that his part in it is typically unacknowledged in the text. The work itself opens with an address "To The Reader" signed by Edmund Halley; this is followed by the preface, the main body of the letter-press (340 folio pages in double column) and an index, all unattributed, but now credited to Defoe; next, we have 196 pages of sailing directions by Nathanael Cutler; finally, we come across 54 pages of charts which are the work of leading
cartographers.

As Moore indicates in his lecture, Defoe did not usually engage in collaborative efforts. The fact that one of his collaborators was Edmund Halley is also evidence of the unusual status of *Atlas Maritimus* in the Defoe canon; by the time the work was published in 1728, Halley -- now known to us chiefly because of the discovery of the comet which bears his name -- was the acknowledged successor to Newton as the leading English scientist. He was then Astronomer Royal, Regius Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, and the foremost English expert on physical geography and mathematical cartography. It is true that Halley's role in the completed *Atlas Maritimus* was confined "to revising the charts and certifying the whole work,"2 but even this is indicative of Defoe's standing as a geographer; Halley would not have lent his name to any project spearheaded by a novice geographer or a mere grubstreet hack.

Evidence of Defoe's status as an expert in geography, trade, and colonial affairs is also provided by the subscription list published in the *Atlas Maritimus*. The 432 subscribers listed in two pages of the work under the heading, "The Names of Such of the Subscribers as came to the Undertakers Hands" represent many leading Englishmen of the time. Members of the nobility, ranking civilians, high military officials, merchants, colonial administrators, and
gentlemen are all present. Table I offers a glimpse of the nature of the Atlas Maritimus' subscribers.

TABLE I
"RAW" ANALYSIS OF THE SUBSCRIBERS OF ATLAS MARITIMUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dukes and Duchesses</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marquesses</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earls</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viscounts, Lords and Barons</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Honourable&quot; (title)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Gentlemen&quot; (title)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knights (not otherwise identified)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knights-Barristers</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offices of State:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surveyor of the Navy</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretary to the Admiralty</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commissioners of Customs</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collectors of Customs</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretary to the Lords</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commissioners for Trade and Customs</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military titles</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonial Administrators</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonials</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchants</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academics</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Booksellers</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecclesiastics</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surgeons/Physicians/Apothecaries</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elected Municipal Officials</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consuls</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Trades</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learned Societies</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corporations</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Although so many of the subscribers have not been identified except by their name, the presence of several Dukes, Earls, Lords, titled men, senior military and civilian officials, colonial governors, as well as barristers and merchants indicate a fairly influential audience for *Atlas Maritimus*. The work itself is dedicated to the "Commissioners for Executing the Offices of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland and of All His Majesty's Plantations;" most of these officials also subscribed to the book. In other words, in addition to the middle class widely identified as Defoe's usual reading public, his readers, at least in this one documented instance, included what contemporaries would have called "the quality." For our purpose, it is also relevant to note that the subscribers included the Governors of Fort St. George in India, Jamaica, Bermuda, New York and Minorca.

Another indication of the distinctive nature of *Atlas Maritimus* as a work in the Defoe canon is its price: the book was sold for the exceptionally high price of three pounds and eighteen shillings. Just how exceptional such a price was becomes obvious when we look at some contemporary book prices. Ian Watt's discussion of eighteenth-century book prices places the price of *Atlas Maritimus* in perspec-
Magnificent folios for the libraries of the gentry and the rich merchants would cost a guinea a column or more, whereas a duodecimo, with perhaps the same amount of reading, ranged from one to three shillings. Pope's Iliad, at six guineas the set, was far beyond the reach of many members of the book-buying public.

As Watt points out elsewhere in his discussion of the eighteenth-century reading public, the average income of the majority of the population at this time ranged from six pounds to twenty pounds per annum; an intermediate class of rich farmers, shopkeepers, and tradesmen earned on the average between thirty-eight pounds and sixty pounds per annum. Two conclusions can be drawn from these figures about Atlas Maritimus: it was among the most expensive works produced in the first half of the century and certainly the most expensive work attributed to Defoe; its subscribers, even the "others" in our table, must have been some of the more prosperous readers of the first half of the eighteenth century.

To undertake such a massive and costly venture, Defoe, like many other writers hoping to publish an expensive work, went to a consortium of publishers. This consortium was headed by William Taylor, the publisher of Robinson Crusoe, who died before the work was eventually published. Moore has observed that "the Atlas was being assembled for William
Taylor nine years before its final publication;[4] the delay perhaps was caused by the sheer weight of the task or by the difficulties of drumming up support in the form of subscribers. The proposal for the subscription was published in The Post-Boy on 21 November 1719, and reprinted in The London Journal for 14 March, 1723-4, with a few changes. The work itself was published on 3 June, 1728.

The collaborative nature of the Atlas Maritimus, its publication by subscription, the exceptionally high price, the use of a consortium of publishers, the long gestation of the work, all stamp it as unique; Defoe must have expended considerable energy to see it through. The circumstances of the work's publication also indicate that Defoe was an acknowledged expert in English maritime and colonial circles; no superannuated projector or hack grubbing for money would have been commissioned by so many influential and business-minded people to undertake such a volume.

Indeed, we are tempted to declare that the Atlas Maritimus is the magnum opus of Defoe the geographer, projector, historian and consultant on trade and colonization. At the very least, the work is to be seen as the culmination of a lifetime's study of commerce and colonial activity. The book also has considerable significance for anyone considering the genesis of Defoe's fiction. After all, Atlas Maritimus was first announced in 1719 (in an
advertisement printed at the back of The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe), Defoe's annus mirabilis as far as his fiction is concerned, and was being prepared at a time when Defoe was continuing to write fiction set in part or in whole in the New World. Consequently, it is not too much to speculate that his fiction of the period was at least partially the by-product of his research and writing of Atlas Maritimus.

Defoe scholars, however, have very little to say about as important a work as Atlas Maritimus. The most detailed treatment of this imposing volume is still Moore's two-page discussion of his attribution of this work to Defoe. Moore spends most of his time outlining the presence of "many scores, probably hundreds of ideas" present in the book "which Defoe presents earlier or later." In addition, he notes two previously undiscovered sources for Robinson Crusoe and Captain Singleton suggested by Atlas Maritimus.5 In "Defoe and the Atlas Maritimus," Maximillian Novak, one of the leading Defoe scholars of our time, and Norman J.W. Thrower, of the UCLA Department of Geography, have welcomed the acquisition of a copy of the text by the Clark Library. While Novak, like Moore, has some very brief comments on some recurring Defoe themes in the work, Thrower finds the Atlas Maritimus remarkable for its summation of "the knowledge of the earth possessed by the English in the early
decades of the eighteenth century." Finally, Peter Earle, in The World of Defoe, calls it a "superb...vast and very lovely book" and quotes from it two or three times, but finds no occasion to discuss it in any detail.

Thus thirty years have passed since Atlas Maritimus was first attributed to Defoe without any detailed consideration of the work. The pages which follow represent only a beginning: the scope of this dissertation allows us merely to evaluate Atlas Maritimus as a text on colonialism. A later chapter will try to connect it to the colonial fiction. An attempt will also be made to outline Defoe's knowledge of geography, his attitude to other races and to the exploitation of nature. In other words, only about half of the text will be considered; portions which have nothing to do with colonialism will be more or less ignored.

II

What is particularly impressive about Defoe's contribution to Atlas Maritimus is the amount of information he has included in it; it has been created out of a lifetime's accumulation of details about all the known parts of the world. The book is very much the product of a closet expert. Although Defoe claims in the Preface to have "seen several of the countries, Cities, and Sea-Ports, which he
described" (AM, iii), we know that his travels were limited to a few parts of Europe. Yet the work deals with other continents with a confidence often unmatched even in the reports of experienced travellers. Such details have been assembled for those "Gentlemen, Merchants, and Mariners" (AM, ii) who were likely to pursue the suggestions incorporated in *Atlas Maritimus* for their profit and pleasure.

Halley's "To the Reader" is more specific: the work was intended "to encourage those who are able and willing" to contribute to a Nation's "Strength and Riches" (AM, i).

Defoe, of course, was not the first English geographer to have exercised his intellect for enterprising men. The history of English geography shows the early link established between the closet expert on overseas affairs and adventurers and merchants. Significantly, the first major English geographer was also the first major propagandist on behalf of overseas commerce and colonization. Though Richard Hakluyt the preacher never wrote a book on geography or anything comparable to the *Atlas Maritimus*, his place in the history of English Geography, unlike Defoe's, is secure, as is the Elizabethan's contribution to the discourse which ultimately spawned Defoe's work. Like his older cousin before him, Hakluyt played a vital role in England's expansion as a consultant and as a specialist in overseas affairs. Defining his role in early colonial activity and
his contribution to geography, therefore, will in a large
measure prepare us for Defoe's performance as an expert in
Atlas Maritimus. 8

Though Hakluyt studied geography and even taught it at
Oxford, it is not as an academic that he is remembered now.
Nor was his interest in the subject that of a dilettante.
Rather, his approach to geography was thoroughly practical
and professional. Physical geography, or even cartography,
did not fascinate him; he was attracted only to the type of
information which would assist the merchant and the man of
action. He took it upon himself to collect and publish
specialized information, drawing in the process on records
of the new discoveries and the travel collections published
in several languages, state papers, trading reports, and
even the oral accounts of sailors, fishermen, and adventur-
ers. In doing so, Hakluyt exhibited the skills required of
professional geographers till the eighteenth century -- the
skills of a reporter and interpreter of information and
those of the collector.

Hakluyt, in other words, became a closet expert in the
field of applied geography. He supplied to his clients not
the type of technical knowledge which could be provided by a
cosmographer like John Dee -- who was retained as a consult-
ant also -- but the kind of information which depended on a
knowledge of markets and regions ready for exploitation and
domination. (If Hakluyt's position prefigures Defoe's, Dee's status anticipates Halley's). Though his travels took Hakluyt only as far as France, he became the best-informed man on the New World in England because of his ability to acquire, organize, and disseminate geographical intelligence. Such a stock of information made Hakluyt valuable; explorers like Gilbert and Ralegh, statesmen like Sir Francis Walsingham, and corporations like the Virginia and the East India Companies retained him as a consultant. Hakluyt's status as a geographer could also be seen in his association with the leading geographers of the day: Thevall, Mercator, Ortelius, and Dee corresponded with him.

The figure of the expert merges easily into the figure of the promoter. As Hakluyt's biographer, George B. Parks, puts it: "A dealer in facts, for one thing, who may well have been employed to mold his facts into plans; a dealer in projects, for another, who may have had a larger success in bringing his projects to market than we can now begin to reckon." We know, at least, that Hakluyt was in the business of garnering support for specific projects as well as gathering ideas for prospective ventures. He became one of the directors of Ralegh's Roanoke Colony and, later, of the Virginia Company, and even went to Bristol to procure backing for the Gilbert Colony. He brought out collections like the Divers Voyages (1582) and the Principall Naviga-
tions (1589) to interest Englishmen in overseas economic and colonial activity. For Walsingham, Hakluyt probably penned in 1580 a tract entitled, "A Discourse of the Commodity of the taking the Streight of Magellan," outlining a plan for the conquest of the southernmost part of South America. For the Queen he composed his Discourse of Western Planting (1584), hoping to attract her to Ralegh's American expedition. Arguing skillfully the case for English expansion, Hakluyt lists in it all the advantages which can result from the colonizing venture. Incorporating the latest geographical information and all the arguments for colonization outlined by earlier writers, he suggests in the Discourse the benefits to be derived from the possession of America.

Such a work could remain in an archive for hundreds of years -- it remained unpublished till 1877 -- and yet be seminal. Because the Discourse was read by influential men, Hakluyt's arguments for colonization achieved prominence and gathered weight. Soon, and in conjunction with works like Ralegh's Discoverie, the information contained in the text and the ideology which it embodied produced a tradition whose presence spawned other arguments and texts.

A later colonial propagandist like Defoe could thus sound surprisingly like Hakluyt when arguing the case for colonization in Atlas Maritimus. In fact, most of the Elizabethan's pleas and polemics are in evidence again in the
work of the eighteenth-century geographer. Thus Hakluyt's aggressive nationalism, his anti-Spanish prejudices, his view of colonization as a panacea for England's economic problems, and his emphasis on the strategic necessity of empire are embedded in Defoe's text. Some of his projects -- like the proposal to colonize the southernmost part of South America -- are revived by Defoe. Even some of Hakluyt's stylistic devices -- such as the optimistic list of products to be acquired from America -- become an integral feature of Defoe's text.

Hakluyt thus set the tone for future writers like Defoe. Both Hakluyt and Defoe assembled the sum total of their knowledge of the world for their works. In Hakluyt's case this meant collecting, editing, translating, as well as composing a text like the Discourse aimed at a select group of men; in Defoe's case it involved the accumulation of information and the publication of tracts arguing for colonization from this or that point of view intended -- at least in this one documented instance -- for a larger, but still influential, group of men. Both Hakluyt and Defoe mediated between the world of knowledge and the world of action, though the extent of their involvement in the real world of enterprise has not been fully documented. It is true that Hakluyt's involvement with specific projects and companies has been partially recorded, while Defoe's activities have
not been reported; it is also true that Hakluyt moved in a circle which was far more influential than Defoe's. Still, we know that Defoe had once proposed overseas ventures to men like Harley, and that he was a shareholder in the Royal African and the South Sea Companies, and, as we shall see, in the *Atlas Maritimus* he seems to be doing some special pleading for the Royal African Company.

Both Hakluyt and Defoe thus belong to a geographic tradition which collected information about the world for very definite reasons: they believed that the resources of the world were exploitable when known. Another worker in this tradition, a writer who also served as one of the many links between Hakluyt and Defoe, was Samuel Purchas. This clergyman's *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (1613, 1619, 1625), although in essence a work of religious geography, also served as a text which provided information about various countries and their economies. Like Hakluyt and Defoe, Purchas spent considerable time and energy in gathering the latest and the best information about the exploitable regions of the world and worked in association with merchant companies and prospective colonizers. Purchas' work became increasingly descriptive and geographic as he incorporated many of the facts accumulated by his predecessor. As he stepped into Hakluyt's shoes, Purchas' advice was sought by the East India Company. The consultant merges once more into
the promoter, as when Purchas urges colonization or sings the praises of the New World. Some of Defoe's assertions in *Atlas Maritimus* reflect Purchas' views of the world; when Defoe refers, for example, to the massacre of Englishmen by Dutch colonizers in the East Indies as an act which cried out for vengeance, he was echoing a point made by Purchas in his *Pilgrimage*.

The relative lull in British geographic enterprise during the middle of the seventeenth century meant that, with the exception of a few volumes like Lewis Roberts' *Merchants Map of Commerce* (1638), no major collection of voyages, nor any significant works on overseas geography were published for some time after Purchas' death. Roberts, a merchant and a member of the East India Company, surveys world trade and the rates of exchange, and emphasizes the importance of maps and sea-charts for the merchant. Izak Walton's rather pedestrian commendatory stanzas prefaced to Roberts' work emphasizes the work's functions as well as its audience:

If thou wouldst be a statesman, and survey Kingdoms for information, here's a way Made plain, and easy, fitter far for thee Than great Ortelius, his geography.

If thou wouldst be a Gentleman, in more Than title only; this Map yields thee store Of observations fit for Ornament Or use, or to give the Curious Content.
If thou wouldst be a Merchant, buy this Book;
For 'tis a price worth gold; and do not look
Daily for such disbursements; no! 'tis rare
And should be cast up with thy richest ware.

Reader, if thou be any or all three
(For these may meet and make a harmony)
Then praise the Author for his useful pains
Whose aim is public good, not private gains.10

As the subscription list of Atlas Maritimus indicates, the statesman, the gentleman, and the merchant also represent the groups Defoe was writing for; Roberts' mercantile assumptions and geographic methods have many parallels with Defoe's.

With the restoration and greater political stability, Englishmen once again revealed an interest in texts about the New World. English interests were revived in part by the Royal Society's encouragement of its Fellows and travellers to report accurately on the flora and fauna of the world outside Europe and directing them to conduct appropriate experiments. The Society published geographical papers in its Philosophical Transactions while the prominent members such as Edmund Halley actively pursued their interest in mathematical geography and cartography. Halley published papers on winds, tides, and magnetic variations, and edited works like the Miscellania Curiosa (1705-7) which contained sea-charts, collections of travels and voyages, and "natural histories" of diverse countries. For all these reasons Halley was a particularly apt choice to supervise the tech-
nical side of Atlas Maritimus. However, we know that Defoe himself was not indifferent to the proceedings of the Royal Society; this interest is evident in his geographic discussions. There is, for example, his speculation in Atlas Maritimus on the height of the Pico Teneriffe on the Canary island; he feels that the altitude "might offer some very happy Experiments in Philosophy" (AM, 244).

Geographic interest in the New World was also stimulated by the activities of the buccaneers and sailors in the South Seas. Some of them wrote about their voyages and emphasized the possibilities of trade in the region. The accounts of Sir John Narbrough and Captain Wood which were published in 1699, and of Captains Dampier and Woodes Rogers (1697, 1713), and A.O. Exquemelin's pioneering collection, The Buccaneers of America (1678) attracted the attention of geographers and merchants alike.

Two other factors contributed to the renewed interest in geographic works and the reappearance of the expert who collected information and published massive texts on overseas affairs. For one thing, the formation of new trading Companies, including the Hudson's Bay Company (1670), the Royal African Company (1672), and the South Sea Company (1709), and the financial revolution in England in the later decades of the seventeenth century meant that a large group of City merchants, shareholders, and company officials were
ready for works which would lead to profitable activity. Also, the emergence of a reading public which included the newly-rich merchant, the landed proprietor, the virtuoso, and even the dilettante who needed large volumes merely to adorn the library of his country home, meant that subscription publication of folio volumes came into vogue.

The earliest of these folio volumes were fairly unimpressive and fell far short of the standard set by Hakluyt. By the 1740s, however, a change in the nature of the subscribers resulted in an improvement in the quality of these large volumes. As G.R. Crone and R.A. Skelton observe in their survey of English collections of Voyages and Travels in the post-Purchas period:

The dedications and subscription lists show that the publishers were now addressing themselves to a different class of readers, and the change is not without significance. Naval power had opened the ocean routes to trading fleets from British ports, and the literature of travel now found a public, not only among dilettantes, who read for amusement, but also among merchants, who had invested money in commercial ventures to Africa, Asia, and the Pacific. The title page of the 1744 edition of Harris draws attention to "particular accounts of the manufactures and commerce of each country," and in his dedication the editor (John Campbell) claims that "the main Point I have had in view has been to setting the History and advantages of Commerce in a true light." To this, as to the 1705 edition of Harris, a large proportion of subscribers were merchants, factors, brokers, and custom officials. [Thomas] Astley's strictures on his predecessors are as significant as the division of his materials into travels and descriptions; and his subscribers -- a long list -- for the most part belong to the
mercantile middle class. The earlier collections are illustrated mainly by views, but the maps of the later editions are carefully chosen to serve the needs of navigation....

In other words, the amateurism vitiating the otherwise splendid collections of the Churchills (1704) and of John Harris (1705) had now been replaced by the professionalism provided by editors like Campbell for the new edition of Harris and John Green for Astley.

What is relevant for our purpose is to note that Defoe's folio volume of 1728 was already anticipating this professionalism, and its intended audience that of the geographic works of the 1740s. One of Defoe's major reasons for writing *Atlas Maritimus* was to attract investors to the possibilities of expansion in Africa and the Americas. His work, therefore, stresses the commerce of different countries and is supplemented by carefully chosen maps. Like all of the editors in the Hakluyt tradition, Defoe strives to include the latest and the most comprehensive information available. Like Campbell, he intersperses his text with exhortations designed to emphasize the importance of opening up new areas for commerce and reviving old ones. The merchants, factors, customs officials, and other professionals who constituted Defoe's subscribers undoubtedly expected particular accounts and professional standards.
Evidence for Defoe's qualifications for the task of writing a massive work like *Atlas Maritimus* and for his knowledge of geography can be gathered from various sources. In the only published assessment of Defoe's use of geography by an expert in that field, J.N. Baker, though unaware of Defoe's authorship of a genuinely geographical work, concludes after a survey of the fiction that Defoe "consulted the best authorities available, and his writings thus faithfully reflect the geographical knowledge of a well-educated Englishman at the beginning of the eighteenth century." Baker points to Defoe's reading of newspapers, geographies, recent travel accounts, and the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, and his contact with different ranks and classes of men as the basis of this geographical knowledge.

Baker also cites Defoe's amusing self-portrait in the essay, "On Learning" where we meet a man who has mastered six languages, as well as Astronomy, Geography, and History, and yet has been denied the title of a scholar. Here is a selection from the self-portrait:

I remember an Author, some years Ago, who was generally upbraided with ignorance.... I happened to come into this person's study once, and I found him busy translating a Description of the course of the River Boristhenes out of Bleau's Geography, written in Spanish.... In Geography and History, he had all the World at his Finger's ends. He talked of the most distant countries with an inimitable exactness, and changing from one place to another, the Company thought, of every Place or Country he named, that certainly
he must have been there. He knew not only where
every thing was, but what every Body did in every
Part of the World.13

Defoe later reworked this essay into *The Compleat English
Gentleman*, the posthumously published work which summed up
Defoe's views about learning. There he emphasized the value
of some subjects not treated in the classical languages
which were indispensable to the man of science: "the first
and most valuable is the use of the globe, or to speak more
properly the study of geography, the knowledge of mapps...."
(CEG, 197). Writing as a closet expert, Defoe was completely
confident that the complete gentleman

may make the tour of the world in books, he may
make himself master of the geographies of the
Universe in the maps, atlases, and measurements of
our mathematicians. He may travell by land with the
historian, by sea with the navigators. He may go
round the globe with Dampier and Rogers, and kno' a
thousand times more in doing it than all those
illiterate sailors. He may make all distant places
near to him in his reviewing the voyages of those
that saw them, and all the past and remote accounts
present to him by the historians that have written
of them. He may measure the latitudes and distances
of places by the labours and charts of those that
have survey'd them and know the strength of towns
and cities by the descriptions of those that have
storm'd and taken them, with the difference, too,
in his knowledge and infinitely to his advantage,
viz: that these travellers, voyagers, surveyors,
soldiers, etc. kno' but every man his share, and
that share but little according to the narrow
compass of their owne actings. But he receives the
idea of the whole at one view (CEG, 225-226).

It is out of such confidence that a volume like the Atlas
Maritimus is born; it is out of such a feeling of mastery over space that the colonial fiction is created.

Evidence of Defoe's command of his subject is also provided by the sales catalogue of Defoe's library. Hakluyt's Principall Navigations, Purchas' Pilgrimmage, Roberts' The Merchant's Map of Commerce, contemporary geographical texts, travel accounts, and "historical relation" of different countries are all to be found in the catalogue. As the modern editor of the sales catalogue, Helmut Heidenreich, observes, Defoe apparently did most of his research himself and "was not content to depend upon the conventional compilations of voyages that were to be found in most libraries of the time but tried to supplement these by all the originals he could get hold of."14

Defoe thus came to write Altas Maritimus after reading and absorbing all the information available to him, and he approached his task with the confidence of the professional. There seems to be no reason to doubt his claim in the Preface to have taken his accounts "from the Best Writers we have been able to meet with, and from the Report of Men of the Best Credit, who in several Parts have seen the Places they have given us an account of" (AM, ii). His text alludes to classical writers like Herodotus, Diodorous Thales, Diogenes, Strabo, and Pliny; traditional sources like the Bible; historians of the Old World like Camden and Ralegh
and of the new like Las Casas and Acosta; travellers like Jan Nieuhoff, Sir William Temple, La Salle and Hennepin; Jesuit missionaries who wrote about Africa, Asia, and the Far East; and adventurers like Narborough, Dampier, Rogers, and Captain Jones. Often, his sources are not named; he is content on these occasions merely to point to "My author" or to dispute claims made by anonymous sources.

At times, Defoe resorts to unpublished sources. Customs-house figures, Pilot-books, sea-charts, and the "authentic journals of experienced sailors" (AM, 245) are all quarried. Once in a while, he claims to be drawing on confidential documents, as when he bases his account of English Plantations in New England on the basis of "private accounts I have seen" (AM, 286). Defoe also supplements the information gathered from written sources with that based on the oral reports of sailors, merchants, and travellers of his acquaintance whose veracity he will often vouch for. His knowledge of the many products which had been successfully planted in Africa, for example, depends on his contacts with certain "judicious and knowing Persons" who have experimented with cash crops in the region (AM, 275).

Not surprisingly, Defoe's status as an author capable of undertaking a work like the Atlas depends not only on the mastery of all available sources of information, but also on the ability to keep up-with the latest developments in the
outside world. This can be seen in the number of references to events which happened after 1720 and the many stop-press items in the work. Thus, Defoe informs us at one point that he has been "just now told" that the Spanish colonial fleet has been removed from Cadiz to Seville (AM, 104); later, he announces that "we are just now told" that the South Sea Company has been granted permission to trade for cloves in Madagascar (AM, 234); still later, he declares that "we are just now inform'd" that the Hudson's Bay Company's settlements were thriving and that it was planning to settle in the Baffin Bay region (AM, 282). These references also indicate the unusually long gestation of the work. For instance, to give us a "specimen of the trade between the North American colonies and England," Defoe examines Customs-House Books "while the work is doing" in July 1723 (AM, 326). Only a dozen pages later, however, he calculates the value of goods carried from Havana to Spain in April 1727 and the value of goods on board a South Sea Company ship anchored in Havana as "solid Testimonies of the immense Wealth of the Countries [i.e., the Spanish Colonies] and of the great Extent of the Commerce from Europe to them of which these are the Relations" (AM, 338).

In short, Defoe's "stock" of "intelligence" -- to use two of his favourite words -- about colonial affairs is truly extensive. He is very well informed about the trade of
all the European colonies, the history and commerce of all the known parts of the world, and all the steps being taken to further colonize the extra-European world. In fact, very little seems to escape his notice. The *Atlas Maritimus* thus includes short treatises on the hunting of whales, the clove tree, the nutmeg tree, the production of coffee, the pearl trade, the mining of gold in different regions, the scales used for measuring gold, the rates of exchange and the administration of various colonies. The list could be continued, but perhaps enough has been said to show that *Atlas Maritimus* is the work of the expert geographer in the Hakluyt tradition who compiled the work from a lifetime's accumulation of information about the world of commerce and colonization.

III

If Defoe's collection of facts has resulted in a work which summed up the knowledge of the world possessed by a closet expert of the 1720s, the *Atlas Maritimus* was also representative of its age and its genre in its speculations regarding the parts of the world about which very little or nothing was known even to the well-informed European. The work, in other words, is also an exercise in conjectural geography, a fact which is not surprising when we consider
that conjectures were quite inevitable in the infancy of the science of geography. **Terrae incognitae** stimulated on occasions the imagination of even the most sober-minded geographer; when the geographer merged with the promoter -- as was so often the case after Hakluyt -- the geographic imagination was continually titillated by the prospects of undiscovered or unclaimed space and its possessor sought to titillate others.

In the 1720s much of the world was still unknown to Europeans; the interiors of most of the Continents were still a mystery to them. Some still believed in the existence of a North-West Passage, while **Terra Australis** continued to attract attention, and many still reported the existence of fabulous monsters. Defoe's response to the unknown was complex. He dismissed outright the more fanciful assertions of travellers, for example, the claim that mermaids and sea-monsters were sighted in Lake Zaire (AM, 256). But he accepted wholeheartedly whatever seemed to hold out the prospects of profit for the European colonizer, for instance, the existence of "many yet undiscovered countries" near the Spice Islands which have been left "for the Improvement of Posterity, and the Increase of Commerce in Ages to come" (AM, 203). Similarly, he prophesizes the eventual development of the vast, undiscovered region around Natal in South Africa: "it seems to be a country reserv'd
for the Discovery of future Ages, that they may have something to work upon and improve by, as well as this age and the foregoing have done" (AM, 257).

As usual, the action of the Elizabethan explorers in their search for trade routes and colonies in unknown or little known seas seem exemplary to Defoe. Even the failed endeavors to find the North-West Passage had borne fruits; not only did these voyages put to an end some of the wildest speculations about it, but the voyagers also "took possession of the Places and Coasts which they actually discover'd, in the Rights of the King of England; by which the Property of these Countrys is become vested in the Crown's sovereignty, and is part of the British Dominions to this Day" (AM, 280). English settlements in these northerly regions were already profitable because of the fish which swarmed in these cold seas and the fur-bearing animals which bred in these polar regions. And as for the vast extent of land which was still uninhabited by the English in what has now become North and Central Canada:

This Country, tho it may be objected that it is cold and barren, is found infinitely capable of Improvement, not only able to support vast Numbers of Inhabitants but also to provide plentifully for them, and to preserve them from the Inclemencies of the Air, and severity of the seasons. The land is abundantly fertile, and able to bear both grain and Corn, sufficient for the greatest Numbers both of Cattle and People that can be suppos'd to plant there; and the more people come there, the more the
Land would by planting and Husbandry be made fit for these purposes (AM, 282).

Perhaps reconciled to the idea that no one would explore these regions in his lifetime, Defoe once again imagines that Providence had reserved them for future ages.

Both as a geographer and as a writer in the Puritan tradition, Defoe seems to be inspired in these speculations by his belief in what we may call the concept of "the usable earth." The fullest exposition of this concept occurs in Clarence J. Glacken's impressive history of geographical ideas from ancient times to the end of the eighteenth century, Traces on the Rhodian Shore. Glacken notes how the discoveries in the New World aroused the admiration of Renaissance man at the prospect of so many habitable continents, and how the discovery reinforced traditional ideas about "the God-given fullness, richness, and variety of nature." The discoveries seemed to offer further proof of a divine plan in the ordering of the universe, a plan which involved the conquest of the rest of the world and exploitation of its resources by European Christians who were fulfilling the Biblical injunction to multiply and replenish the earth. It was believed that God in His wisdom had scattered the resources of the World and furnished different parts with different goods for man's use. Glacken quotes from John Ray's The Wisdom of God manifested in the Works of
the Creation (1691) to illustrate the point; Ray had observed "that materials (e.g., stone, timber, metal) are scattered on the earth 'to employ the Wit and Industry of an intelligent and active Being'." As we have observed in an earlier chapter, similar views fuelled the optimistic and scientific Puritan of the seventeenth century who believed that the earth had been designed for man's use through knowledge and discovery. On the whole, Puritan thinking emphasized the adaptive qualities of man and saw him as an active steward of nature. Though man had to work hard since the Fall to prevent his Garden from going to seed, he could still make it appear like Paradise. Indeed, since the Fall it was more reasonable to believe that "nature untouched by man is a lesser nature and the economy of nature is best where man actively superintends it."15

Such an attitude to nature based on the concept of "the usable earth" is evident everywhere in Atlas Maritimus. Thus in noting some valuable products which grow in an otherwise unproductive Nicosia, Defoe formulates the following maxim: "That the poorest and most barren Countries have something which the richest and best cultivated countries want; so making the Commerce of the World a necessary Consequence of that happy Variety" (AM, 212). If such an obscure part of the Old World can be so useful, the providential possibilities of the New World seem almost limitless. Defoe thus has
visions of an Africa and of the Americas teeming with riches, tantalizing the European inquirer to further discovery, conquest, and exploitation. An island like Madagascar, for example, is said to be "capable of anything" because of "the Bounties of Heaven" (AM, 233). Even the hottest part of Africa was thought to be habitable and exceedingly fertile, especially when compared to "the horrid, frozen, frightful uninhabited polar regions" (AM, 239). The denigration of the frozen North, however, is merely a rhetorical trick; when he talks of Greenland or of the land under the jurisdiction of the Hudson's Bay Company Defoe can be as fulsome in his praise of these regions as he is of Madagascar (AM, 134, 277).

Indeed, Defoe views the neglect of any part of the world by the trader or the colonizer -- whether in the frozen north or the torrid center -- as a reproach to European man's invention and as an abdication of his role in Nature. Not that Defoe ignores altogether the problems posed by extreme climatic or physical conditions; but he believes that what Nature at times makes difficult, can be made easier by industry. Colonies and the spirit of sober-minded experimentation could work wonders even in the most uncomfortable parts of Africa (AM, 267). And then there are compensations. If, for example, Nature had deigned not to give Africa ship-building material, it had given it "gold
and other valuable Goods sufficient to part with for the purchase" (AM, 274). The wonderful economy of Nature thus made colonization inevitable for the European.

If most of Africa still awaited the divinely appointed colonial yoke, America was already being cultivated according to the designs of "Providence". And if what was already discovered in North America was useful, what remained to be possessed was at least promising. In New England, the seemingly inexhaustible store of lumber and the many navigable rivers and inlets suggested that "Nature had contriv'd it" for the trade in naval stores (AM, 285). Though many of the New England regions still wanted names, "it will be seen that Nature did not prepare all these admirable Ports, Bays, Harbors, and Roads to no purpose, and 'tis like they will not want names when they don't want Business" (AM, 286). The land west and north of Boston was only seemingly wild; once it was cleared and cultivated, and once peace was made with the Indians and the French, "all the Lands between shall be as a beautiful Garden, and as populous as the best part of it now" (AM, 289). As for the land which has already been cultivated, for instance, Martha's Vineyard, it was so "pleasant and fruitful" that it was rightly called "the New England Paradise." Of the highly navigable Potomac River Defoe observes: "God has not made the like in any part of the world" (AM, 295). So many creeks and inlets in such
fertile fields have made the land ideal for large-scale plantations.

Like most of Africa and North America, the Caribbean region, and Central and South America, seem to be divinely apportioned for colonization. Barbados is viewed as "one large planted garden" (AM, 312); some of the Spanish possessions in the West Indies, though then neglected by their Spanish owners, are supposed "to be reserv'd by Heaven to encourage and reward the Industry of some nations in ages to come" (AM, 311); the vast tracts of land in Patagonia, also under the control of the ineffectual Spanish, are similarly held to be "fitted by Nature for cultivation and Improvement...adapted to the Constitution of Europeans, and for the Production of Corn, Cattle, and the most useful Products of the Earth" (AM, 317).

If Nature had thus appointed the European for the cultivation of the wilderness and had stocked the New World with goods essential for trade and colonization, it was the European's duty to develop nature's bounty energetically. Like most of his contemporaries, Defoe associated the mapping of the world with dominion over it and believed in approaching the environment aggressively. The most forceful exposition of Defoe's views about the exploitation of the environment appears in the conclusion of his 1706 poem, Caledonia:
Nature's a virgin very chaste and coy,
To court her's nonsense, if you will enjoy,
She must be ravish't; when she's forc't, she's free,
A perfect Prostitute to Industry;
Freely she opens to the Industrious hand
And pays them all the Tributes of the Land.
The strong Laborious Head she can't Deny
She's only Backward when they won't apply.
Here fruitful Hills and there the Flowery Plain.
Deep undiscover'd Funds of wealth contain.
The silver Veins and vast metallic store
Forbid to call her wildes & mountains poor.
(C, pp. 59-60)

The Atlas and the other tracts we have been studying have been written from this point of view; they all advocate aggressive, importunate action: the decisive exercise of power is always urged.

Other nations or races who fail to exploit their environment energetically are continually castigated. The Spaniards, no longer the force they had once been, are consistently censured for their seeming indolence and indifference to the countries under their control. Though "God and Nature" had given them "the richest and most fertile" parts of the New as well as the Old World, they were loth to improve them (AM, 159). The Spaniards, Defoe confesses, drive him almost to satire. For the Turks, he feels nothing but contempt. They are said to be "Enemies to themselves", for they have no interest in enlarging commerce or extending their empires as they were once wont to do. For
instance, he feels that it would not be too difficult for the Turks "to reduce the whole Ethiopian or Abyssinian Empire, and thereby possess the richest, most populous, and most fruitful country in all the Southern Part of the World" (AM, 191-92); instead, they chose to stagnate. Similarly, the populous and potentially powerful Chinese had the ability to be "a Terror to the rest of the World" (AM, 223); instead, they failed to expand or show any military prowess on land or at sea.

Not surprisingly, Defoe advocates aggressive, militaristic, and even terrifying action in the interest of trade and colonization. The violence implicit in the Caledonia couplets is paradigmatic. We have already noted the image of violation appropriated from Ralegh in his life of the Renaissance adventurer; such violence is also revealed in Defoe's diction throughout Atlas Maritimus. As in his History of the Principal Discoveries, for instance, Defoe declares that the North Africans should be "extirpated", "rooted out", "suppressed", or "driven inland" (AM, 239, 266, 267). In the Gold Coast, he proposes, European Companies should "drive" the natives inland and take control of the trade (AM, 271). Prophetically, Defoe foresees the day when the British would find it "necessary to dispossess the French" of their colonies in North America (AM, 282). Cold-bloodedly, he urges that the natives of Canada who were
resisting the British and siding with the French should be "reduced" to peace, "and a quiet neighbourly Behavior" (AM, 282-83). Defoe regrets that the first settlers of New England had initially come to terms with the natives, for many of these "Savages" were now checking colonial activity; he feels that the immigrants should have totally "extirpated the very race" or, at the least, "driven them out of the country" (AM, 291).

Not that Defoe wanted the English to have acted "the Spaniard with these savages" of New England from the very beginning; the settlers should have waited till provoked, and perhaps even then, "taken them all Prisoners, and transplanted them to some remote part of America, where they might have subsisted by Hunting as they did before" (AM, 291). Even though Defoe is very quick to denounce the Spanish for their cruelty, and although he frequently alludes to Las Casas' narrative of the extermination of the inhabitants of the West Indies by their European conquerors, he is not above reproaching the Spaniards for neglecting to neutralize the Indians of the St. Martha region of Central America, for had they been "entirely reduc'd, or had they been at first destroy'd, and were this country effectively peopled from Europe" it would soon become "one of the most happy, rich, and fruitful countries in the World" (AM, 306).

Such callous proposals on how to deal with the natives
of the countries which were to be colonized, and even the occasional qualms about extreme measures, are typical of colonial discourse. Proposals for colonization would usually suggest ways of dealing with the colonized, and would, in the process, reveal European preconceptions and prejudices. As a colonial propagandist—Defoe, too, had to consider the question of the subject races; *Atlas Maritimus*, therefore, contains all of his assumptions about non-European man.

In essence, Defoe's attitude to the people to be colonized is quite practical. Races who do not resist the colonizer or the European trader are praised; races who have repulsed the actions of the Europeans are treated contemptuously. Consequently, the traits which are praised are passivity, guilelessness, and even indifference; shrewdness and readiness to strike back are considered reprehensible. Nations who fail to fit into Defoe's scheme of things are dismissed as barbarous or primitive. In other words, Defoe judges other cultures entirely on the basis of their response to the European's exercise of power; his perception of other races is typically ethnocentric, condescending, and stereotyped.16

Defoe's favorite word of praise for the colonized is "tractable". The people of the Gold Coast of Africa and the Chileans of the southernmost part of Patagonia are thus recommended for being "tractable". The natives of Borneo are
also exemplary: they are "sober, virtuous, docile and apt to receive good Impression" (AM, 202) and are quite content to let other nations mine their riches. The Gold Coast natives are even better: "a plain, simple, honest people, offer no Injury to anybody, are peacable, mild, humble and gentle, they desire to trade with you, giving what they have to spare with great freedom, and receiving what they want with satisfaction" (AM, 246). Best of all, perhaps, are the converted Indians of Rhode Island and Martha's Vineyard, for they disprove the saying that "the savage will often peep thro' the most civilized native"; their lives are "very orderly" and they are "industrious" (AM, 288).

On the other hand, there are the many tribes and natives who have set themselves against the Europeans or have shown no interest in their wares. Among the worst offenders are the natives of Malaya and Indonesia, reviled on many occasions for being "surly, false and perfidious" in their dealings with European merchants. The latter had found "that the best way to treat with them has been by the Mouth of their Cannons, and this way they have frequently had the better of them" (AM, 204). As we have seen, the Moors of North Africa and the Indians of New England are similarly treated with contempt for being recalcitrant. With the notable exception of some of the Gold Coast tribes, most Africans are described as "a vile accursed Race" and are
given beast-like attributes (AM, 237). The North Africans are again described as worse than wild beasts, the West Africans became good slaves, and the South Africans could not be persuaded to wear any clothes except "their own vile clothes and skins, and half-dressed leather" (AM, 257).

As the previous chapter has demonstrated, Defoe saw the continual growth of the English wool trade as the key to England's continual prosperity. Defoe's plans for colonization and his view of the colonized are shaped by his desire to sell English cloth in captive markets throughout the world. The Portugese in Africa had shown the way; Portugese success in Christianizing natives and transforming those who, in his opinion, were savages into consumers, was the basis of Defoe's plan for English commerce. The Dutch, likewise, had managed to increase their trade by "civilizing" the inhabitants of their East-Indian possessions; their success was also to be emulated.

But if the natives were to be civilized for the sake of trade, they were, for the very same reason, not to be taught certain other things. Both in the Plan and Atlas Maritimus Defoe deplores European rivalry when traders outbid each other thereby teaching the natives to bargain for their goods. As he puts it in one of his many observations on the subject: "...the Negroes, who before gave our own Prices for Goods, were taught to be Hucksters and Brokers for one
another; the whole Sale of the Trade was turn'd" (AM, 209). The solution was to monopolize the trade by putting the natives under the jurisdiction of a single company or country.

At his most liberal, though, Defoe proposes the full integration of natives and colonizers. *Atlas Maritimus* offers us glimpses of what Defoe considers to be the ideal colony. Perhaps the most novel, even daring, of his many proposals on the subject is his scheme for Spain and its colonies. Defoe envisages a Spain peopled by its own citizens as well as its subject races who had been taught Spanish and brought up as Spaniards in one of its depopulated colonies before being transplanted. The author of the "True-born Englishman" gets carried away by his project for "true-born Spaniards" who would show no remains "of a barbarous original" and prove

that all the Differences under Sun consists in the Advantage of Education only; not in the Blood; not in Nature but in the Improvements added to Nature; and that the children of Indians and Heathens would be as polite, and as capable of all manners of Improvements as the children of the most and best polish'd Nations, if they had the same education.

Had this been done, how might the Commerce of the Spaniards have been extended in all those vast and rich Dominions which they possess in America? (AM, 161)

Cynics, of course, will observe that Defoe's Shaftesburyan
musings end characteristically in utilitarian and not truly benevolent assertions; also, anything to discredit Spain was commendable. We can, however, point out some other passages where Defoe commends racial integration or upholds harmony between the colonizer and the colonized. For instance, Defoe writes approvingly of some Mexican provinces where the Spaniards had successfully introduced the natives to Spanish culture and had mingled with them. Similarly, he praises Spanish success in teaching Central Americans to cultivate crops and grow prosperous through trade, though he cannot help regretting the substitution of "the Frippery of Poppery" for the idolatry of the natives (AM, 302).

If Defoe seems to oscillate between extreme cruelty and extreme benevolence in his musings on the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized, he shows a similar ambivalence in his discussions of slavery. Hans H. Anderson's "The Paradox of Trade and Morality in Defoe" is one of the earliest attempts to focus on this aspect of Defoe's thought. Anderson points out how Defoe vacillates from outright condemnation of slavery in his early poem, "Reformation of Manners" (1702), to an acceptance of it in *Colonel Jack*. Anderson believes that these contradictory positions are "an intimate revelation of the conflict between morality and commercialism" in Defoe's age. Apparently, morality triumphed in the conflict only when profits were not at
stake. In his survey of the British anti-slavery literature of the eighteenth century, Wylie Sypher notes that Defoe's fictional heroes approached the subject of slavery pragmatically: "...to buy, sell, or manage slaves is to many of his heroes a commercial project; consequently, slavery is among the countless matters of fact to be estimated by the tradesman's coarse thumb." After a more detailed analysis of Defoe's ambivalence towards slavery, and after a consideration of the contemporary debate about the merits and demerits of this practice, Samuel Kwaku Opoku declares that Defoe's attitude is "consciously designed," since such seeming ambivalence allowed him "at the same time to pay a hasty salute to Christian morality and humanitarianism while he concentrated on his more serious economic concerns."

Though none of these critics consider *Atlas Maritimus* in their discussions of Defoe's views on slavery, everything they say on the subject can be illuminated by our text for this chapter. At his most sympathetic, as when he considers the treatment of slaves in the West Indies, he acknowledges the "scandals" occasioned by the "cruel usage of these poor creatures" by their English masters; Defoe suggests that the evil could be avoided by converting the slaves to Christianity. The fear of the owners that the converted slaves would instantly demand liberty could also be avoided by "making Laws to secure the Property of their Masters" (AM, 111).
Characteristically bemused by the African practice of selling slaves and other valuables for the merest of trifles, Defoe quotes a line from his own 1702 poem, "The Reformation of Manners": "They barter Baubles for the Souls of Men" (AM, 237). However, Defoe also records how slaves "do not always come with Freedom and Good-will, but with Reluctance, and would take all occasions to escape" (AM, 247).

Defoe is quick to paint a rosy picture of those colonies where racial tensions do not exist. There were many such thriving settlements in the New World which excited Defoe's imagination. Thus Defoe writes glowingly of the city of Boston, its burgeoning population, trade and academic institutions, and general prosperity. Prophetically, Defoe declares that "in an age or two the British Dominions in America will be much more powerful than all the rest of the European colonies there" (AM, 293). The Potomac basin is depicted as a thriving area; he sketches the good life of its planters and describes their wealth and power.

Defoe also communicates to his readers a sense of wonder aroused by the affluence of the Spanish colonizers in Central and South America. Though inland cities and provinces are not his subject, he cannot resist offering a fascinated glimpse of Mexico City, "the richest city in the world" (AM, 298). Two double-columned folio pages depict the
opulence of its Spanish citizens and the magnificence of the city. Likewise, the luxurious life of the Spaniards of Chile and Peru attracts Defoe; visions of a golden world seem to have come true in the Spanish colonies of South America. Typically, however, Defoe ends his glowing account of this gilded region by rebuking the Spaniards for their indolence and indifference to the wealth of the surrounding countryside, wealth which he feels could be easily exploited by a more industrious race.

IV

The southernmost part of South America, or at least the area in the south neglected by the Spanish, is, as we have seen, one of the areas consistently presented by Defoe as eminently colonizable by the industrious English. Like other geographers in the Hakluyt tradition, Defoe sees it as his responsibility in Atlas Maritimus to target territories which would yield their riches to English colonizers. Consequently, Defoe's work swarms with suggestions for trade and colonization in the extra-European world. Like the South American scheme, most of them had been presented in his earlier works; Atlas Maritimus serves to bring them all under one cover, while suggesting some fresh proposals for the enterprising.
There are, however, few ideas for the colonization of Asia or for trade in the region. For one thing, the Asians appeared to be self-sufficient; for another, the East India Company was already ruining the English economy by shipping bullion to the region and importing goods detrimental to the English wool trade, even though these goods were banned in England. Still, there was hope for trade in some of the Asian countries if steps were taken to increase English settlements in them. Such measures would attract the natives living with the English settlers to "the European way of living; viz., in dressing, eating and drinking; by which the export of such Goods will come to be considerably increased" (AM, 231). The Portuguese colony of Goa, the English settlements in Fort St. George, Madras, Fort St. David and Calcutta, and Dutch plantations in Ceylon and the East Indies had already demonstrated the increase in consumption created by colonies; perhaps a few more settlements in Borneo or India would help.

If the scope for European expansion in Asia seemed somewhat limited, Africa and the Americas still offered countless possibilities. The uncolonized spaces and unexploited soils of these continents exhilarated Defoe -- all things seemed possible there with dedication and diligence. Of the two, Africa appeared to have the greater potential for "improvement". Most of the natives were still content to
barter trifles for valuables, the people posed no threat, and the climate was not entirely prohibitive. Specifically, Ethiopia should be annexed, for it abounded with pearls, gold, emeralds, ivory, and horses. Characteristically, Defoe uses a nota bene to emphasize his point: "N.B. Here is nothing wanting but the Possession of one Port, to open a Commerce from Europe, which, were it possessed by the English, would be of infinite more Importance than any Trade now carry'd at so great a Distance with whatever Part of the world" (AM, 195). Madagascar also seemed ideal for colonization because of its fertile soil, its livestock, its sheer size, and its prospects for growing cash crops like coffee, "if applied seriously to by the European nation who do or may settle her" (AM, 234).

But as far as Defoe is concerned, the immediate thrust for the colonization of the continent should be directed towards expelling the Moors from North Africa -- thereby reviving the glories of the Carthaginian empire -- and towards West Africa. This section of Africa seemed to hold the greatest prospects for immediate development: the land seemed capable of growing anything, the gold and the ivory seemed plentiful, and the supply of slaves was assured. Not that the region was unexploited; but the heat had discouraged many, and Defoe thinks it "proper to mention for the first time, that were this Country planted in Colonies and
settled Habitations, Towns and Cities built, and People brought over to inhabit," and more restraint shown by the settlers, the dangers of intemperance could be avoided, and the riches easily tapped (AM, 251).

Since this uniquely fruitful region was entrusted to the Royal African Company, and since interlopers were exploiting its resources, Defoe argues eloquently on its behalf. He narrates the history of the Company; detailing its early success, present problems, and prospects for the future. Indeed, the pages of Atlas Maritimus on the Guinea region amount to some special pleading on behalf of the Royal African Company, just as his later pages on the Hudson Bay area appear as if they were directed by the Company of that name.

Defoe, in fact, had been defending the Royal African Company as an interested party for some time. Though in some early Review pieces he had dissociated himself from it, in 1709 he had admitted a financial interest in it, still claiming to be unbiased in his defence of the Company against the separate traders:

I have lost money by their declining stock more than enough; indeed more than I can bear the weight of. I am not like to recover that loss by this way...and should their Stock rise, tis nothing to me...Neither have I one Farthing from them for writing on the subject.

(R, VII. no. 40, July 1710, p. 154)
Some people, nevertheless, seemed unconvinced by this disavowal, for in a later issue of the Review Defoe offers a reward of a hundred pounds to anyone who could prove that he was being dictated to, "matters of trade excepted" (R, VIII, No. 210, July, 1712, p. 842). However, this and an earlier admission that he had access to the Company's files (R, V, 1709), suggests that Defoe was perhaps in the Company's pay. Also, the fact that Sir Dalby Thomas, under whom Defoe had once worked and to whom the Essay on Projects was dedicated, was then the Company's Agent General in Africa, indicates a less-than-disinterested defence of the Royal African Company.21

The pages of Atlas Maritimus on the Guinea trade are written from a similar perspective. In effect, Defoe is restating in them the case he had made in his Review essays, two tracts on Africa (the 1711 An Essay Upon the Trade to Africa and the 1713 A Brief Account of the Present State of African Trade), and in his Plan of the English Commerce. In Atlas Maritimus Defoe urges the conversion of the Royal African Company's factories and fortifications into

settled Colonies and Habitations in which they might build, plant, sow, reap, and increasing in numbers, would possess the whole Coast next the Sea as their own; and then fortifying several Posts up the Country proper for trade, they might soon secure themselves against the natives, and trade with them too (AM, 272).
In Defoe's opinion, these measures would ward off the separate traders, expand the territory under the Company's control, and enable it to exploit its possessions more economically.

While Defoe's relationship to the Hudson's Bay Company has never been traced, we know from *Atlas Maritimus* that at least on one occasion he conversed with several governors of the Company and with a Captain Sargeant who commanded its operations in the North (AM, 328). Perhaps his contact with the Company and the information with which it provided him enable Defoe to expatiate on the potentialities of the land under its jurisdiction. "They tell us," he records, "that the Company have resolv'd to increase their Shipping, and to send over more Factors and Servants to extend the Colony, and plant further within the Country upon some Rivers to the West and to the South..." (AM, 327). Defoe appears to have all the relevant information about the Company's shipping routes, its trading intentions, and its plans for the future development of the Hudson Bay territory. Confidentially, he reports that he has been "assur'd by all hands" (AM, 328) of the viability of the Company's schemes for North America.

Apart from the area controlled by the Hudson's Bay Company, Defoe suggests English colonial activity in several
other sections of North America. The land west and north of Boston, the basin of the Sasquehannah and Potomac Rivers and the Carolinas still awaited concentrated effort. Much had been done, but much more could still be done in the North American colonies.

As we have seen, Defoe had his eyes on the Orinoco Basin and on Patagonia. The South Pacific also held great promise for the enterprising. In fact, except for Asia, wherever Defoe looked outside Europe, he could find room for English expansion; his map of the world was also a tribute to the earth's infinite possibilities.

V

"There is Room enough!" -- this is the one refrain heard in all of Defoe's texts which propose colonization as the panacea for English trade and commerce. But if the narrator of these texts is continually exhilarated by the sight of unending space, he is also constricted by the textual space available to him to convey his vision. Even if this space consists of the many double-columned folio pages of Atlas Maritimus, Defoe declares that he has not room enough to detail all the measures he would adopt for trade and colonization. Often, just when he is warming up to the subject, as in his proposal for the East India Company's
trade in Arabia, he remembers his mandate and cools his ardor by confessing, "I am confin'd by my Subject...." (AM, 235).

Perhaps the reason why Defoe feels so constrained is that the scope of his contribution to Atlas Maritimus has been clearly defined. The text of the work displays more order than one would expect from its author. Indeed, as the Preface indicates, Defoe gave some thought to the question of organization, especially since he was to write on the history, the commerce, and the geography of all the maritime regions of the world. Defoe solves this problem thus: "...as soon as the Description of one quarter of the World is finish'd, and the History of it spoken to, the Account of the Commerce follows, as a necessary Appendix to that Part, and a Consequence of the Things said before" (AM, iii). Occasional cross-references and forecasts of what he will say also suggest that Defoe has arranged his chapters carefully.

In addition, Defoe continually displays his fastidiousness in his treatment of details. He repudiates vulgar notions, discredits what is accepted without inquiry, and goes to great length to ascertain his facts. One example of this fastidiousness can be seen in Defoe's discussion of current theories concerning the origin of the Congo. Even though he had not hesitated to send his Captain Singleton
into the heart of Africa, he here dismisses geographers whose account of the river was "imaginary and mix'd up with invention and fables." He himself will only stick to what "has been seen, and is known to be" (AM, 257).

Defoe's show of fussiness extends to his treatment of place names. He spends a few paragraphs explaining why he included Madagascar in the East Indies to conform with geographic usage. Two paragraphs are devoted to the etymology of the Spice Islands. Defoe also deplores the confusion created by different nations' having assigned their own names to the various regions of West Africa, observing that "proper names ought to be the same in all Languages" (AM, 245). He discloses his irritation with such "ill-tuned and harsh unsonorous words" as Nantucket and Connecticut (AM, 284). On the other hand, a name like Annapolis is criticized as too pretentious since it was "Trade and People, not great names which must give life to colonies and cities" (AM, 285).

Defoe claims also to have taken special care to adapt his style to his subject. As he puts it in his Preface: his style was "various, according to the various Nature of the subject" (AM, ii). He must speak like a geographer and historian when giving a geographical and historical account; he must "use the Terms of Art which have obtain'd among Merchants and Tradesmen" when talking of commerce. He will,
in addition, avoid "all fulsom Panegyricks, all Bluster and Rhodomontades," remaining scrupulously objective in his description of places and nations (AM, iii). He will thus avoid failings in otherwise "valuable writers" who fill their works with "romantick Praises of this or that Country."

We must not, of course, accept Defoe's claim to objectivity and accuracy without qualifications. We have already noted how *terrae incognitae* led him to speculations; his prejudices and preferences should also be obvious from the preceding discussion. However, we know from the study of the other tracts that Defoe brought to his propaganda for colonization his bag of rhetorical tricks -- *Atlas Maritimus* is no exception to this practice. For example, he caps a series of paradoxes about the lack of communication amongst Africans despite Africa's extensive coastline with another series of rhetorical constructions which emphasize the suitability of the land for trade and settlements (AM, 238).

When Defoe talks specifically of the commerce of Africa, he is once again led to the kind of rhetorical excess he has faulted in other writers: "Now here, I say, the great Scene opens; This is the Country, this the Climate, where it may all be brought to perfection...." (AM, 251).

The stage metaphor and the rhetorical display remind us of Defoe's characteristic maneuvers in persuading his
readers to set out on colonizing ventures. The stylistic devices, like the proposals, are borrowed from the earlier tracts. As in the General History, Defoe strives to arouse European emotions against the North Africans by evoking images of the accomplishments and expansions of the Carthaginians, by picturing the North Africans as beastly or less than human, and by his lachrymose descriptions of the unfortunate treatment accorded to the European by the Arabs. As in the Plan of the English Commerce, Defoe uses organic metaphors to describe the process of trade and metaphors of sight to make his readers see his vision of a colonized Africa and America.

One group of imagery, however, is unique to Atlas Maritimus. Quite appropriately, Defoe writes this work from the point of view of the pilot, the traveller, or the globe-trotter. Adopting, the language of a navigator, he declares: "The Course I am now to steer is rather S.W. keeping the Coast of China in on board for a time" (AM, 201). As a sentimental traveller, he craves leave to rest a while and "to drop a tear" over the ruins of Carthage (AM, 239). But the most extensive use of the traveller image occurs in the pages on Mexico where, conscious of the limits set on his peregrinations, he sets aside the role of the geographer and adopts the tone of the tourist, setting out on an "excursion" designed to "give the reader an Insight
into the Wealth and magnificence of the Spaniards" (AM, 298). As a globe-trotter, he makes sure that his circumnavigation is orderly; thus when describing the North Coast of South America he makes certain that he has first described the islands off the Coast of Central America since "I shall not return this way" (AM, 307).

Whether as a pilot, a traveller, or a globe-trotter, or even as a trader, Defoe clearly makes good in Atlas Maritimus the claim he was to make in the Compleat English Gentleman: the well-read man could make the tour of the world in books, could uncover its secrets and discover its uses. Out of such knowledge came the confidence that the world could be possessed through what one read, the belief that what was distant could be converted for use here and now. Out of such knowledge also came the discourse of colonialism, to which Atlas Maritimus was just one more contribution.

In the first half of this dissertation we have examined four tracts by Defoe, tracts which purported to be about different things, but which were motivated mainly by Defoe's desire to convince his readers of the necessity of colonization. Although An Historical Account of the Voyages and Adventures of Sir Walter Raleigh is ostensibly a biography of a great and neglected Englishman, it is really a plea for the urgent colonization of the Orinoco Basin. Defoe's
History of Principal Discoveries pretends to be an attempt to record the most significant improvements in the Arts and the Sciences, but it actually is constructed to forward its author's pet projects for the colonization of North Africa and Patagonia. The Plan of the English Commerce sets out to survey the state of England's trade; it concludes with some concrete suggestions for the establishment of English colonies in North, East, and West Africa and for the production of naval stores in America. Finally, Atlas Maritimus, Defoe's geographic, historic, and commercial account of the maritime regions of the world, also turns out to be a blueprint for the colonization of all the unclaimed or underdeveloped regions of the world.

In these texts, Defoe stresses the importance of colonial activity for a number of reasons. In the Historical Account, Defoe urges colonization as a tribute to the memory of Ralegh and his vision of a tropical colony. In the General History, Defoe promotes colonization from a quasi-Baconian perspective which saw the exploitation of the earth's resources through science and organized discovery as basic to human progress. The Plan of the English Commerce presents colonization as a panacea for an English wool industry threatened from different quarters. Finally, Atlas Maritimus assumes new conquests and settlements to be desirable, given the European Christian's mandate to exploit effectively the
infinite resources of the world.

Though Defoe offers different arguments for coloniza-
tion in the four texts, he is always consistent in present-
ing them from the point of view of the expert. In the
Historical Account, he bases his claim to expertise on the
collection of facts in his possession because of his kinship
to Ralegh. The General History portrays Defoe as a Modern
who is fully cognizant of the great discoveries and is able
to offer fresh schemes for further discoveries. In the Plan
of the English Commerce he assumes the role of the expert in
trade who knows the formula for England's future economic
success. Atlas Maritimus, however, confirms Defoe's status
as a consultant in colonial affairs, not because he assumes
the tone of the expert, but because he reveals a formidable
mastery of economic, geographic, and historical details of
the world. The very fact that Defoe was entrusted by so many
subscribers to write the text of Atlas Maritimus points to
his standing in colonial and commercial circles as a spec-
ialist in possession of the latest and the best information.

These four texts suppose implicitly or explicitly that
the knowledge of the sort Defoe had mastered could lead to
power, that the information gathered from the study of books
and men could lead to control over the extra-European
world. The life and the works of a man like Ralegh who
pursued the path to power through knowledge provides the true context of Defoe's Guiana scheme; the *General History* assumes after Bacon that the knowledge of the world could lead to dominion over it; the *Plan of the English Commerce* pursues the path to national power and prosperity through the knowledgeable pursuit of captive markets; *Atlas Maritimus* bears testimony to Defoe's claim that a well-read man could uncover and possess the unclaimed resources of the world through books.

All of these texts are part of a tradition, or what we can call a discourse -- the discourse of colonialism. Ralegh was one of the initiators of this discourse, as were Bacon and the two Hakluyts. Political, intellectual, economic, and geographic treatments of colonialism all became part of the discourse, having a presence and a weight which created colonial texts like the ones by Defoe. His work, therefore, is representative of a tradition and thus unoriginal. Still, we have seen them as contributions to a collective formation. Also, at least one of them was addressed to an influential group of people who could further the discourse of colonialism and see to it that the knowledge contained in the work could be acted upon.

Though Defoe's claims to originality in the four texts can be denied, the imaginative status of even these non-fictional texts cannot. Defoe brought to them his skills as
a writer and as a propagandist. We have observed his narrative stances, his use of rhetoric, and his handling of images; we have also tried to trace the form of these texts. His use of conjectures and the themes and motifs which circulate in the text are often additional proof of the imaginative status of these colonial tracts.

Defoe, of course, was not content to exercise his imagination to promote English colonial activity only in his tracts. Between 1719, the year when he wrote the *Historical Account* and first announced to the world his intention to publish *Atlas Maritimus*, and 1728, when he published his text on the maritime regions of the world, Defoe resorted to a series of fictional works to propagandize on behalf of colonialism. We will now switch our attention to these works and see how he also used fiction as colonial propaganda and how his beliefs about knowledge, power, discoveries, commerce, and the rest of the world enter *Robinson Crusoe*, *Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, *Captain Singleton*, *Moll Flanders*, *Colonel Jack*, *the New Voyage Round the World* and the fictitious biography of Captain Mission.
NOTES


3 Ian Watt, The Rise of the Novel (London: Chatto and Windus, 1957), pp. 40, 41. We can also note the prices of some of Defoe's own works to illustrate the unusual price of Atlas Maritimus. The Historical Account and Adventures of Sir Walter Raleigh, like most of the tracts, was priced at a shilling; a copy of Robinson Crusoe went for five shillings; each of the four parts of the Principal Discoveries sold for one shilling.

4 Moore, Checklist, p. 217.


10 Quoted by Taylor in *Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography*, p. 100.

11 G.R. Crone and R.A. Skelton, "English Collections of Voyages and Travels, 1625 - 1846," in *Richard Hakluyt and His Successors*, pp. 88-89. The Thomas Astley referred to
above was a bookseller who undertook the massive *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels* in 1745 - 47.


16 How typically ethnocentric, condescending, and stereotyped these views were can be easily deduced from two books which deal with European perceptions of the world in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries: Margaret T. Hodgen's *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of


20 Defoe's confident predictions that the North American colonies would never be able to exist independently have, of course, been disproved by history.

21 There is a full discussion of Defoe's role in defending the Royal African Company in Chapters II and III of Opoku's work.
Chapter V
The Fictions as Colonial Propaganda

Between 1719, when Defoe published An Historical Account of the Voyages and Adventures of Sir Walter Raleigh, and 1728, when he finally had managed to see his Atlas Maritimus through the press after having worked on it for years, Defoe was churning out those wholly fictional works on which his real claim to greatness was to rest. In fact, the most famous of his imaginative productions, The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, Mariner, Written by Himself, preceded the "life" of Ralegh by a few months, while his encyclopaedic text for the Atlas Maritimus was published in the same year as the entirely fictitious "Captain Mission".¹ Not surprisingly, some of the concerns which inspired him to write about Ralegh, rewrite the history of the principal discoveries, construct a plan for English commerce, and expatiate on the maritime regions of the world also managed to find their way into the fiction. For example, regions which he held to be ideal for coloniza-

The conviction that through his superior learning European man could master his environment and subject other races or put them to work was the basis of the colonial tracts; the same conviction animates some of the fictional characters and guides their movements and their relationship with other races.

This is not to suggest, however, that the links between Defoe's tracts and his fiction are purely accidental, or that Defoe brought his colonial concerns to his imaginative works only because he happened to be working on some other projects at the same time. On the contrary, it can be assumed that Defoe quite deliberately chose his settings, his heroes, and his plots to present his favorite ideas to an even wider audience. As Maximillian E. Novak has observed in the process of representing Defoe's theory of fiction, "we can be certain that Defoe knew what he was writing in a given work for a given audience and that his fiction did not spring from the air."2

In a chapter on Defoe's fictions as colonial propaganda in *Economics and the Fiction of Defoe*, Novak has anticipated many of the arguments of this section and has suggested some of the homologies between the tracts and the imaginative works. Other scholars and critics have also commented on the close correspondence between proposals made in a tract like
the Plan of the English Commerce and a work like A New Voyage Round the World. Peter Earle, for instance, ranges in The World of Defoe over the non-fictional prose and the fiction and outlines Defoe's plans for the colonization of the extra-European world. Martin Green examines in Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire a few motifs common to the tracts and the fiction and discusses Robinson Crusoe and Captain Singleton in some detail as appeals to expand empires.

Novak's chapter on Defoe's fiction as colonial propaganda, Earle's survey of Defoe's view of the wider world, and Green's structuralist perspective offer valuable insights to anyone seriously interested in a study of Defoe's plans for colonization as expressed in the fiction. However, these writers essentially outline Defoe's colonial concerns or present them in summary form. Their chapters are suggestive rather than exhaustive. Consequently, there is scope for a study which considers Defoe's fictions as colonial propaganda in greater detail.

Jane H. Jack's "A New Voyage Round the World: Defoe's Roman `a Thèse," illustrates, in fact, the advantages of a more extended analysis of Defoe's fiction as expressions of his interest in colonization. Jack is able to demonstrate easily how Defoe constructs his whole book to interest his readers in one of his pet projects for commerce and colonization. While it must be admitted that Jack's method of
treated Defoe's fiction as a roman à thèse is best suited for a work like the New Voyage, her approach can further illuminate Robinson Crusoe, Captain Singleton and "Captain Mission."

A fictional work which purports to be a roman à thèse always runs the risk of stretching the truth or the limits of the genre to present its proposal. Partly for this reason, partly because Defoe had never visited any of the areas he was writing about, and partly because he was so often a conveyor of stock attitudes and ideas gleaned from his reading of colonial literature, Defoe's overseas settings are noticeably unrealistic. Often, Defoe takes advantage of the blank spaces of the world and fills it with whatever will best attract his intrepid heroes. Passages of discursive prose dealing with such topics as the prospects of starting anew in the new world (Moll Flanders) or the efficient exploitation of slaves in plantations (Colonel Jack) at times disrupt the flow of the narrative. Gary J. Scrimgeour's comments in his essay, "The Problem of Realism in Defoe's Captain Singleton," is instructive: "the real Defoe trademark appears not in the necessary though meretricious authenticity of his narrative, but in the way in which he uses it, the way in which both aesthetics and reality bow their heads before commerce." In other words, ideological considerations override Defoe's realistic intentions when-
ever he sets his fiction outside Europe.

While the studies discussed above are useful because they throw light on the setting, structure, theme, and the motifs of the colonial fiction, other studies can be illuminating because they focus directly or indirectly on Defoe as a colonial myth-maker. As early as 1912, for example, when serious study of Defoe's fiction had barely begun, James Joyce lectured on Defoe's success in creating the images of empire. To Joyce, Crusoe was "the true symbol of the British conquest," Friday "the symbol of the subject races," and Captain Singleton the archetype of Cecil Rhodes.4

While Joyce's observation on Defoe's fiction had little impact on Defoe studies for a long time, Ian Watt's essay, "Robinson Crusoe as a Myth" proved to be influential. In trying to understand why Crusoe has been apotheosized by later Europeans, Watt concentrates his attention on Defoe's creation of a culture hero who looked at the world "with the calculating gaze of colonial capitalism" and whose "programme of action is empire."5 To Watt, the mythical status of the book depended on the image of Crusoe on the island, achieving mastery over nature and natives through technology. Watt is also perceptive in his comments about the dark and irrational underside of the Crusoe myth -- Crusoe's loneliness and his tendency to convert personal relation-
ships into commodity value.

Novak, a critic who rarely agrees with Watt on anything, also sees Defoe "as the inventor of mythical characters and situations in a real, historical environment."

Novak, in fact, titled the book from which this quote is taken *Realism, Myth, and History in Defoe's Fiction*. Quoting an instance when Defoe compliments himself on his wonderful "mythological manner", Novak shrewdly observes that Defoe "must have realized that the phrase had overtones that went beyond complimenting himself for his ability to handle narrative."6 Though Novak does not comment specifically on Defoe as a producer of colonial myths, Martin Green, in the study mentioned above, does. For Green, the significance of a work like *Robinson Crusoe* lies in its being a "central mythic expression of the modern system, of its call to young men to go out to expand the empire."7

Now it is true that myth is a notoriously slippery term, and that none of these critics define it in quite the same way. While Joyce sees archetypes in Defoe's fiction, Watt notes the qualities which rank *Robinson Crusoe* with classics like *Faust*, *Don Juan*, and *Don Quixote*, classics whose plots and images "exhibit a single-minded pursuit by the protagonist of one of the characteristic aspirations of Western man." Novak, on the other hand, explicitly defines the term and reserves it for "those kinds of fiction that
tend away from the specificity of history towards general ideas, actions and characters." Still, it seems fair to surmise that Watt, Novak, and Green would all agree with the suggestion that Defoe's achievement in his fiction is in part due to his ability to produce the myth-images of imperialism. Defoe was a colonial mythmaker in this sense because he could create the symbols and images which could inspire men to action and embody the aspirations and longings of his age.

A study of Defoe's fiction as colonial propaganda can thus discuss his ability to create prototypical characters and situations and can benefit from the works of Joyce, Watt, Novak, and Green. Such a study can, in addition, learn from Roland Barthes' *Mythologies*. Barthes is interested not in the myths of antiquity but in the collective representations of mass culture designed to evoke stock responses. According to Barthes, myths can be encountered everywhere, and are everywhere duplicitious. They pass off as natural what is really artful. For our purpose, though, Barthes' decoding of Jules Verne's fiction and of a documentary film called *The Lost Continent* is particularly useful. About Verne's work, Barthes observes:

Verne had an obsession for plenitude; he never stopped putting a last touch to the world and furnishing it, making it full with an egg-like fullness. His tendency is exactly that of an eight-
eenth-century encyclopaedist or of a Dutch painter: the world is finite, the world is full of numerable and contiguous objects. The artist can have no other task than to make catalogues, inventories, and to watch out for small unfilled corners in order to conjure up there, in close ranks, the creations and the instruments of man. Verne belongs to the progressive lineage of the bourgeoisie: his work proclaims that nothing can escape man, that the world, even its most distant parts, is like an object in his hand, and that, all told, property is but a dialectical moment in the general enslavement of nature. Verne in no way sought to enlarge the world by romantic ways of escape or mystical plans to reach the infinite: he constantly sought to shrink it, to populate it, to reduce it to a known and enclosed space, where man could subsequently live in comfort; the world can draw everything from itself; it needs, in order to exist, no one else but man.10

Barthes could have said "European man", but it is fascinating to note how his reading of Verne's "bourgeois" myth of appropriation can easily be applied to a text like Robinson Crusoe.

In the essay on a documentary film titled The Lost Continent, Barthes decodes another contemporary myth, "the current myth of exoticism." What Barthes sees in the film can also be seen in the not-so-contemporary colonial settings of books like Captain Singleton and A New Voyage Round the World:

All told, exoticism here shows well its fundamental justification, which is to deny any identification by History. By appending to Eastern realities a few positive signs which mean "native", one reliably immunizes them against any responsible content. A "little situating," as superficial as
possible, supplies the necessary alibi and exempts one from accounting for the situation in depth. Faced with anything foreign, the Established Order knows only two types of behavior, which are both mutilating: either to acknowledge it as a Punch and Judy show, or to defuse it as a pure reflection of the West. In any case, the main thing is to deprive it of its history.11

For those of us who have wondered why Defoe's colonial landscapes seem so perfunctorily done, why his natives in the heart of Africa or in terra incognita all appear the same, all divested of history, or why a word like realism is inappropriate for much that happens in the fiction, Barthes' demythologizing offers another answer; the film's "myth of exoticism" seems not so different from the eighteenth-century myths of the non-European world.

In studying the phenomena of mass culture, Barthes consistently goes beyond the denotation of signs to their connotations. A celebrated example is his analysis of a front-page illustration of Paris-Match where a black soldier in uniform is saluting the French flag. According to Barthes, the literal meaning of the picture -- a black French soldier saluting the tricolor -- conceals the real meaning, for the soldier's salute, in effect, becomes frozen into "an eternal reference meant to establish French imperialism." The real message of the illustration, made absent by its literal sense, is nothing less than this: "The French Empire? It's just a fact: look at this good Negro who
salutes like one of our own boys." 12 Interpreted in this manner, Defoe's fiction can be seen as similarly duplici-
tious: Friday's willing acceptance of the burden of slavery, the slave Mouchat in Colonel Jack who becomes distracted with joy because he is to become Jack's servant, the island-
ers in A New Voyage who look at the heavens thereby indicat-
ing that they have some notion of a deity, are all instances where the literal meaning conceals the real message: so many races who could be easily manipulated into accepting the colonial yoke because of their passivity, ignorance, affection or even religiosity. 13

Defoe's fictions can, then, be read as myths of appro-
priation, exoticism, and imperialism. In this dissertation, however, we will concentrate on Defoe's ability to create the prototypical master (Crusoe), the prototypical subject (Friday, the Black Prince in Captain Singleton, and Mouchat in Colonel Jack), the prototypical explorer (Captain Single-
ton, the anonymous narrator in New Voyage), and the proto-
typical success stories of the colonies (Moll Flanders, Colonel Jack). At the same time, we will discuss Defoe's skill in perpetuating images of European superiority, rationality, and knowledgability (the methods which Crusoe follows to master his environment, the ease with which the protagonist and his men rise to the occasion again and again in Captain Singleton, the learning which the narrator demon-
strates in *A New Voyage Round the World*).

As we have seen in the first part of this dissertation, Defoe consistently believed that superior knowledge could lead to power over the extra-European world. A similar belief also controls his fiction. In "Knowledge, Action, and Interpretation in Defoe's Novels" Jonathan Bishop makes a similar point when he notes that the Defoean hero is a problem-solver for whom "knowledge and activity are the way, not merely to success, but to life itself." Bishop, though not interested in the subject of colonialism, observes in passing that Defoe's protagonists use their knowledge to gain ascendancy over, among other things, nature and natives. To develop this point and its relevance to the study of the fiction as colonial propaganda will be another task of this section of the dissertation.

Our study will uncover, however, not only the rational, ingenious side of the Defoean hero but also his darker, irrational aspects. These traits are visible especially in his relationship with other races. In this connection, O. Mannoni's treatise on the colonizer and the colonized, *Prospero and Caliban*, is very useful. Mannoni draws our attention to Crusoe's pathological fear of other men, his tendency to divide other races into extreme categories -- cannibals and slaves, Calibans and Ariels -- and his bouts of aggression and paranoia.
Another psychoanalytical reading of the novel, and one which seems to have arrived independently at a not dissimilar estimate of Defoe's best-known hero, is E. Pearlman's "Robinson Crusoe and the Cannibals". Pearlman's diagnosis is that Crusoe's character is "comprised of two strongly opposed yet equally immature sets of reactions, the authoritarian and the childishly violent." Crusoe is shown as projecting his darkest and most compelling fantasies into other races and landscapes -- hence the fascination with the abominations of cannibalism, lewdness in native women, and nudity.

It is not difficult to extend Mannoni's and Pearlman's conclusions, even if we disagree with some of their assumptions, to other Defoean characters. One example, which will be discussed later, is that of Quaker William, perhaps the shrewdest and the most memorable of the minor characters of the fiction. His uncharacteristic obsession with exterminating some recalcitrant natives undermines his extreme rationality. His behavior at this juncture can only be seen as an eruption into the surface of repressed hostility; the whole episode is like a fissure which betrays Defoe's real contempt for other cultures which can put up any sort of resistance.

Quaker William's savagery is all the more remarkable when we remember that Defoe at times advocates a tolerant,
enlightened, utilitarian approach to the colonized. But though remarkable, his actions are perfectly explicable when we remember the violence contained even in the tracts, for instance, the image of violation in the biography of Ralegh, the imagery of extermination in the General History of the Principal Discoveries section on North Africa, or the occasions in Atlas Maritimus when Defoe advocates the outright massacre or deportation of hostile or unfriendly races. Aggressiveness, acquisitiveness, restlessness, the willingness to impose his fictions upon others, are some of the qualities that the writer of the tracts and the characters of the fiction have in common.

To impose one's fiction on others involves dissimulation, feigning, theatricality. These are also traits noticeable in the hero who is a colonizer. Crusoe's manipulation of Xury and Friday, the artful lies used by Quaker William and Colonel Jack to further their own ends, Moll's ability to stagemanage events for profits, and the delight with which the narrator of the New Voyage deceives the Spaniards, show how fond Defoe's heroes are of self-fashioning and of using their intelligence to exploit others.17

All forms of colonialism are based on assumptions of intellectual superiority. Such assumptions include the desire to impose the colonizer's religion and language on the colonized, since the latter's culture, when admitted, is
held to be unsatisfactory or inadequate. Religious colonialism, for example, can be seen in the fiction in the bids to destroy native religious idols or to displace them by Defoe's brand of Christianity. The episode which comes readily to mind, of course, is Crusoe's conversion of Friday (though it contains a subversive element, for Friday momentarily disarms Crusoe with his probing questions). More dramatic, however, is the older Crusoe's unprovoked, wanton, and death-defying destruction of idols in Central Russia. Most revealing of all is the desire to appear to the ignorant and uninitiated as divine, thereby compelling obedience. Such attempts are often accompanied by the use of advanced technology -- firepower -- to further impress the subject race with manifestations of divine power.

Religious colonialism is often attended by linguistic colonialism. As Stephen Greenblatt has observed in a fascinating paper on linguistic colonialism, the view of the New World as "a vast, rich field for the plantation of the English language" has inspired many English writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Without any conception of native culture or the sense that the natives might be unwilling to abandon their mother-tongues, the European man of letters dreamed of propagating his language. As we have seen in Atlas Maritimus, Defoe condemns many of the Indian place names of New England since to him they sound
harsh, unsonorous, and barbaric. Crusoe's success in teaching Friday to speak is, of course, the best instance of linguistic colonialism in English fiction. But equally significant, though much less commented upon, is the assumption on which Crusoe's pedagogy rests: that Friday's mind is a tabula rasa, and that Friday, like all the other colonized races who appear in Defoe's fiction, is childlike, ready, and eager to be reformed in the white man's image. Unlike Shakespeare, who was ambivalent about this and other aspects of colonialism, Defoe will not make his colonized person curse his tutor in the new tongue. His fate is to speak pidgin for almost the rest of his life.

It is perhaps obvious by now that Defoe penned his fictions, among other reasons, to promote his favorite colonial schemes, and to further elaborate on his ideas as to how best the colonizer could function. Using the medium which was most suitable for spreading his message, drawing on his own reading of travel narratives, and sensitive as ever to the aspirations of his reading public, Defoe produced those works which were to initiate the tradition of colonial fiction.

In all probability, by turning to fiction and fictionalized narratives of travel to propagate his pet projects for personal and national improvement, Defoe was hoping to attract a wider audience than his tracts had gained. Though
it is difficult to categorize this audience, it is possible to guess at their professions. Most of them must have been part of the "middle station" to which Crusoe belongs. However, if we agree with Ian Watt in regarding Pamela as "the culture heroine of a very powerful sisterhood of literate and learned waiting-maids,"19 we must also agree in regarding Crusoe, Moll Flanders, and Colonel Jack as culture-heroes and heroines of whole brotherhoods and sisterhoods of footmen, artisans, small shopkeepers, younger sons born into the "middle station of life", criminals who were ready to begin life anew, and maid servants, all of whom wanted to make it, in England or the wider world. As a contemporary epigram has it: "Down in the kitchen, honest Dick and Doll / Are studying Colonel Jack and Flanders Moll." Similarly, Captain Singleton and "Captain Mission", both written to cash in on the contemporary interest in piracy and containing hints for investors and sailors, were aimed at a wider audience.

But if these fictions were all more or less successful because they aimed at a larger readership, works like A New Voyage, and The Four Year Voyages of Captain George Roberts -- which Defoe probably edited20 -- were meant for a much more limited audience, perhaps the type of men who subscribed to and bought Atlas Maritimus. The "Dedication" of the Four Year Voyages, for instance, suggests that "the
Description of the Cape de Verde Islands, the Products, Manufactures, &c. may be of use to my Countrymen trading thither" (FYV, A2 verso).

Deliberately then, and skillfully too, Defoe shaped his fictions for his reading public and contrived to interest them in his plans for English commerce. Building on the foundation laid by successive critics, and hoping to benefit from different approaches to the subject, the next three chapters will further elaborate on the fiction as colonial propaganda.

In Chapter VI, the significance of setting in the fiction will be studied. Drawing mostly on Defoe's knowledge of the world as revealed in *Atlas Maritimus*, we will try to show how Defoe selects the settings of his fictions to evoke specific responses in his readers. The chapter will then consider the question of realism in Defoe's colonial fiction. The inappropriateness of such a term for the settings of the fictions will be revealed. Finally, the chapter will endeavor to demonstrate how Defoe's colonial interests constantly interfere with his fictional concerns.

In Chapters VII and VIII, Defoe's heroes and heroines will be treated as prototypical colonizers, explorers, projectors, and planters. We will at first examine in Chapter VII how Defoe's protagonists exemplify the dynamic, purposeful, rational tendencies which make efficient colon-
izers. Assuming that Defoe wanted to instruct his readers in the method to be followed in building colonies or exploring new worlds, we will examine the empire-building traits of his protagonists.

Finally, in the last chapter of this dissertation, we will concentrate on the dark underside of Defoe's colonial concerns. This will mean largely a study of the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized in the fiction. The aggressive, acquisitive, manipulative aspects of the colonizer and the manner in which he imposes himself and his culture on other races will be examined. We will note also how at times Defoe's heroes reveal their uneasiness about their actions as colonizers and explorers. In concluding, we will suggest that the fictions, like the tracts, reflect the tension between commercialism and morality which was characteristic of Defoe and his age.
NOTES

1 The narrative of Mission's life as a pirate and his attempt to establish a colony was printed in Volume II of Defoe's *A General History of the Pyrates*. Volume I of this work was published in 1724 and Volume II in 1728. For further information on the publication history of this text see John Robert Moore's *A Checklist of the Writings of Daniel Defoe* 2nd ed. (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1971), pp. 187-89).


pp. 164, 167.

6 Novak, Realism, Myth and History in Defoe's Fiction (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), pp. 10, 16.


8 Watt, "Robinson Crusoe as a Myth," p. 158; Novak, Realism, Myth, and History in Defoe's Fiction, p. xiv.

9 E.M. Tillyard has also commented on the mythical aspects of Robinson Crusoe in his study of its epic elements. As Tillyard puts it: "He [Defoe] voices the 'accepted unconscious metaphysic' of a large group of men and...qualifies as their spokesmen by revealing a much more spacious mind than they themselves possess." The quotation is from Tillyard's essay "Defoe"; the essay is reprinted in Twentieth Century Interpretations of Robinson Crusoe, ed. Frank H. Ellis (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969), p. 76.

10 Roland Barthes, Mythologies (1957), selected and trans. by Annette Lavers (Frogmore, St. Albans, Herts.:

11 Barthes, p. 96.

12 Barthes, p. 125, 124.

13 See John J. Richetti's Defoe's Narratives: Situations and Structures (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975) for another attempt to apply Barthes' concept of myth to Defoe's works. According to Richetti, all of Defoe's fictions "fit Barthes' notion of 'myth' very well, for they may all be said to convert the historical world they describe into 'natural' arenas where survival is the defining problem" (Richetti, p. 32).


16 E. Pearlman, "Robinson Crusoe and the Cannibals," Mosaic, 10 (1976), 40.


Defoe bibliographers and scholars have always divided on the question of the attribution of the work. Some, like Thomas Wright and William Lee, have rejected any suggestions that the book was by Defoe. Others, like Walter Wilson, Paul Dottin, and James Sutherland, have exhibited various degrees of uncertainty in their attribution of the work. Recent Defoe scholars like Moore, Novak, and Manuel Schonhorn have confidently restored it to the Defoe canon. However, it seems to this writer to be at best an editorial job on his part, as is also the case with *Madagascar: Or,*
Robert Drury's Journal. The reasons for making such an assertion are too complicated to be discussed here, but a few quick observations can be made: the Cape de Verde Islands seem obviously unworthy of the detail lavished on them by their narrator; these details have, on the one hand, the vividness of authentic experience, and on the other, an unmediated quality which is not characteristic of Defoe. Also, in the light of what we have seen of Defoe's colonial concerns, it seems unlikely that he would pass up a chance of discussing the regions which he always praised for their colonizing potential, as does the narrator of The Four Year Voyages when reporting the experiences of a Charles Franklin in Guinea. For all these reasons, this work, like Madagascar: Or, Robert Drury's Journal will not be analyzed in any detail in this dissertation.
CHAPTER VI
Setting and Ideology in Defoe's Fiction

The thesis of this chapter is that whenever Defoe sets a fictional work outside Europe he does so because he associates the locale with some colonizing scheme or other. Most of the time, he will set the scene of his fiction in a specific place because he wants to promote the region for its colonizing potential. Sometimes, however, he uses setting negatively: either to inform his readers that a place was not of interest to the colonizer or trader, or to illustrate the dangers of dealing with a particular nation or country.

Defoe's use of Asian settings, for example, is largely negative; he has very few things to say about the Asian backgrounds of the narratives that are complimentary or enthusiastic. Indeed, despite their travels through the different countries of Asia, Defoe's protagonists usually neglect to describe the scenery and the people they meet there.

Defoe's disinclination to conjure any but the most negative image of Asia and Asians becomes understandable when we recall his attitude towards the East India Company. It
was his considered opinion that the East India trade drained England's resources, both because Indian and Chinese textiles were threats to English woollens and because these countries sucked in English silver while spurning European manufactures. Profits could be made easily by individuals or trading companies in such a trade, but the net effect was detrimental to national interests. In addition, as is obvious from any reading of Defoe's tracts or the essays collected in *Serious Reflections during the Life and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, Defoe was unimpressed by the levels of civilization reached in these countries.

As a result, though the older Defoe bases himself in Bengal and trades to his advantage in the East Indies, he does not offer any details of his experience in these regions. Though Crusoe confesses that his restless desire to stay in these countries was the result of his resolution "to see as much of [the world] as I could...[so that] I might say I had seen all the world that was worth seeing" (FARC, 213), it is curious how little of what he sees he cares to report. Indeed, conscious that he was shirking his role as a writer of a travel narrative, Defoe had his normally garrulous narrator explain a little earlier:

There are so many travellers who have written a history of their voyages and travels this way, that it would be very little diversion to everybody to give a long account of the places we went to, and
the people who inhabit there; these things I leave to others, and refer the reader to those journals and travels of Englishman, of which many I find are published, and more promised every day (FARC, 212).

And so Crusoe dismisses his voyage to Sumatra, to Siam, and his residency in Bengal as not worth talking about. Similarly, though Captain Singleton spends eight months in Goa, he has nothing to report about it or its inhabitants.

If Crusoe dismisses his visits to these Asian countries so lightly, he has at least a few things to say about China. However, Defoe's primary motive in taking his hero through China seems to be to denigrate Chinese civilization. He criticizes the rapacity of a Chinese mandarin, the primitive method of cultivation employed by the Chinese, their religious practices, and the weakness of the Great Wall of China. At one point Crusoe offers a vignette on the "Don Quixoticism" of a Chinese country gentleman (FARC, 258). But conscious once again that he had provided little information on the real China, Defoe had his narrator introduce his diatribe against China and the Chinese by declaring:

But when I come to compare the miserable people of these countries with ours, their fabrics, their manner of living, their government, their religion, their wealth, and their glory, as some call it, I must confess I do not so much as think it worth naming, or worth my while to write it, or any that shall come after me to record (FARC, 253).
In fact, so contemptuous is Defoe of the vaunted power of China that at the end of the diatribe he has Crusoe speculate on the ease with which the Czar of Muscovy, the most disorganized European power, could drive the Chinese out of China and conquer them in one campaign (FARC, 255). Even China, then, could be colonized by any European nation!

From China, Crusoe travels across Central Asia to Archangel. Almost fifty pages are devoted to Defoe's septuagenarian protagonist's heroic journey across this inhospitable region. If the terrain and the people Crusoe encounters in Central Asia are treated in greater detail than are those of India and China, the reason can again be traced to Defoe's colonial concerns. The most memorable event in Crusoe's Central Asian journey, Crusoe's destruction of the idols of a desert tribe, is explicable only in the light of Defoe's desire to force the tribesmen to practice the "correct" version of Christianity. Lest his readers fail to interpret the significance of Crusoe's denunciation of the Chinese religion and his destruction of the idols of the Central Asians, Defoe resorted to discursive prose in Serious Reflections to spell out his message: both China and Central Russia must be conquered and its inhabitants must be converted to Christianity (SR, 217-218).

If the Asian mainlanders are treated perfunctorily or contemptuously or as only fit for conversion into a higher
state of being, the inhabitants of Malaya, the Indonesian archipelago and Ceylon are considered with even more dis­taste. In *Atlas Maritimus*, Defoe repeatedly denounces the Indonesian islanders for their aggressiveness and recommends that the most brutal measures be taken against them. The inhabitants of Malaya, he finds, are "cruel, perfidious and bloody" (AM, 197). The most effective method of dealing with the Indonesians perfected by English merchants, he reports, was by "the mouth of their cannon" (AM, 204). Elsewhere he concludes that "the manufacture of Europe are of no use to them, but we rather make use of them than they of our own" (AM, 220). The same hostile attitude colors Defoe's description of the islands and the islanders in his fiction.

In *Captain Singleton*, Singleton and his band sail on their final cruise to the East Indies. Their outward journey is uneventful but on their homeward passage they confront hostile natives in an island not quite in the Indonesian archipelago, but in unknown seas further south. Singleton records in considerable detail the hostility of the islanders and Quaker William's assault on their retreat. From here, Singleton's ship returns via the Indonesian archipelago to Ceylon. In Ceylon some of the sailors enrage the natives by flirting with their women. The Ceylon episode, based upon Robert Knox's narrative, is presented at great
length. At its conclusion, Defoe, either to anticipate charges of plagiarism or to further underline his message, retells Knox's story, since "it cannot but be very profitable to record the other story...to show, whoever reads them, what it was I avoided, and prevent their falling into the like, if they have to do with the perfidious People of Ceylon" (CS, 288).

The narrator of the New Voyage similarly paints very uncomplimentary portraits of the Malayans, the Indonesians, and the Ceylonese. The Malayans are called as "fierce, cruel, treacherous, and merciless set of human devils as any I have met with in the face of the whole earth" (NVRW, 87). Likewise, the Ceylonese are labelled everything from "false" to "barbarous" to "treacherous" (NVRW, 82). What especially rankles the narrator, it becomes clear, is the unwillingness of these natives to part with their own goods except on their own terms. Defoe goes to some length in both books to make his message clear to his readers: stay away from these islands, or if you do visit them, be prepared to use force against their inhabitants.

The only Asian regions which come off unscathed in Defoe's narratives are the Spice Islands and Borneo. However, since the Dutch had colonized these islands and had monopolized their trades, Singleton and his band are forced to deal furtively with the natives. This may account for the
cursory treatment of these islands, despite the evidence of the profitability of the trade which can be carried on in them.

Defoe, then, tends to ignore Asian settings since he viewed the prospects of trade and colonization in this continent negatively. Only when he contemplates the spread of the gospel among the heathens did he admit Asians into his schemes. But if Asia and Asians are neglected in the fiction, Africa and Africans certainly are not. As we know from our reading of the *General History of the Principal Discoveries*, the *Plan of the English Commerce*, and *Atlas Maritimus*, Defoe had very clearly-defined and elaborate plans for the colonization of this continent. In particular, North Africa, Guinea and the Gold Coast, and Madagascar are the foci of Defoe's colonial schemes. In addition, the fact that most of the interior of Africa was undiscovered and unclaimed was an endless source of speculation for Defoe. Not surprisingly, all these regions figure prominently as the settings of his fictions.

Crusoe's captivity in North Africa has elicited some comment, but no one has made the connection between it and Defoe's repeated denunciation of the North Africans in his tracts, his attempts in them to arouse European feelings against the North Africans, and his proposals to drive them inland and take possession of their lands. But we can at
least adduce the observations of one commentator to show how Defoe could have exploited Crusoe's captivity to further his colonial schemes. In "Escape from Barbary: A Seventeenth-Century Genre," G.A. Starr, after noting how the heroes of these species of travel narratives exhibited endurance and resourcefulness, declares that among the motives of their authors was the desire to induce pity for the captives and to emphasize the threat to navigation posed by the pirates. To someone familiar with Defoe's projects for this part of the world, these are two obvious reasons why he has both Crusoe and Singleton as prisoners in Barbary.

It must be admitted, however, that Crusoe is not treated as brutally by the Barbary pirates as they were reputed to deal with their prisoners. Still, Crusoe is a "miserable slave" and is made to do "the common Drudgery of Slaves" (RC, 19). Perhaps Defoe thought that this, and Crusoe's allusion to another English slave from whom he was apparently isolated, was enough to arouse stock emotions in his readers. In Captain Singleton, Defoe paints a briefer, but much more vivid, picture of the cruelty of the Barbary pirates. Singleton reports that his wounded master is "very barbarously" treated by the captors. He himself is whipped "most unmercifully with a flat stick on the Sole" of his feet, so that he can "neither go or stand for several Days together" (CS, 3-4).
Crusoe escapes from his captors in a long boat and sails southward towards the Cape Verde islands. En route, he stays close to the coasts of the Western Sahara region. In *Atlas Maritimus*, Defoe had described these coasts as insufficiently charted, "Wild" and "desolate" (AM, 245). Even in the tract, he had vividly evoked their desolation:

> If you go on Shore in the Night, you are entertain'd with Nothing but the Howling of wild Beasts, Wolves, Tigers, and Lions. As for the People, where they are, for it is but in some particular Places, and that chiefly by the River sides; they endeavor to steal from you, and are so miserably poor that they have nothing either to give you or to sell to you, and if they cannot rob you, they'll watch all occasions to murder you (AM, 246).

Certainly, it is not a place worth colonizing and it is not strange to find this area described in almost the same terms in *Robinson Crusoe*. Thus, when Crusoe and Xury sail up a creek, hoping to swim to the shore and discover the country, their plans are thwarted because they hear in the dark "such dreadful noises of the Barking, Roaring, and Howling of wild creatures, of we know not what kinds" (RC, 24). These hideous sound effects are repeated thrice in the next few pages, and though Defoe undoubtedly dwelt on them for their sensational qualities too, he meant to alert his readers to the unsuitability of the region for human habitation. And not content with mere sound effects, Defoe makes explicit
the point of his hero's experience. As Crusoe puts it:

...that Place where I now was, must be that Country, which lying between the Emperor of Morocco's Dominions and the Negro's, lies vast and uninhabited, except by wild Beasts, the Negroes having abandoned it and gone further South for fear of the Moors; and the Moors not thinking it worth inhabiting, by reason of the barrenness, and indeed both forsaking it because of the prodigious Numbers of Tygers, Lyons, Leopards and other furious Creatures which harbour there,,,(RC, 26-27).

In Atlas Maritimus, Defoe, after describing the wild, inhospitable coasts of West Africa, notes how suddenly the situation changes as one travels further south and crosses the Senegal River. The countryside is no longer sparsely populated, the inhabitants no longer hostile or unwilling to trade, the land no longer barren. In fact, as we know from Defoe's defence of the rights of the African Company in his tracts and in his Review essays, he considered the entire region south of the Senegal to be potentially very profitable for English commerce. In these works, he emphasized the region's resources -- gold, ivory, slaves -- and speculated on the many products which could be grown here because of the fertility of the soil, the abundant rainfall, and the plentiful supply of labor. The fact that there were so many people was stressed since they could be easily turned into consumers of English textiles. According to Defoe, the tribes who lived in the interior were mostly simple (unlike
some on the coast who had been spoiled by greedy traders), and could be relied upon to trade their treasures for trifles. Finally, most of the land in the interior was still unclaimed by any other European nation.

For all these reasons, Defoe placed some of his heroes in West Africa. Thus, before being captured by the Barbary pirates, Crusoe had traded successfully in Guinea. For an investment of £40 in toys and trinkets he had received a return of almost £300. After Crusoe's journey south from the wastelands of the northern coasts of West Africa, he encounters the friendly and impressionable people of the southern shores of the region. Though intent on sailing to some European settlement, Crusoe says that he is sorry to leave his "friendly negroes" (RC, 31).

The most extended use of West Africa as the setting for Defoe's fiction, however, is to be found in Captain Singleton. Singleton and his band enter the region after their heroic trek across Africa. To them, the riches of West Africa are everywhere in evidence: the country is more densely populated and the people friendlier than those they met in the heart of Africa; gold and ivory are strewn throughout the land; the natives are only too willing to trade these precious items for beads and trinkets and provide the explorers with fruits and vegetables.

Amongst one of these tribes, Singleton and his men come
upon an Englishman who is obviously the fictional counterpart of the Mr. Freeman whose real life adventures Defoe had narrated in some detail in *Atlas Maritimus*. This man directs the band southwards and reveals to them vast deposits of gold and ivory. Even the rainy season of this fruitful land has its blessings, for it gives the natives the opportunity to raft piles of ivory down the river. After the rains end, the Englishman persuades Singleton's company to stay a little longer to see, and profit from, the "Thousands of savages [who] spread themselves over the whole Country, to wash the gold out of the Sand" (CS, 165). Not surprisingly, at the end of their long march, everyone becomes fabulously rich by selling off his large share of gold and ivory.

Undoubtedly, Defoe makes the most of Madagascar as a setting for his narratives. There were several reasons for Defoe's fascination with this island. For one thing it is the fifth largest island in the world. It had a few European settlements in the south, but most of it was still uncolonized. The numerous native tribes were reported to be too divided to pose a threat. The land was fertile; as Defoe put it in *Atlas Maritimus*, it was "capable of anything" because of "the Bounties of Heaven" (AM, 233). In addition, sailors could use the numerous creeks and inlets of the island to anchor and could provision themselves by trading with the
islanders for their voyages to and from the East Indies. Indeed, so suitable was this island for settlement that it had attracted pirates of various nations. As a result, there was also a romantic interest in the island. For all these reasons, Defoe repeatedly sends his heroes and pirates to it.

Crusoe's stay in the island in *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, though relatively brief, is quite eventful. The initial rapport which exists between the islanders and the ship's crew is ended by the latter's indiscretion. A bloody battle ensues and the sailors set a native town on fire.

Evidently, Defoe wants to dramatize the dangers of dealing with the Malagasay tribes. They were ready to be imposed upon to an extent and were willing to barter provisions for baubles but were also volatile and ready to fight back. This is the reason why when Singleton is stranded on the island with some other mutinous sailors he finds the inhabitants ready to provision them, but also "an ignorant, ravenous, brutish sort of people" (CS, 25). Nevertheless, Defoe wants to paint a positive picture of the island, especially of its northern coast which was still unclaimed by any European nation and which he thought was best suited for colonization. So when Singleton and the others cross this part of Madagascar on their way to the mainland of
Africa, he is allowed to express his regret at leaving a place which seemed to have no rival in the world if a man's "business indeed was only to eat and drink" (CS, 44). This is how Singleton elaborates on this theme:

I confess, I liked the Country wonderfully, and even then had strange Notions, of coming to live there, and I used to say to them very often, that if I had but a Ship of 20 Guns, and a Sloop, and both well Manned, I would not desire a better Place in the World to make my self as rich as a king.

To someone who is familiar with Defoe's method of composition, it seems probable that at this point Defoe was toying with the idea of sending his hero back to Madagascar to settle there as a pirate captain who had made enough of a fortune to live in retreat in an island paradise. But as it turns out, when Singleton does return to Madagascar later as the captain of his own pirate ship, he shows no intention of staying in the island for a long time. Still, Defoe makes use of the occasion once again to have Singleton recommend the virtues of North Madagascar (CS, 209, 221).

Like Singleton, the captain of the New Voyage first lands on the south of the island in Port St. Augustine. Like Singleton, he trades trinkets for provisions with the islanders. His ships then head north where they are reprovisioned with "excellent beef", "several large cheeses" and butter. The fleet soon leaves Madagascar, for though the
Captain finds it "a country fruitful, populous, full of cattle...and the land able to produce all manner of good things" (NVRW, 81), he has other, more promising, lands to survey with his colonizing eyes.

Unlike Crusoe, Singleton, and the captain of the New Voyage, all of whom treat Madagascar as a temporary stop on their world voyages, many of Defoe's pirates make the island a permanent base for their buccaneering activities. In fact, most pirates found the stretch of Madagascar from Tamatave to the Bay of Diego Suarez in the northernmost part of the island ideal for a "retired" existence: the climate was warm; the supply of provisions plentiful; there were no threats from legitimate colonizing powers; and the natives were too divided to drive them out.

Though the most famous of the pirates who resided in Madagascar was Captain Avery, Defoe makes very little of the island as the backdrop to that legendary figure's activities in his two published biographies (The King of Pirates and "Of Captain Avery" in The General History of the Pirates). More attention is paid to the island in the biography of Captain England, but not because the setting is tied to the buccaneer's exploits. In the manner of Atlas Maritimus, the narrator of England's story catalogues the produce of the island and notes that it was also capable of producing "Cotton, Indigo, or any other Things they will take Pains to
Plant, and have understanding to Manage" (GHP, 130). The "they" is curious, since it does not refer to the pirates or the natives. It appears that Defoe has forgotten for the moment that he was writing a biography and has adopted the voice of the writer of the colonial tracts. In this voice, Defoe provides information about the currents around the islands, the natives and their relationships with the settlers.

Unlike Captain England, who shows no interest in Madagascar, Misson, the fictitious pirate captain whose story is told in two chapters of the General History of the Pirates ("Of Captain Misson" and "Of captain Tew and his Crew"), makes the island the site of the colony of Libertalia. Misson's history, perceived as "one of Defoe's most remarkable and neglected works of fiction" by Maximillian Novak,4 becomes notable for us at this point. Advised by his deist Lieutenant Seignior Caraccioli, Misson establishes his colony on egalitarian principles in Diego Suarez, the northernmost point of the island.

Defoe makes a definite attempt to situate Misson's activities in a specific context and for once tries to give distinctive traits to some of the islanders. Misson and his men marry some of the women of the neighboring Johannian Island and assist that island's bid to defeat its next-door adversaries, the Mohillans. A lengthy speech by one of the
Johannian ambassadors who proposes peace is reproduced; the treachery of the Mohillans against Misson, who had advocated an enlightened approach to the vanquished nation, is described; there are elaborate accounts of the love and affection displayed by the Johannian wives of the pirates. The Johannians are not completely idealized, however; when Misson asks for their assistance in building his colony, their counsellors are shown to be divided on the issue.

The fascinating story of Misson's bid to build an utopian society in Madagascar is mingled with the fate of a real-life pirate, Captain Tew. Misson's fictitious band is blended with Tew's buccaneers; secure in their base, these men resume their piracy. In the process of describing the Pirate society, Defoe manages to insert what is his most sustained plea for the colonization of Madagascar, based supposedly on the papers of an English Quartermaster who had established a separate settlement in the island:

This Island of Madagascar affords all the Necessaries of Life, and yields to none either in the wholesomeness of the Air, or Fruitfulness of the Soil: The Seas around it are well stor'd with Fish; the Woods with Fowl, and the Intrails of the Earth are enrich'd with Mines of excellent Iron, as I have learn'd from some Natives, by their having Arms of that Mettle; and doubtless there are here both Gold and Silver Mines in the Mountains.

The Soil will produce Sugar, Cotton, Indigo, and other Growths of our American Colonies, and at a far inferior Expense, as I will make plain....

But, to proceed to other Advantages, all Sorts of medicinal and dyeing Woods may be carry'd from
hence to Europe; and your Woods for fire Works, as Iron-Wood, Cedar, Mahogany, etc. are here in great Abundance.

If a Colony, with a lawful Power, were settled here, no doubt, but many of the Commodities which we fetch from the Indies might be made here, as Silk, Cotton, etc. the Soil being proper for their Production.

The Natives are, or seem to be, very humane; and they have such Plenty of black Cattle, that we have bought an Ox of 800 lb. Weight, for a Pair of Breeches.

Besides, a Settlement here would be a Curb on Pyrates, and a Protection, as well as a great Conveniency to our East-India Ships, who might be here stored with fresh or salt Provisions....(GHP, 435-436).

The slight uncertainty expressed in this "report" about the natives is significant: the community of Libertalia, after first declining for internal reasons, is eventually destroyed in a treacherous attack by the locals. As he did in the Farther Adventures and Captain Singleton, Defoe, though always enthusiastic about the prospects of colonizing the island, seems to be warning his readers against any uncritical or wholehearted acceptance of the Malagasays.

Defoe, then, uses the African settings of his narratives to promote his favorite colonial schemes for North Africa, Guinea and the Gold Coast, and Madagascar. On one major occasion, however, he leaves behind whatever he knows about Africa with any certainty to launch his hero into the continent's terra incognita. This occasion, of course, is the long march of Captain Singleton and his men from the
Mozambique coast, where they had landed after sailing from North Madagascar in the hope that they would eventually reach the coast of Angola or Guinea.

This long section of Captain Singleton has attracted some critical attention. A.W. Secord, for instance, has called it "the most striking feature of the story." One reason why Secord finds it so fascinating is that Defoe, though making use of the scanty information that was available, had sent his characters on a voyage of discovery into the heart of the African darkness. In Atlas Maritimus, Defoe observes that from the Cape of Good Hope to the Portuguese settlements in about latitude 18 degrees south lay "a very good Country" which, though "inhabited wholly by Savages" at the present, was "reserv'd for the Discoverers of future Ages" (AM, 258). Admitting throughout the Atlas Maritimus the lack of information available about the interior of Africa, and preferring to leave the southern part of the continent undiscovered because of the contemporary confusion about it, Defoe, nevertheless, displays everywhere his enthusiasm about the prospects of trade and colonization in these undiscovered regions. For example, though he is ready to concede that some of the inland countries of Africa were probably uninhabited, he is confident that this uninhabited and unimprovable stretch was smaller in size than the wastelands of Asia or America. As far as he could perceive, and
from what exclusive sources told him, most of the interior of Africa was populated, productive, and not unpleasant.

Relating Singleton's journey across Africa is Defoe's way of dramatizing his beliefs about the potentialities of the interior of the undiscovered parts of the continent. And since this part of Africa was not charted, Defoe has no qualms about dotting his Africa with imaginary landscapes and peopling it with countless tribes. As a result, we have more description of the topography and the races encountered by Singleton's band than in the other settings we have been considering.

More attention, certainly, is paid to the physiography of the continent as Singleton and his men travel north and then west along the banks of a river. In the first stage of their journey, the countryside is described as fertile and everywhere populated. As Singleton puts it:

All the Country on the Bank of the River was a high Land, no marshy swamp Ground in it, the Verdure good, and Abundance of Cattel feeding upon it, whereever we went, or which Way soever we look'd; there was not much Wood indeed, at least not near us, but further up we saw Oak, Cedar, and Pine Trees, some of which were very large.

The River was a fair open Channel about as broad as the Thames below Gravesend....(CS, 78).

As this passage is very characteristic of Defoe's description of distant settings, we can pause to make a few com-
ments on it. We notice, first of all, how generalized and vague it is. Also, we can note the measures Defoe adopts to defend himself from charges of inaccuracy ("...at least not near us...some of which were..."). His attempts -- unconvincing as they are -- to see English trees and rivers in Africa -- are designed to ensure the reader of Africa's potentials and the resourcefulness of such men as Singleton.

Further upstream, the band negotiates strong currents and witnesses waterfalls. As they enter a wilder landscape, they continue to meet African tribes who abound in cattle and who grow "a sort of Corn like Rice" (CS, 87). Even after thirty days of marching, "The Country held verdant, well grown with Trees, and spread with Rivers and Birds, and tolerably well with Inhabitants" (CS, 89). They climb down to a flat land and up again to view in the distance "a vast howling Wilderness, not a Tree, a River, or a Green thing to be seen, for as far as the Eye could look; nothing but a scalding Sand, which as the Wind blew, drove about in Clouds" (CS, 97).

Though intimidated by a desert landscape inhabited only by wild animals, Singleton's band marches on. There are aggravating circumstances: the hot, unpleasant air, the absence of shelters, the frightful wilderness music of predatory animals. Relief comes from a burst of rain and from a huge lake at the edge of the desert. And, of course, there
are compensating circumstances: vast repositories of ivory, "enough to load a thousand Sail of the biggest Ships in the World" (CS, 106); fish in the lake, forage for the cattle the men are using as beasts of burden; game birds, civet cats, and deer. To dare even into a desert is to open new doors for commerce and colonization.

In resuming their journey, the band has to climb again. The countryside now appears green and pleasant. Even more tantalizing is the discovery of a "golden river" where they find nuggets, "sometimes as big as a grapestone" (CS, 115). Defoe has his narrator reflect wryly at this point on how gold was "the makebait of the world," hoping no doubt to hook many an adventurous Englishman to the heart of Africa through his gilded landscapes. Conveniently, the rainy season forces the men to stop by the golden river. Here they witness predatory animals, hunt "abundance of wild fowls such as we have in England...and some kinds that we have never seen before" (CS, 125), and catch a great deal of fish "so that we wanted no provision." If gold is the "makebait", this is the real attraction: such an abundance of fauna familiar to the Englishmen would tempt at least some of them to see the land and perhaps settle in it.

At the end of the rainy season the men start out again and eventually coast along another vast lake. Here, for the first time, they encounter "an ugly, venomous, deformed kind of snake" (CS, 129). For these Adamic adventurers in the
primeval landscape, this is a portent: they will soon enter into a "strange, wild, mountainous, barren [region], infinitely full of most furious wild Beasts;" the first of two truly inhospitable and unproductive stretches the band braves in its long journey. For Defoe, references to these stretches are his concessions to the popular view of the interior of Africa as a hazardous wasteland. However, he makes sure that this first stretch is not too long; the men can still see in the distance a verdant countryside, where (after a long time), they are offered provisions by a friendly people.

These people direct them on a northwesterly course to another great lake past the equinoctial line. A false turn leads the men into another frightful and barren stretch, but once again far-off mountains assure them of relief. Yet, even this wasteland is not entirely unproductive, for the band makes use of the brinish rivers flowing through the terrain to manufacture salt which they had lacked in their earlier stop by the golden river: an instance of the way in which nature had made different regions of the world depend on each other. When they leave the inhospitable stretch behind and enter the mountains, game is again plentiful. Hares, fowls, cattle provide food while elephants' teeth scattered throughout the land suggest future gain. In addition, they meet friendly people who provide them with
provisions. Once out of the mountains they enter an even more densely populated and fertile region; in fact, they have now reached the part of West Africa which we have already described earlier.

Defoe, then, has taken some care to give his readers the illusion of a vast and varied Africa. However sketchy, vague, and improbable his description, he has moved his characters through a constantly changing landscape. He has also made sure that they moved mostly through fertile, populated, and rich lands. Unfortunately, no such variety is to be found in Defoe's characterization of Africans. Africans as a people are simplified into two classes, friendly tribes and treacherous ones. In every other way they are the same: naked, savage, equipped with bows and arrows, eager to trade valuables for trifles, easily impressed by firearms, unable to communicate with their neighbors; in short, people who could be easily subdued and colonized.

Still, Defoe's description of his African settings is quite full compared to his North American landscapes. Perhaps because the Atlantic states of North America were relatively well-known, Defoe offers very few details about the background against which his characters move. Instead, he concentrates almost exclusively on plantation life and with broad strokes presents images of success to entice more settlers.
Almost the only detail that is offered of North American topography in *Moll Flanders* and *Colonel Jack* is that a huge and intricate system of rivers flow through the fertile states of Virginia and Maryland. To readers of *Atlas Maritimus* familiar with Defoe's fascination with the many estuaries and streams which flow into the Chesapeake Bay, this is not at all surprising and is entirely meaningful. In the tract, Defoe shows himself to be enthralled by the navigability of the rivers of the region. What especially impresses him is that as a result of the intricate river system within which the plantations were set, every plantation became a city, "every House a Sea-Port, and every Planter...a Merchant" (*AM*, 299). As such, the plantation owner created value, corresponding directly with the English businessmen for "all kinds of European goods, for himself, his servants, and for his plantation." Nor was this all; the typical plantation owner helped other poorer planters who began life under him to start their own plantations and advanced them credit for "whatever they want," secure in the knowledge that he would be repaid at the end of the season since every planter "is sure of a Harvest." This *Atlas Maritimus* passage on Virginia-Maryland planters ("for Maryland is Virginia, speaking of them at a distance" [CJ, 151]) should be coupled with the following lines from Defoe's *Plan of English Commerce* to fix the parameters of
Defoe's fictional interest in the New World:

Here you dispose of your encreasing Numbers of Poor, they go there poor, and come back rich; there they plant, trade, thrive, and encrease; even your transplanted Felons, sent to Virginia instead of Tyburn; thousands of them, if we are not misinformed, have by turning their Hands to Industry and Improvement, and, which is best of all, to Honesty, become rich substantial Planters and Merchants, settled large Families, and been famous in the Country; nay, we have seen many of them made Magistrates, Officers of the Militia, Captains of the good Ships, and Masters of good Estates...

The Consequence of the diligent labouring Man there, is always this, that from a meer Labourer he becomes a Planter, and settles his Family upon the Land he gains, and so grows rich of Course (PEC, 304-5).

To Defoe, then, Virginia-Maryland was a land of huge rivers flowing through fertile and vast tracts of land where every plantation was like a city and where every diligent planter was assured of success.

Consequently, it is no surprise to find the setting for Moll Flanders and Colonel Jack described almost entirely in terms of the rivers on which Moll and Jack sail. At various times, Moll sails up or down the York, Potomac, and Rapahan-nock Rivers. On one occasion a river is described: after sailing down the Potomac on a stormy night, Moll comments on the river's width and on the even vaster Chesapeake Bay. This, and the fact that the area called Phillip's Point where they settled was "very fertile and good" (MF, 330), is
about all we know of the physiography of the places she settles in. Similarly, Jack sails up and down the Potomac and a small river which flows into it, but this is all the information we are given of the setting of his rise from penury to prosperity.

There is, however, more detail offered of plantation life than of the physiography in both Moll Flanders and Colonel Jack. From Moll's mother-in-law (who turns out to be her own mother) Moll learns of a country inhabited by many ex-servants and convicts who, after serving their time, were given land and credit to establish their own plantations, and who, in due course, became "a great Man" or a "Justice of the Peace" or some such successful member of colonial society. Moll's mother herself is an example of diligence rewarded in a land which lacks only women to make wives, as we know later from Moll's concern about her son Humphry (MF, 337).

Typically for Defoe, a plantation is described in Moll Flanders chiefly in terms of its growth (calculated mostly in monetary terms) and by its need for capital and for labor, both black and white. The cash crops are specified, as are the goods needed to start a plantation. We are offered glimpses of the good life and can picture Moll's husband, Jemmy, spending his time in aristocratic fashion by hunting. There are images of conspicuous consumption, especially of
the kind which can boost English commerce and stimulate its textile industry:

Here we had a supply of all sorts of Cloaths, as well for my Husband, as for myself; and I took especial care to buy for him all those things that I knew he delighted to have; as two good long Wigs, two silver hilted Swords, three or four fine Fowling pieces, a fine Saddle with Holsters and Pistoles very handsome, with a Scarlet Cloak; and in a Word, every thing I could think of to oblige him; and to make him appear, as he really was, a very fine Gentleman: I order'd a good Quantity of such Household-stuff, as we yet wanted, with Linnen of all sorts for us both...The rest of my Cargo consisted in Iron-Work of all sorts, Harness for Horses, Tools, Cloaths for Servants, and Woollen-Cloths, stuffs, Serges, Stockings, Shoes, Hats and the like, such as Servants wear, and whole Pieces also, to make up for Servants....(MF, 340).

What Defoe wants his readers to imagine is clear: life in the plantations was promising and comfortable for the individual and profitable for England (from where all these goods were being imported).

Colonel Jack's rise to prosperity is even more dramatic, if only because he starts from scratch (unlike Moll, who has shrewdly brought some money along), and because it is painted in more vivid colors. Sold to a plantation owner, Jack begins life as a servant to a "man of substance and Figure in the country" (CJ, 119). Much is made of his master's power and wealth. Rewarded for his diligence with the post of overseer, Jack is given a horse to ride all
over the plantation and a horse-whip "to lash the slaves and servants" (CJ, 127). Because of his success in handling the slaves, Jack is given a plantation in Maryland of 300 acres and credit to acquire capital goods and labor from England. From this point onwards, Jack prospers as a planter. The stages in his progress are marked by frequent references to the increases in his number of servants, the numbers of acres planted, and the value of the produce of the plantation. And just as Jack has been launched as a planter by his master, he helps to set up another repentant criminal on the road to success.

In contrast with Moll Flanders, however, Defoe's portrayal of plantation-life in Colonel Jack is not entirely rosy. In the beginning, Jack declares that he and the other servants "worked hard, lodg'd hard, and far'd hard" (CJ, 119). A little later, Jack notes the constant need for new hands in the plantation because every year some of the servants and slaves "grew infirm and unable to work; others went off, their time being expired; and others died." We are given some revealing glimpses into the life of the black servants: they are shown to be rebellious, undisciplined, given to drink and capable of violent outbursts. Even the white servants are at times shown under strain. One of them, who turns out to be Jack's estranged first wife, faints and is carried to the infirmary. It is a place which even its
owner disapproves of, since it "really was only a Place just fit for People to die in, not a Place to be cur'd in" (CJ, 252).

Such a full and even unflattering picture of plantation life is certainly untypical of Defoe's colonial fiction. One wonders if Defoe considered these scattered details as irrelevant to the more appealing images of success that he was creating. If so, such "superfluous" details about slaves and servants in the New World are not to be integrated into the "meaning" of his story; in fact, they tend to subvert it. On the other hand, they make his North American settings credible.

Defoe's most celebrated New World setting, however, is not the Virginia-Maryland of Colonel Jack but Crusoe's island. Defoe does all he can to make us aware of the specific location of this imaginary place. His title-page, for instance, establishes that Crusoe lived "in an uninhabited Island in the Coast of America, near the Mouth of the Great River of Oronoque." In the book itself, Crusoe reports that his ship is first driven by one storm from north of the Amazon Basin towards the mouth of the Orinoco and then lashed by another till it wrecks (RC, 42). Much later, Crusoe discovers that his island was in the very mouth of the river and within viewing distance of Trinidad and that he had been marooned amongst the Caribs, whose island terri-
tory "reaches from the Mouth of the River Orionooko to
Guiana, and onwards to St. Martha" (RC, 215).

Because Robinson Crusoe has attracted so much critical
attention, the link between the position of Crusoe's island
and Defoe's colonial schemes has not been overlooked. John
Robert Moore first made this connection in his biography of
Defoe. Maximilllian E. Novak also made the same point, first
in Economics and the Fiction of Daniel Defoe, and later in
Realism, Myth and History in Defoe's Fiction. In the latter
work, Novak shows how in the Weekly Journal of 7 February,
1719, Defoe had "announced a new scheme for a colony at the
mouth of the Orinoco where Crusoe was to be shipwrecked."6

Both Moore and Novak have also noted the similarities
between Defoe's description of Sir George Somers' shipwreck
and struggle for survival with his men in Bermuda in Atlas
Maritimus and Crusoe's story.7 A closer reading of the tract
will reveal yet other parallels between Defoe's account of
the Caribbean countries in his tract and the island setting
of his fiction. In Atlas Maritimus, Defoe berates the Span-
ish for their failure to colonize many of the Caribbean
islands and the St. Martha's region in the mainland of South
America. Providence, he feels, seems to have reserved these
islands "to encourage and reward the Industry of some
Nations in Ages to come" (AM, 311). Defoe has no doubts
about the economic potentials of this area: "The Fruitful-
ness and Richness of the Soil, and the Goodness of the Climate is fully explain'd by all writers" (AM, 312). When cultivated, an island like Barbados becomes a "large, plant-ed garden." As for the Orinoco Basin itself, Sir Walter Ralegh had conclusively demonstrated that this still unpossessed region was fertile, rich in products, and populous.

When we turn from the Atlas Maritimus to Robinson Crusoe, we find all of Defoe's expectations about the Orinoco Basin and the Caribbean realized in the island which he has created for his hero. Indeed, it is striking how full of resources Crusoe's island really is. It has fowl, hares, goats, fish, turtles, and even penguins and seals (Defoe must have known that these creatures did not live in these latitudes, but he probably included them in any case for good measure). On the other hand, the only unwelcome animal that is named in the book is a fox. This is important to Defoe; as he notes at one point, though Crusoe had been marooned in a place without any other people, he had at least "found no ravenous beasts, no ferocious Wolves or Tygers to threaten my Life, no venomous creatures or poisonous, which I might feed on to my hurt" (RC, 132). More important than the fauna of the island was its extraordinarily fertile soil. Some husks of corn which Crusoe had spilled out unthinkingly become, one month after the advent of the rainy season, "perfect green Barley of the same kind
as our European, nay, as our English Barley" (RC, 78). This discovery astonishes Crusoe; he is even more amazed when he finds next to the barley "some other straggling Stalks, which prov'd to be Stalks of Ryce." These stalks evidently sprang from some chicken feed which he had spilled, also unthinkingly.

If the barley and the rice indicate the kind of crops which could be introduced so easily to the island, consider its natural produce. On one scouting trip alone Crusoe discovers tobacco; "divers other Plants which I had no Notion of, or understanding about, and might perhaps have Virtues of their own," "large Plants of Alloes" and "several sugar Canes" (RC, 98); melons, grapes, Cocoa Trees; Orange, Lemons, and Citron trees. Not surprisingly, such a cornucopia soon transforms Crusoe's conception of his island: it now appears to him as "a planted Garden" (RC, 99). We may note that Defoe would use this same phrase to describe Barbados in *Atlas Maritimus*, but we should note also that Crusoe's island is even more remarkable because it has become so fruitful without being cultivated. No wonder that at this point Crusoe confesses to "a secret kind of Pleasure" in being "King and Lord of all this Country" (RC, 100). Nor was this all. On later occasions, Crusoe discovers trees which "might possibly be as tough as the sallows, and willows, and osiers in England" (RC, 107), ideal for making
baskets; "Savanna Fields sweet, adorn'd with Flowers and Grass, and full of very fine Woods" (RC, 109).

It is true that at moments of spiritual depression and loneliness, Crusoe's island appears to him as a prison. It is also true that the island has its negative aspects: fierce rain, earthquakes, and cannibals. But the negative aspects are undoubtedly neutralized in Crusoe's balance sheet by his realization that God had spread a table for him in the wilderness. In fact, at moments Crusoe feels that he possessed "infinitely more" than what he could survive on (RC, 129). Indeed, in the sequel it becomes only too obvious that the island is capable of sustaining a full-fledged colony.

Defoe takes care in Robinson Crusoe not only to describe Crusoe's island in terms of its resources but also in terms of its geographical features. We are given a fairly full view of the island's size, climate, and terrain. Crusoe is often shown climbing a hill to observe his island's situation, or reconnoitering it, or recording the duration of the seasons. We know that the island had brooks, meadows, wooded zones, hills, open fields, and plains which were more fertile than those of the place which Crusoe had decided to call "home".

In The Farther Adventures, Crusoe discovers that his island was in an archipelago in the Caribbean sea. Three
Englishmen from his colony who venture out discover that another island was inhabited by a "very courteous and friendly people" (FARC, 71), while some other tribes were hostile or even cannibalistic. However, someone like Friday proved that these savages could be easily made slaves and could be won over to Christianity. Even the recalcitrant natives were no real threats; Crusoe, after all, had demonstrated how easily a single white man could dominate, convert, or drive out scores of savages.

Defoe's heroes also travel to other islands in the Caribbean and trade with the Spanish or the Portuguese in some of their island and mainland colonies. Crusoe himself spends some productive years in his Brazilian colony; both Captain Singleton and the narrator of the New Voyage touch some port or harbor in Brazil to trade or to reprovision their ships; and Colonel Jack carries on a very profitable but illicit trade with Spanish merchants in the Spanish West Indies and Central America. But since none of these countries fitted into Defoe's colonial schemes, they will not deserve our attention. Still, it is worth noting in passing that Defoe does not fail to depict the opulence of the Spanish colonizers or their readiness to trade directly and illicitly with foreigners for English textiles, especially for fine English cloths.

Indeed, one of Defoe's recurring assumptions about the
colonization of the New World is this: if the slothful, unenterprising Spanish could prosper so impressively from their American colonies, what could not the industrious, ingenious English do in the unclaimed spaces of South America? In A New Voyage Round the World, this assumption is reiterated forcibly through a Spanish planter who falls into the hands of the narrator-captain. The Spaniard declares: "'We Spaniards are the worst nation in the world that such a treasure as this could have belonged to; for if it had fallen into any other hand than ours...they would have searched farther into it before now'" (NVRW, 213). The affluence of the Spanish settlers is made obvious in the glimpse that we get of this man's household: everything in his house is made of gold or silver. The only other detail that we are offered of the people who live in such luxury is of the lady of the house, but besides the fact that she was 'charming', forty years old, and usually under a veil, the narrator finds worthy of mention only her face, since it was "covered with emeralds and diamonds" (NVRW, 237).

Not only is the Spanish planter quick to criticize his countrymen's indifference to the wealth of their colonies, but also he is eager to guide the narrator through the countryside to see for himself the wealth that was lying unexploited. From this Spaniard and from some local Indians the narrator acquires all the information required to launch
an expedition into the vast, open, unclaimed, and undiscovered country south and east of the Spanish settlements. He learns of the bitterness felt by the natives because of their treatment at the hand of the Spanish colonizers and their willingness to welcome any other nation who would displace the Spanish. He is informed of passes through the Andes to the open country beyond, of rivers which flowed from the mountains to the Atlantic, of delightful valleys in the middle of these highlands, and of the richness and fertility of the plains.

Intrigued, the narrator sets out to reconnoiter the region and mark the routes through which a larger exploring party could enter the wide, open country. In the first stage of his mission, he notes the prominent features of the country settled by the Spanish. Guided by the Spanish planter, the narrator discovers for himself the truth of his host's declaration that gold was "the growth of that country...such as cloth, linen, fine silk, etc. were the gold of Europe" (NVRW, 232). The narrator observes the abundance of cattle, the fertility of the country, and the temperate climate. He is told that further south land was even more plentiful and cattle, horses, and hogs more in evidence.

In reporting the economic features of the countryside, Defoe does not neglect those spectacular aspects of the
setting which would attract the more adventurous section of his reading public. One striking instance is the description of a suddenly active volcano which wakes up the narrator in fright one night. Later, when he and his men resume their scouting mission and leave behind the Spanish settlements, the narrator is terrified by "the prodigious height of the hills" and of waterfalls which fell "sometimes from a height twenty times as high as the Monument" (NVRW, 248-249). Still later, they come to a land of "ever-lasting day" -- a valley in this "Elysium" lighted eternally by the flames from the towering volcanoes which surround it. Small streams suddenly become torrents after sudden showers. But never one to be engaged by the sublime or by landscape for its own sake, Defoe makes certain that the scouting party finds gold all over this rugged terrain. Even the molten lava is said to be streaming down molten gold from the peaks of the mountains!

From these heights, the Captain and his men descend to fertile valleys inhabited by hospitable Chileans who live in small villages in houses built of a kind of reed which grows in the region. One of these Chileans is in the frame of mind which one would expect from a citizen of this Shangri-La: "a state of perfect tranquility wanting nothing more than what was necessary" (NVRW, 264). Lest this sounds too philosophic, we should remind ourselves what such a state of perfect
indifference to riches -- for "he had gold as it might be said for picking it up off the dunghill" -- means to Defoe: such a man would never object to someone else who knew that gold was gold!

Finally, the narrator reaches his goal, the edge of the mountains, from which point he can view the vast, open country beyond. Even from the heights, the country seemed to have a pleasant and fruitful soil, "and no doubt was capable of cultivation and improvement" (NVRW, 268). From the distance, they can also see a great body of water and many streams draining the plains. The Spanish gentleman assures the narrator that the vast stretch of unoccupied land, because of its temperate climate and fertile soil, is especially suitable for colonization. The Spaniard declares that the land is there for whoever settled in it; his countrymen are not interested in it; and in any case, possession gives legitimacy. He invites the scouting party to assay the soil; the results indicate the abundance of gold in this part of the world.

If Defoe seems to be doing his best to make his readers treasure Patagonia, and if he seems to be paying more attention to the topography than is characteristic of him, we must remember that Defoe always wrote of the Patagonian plains in the most glowing terms and often at great length. As we have seen in previous chapters, this region was
central to Defoe's colonial projects for England. From the time he was an advisor to King William III to his last major tracts on trade, commerce, or the great discoveries, he had persistently advocated the annexation of the region by England. His plans called for two English colonies, one on the Pacific coast of Chile and the other in the Atlantic coast of Patagonia. He also felt that the two colonies could be linked overland by a route through the Andes which made use of the water system which drained the plains.

In fact, all that Defoe has written about the continent in the *New Voyage* to the point where the narrator has satisfied himself with the results of his scouting expedition can be considered a warm-up to the main event: the actual crossing of the plains by an expedition sponsored by the protagonist and led by one of his trusted lieutenants. But while the expedition braves it across the mountains and the open country, the narrator directs his fleet round the Cape in the hope that he will be able to rendezvous with the explorers somewhere near Port St. Julian. He had already had an opportunity to observe this Atlantic coast of Patagonia when his ships set out on their voyage round the world; now, while waiting for the men to arrive, he has even more leisure time in which to discover the country.

What the narrator reports amounts to a full-blown picture of the promised land. He notes the presence of game
birds and animals and "guianacoes or Peruvian sheep" (NVRW, 293). The country appears to be especially suitable for animal husbandry since it is "a noble champaign country, the plains all smooth and covered with grass, like Salisbury Plain" (NVRW, 292). The soil is tested and declared promising since it was "a light, black mould, and in some places a rich loam, and some marl, all of which are tokens of fruitfulness...." And as the sailors move around the region to meet their mates from the exploring party, they discover rivers, inlets, and harbors. They also come across a post erected by the real life explorer Sir John Narborough which was there to stake the country for King Charles II; a further detail inserted to legitimize English claims to this part of South America.

The pages describing the narrator's experience in, and observation of, the east coast of Patagonia, however, seem superficial and unconvincing when compared to the adventures of the exploring company which crosses Patagonia from the Andes to the Atlantic. These men, in fact, have the task of illustrating Defoe's theory that an overland link between a colony on the Pacific and a colony on the Atlantic was possible and that the territory in between was worth possessing because of its riches.

One reason why the account of the trek across the Patagonian plains is so convincing is that Defoe does not minim-
ize the dangers and obstacles created by the terrain (For this reason the trek is also much more thrilling than Singleton's trek across Africa). The terrain offers one challenge after another to the men who traverse it. Thus, the way down from the Andes is shown to be difficult because of precipices and rocks. From the heights the men descend via a hilly country to a lake which becomes a sea after flash floods. The numerous rivers and streams which criss-cross the plains also turn into torrents after sudden bursts of rain. Repeatedly, the exploring party's attempts to navigate on the lake or on the rivers are frustrated by the sudden rises in the water level, or strong currents, or by cataracts. Often, their progress is impeded by incessant rain. It is only when the rains stop and the rivers return to their old channels that they can float down the intricate water system to the sea.

Though these obstacles test the men's ingenuity, impede their progress, and threaten their lives, they do not prove to be insurmountable. Nor is the terrain without its attractions. Indeed, Defoe takes pains to picture the colonizing potential of the land. As in Captain Singleton, his chief bait is gold and he scatters it very liberally all over the country. The explorers find gold by the river banks and by the lakeside. Even the flash floods contribute to the harvest of this precious metal, for the torrential rivers
carry gold down the mountains. In fact, there is so much gold that greed, rather than nature, threatens their survival on many occasions when they neglect to take adequate precautions against the elements because of their obsession with the gold.

Nature is also bountiful in the Patagonian plains in other respects. Even in the midst of the floods on the river, the men, Crusoe-like, balance their disadvantages against the comforts offered by the country, and find consolation in the weather, the freshness of the water, and their ability to raft on with the help of poles in the not-too-deep water. And though most of the country is unwooded, the men find enough trees everywhere to fashion rafts, floats, and canoes to travel to the sea.

Most importantly, the land appears to be full of game animals, cattle, and fowl, and seems fruitful and sufficiently elevated at many points. A few days after the exploring party leaves the lakeside, the explorers come across "a rich, pleasant country, level and fruitful, not so low as to be exposed to the overflowing of the river, and not so high as to be dry and barren" (NVRW, 323). Towards the end of their journey, as the men approach the Atlantic coast, the land again appears to be elevated and fruitful, like "the county of Dorsetshire and the downs about Salisbury, only not lying so high from the surface of the water, and the
soil being a good fruitful dark mould, not a chalky solid rock as in the country about Salisbury" (NVRW, 336). As Jane H. Jack has observed, when Defoe compares the country to the downs about Salisbury, "he is praising it in the very highest terms" for, only a few months earlier, he had "devoted several enthusiastic sentences to Salisbury Plain" in his Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain.9 (What Jack overlooks is that Defoe considers the land to be even superior to Salisbury Plain). And as for the low land which was so easily flooded, even that "might be better land if it had but half of the art and industry of an European nation to assist the natural fertility of the soil" through embankments and such other barriers against flooding.

Defoe, then, chooses this and the other extra-European settings of his fiction mainly to illustrate their colonizing potential. This is the reason why a guide like the Atlas Maritimus can help us understand the significance of setting in his imaginative works: what Defoe says of the prospects of the various maritime regions of the world is what he seeks to dramatize in his fictions. There is, however, one occasion when the Atlas Maritimus -- or for that matter any other tract that he wrote -- proves to be inadequate as a guide to his use of overseas settings in his fiction: the voyage of the sailors of the New Voyage in the South Pacific. The following lines from Atlas Maritimus show how little Defoe, or his contemporaries, knew about this part
of the world:

...the South-Sea, however large and void of land in the Middle or Torrid Zone, is yet in the South as well as the North part of it not only full of great and large Islands, but of several Tracts of Land, which for ought we know may be contiguous to America, or to other Parts of Land not far distant especially to the North. As for the South, tho tis true our Ships have discover'd a continued Sea round Cape Horn, yet they have never gone far West in the Latitude but they have seen Land, which for ought we know may be one Terra Firma, for 2000 Leagues and may join to Asia, or to other vast Continents not yet discover'd, and extend even to the South Pole, and from thence we know not thither (AM, 323).

Though this passage reveals Defoe's ignorance about the islands of the Pacific, it shows that he was not reluctant to speculate about the presence of land masses in the ocean. Since the Atlas Maritimus did not offer him much room for speculation, at about the time he was working on the tract, Defoe let his imagination go in the New Voyage. Freely inventing the details, Defoe sent his sailors on a voyage of discovery across the uncharted sea to illustrate his belief in its potentials for trade and colonization.

Only a few days after he had set a south-easterly course from the Ladrones for his fleet, the narrator-captain of the New Voyage sights a vast stretch of land on the Pacific. He sends some men up a stream to make contact with the natives. The islanders, after initially shying away from
the sailors, greet them with provisions, readily parting with them for beads and trinkets. The produce of the island is noted repeatedly: the men find spicy herbs; green vegetables which prove to be good cures for scurvy; coconuts, roots, cabbages, plaintains, oranges, lemons, maize or Indian corn; items which have the prospects of becoming cash crops like cinammons and fragrant plants; and animals like hogs and goats. The natives also attract the attention of the men: two of their women who come naked to the boat seem to be delighted to be draped in linen and decked with beads. The women exhibit gratitude for such good usage and encourage their countrymen to trade with the sailors. What particularly impresses the voyagers is that unlike the inhabitants of the tropical islands these people were unarmed and inoffensive. The fertility of the land and the peaceable, hospitable nature of its people who are willing to part with their goods and eager to be draped in clothes, make this place ideal for colonization.

Defoe, however, is using this island only as an appetizer to the delectables to come. His narrator-captain decides after staying in it for seven days that it offered "no great matter that could be the subject of trade; but an excellent place to be a bait land, or port of refreshment, in any voyage that might afterwards be undertaken that way" (NVRW, 118). True to his expectations, and soon after cross-
ing the Tropic of Capricorn, the fleet comes across a larger and even better-stocked island. Here they find such riches that the narrator decides to anchor at the island for a month to survey its resources. The voyagers find the natives friendlier, the produce more plentiful, and the game animals more in evidence than in the island they had just left behind. But since Defoe wanted to embellish the island with something more than flora and fauna he gave to it what he knew would most attract his readers: gold. The men and women of this "golden country" (NVRW, 139) wear golden ornaments; the king and the queen put on ceremonial dresses of gold; the islanders report auriferous rivers. Not only do these people have gold in abundance; they are willing to part with the precious item for hatchets and hammers and such trifles. Indeed, by the narrator's computation, by the time they leave the island his expedition had acquired twenty-four pound weight of gold for about ten or eleven pounds worth of English goods.

During their stay in the island, the men observe some of the more interesting native customs. The islanders wear clothes made of the stalk of a plant around their middle; they have a curious way of curtsying; they also have a unique way of receiving gifts which the narrator finds strange but attractive. The king and the queen of the coun-

majestic, "only that when he laughed he showed his teeth too much, which, however, were as white as ivory" (NVRW, 130). The queen, except for her "tawny colour," is also said to be admirable and handsome. Defoe takes particular care in describing the shape of her breasts: they "were plump and round, not flaggy and hanging down, as it is general with all the Indian women, some of whose breasts hang as low as their bellies, but sitting as beautifully up as if they had been laced up with stays round her body." Below her breasts she is described as wearing some animal skin and underneath that a petticoat. Here were Defoe's noble savages, naturally formed for stays unlike the Indians, who, in any case, did not want anything from the English textile industries! But conscious that even such exotic details would not satisfy his reader's curiosity about these people, Defoe has his narrator confess at one point: "The manner of their living is too long to describe, neither could our men give any account of their government or of the custom of the place; but what they sought for was gold and provisions, and of that they got pretty considerable" (NVRW, 125).

So attracted are the sailors by the wealth of this island that they are reluctant to leave it. The narrator-captain, however, has other discoveries in mind, and so he orders his ships to sail again. They travel parallel to the shore for three days till they come to the mouth of a river.
Here one of the ships gets stuck in a shoal and suffers some damage. Never one to let an opportunity slip by, the narrator makes use of the time required to repair the ship and careen the others to explore further this part of the island which now seemed large enough to be a continent. Once again the voyagers find the region abundantly populated; the natives hospitable, and ready to trade their produce for baubles. Though the adventurers find little gold now, these people seem to be even better stocked with provisions, and the land more able to sustain a larger variety of game animals. Remarkably, these islanders show some notion of a deity, for they seal a pact by looking at the sky. They are also different from the other islanders in that they wrap their whole bodies with animal skins which are knitted with a thread extracted from a plant stalk. Indeed, so appealing is the fertility of the soil and so hospitable the people that some of the men desert the ship and settle in this unknown part of the world.

Still convinced that there were other, equally prosperous islands in the South Pacific, the narrator-captain directs his fleet further south. Sure enough, they sight many more land masses: first, an uninhabited island; next, a large island peopled by an unfriendly race; then, another island with a mountain chain and a valley where they can spot sheep, deer, and wild rice; still another island where
they find cattle and men who shy away from them but leave behind clothes made of animal skins. Conscious, perhaps, that he had neglected to mention the resources of these islands for some time, Defoe has the sailors discover in the last of these islands perfect pearls inside innumerable oysters. So successful are the sailors in catching these pearl-bearing oysters that they decide to name the island "Pearl Island".

The good fortunes of the fleet in these latitudes -- they are now in the latitudes of forty-nine or fifty degrees south -- make the narrator reflect that "there are riches yet unknown in this part of the world, where they have never been yet expected" (NVRW, 166). In fact, this is the whole point of the New Voyage. Like Shakespeare's Pistol, Defoe's characters treat the world as their oyster; such intrepidity as they exhibit can only unfold pearls or other precious objects -- here or elsewhere in the globe where there were spaces still unclaimed or unexplored. But aware that there are limits to human endurance and to his readers' credulity, Defoe has his sailors -- still bent on further discoveries -- turn around in the latitude of sixty-seven degrees south because of the severe cold and strong winds of the stormy South Pacific.
It should be obvious from the preceding pages that Defoe is seldom interested in setting for its own sake. What Defoe chooses to include or leave out about the countries and peoples of Asia, Africa, and the Americas is almost always determined by his plans for commerce and colonization for those countries and peoples. As we have seen, even his use of exotic details is usually meant to interest his readers in his schemes. It does not matter to Defoe that such an approach involves stretching the truth or even outright falsification.

Yet we know that Defoe is the great realist and that realism is one of his claims to greatness. His earliest advocates and some of his modern admirers have agreed in their assessments of this distinctive aspect of his achievement. Sir Walter Scott, for instance, thought that a work like Robinson Crusoe has the merit "of that species of accurate painting which can be looked at again and again with new pleasure." Writing in 1830, Walter Wilson had this to say about Defoe's most famous work: "There is an air of plausibility, or rather reality, in all the particulars of the story, even to the minutest, that the reader reluctantly admits any part of it to be fiction." An anonymous essayist, reviewing Defoe's works in the Dublin University Magazine in 1858, observes: "So true is everything to nature, and such
reality is there in every particular, that the slightest circumstance creates a sensation...."11 Indeed, so loud had the hosannas become by the time Ian Watt wrote his influential opening chapter on realism and the novel form in The Rise of the Novel that he had to acknowledge that "particularity of description has always been considered typical of the narrative manner of Robinson Crusoe and Pamela."12

There are, of course, solid reasons for calling Defoe a realist and for admiring the realistic effects he achieves in so many episodes of his fictions. Scott himself, in the essay from which we have quoted above, has noted the "unparalleled" dexterity exhibited by Defoe in giving "an appearance of reality to the incidents which he narrates."13 Scott points out, for instance, Defoe's ability to make a character like Crusoe act and think as he would have acted and thought in a desert island. Defoe manages to create an illusion of reality, Scott and others have noted, also by his colloquial prose, his seeming artlessness, his description of commonplace activities even in the most remote settings, his use of believable lives as a framework for his fictions, his use of themes which correspond with the historical-cultural realities of his readers, and so on. Even our survey of the depiction of setting in Defoe's fictions has shown some of the devices utilized by him to give the illusion of reality; the constantly changing landscapes in
Captain Singleton; the glimpse into the negative aspects of plantation life in Colonel Jack; and the difficulties faced by the exploring party in crossing the Patagonian plains.

But realistic and particular everywhere? Much of what Defoe has to say about the topography and people of distant lands is too vague, too undifferentiated, too simplified, or too motivated by his colonial concerns to merit the words "realism" and "particularity." In part, Defoe fails to offer a concrete and realistic picture of some distant cultures and land, because he tends to stereotype or reflect stock attitudes. In part, Defoe's descriptions at times lack specificity because he was writing about areas he had never visited except in his readings. But most importantly, Defoe's overseas settings are often unrealistic or unconvincing because his desire to impose his projects on them overrides any consideration he has to achieve verisimilitude.

Certainly, if realism refers to the faithful representation of something that exists prior to and independently of the literary work, Defoe's treatment of distant races and places is not always realistic. Writers who have tried to relate his fictional landscapes to their real-life equivalents have often pointed this out. Thus, Gerridina Roorda notes in Realism in Daniel De Foe's Narratives of Adventures that the flora and fauna of the Orinoco archipelago "are in
reality entirely different from what the author paints them to be."14 Gary J. Scrimgeour observes in his perceptive essay on Captain Singleton's African adventure how Defoe's omissions and inclusions in his portrait of Africa rarely correspond to the realities of the continent and how Defoe's "fictional interests are very different from those of a self-conscious literary artist."15 As Scrimgeour points out, Defoe's Africa is monkeyless, flowerless, insectless, almost birdless and reptileless; this is all the more striking because all works on Africa that were available to Defoe stressed these aspects of the continent. Scrimgeour has no problems in demonstrating that what is present in Singleton's Africa -- the animals, the natives, the details of the landscape -- is strictly functional, and, more relevantly, tied not to an aesthetic of realism but to a utilitarian-colonial code. A historian of Madagascar has commented that no pirate community ever settled in the Bay of Diego Suarez -- the site of Misson's Libertalia -- because, despite the excellent harbor, the hinterland was too mountainous and too uninhabited to ensure a steady supply of provisions for a colony.16

Examples of the license Defoe takes with his overseas settings can be easily multiplied. When Defoe declares that "Maryland is Virginia, speaking of them at a distance" (CJ, 151), we realize that Defoe's colonial concerns had blurred
all distinctions between the two colonies. In depicting the South American continent in the *New Voyage*, Defoe does not make judicious use of all the available information about it as a realist would. Existing sources would have told him of the extreme hardships of any trans-Andean trek; of the almost insurmountable barriers imposed by the mountains; of the inhospitable Patagonian landscape which even now -- though representing twenty per cent of Argentina's land surface -- attracts only two per cent of the country's population.\(^17\) And it is perhaps unnecessary, even pedantic, to stress that any technique of presentation which erases almost all the distinctions between the various tribes inhabiting Africa, and many of the differences between Africans and South Pacific islanders, and shows them reacting in the same way to the adventurer's offer of trade, cannot be called realistic.

But it is not necessary to labor the point any longer: Defoe's portraits of alien landscapes are not dictated by an interest in realism or particularity but by ideological considerations. What Jack has observed about the *New Voyage* applies to all of Defoe's extra-European fictional settings. He was writing in that work a *roman a these*; the principles that made him choose this mode were the same principles that guided him in his other fictional projects set outside Europe. For Defoe, there are no things but in ideas; the
consequence is an art that does not result in concise, clear, concrete images of other races and places. And since ideology, notoriously, tends to distort or create false images or employ knowledge duplicitiously, realism is not an issue in Defoe's handling of colonial settings; his conscious/unconscious distortion of facts in order to promote his projects is. 18

Given this point of view, it should not be surprising that the real Alexander Selkirk almost lost the power of speech or that isolates tend to show regressive symptoms. From this perspective, it is not so important to learn that convicts in 1722 were no longer embraced wholeheartedly by the rapidly solidifying class society of Virginia or that real life pirates never displayed the commercial, pacific morality of Singleton. And to come back to the question of realism again, from the viewpoint that Defoe's use of extra-European settings in his fiction was motivated by ideological considerations, it is not at all strange to find, as many source-hunters have, that Defoe's landscapes and tribes vary significantly at many points from the details he could have garnered from existing accounts.

The fact that so many of Defoe's readers till recently found everything in his fictions realistic and particular is remarkable. Yet, it is something that can easily be explained. Readers have accepted Defoe's simplified, dis-
torted accounts of distant lands partly because they believe the character of someone like Crusoe and are willing to embrace his experience. In an age when travel narratives often took advantage of the ignorance of their readers about the world outside Europe, Defoe could also exploit contemporary unfamiliarity with the terrain and with the people. But most importantly, Defoe must have relied on a willing suspension of disbelief on the part of his readers. In other words, there was a certain willingness to believe on their parts; when we refuse to play the game like them, we can no longer credit the existence of golden rivers or oceans of ivory like they did. Only then can we see that his representation was not always "natural" or realistic. Defoe was writing for people who were already convinced of the possibilities of colonizing all the unclaimed spaces of the world; in a sense, he was confirming all of their expectations about these places.

III

But though Defoe could assume that his readers, like him, were interested in appropriating for themselves the wealth that was scattered throughout the world, he could not afford to leave any ambiguities about his message in their minds. As Susan Suleiman has stressed in Authoritarian
Fictions, ideological novels always contain passages of explicit doctrine and deliberate redundancies to spell out their messages clearly. The ideological novelist writes, after all, to impose his particular thesis on his readers or to convert them to his schemes; consequently, he has no qualms about including passages of pure propaganda or repeating key motifs. Suleiman's observations thus account for what are to us the most distressing features of Defoe's colonial novels: their didacticism and numbing repetitions.

We have already seen some instances where Defoe decides to stop the flow of his narratives to make his message explicit. Thus Captain Singleton recounts his men's skirmish with the natives and then retells Knox's experience as a captive in Ceylon for another twelve pages to warn his readers against the treachery of the Ceylonese. In another instance, Defoe, not content to place Misson's colony in Madagascar, invents a flimsy device to recommend the potentialities of the island: he has Captain Tew read the papers of a Quarter-Master who had become a "Governor" of a settlement in the island, since this will "oblige the Curious" (GHP, 435). These "papers" constitute, in essence, listings of the numerous advantages of a Madagascar colony. The message in the first case is negative and in the second positive; but in both cases Defoe is willing to dispense with the conventions of fictions, which frown on such intrusions,
to make his polemical point.

In fact, examples of redundancies and pages of explicit doctrine abound in most of Defoe's colonial fictions. In *Colonel Jack*, for instance, Defoe wants to show why slaves in Atlantic colonies were not working up to their potential because plantation owners and overseers were brutalizing them instead of working on their sense of gratitude. To make this point, Defoe has Jack rise from a white servant to an overseer who has to confront rebellious slaves. Eventually, Jack perfects a scheme for dealing with the negroes which so satisfies his master that he is given his own plantation. Not content with the twenty pages spent on narrating these developments in Jack's life, Defoe has his narrator resort to summary again and again to emphasize the moral. At one point, even Jack grows a bit self-conscious about these redundancies, though he is sure he is justified in spending so much time to spell out his message: "I have dwelt the longer upon it, that if possible Posterity might be persuaded to try gentler methods with these miserable Creatures... assuring them, that if they did so...the Negroes would do their work faithfully" (*CJ*, 149-150).

Jack's dramatic rise from servant to plantation-owner, however, is the chief reason for the New World setting of *Colonel Jack*. To make sure that his readers did not overlook this point, Defoe interrupts the narrative to have Jack...
editorialize at length on how "the most despicable ruin'd Man in the World has here a fair Opportunity put into his hands to begin the World again" (CJ, 153). But this is not all; after resuming Jack's story for another twenty pages, Defoe causes his protagonist to pause again to list the distilled essence of his Virginia-Maryland experience (CJ, 173).

Some redundancies become motifs in Defoe's fictions which his readers cannot help becoming aware of. One such motif is gold; another the bartering of precious items for baubles by various tribes in Africa and the South Seas. A quick count reveals, for instance, at least twelve occasions when Singleton and his band trade trinkets and other such trifles for provisions, gold or ivory in Africa. Defoe seems to have no fear of boring his readers with such insistence; he does not even bother to vary the circumstances of these deals to any appreciable degree.

As Jane H. Jack has observed in an essay referred to above, the New Voyage is a work fashioned specifically to illustrate the viability of a Patagonian colony. As such, it offers us the purest example of a roman à thèse written by Defoe in the colonial fiction; realistic and other aesthetic considerations are dispensed with in this work with very little notice. The work contains more than its share of explicit doctrinal pronouncements and redundancies, even by
Defoe's standards. The idea of a Patagonian colony is broached by the narrator-captain early in the novel when his fleet touches the Patagonian coast; throughout the middle part of the book the narrator reminds us of the ultimate project which motivates him; when they land in South America the Spaniard literally points out to him the promised land; he himself assesses it from a distance and then examines for himself the east coast; finally he gets a full report from his exploring party.

Instead of dwelling on all of Defoe's redundancies in the New Voyage, however, we can shift our attention to another aspect of the work which is characteristic of him. Earlier in this chapter (p. 236 above), while discussing Defoe's handling of the Madagascar setting in his biography of Captain England, we noted a passage where Defoe forgets his immediate subject and assumes the voice of the writer of the colonial tracts. This lapse indicates the thin line that divides Defoe the fabulist from Defoe the colonial propagandist; not surprisingly, such lapses are not infrequent in his most ideological novel.

Two examples of the insouciance with which Defoe switches from the mode of fiction to that of his prose works will have to suffice. In the first instance, the narrator of the New Voyage speculates on the kind of posterity to be engendered by the men who have deserted his fleet to live in
the golden south-sea island. Such speculation is entirely appropriate to the narrator's voice but suddenly, and without any transition, the narrator attacks the East India trade that threatens to injure England's woollen industry. It is obvious that Defoe has forgotten at this moment that he was writing about fictional characters: what preoccupies him now is the advantage of selling English woollens in these southern climes. All pretences at writing fiction are almost dropped and the raison d'être of the whole book is made obvious in the following paragraph:

I need say no more to excite adventurous heads to search out a country by which such an improvement might be made, and which would be such an increase of, or addition to, the wealth and commerce of our country (NVRW, 156).

A similar moment when Defoe switches from the storyteller's voice to the pamphleteer's occurs later in the New Voyage when the narrator makes this observation about the valley in the Andes in which he finds himself:

Here were also an excellent middling breed of black cattle, which they feed under the shade of the mountains, and on the bank of the rivers, till they come to be very fat. In a word, here were, or might be produced, all the plants, fruits, and grain of a temperate climate, at the same time, the orange, lemon, citron, pomengrate, and figs, with a moderate care, would come to a very tolerable perfection in their gardens, and even sugar-canes in some places, though these last but rarely.... They assured me that further southward, beyond
Baldivia, and to the latitude of forty-seven to forty-nine, the lands were esteemed richer.... (NVRW, 241-242). (italics added)

Here Defoe's verbs and his use of the conditional betray his non-fictional preoccupations: the narrator is supposed to be describing what he is seeing, but he is really articulating his hopes for the region.

Obviously, Defoe did not always slide so carelessly from the mode of fiction to that of the tracts. Also, he was quite capable of repeating a point artfully. For example, he handles with great skill one motif which is reiterated in Moll Flanders and which is basic to his colonial propaganda: the opportunities awaiting the repentant and reformed criminal in the New World. The editor of Moll's story draws our attention to this theme, so "fruitful of instruction" in the Preface (MF, 4); Moll's mother details the success of "many a Newgate Bird" who achieves greatness in the New World (MF, 86); Moll tries to persuade her Lancashire husband with an account of the success of a "Man of Application" in Virginia (MF, 157); later, when they are both prisoners, she renews her effort to convince him that they could "begin the World upon a New Foundation in America" (MF, 303); still later, when they prosper in Virginia, Moll reflects on how "God's goodness" (and her shrewd management) brings back "a Prof­ligate, a Highway-man, and a Robber" (MF, 339) like Jemmy to
a sense of thankfulness. In each of these instances, Defoe's thesis is made to be a part of Moll's story. For instance, when Moll's mother talks of the success of criminals in the New World, she prefigures the path Moll herself will trace later. Her mother's story is also dramatically appropriate since in the telling of the story Moll will discover that the reformed and successful felon whom she knew as her mother-in-law was her real mother.

We began this chapter with a survey of Defoe's extra-European settings and tried to show how his choice of a particular locale was dictated by his views on colonialism. Next, we tried to account for the simplified, vague, or distorted images offered of the world outside Europe in the fictions by attributing them partially to Defoe's ideologic-al considerations. It was suggested that the fictions should be seen as ideological works and that their passages of explicit doctrine, their redundancies, or their tendency to slide from the fictional to the nonfictional mode were motivated by Defoe's desire to remove any ambiguity about his colonizing message. An implicit comparison was also made between a work like the New Voyage, the purest example of a roman à thèse in Defoe's fiction and a book like Moll Flanders, which can claim to be one of the earliest novels at least partly because of the skill with which Defoe presented his thesis in it.
In Authoritarian Fictions, Susan Suleiman discusses the possibility of classifying genres on the basis of the relative degree of tension in a work between its artistic elements and its thematic intentions. According to her, the existence of such a tension indicates a dialectic between "spectacle" and "message" in most texts, though in some "one of the functions may be suppressed...in favor of the other." If we can borrow Suleiman's scheme, we can place a text like the New Voyage at one end of the scale as an example of a work where Defoe's colonizing intentions have totally subordinated all other considerations, including that of the realistic depiction of the actors and of the setting. In a book like Colonel Jack, the message is made obvious to us at times, and then realistic considerations are glossed over; but at other times, there is a definite attempt made to dramatize or narrate. At the other end, however, is a text like Robinson Crusoe where, in the island episode, the ideological consideration, though very much there, is almost everywhere suppressed in favor of the depiction of a man trying to survive on his own.

In other words, the New Voyage is too preoccupied with its these to become a roman; Robinson Crusoe is more concerned with being a roman to deal too clearly with its these. And that, to conclude, is one reason for the latter's continued popularity and the former's relative obscurity.
There are, of course, other reasons why Robinson Crusoe continues to fascinate us and some of these we shall explore later. One of these reasons, a particularly intriguing one, is the possibility that as a roman it tends to subvert its obvious ideological considerations and that there are chinks in the work between the story and Defoe's thesis.
NOTES

1 The word "setting" is used very broadly in this chapter to indicate the environment or surrounding in which the action is "set"; as such, it includes the actual geographic location, the topography, scenery, and the people who inhabit the landscapes through which Defoe's characters move.

Defoe scholars will note that a number of critics have made a similar, though more limited point about Defoe's use of extra-European settings. Maximillian E. Novak's comment on p. 140 of *Economics and the Fiction of Daniel Defoe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962) is representative: "Almost all of Defoe's novels and many of his fictionalized biographies are concerned with parts of the world he believed might be profitably colonized." No one, however, has argued that Defoe also used settings negatively and no one, certainly, has examined Defoe's use of overseas setting in any detail.


3 John Robert Moore first noted that the story of Mr. Freeman in Africa was the basis of the Englishman's exper-


8 In addition to what has been said of Defoe's interest in the region in previous chapters of this dissertation, see Jane H. Jack's, "A New Voyage Round the World: Defoe's Roman "a Thèse, Huntington Library Quarterly, 24:1 (1961), 323-336, and Burton J. Fishman, "Defoe, Herman Moll, and the Geography of South America," Huntington Library Quarterly, 36:3 (1973), 227-238, for good surveys of Defoe's views on the region and the use he makes of it in the New Voyage.

9 Jack, p. 338.


11 The three quotations are from "Scott on Defoe's Life and Works" (1817); Walter Wilson's "Memoirs of the Life and Times of Daniel De Foe (1830), extracted as "A Major Study"; and an article titled "Daniel Defoe" published in the July 1856 issue of the Dublin University Magazine. All three of these pieces are extracted in Pat Roger's Defoe: The Critical Heritage (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972). The quotations will be found on pp. 79, 91, 151 of this volume.


14 Roorda, p. 41.

15 Scrimgeour, p. 21.


17 In "Defoe, Herman Moll, and the Geography of South America," Burton J. Fishman notes that the trans-Andean journey conceived by Defoe was impossible because of the terrain and stresses that existing sources emphasized the difficulties of crossing the mountains of Chile. However, Fishman believes that Defoe was encouraged to present his own scheme because of Herman Moll's map of southern South America. While we can agree with Fishman in tracing the errors in Defoe's views to Moll's map of Chile, it is difficult to understand why Defoe would have utilized the 1701 map in 1724. As we have seen, Defoe was exceptionally well-informed about geography and was working on Atlas Maritimus at the time the New Voyage was being published. The conclusion seems inevitable: Defoe did not make use of all the available information about South America because he wanted
to dramatize his own scheme for the continent; he chose Moll's map because it suited his purpose best.

18 I am much indebted to Susan Rubin Suleiman's *Authoritarian Fictions: The Ideological Novel As a Literary Genre* (New York: Columbia Press, 1983) for my conception of the effects of ideology on fiction. Suleiman uses the terms Roman à Thèse and "ideological novel" synonymously. Although she sees the genre as related to the realistic novel she is very conscious of the differences between the two. As she puts it:

The Realist Novel proclaims above all the vocation of rendering the complexity and the density of everyday life; the Roman à Thèse, on the other hand, finds itself before the necessity of simplifying and schematizing its representatives for the sake of its demonstrative ends. Simplification and schematization are more suited to allegorical or mythic genres than to realist genres (Suleiman, pp. 22-23).

19 Not all readers of travel tales or fictions set outside Europe, of course, were ready to play along. What Swift said of geographers must also have typified his reactions to these works: "So Geographers in Afric-Maps/With Savage-Pictures fill their Gaps/And O'er uninhabitable Downs/Place
Elephants for want of Towns." These lines are quoted by Scrimgeour, "The Problem of Realism..." p. 24.

20 Suleiman finds redundancies a generic criterion of ideological novels and develops the point in Chapter 4 of her book.

21 Suleiman, p. 22.
CHAPTER VII
Defoe's Protagonists as Prototypical Colonizers (1)

The inspiration for this chapter is to be found in James Joyce's 1912 lecture on Defoe, a lecture first delivered in Italian, but available in English translation since 1964. Joyce's lecture has two equal parts: the first outlines the facts then known about Defoe, the second comments briefly on the major works. Since what Joyce observes about Defoe's fictional characters affects the course of this chapter, it is best to record at the outset the twentieth-century novelist's views about Defoe's protagonists.

Joyce praises Defoe, among other reasons, for his ability "to infuse into the creatures of his pen a truly national spirit." He admires Defoe's skills in presenting archetypal characters. Just beneath their "rude exteriors," Joyce finds "an instinct and a prophecy"; the instinct is of "the rational animal" and the prophecy "of the empire." Cecil Rhodes is described as a direct descendant of Captain Singleton; Crusoe is said to be the "true prototype of the British colonists," and Friday "the symbol of the subject
races." Joyce, in other words, feels that Defoe is drawing on the national spirit, imbuing his creations with characteristics which make them typical. To some extent this must have been an unconscious process and Defoe must have been expressing the values of the emerging class to which he belonged, but it is the contention of this chapter that Defoe had also incorporated deliberately qualities which would be best suited for the contemporary Englishman setting out to be a colonizer. To make the point directly, Defoe was creating through his characters prototypes to educate his readers in the qualities which he felt were necessary for colonial enterprise.

In his lecture, Joyce lists some of the characteristics which make Crusoe so prototypical: the "manly independence; the unconscious cruelty; the persistence; the slow yet efficient intelligence; the sexual apathy; the practical, well-balanced religiousness; the calculating taciturnity." To Joyce's list, we can add some of the qualities Hippolyte Taine found in Crusoe. Taine, almost half a century before the modern novelist, had quite a few things to say about the Englishness of Defoe's hero. Taine finds in him "that force of will, inner enthusiasm, dull ferment of a violent examination which formerly produced the sea-kings, and now produces emigrants and squatters." In Crusoe as well as his descendants Taine discerns, "deliberate calculation and
reflection."3

Obviously, the unique mixture of negative and positive qualities which both Joyce and Taine find in Crusoe makes him the archetypal colonizer. Most of the negative traits must have come to Crusoe from Defoe's unconscious rendering of the colonial spirit; in all probability, Defoe did not intend to make his hero as cruel and as unpleasant as some of his later readers found him to be. More likely, he wanted them to notice only the positive characteristics which contribute to Crusoe's success as a planter, explorer, military strategist, and administrator in the New World, characteristics which he must have deliberately bestowed on his protagonist. The cruel and unpleasant side of Crusoe and of Defoe's other colonizers and explorers will be discussed in the concluding chapter of this study; for the moment we will consider the qualities which make them, at least to Defoe, such ideal representatives of the English colonizing spirit.

Defoe's most celebrated protagonist, Robinson Crusoe, combines the traits Defoe considers the most desirable in colonial situations. Prominent among them is his ability to use his rational faculties to master his environment and to extend his dominion. We have already noted in Chapter II Defoe's links to the "vulgar" Baconians who were interested in the use of the new scientific method for the efficient
utilization of the earth's resources, and have quoted a few lines from Robinson Crusoe to show the hero in the process of learning to adapt to his environment by adopting the scientific approach; we will now elaborate on this theme and offer further proof of Defoe's creation of a culture hero who typified the "rational" method of empire building.

Timothy J. Reiss in his The Discourse of Modernism, a book devoted to the examination of the ascendancy of a new "analytico-referential discourse" in science fiction and utopias, has already gone some way towards the examination of Crusoe as a man who puts knowledge to work to gain possessions. Observing that Defoe's work can be seen as an illustration of Bacon's belief that mechanical history should be used to relieve the inconveniences of man's estate, Reiss treats Crusoe's story as a process of acquiring knowledge, of learning to "state and square" every thing by reason. Some passages from Robinson Crusoe quoted by Reiss highlight the learning process that is central to the hero's colonial experience:

So I went to work, and here I must needs observe that as Reason is the Substance and Original of the Mathematicks, so by stating and squaring every thing by Reason, and by making the most rational Judgment of things, every Man may be in time Master of every mechanick Art. I had never handled a Tool in my Life and yet in time by Labour, Application, and Contrivance, I had found at last that I wanted nothing but I could have made it, especially if I had Tools....(RC, 68).
But by this Experiment [Crusoe has been trying to plant rice and barley] I was made Master of my Business, and knew exactly when the proper Season was to sow; and that I might expect two Seed Times, and two Harvests every year (RC, 105).

I improv'd my self in this time in all the mechanick Exercises which my Necessities put me upon applying my self to, and I believe cou'd, upon Occasions, make a very good Carpenter....(RC, 144).

Reiss observes that Crusoe's claim to mastery is significant: to use reason to master the mechanical arts, to make a virtue out of time and necessity through the use of tools, to adopt the experimental approach in perfecting natural processes, and to discover new possibilities by studying nature's ways is to argue, following Bacon, Descartes, and the other exponents of the New Science, for the exercise of reason and right method as a way to make dominion over nature possible.5

Even in his pre-island life, Crusoe had cultivated knowledge and had benefitted from the use of reason. In his voyage to Guinea, for example, he had not only made a quick profit by trading beads and baubles for gold, he had also acquired "a competent knowledge of the Mathematicks and the Rules of Navigation" (RC, 17). As a captive of the Barbary pirates, he had learned to fish and sail in small boats; in Brazil he had learned to plant sugar and tobacco and to manage a plantation, although later, in his island situa-
tion, he regrets having "made so little Observation" there (RC, 99).

Once on the island, Crusoe demonstrates again and again how nature can be mastered through observation, right reason, and the inductive, experimental approach. Even in the aftermath of the shipwreck, his methodical character is obvious. He builds a raft, decides quickly what to load on it, proceeds in an orderly fashion to observe the situation of his island, and takes the proper precautions for almost every step of the way. The following passages are representative of his observant, methodical, experimental line of action:

I consulted several Things in my Situation which I found would be proper for me, 1st. health, and fresh Water I just now mention'd, 2ndly. Shelter from the Heat of the Sun, 3dly. Security from ravenous Creatures, whether Men or Beasts, 4thly, a View to the Sea, that if God sent any Ship in sight, I might not lose any Advantage for my Deliverance (RC, 58).

I observ'd if they [the goats] saw me in the valleys tho' they were upon the Rocks, they took no Notice of me, from whence I concluded, that by the Position of their Opticks, their Sight was so directed downward, that they did not readily see Objects that were above them; so afterward I took this Method, I always clim'd to the Rocks first to get above them, and then frequently had a fair Mark (RC, 61).

What Use to make of the Tobacco, I knew not, as to my Distemper, or whether it was good for it or no; but I try'd several Experiments with it, as if I was resolv'd it should hit one Way or another .... (RC, 93).
Although it is true that Crusoe is helped by some lucky breaks along the way, and also experiences some failures, it is remarkable how much he manages to learn and accomplish by following the scientific method. By the middle of the book he has acquired the skills of a carpenter, a candlemaker, a potter, a basketweaver, a tailor, a tanner, a baker, a huntsman, a shipwright and, of course, a planter. In fact, Crusoe's proficiency in the mechanical arts, his strain of practical wisdom, his use of reason and experience, and his mastery of the various trades remind us that Bacon considered the History of Trades an essential part of his program to restore man's dominion over nature and that his followers reiterated in different contexts the importance of the knowledge of the various trades for the progress of society.⁶

Crusoe's scientific cast of mind and his habits of study and observation make him a prototype of the planter-settler on the colonies. As Taine puts it, "...like his descendants, the pioneers of Australia and America, he [Crusoe] must re-create and re-master one by one the inventions and acquisitions of human industry: one by one he does so." To Taine, this is the secret of the pioneers' success: "they do everything with calculation and method; they rationalise their energy, which is like a torrent they make a canal for."⁷
But Crusoe is the type of the colonizer not only because of his ratiocinative skills and his application of the scientific method; like the Englishman abroad, he must also possess the skills of the settler who hopes to enlarge his estate through constant exploration. Being an explorer requires, first of all, the kind of wanderlust and the type of intrepidity which Crusoe will exhibit throughout his life, even in ripe old age. But if this were all, Crusoe would not have become Defoe's type of the ideal explorer. (Indeed, in the sequel, Defoe takes pains to stress, mainly through the self-reproaches of the older Crusoe, that wanderlust and intrepidity by themselves are not desirable qualities). What the explorer must also possess are the power of observation and the resourcefulness which Crusoe had exhibited in the first stages of his island existence.

In the course of his stay on the island, Crusoe reveals his exploring capacity when he undertakes several voyages of discovery. In his first expedition he discovers a fruitful section of the island which is to be his bower or country-house; in his second he travels across the island and reaches the opposite shore. Here also he is able to find fertile stretches and game animals. Encouraged by his observations he decides to build a boat and reconnoitre the entire coastline. Since the result of exploration to Crusoe is the mental and political appropriation of space, he is
now ready "to view the Circumference of [his] little kingdom" (RC, 137). This time, however, his inability to observe the flow of the currents almost brings disaster. Even this failure is noteworthy, for by it Defoe makes Crusoe "a warning Piece again, to all rash and ignorant Pilots" (RC, 138). Having learned from his experience, Crusoe sets out again, careful to "observe the Ebbing and the Flowing of the Tide" (RC, 151) and restrained by the memory of his almost fatal mission from venturing out too far.

Crusoe's reconaissance trips come to a full stop for a time with the discovery of a single footprint. Though his immediate reaction is one of panic, he soon recovers his capacity for ratiocination and his ability to adjust to the new situation through thoughtful action. He takes "all the measures humane Prudence could suggest" for his own preservation, fortifying his house, stocking up food supplies for emergencies, and building a cave for his goats according to "the most rational Design" (RC, 162). Certainly, despite all his preparations Crusoe remains an anxious and unstable person till the rescue of Friday, but he never quite abandons himself to unthinking behavior for long.

In his mission to rescue Friday, in his subsequent skirmishes with the cannibals, and in his triumph over the mutineers who threaten to upset the order he has brought to his island, Crusoe is transformed from the planter-settler
to the colonial military strategist, slave-owner, and eventually, governor. In the process he exhibits traits which Defoe, in all probability, considered necessary for the English settler abroad. Crusoe's talents as a military strategist, for instance, are displayed abundantly in his rescue of Friday. Once alerted to the presence of the cannibals who are getting ready for a feast, Crusoe returns to his fort, observes the intruders through his telescope, and seeing one of the prisoners escape, rescues him by attacking the captors.

Crusoe's valor and his use of firepower to overwhelm the cannibals hark back to earlier instances where Crusoe has displayed his martial skills and made use of firearms to achieve his ends. Strategy, courage, and aggression had combined in his successful escape from the Barbary pirates; in West Africa he had astonished the natives with the "noise and the Fire" of the shots he had aimed at the threatening leopards (RC, 31); wrecked on the island, he had shot a bird not for food but merely to assert his presence before taking measures to secure himself. He notes always the awe in which the natives hold the white man's weapons. Friday, for example, is impressed with "the wonderful Fund of Death and destruction" which a gun seemed to contain (RC, 211); Friday's father believes that the cannibals from whom he has been rescued will tell their people that they were
"killed by Thunder and Lightning [and] not by the Hand of Men" (RC, 242); later, Crusoe learns that the four men who survived his party's assault "believ'd whoever went to that enchanted Island would be destroy'd with Fire from the Gods" (RC, 243). Not surprisingly, then, Crusoe's possession of such superior weaponry gives him a sense of power over other people and he is willing to exercise it. Indeed, that firepower can mystify and overwhelm other nations is repeated so often in Defoe's fiction that we can treat it as another "redundancy" or motif which betrays the ideological nature of his works. As John J. Richetti observes in noting Crusoe's absolute confidence after his decisive victory over the cannibals, Crusoe's power "has the technological-natural inevitability of the bullets which pierce the flesh of the terrified cannibals;"\(^8\) Defoe writes, at least partly, to emphasize what the possession of such power means in colonial encounters.

Though Crusoe conceals for some time the secret of gun-loading from Friday, he eventually trains him as a soldier and "enlists" him in his "army". Inspiring Friday to fight against the numerically superior cannibals, convincing his recruit that "our Guns will fright them that we do not kill" (RC, 231), Crusoe displays his leadership qualities and military prowess in the ensuing confrontation. Friday, in turn, proves to be the ideal conscript to the "colonial"
army, surpassing his master in his aggression as well as in efficiency with the white man's weapons. As soon as Crusoe and Friday rescue the Spaniard in their attack on the cannibals, he is also drafted into Crusoe's military organisation; between them, the three men manage to kill twenty-one of the "enemies" and rescue another prisoner who turns out to be Friday's father.

In his next major campaign, Crusoe the military commander, can no longer achieve victory on the basis of his monopoly of firepower. His territory has now been invaded by a potentially disruptive group of armed mutineers who have brought their overthrown captain and some other Europeans to the island. With a mixture of cunning and daring, and with the alertness of a guerilla commander, Crusoe meets this new challenge, rescues the prisoners from their captors, and enlists them in his army. Once again, Crusoe's ability to destroy, control, or neutralize what could be menacing is displayed. Coolly efficient and absolutely confident, he typifies the skills required of the colonizer who is forced to defend his settlement against hostile natives or unruly encroachers.

Crusoe, in other words, masters not only his environment but also the forces of disorder. In the process, he becomes a master in the truest sense of the word by acquiring servants and subjects. Friday and his father, the
Spaniard and his countrymen, and some of the defeated mutineers left behind on the island when Crusoe returns to England are all treated in exemplary fashion in accordance with Defoe's scheme to create a character who is to be the prototype of later colonizers.

Crusoe's treatment of Friday is the best and most detailed example of what Defoe considers to be the ideal response to subjected races in the colonies. When Crusoe sees Friday fleeing from his pursuers, Crusoe's first thought is that this is his chance to get "...a Servant, and perhaps a Companion, or Assistant;" only then does he feel that he was "call'd plainly by Providence to save this poor Creature's Life" (RC, 202). The first impression is, as is often the case, the longest lasting, even though Crusoe does eventually convert Friday to Christianity, thereby providing for the salvation of his soul, as well as literally saving his life.

In the light of Defoe's plans for English commerce, it is surely significant that one of Crusoe's earliest gestures towards Friday is to make him some clothes. (The first thing he does for Friday, of course, is to give him an English name and identify himself as the master.) His next "Business" is "to teach him everything" (RC, 210). For Crusoe, this involves teaching Friday to "speak" (presumably to speak English, but this aspect of the Crusoe-Friday rela-
tionship will be discussed in the next chapter), to eat cooked food, and most important, to work so that, as Crusoe puts it, "in a little Time Friday was able to do all the work for me, as well as I could do it my self" (RC, 213). Friday is also a potentially invaluable recruit to Crusoe's cause, and thereby to England's, because he is not only eager to be "civilized", but he is also willing to spread the good word amongst his countrymen. As he tells Crusoe in Pidgin English: "'they willing love learn...me make they no Eat you, me make they much Love you'" (RC, 225). That Crusoe is proficient as an instructor who converts Friday to Christianity, "civilization", and the work-ethic is proved by his subject's zeal and his declaration of unswerving fidelity. That Crusoe considers his own treatment of Friday exemplary is revealed in the sequel when he contrasts his handling of Friday -- begun "upon the principle of having saved" him and continued by instructing him in "the rational principles of life" -- to that of the three English settlers of his island who had taken some natives as prisoners. Apparently, they were able to work these natives "in drudgery enough; but they failed in this by it, that they never had them to assist them and fight for them" as he did with his man Friday (FARC, 60).

Crusoe, however, must demonstrate his mastery over his white subjects as well as his black servants. Only half in
jest, he claims to be "absolute Lord and Law-giver" over the Spaniard as well as Friday and his father (RC, 241). As a Lord, he does not neglect to provide for all of them, but in return he extracts a promise of absolute obedience from the Spaniard and his countrymen. Similarly, after his victory over the mutineers, he asks for and is given an oath of allegiance by the Captain and his friends. By this time, Crusoe has earned, at least in his own eyes, the title of "Generalissimo" as well as "Governor". He takes his responsibilities seriously indeed, dispensing justice to all and directing the course of their lives with great confidence and ability. Even when he leaves his island, and certainly when he returns to it, he does not shirk his duties towards his "subjects".

The story of Crusoe's return to the island, though narrated in summary form in the concluding paragraphs of Robinson Crusoe, is the subject of the first half of The Farther Adventures. This work begins with a vivid description of Crusoe's obsessive interest in his colony's fortune while in England. For some time, Crusoe is able to keep his desire to return to his island at bay by indulging his "inclination, which delighted in cultivating, managing, planting, improving of land" on his Bedford farm (FARC, 6), but his wife's death releases him from his obligation to
stay in England. Now his thoughts return to his colony, to "peopling the place, and carrying inhabitants from hence, getting a patent for the possession...." (FARC, 9). When the opportunity arises to return to his island, he takes with him "a very considerable cargo of all kinds of necessary things" for his colony (FARC, 11). He itemizes his cargo in typical fashion, no doubt for the benefit of posterity. He takes with him craftsmen -- carpenters, a smith, a cooper who was also a Jack-of-all-trades, and a tailor -- for Crusoe's own experience has revealed how indispensable their skills are for any colony. He also ships the goods needed by his subjects to survive on the island. Among these he lists, inevitably, British cloths of all kinds, tools and household items, implicitly demonstrating the demand generated by a growing colony. Finally, and also significantly, Crusoe informs his readers that he was taking with him enough ammunition and weapons to help defend his islanders from future attacks.

Thus prepared, Crusoe returns to his colony. The Spaniard, who acted as Crusoe's surrogate while he was away, reports to him how right reason was restored to the island after a period of anarchy. His narrative, as retold by Crusoe, is not without its lessons for the potential colonizer: it shows the necessity of framing laws to curb individual freedom and to preserve peace in any settlements.9 Also
noteworthy is the experience of the settlers in overcoming the threat posed to their settlements by the cannibals. Their fortifications and their decision to lay aside their differences while meeting the challenge are presented as crucial elements for survival in potentially hostile territories. Another of Defoe's ideas illustrated in the story of Crusoe's colonials is the advantage of racial integration. We have seen in the analysis of *Atlas Maritimus* that Defoe's ideal colony encourages mixed marriages and that he wrote approvingly of Spanish attempts at integration through matrimony; a similar point is made through the five Englishmen who take native wives, for though not all the women are alike in their abilities, all "five were most willing, quiet, passive, and subjected creatures, rather like slaves than wives" (FARC, 78). Crusoe follows this 'observation' derived from the settler's experience with another one designed to emphasize "the honor of a diligent application on the one hand, and...the disgrace of a slothful, negligent, idle temper on the other," for apparently, the successful cultivators had not only applied themselves to their tasks with diligence, but had also followed the rules of economy and of viniculture while the careless planters had neglected to do so and had failed to protect their crops from foraging animals. In the history of Crusoe's settlement, Defoe also depicts the advantages of treating defeated
races with 'leniency'; in time, even the hostile cannibals became "the most subjected, innocent creatures that ever were heard of" because of the 'consideration' of their subduers (FARC, 103). This 'rational' principle of dealing with subjected races repeated throughout Defoe's works and another motif of his fiction, seems to consist of taking the proverbial bull by its horns, patting it, making it eat from one's hands, and employing it for one's convenience. All in all, so successful have the settlers of Crusoe's island become that a young man and young woman whom Crusoe had accidentally brought along to his island, "seeing things so well ordered, and in so fine a way of thriving" (FARC, 118), ask for and are granted his permission to settle there.

For the flourishing colony which had survived civil war and external aggression, Crusoe effects, before he departs, two other desirable changes. The first, befitting his status as the landlord and the ultimate dispensing power of the island, is to divide it into distinct parts. The Spaniards and their servants, the mutineers who had married the native women and had become model citizens, the tradesmen and the young man Crusoe had brought along, and even the conquered natives who were ready to plant for themselves (though most of them chose to be servants) are allotted land in different parts of the island. Crusoe's second major reform, urged by a Catholic priest, who had accidentally accompanied him to
the island, as well as by his own religious conscience, is to take the steps necessary to maintain the men and women of the island under Christian rule. It makes sense, after all, to make his island "a plantation of sober and religious people" and "not a den of thieves" (FARC, 174).

His mission accomplished, Crusoe leaves his island forever and resumes his wandering ways. While he sends his islanders some livestock from Brazil, encourages some sailors from his nephew's ship to return to his colony and settle there, and sends some Portuguese women for his Spanish subjects, Crusoe is now ready to relinquish the responsibility for his island, contenting himself with the knowledge that it is flourishing and self-sustaining. Still, the seventy-two years old Crusoe who is writing the Farther Adventures criticizes the Crusoe who satisfies himself with the role of an absentee landlord and neglects the affairs of his island. This is one of the two atypical and reprehensible acts of the hitherto prototypical colonizer. His sudden indifference to his island coupled with his failure to plant it in the name of any government or nation causes the colony to languish and dispirits his islanders in the long run (FARC, 184). Nevertheless, as we have seen, Defoe has given enough positive qualities to Crusoe in his twenty-eight years on the island and in his one subsequent visit to it to make him till his abrogation of his authority the exemplary
planter-settler, explorer, defender of his domain, and master of an ever-increasing number of subjects. In these roles, he had typified what Defoe wants to inculcate in subsequent colonizers and what Joyce has discerned in him: "the wary and heroic instincts of the rational animal" and "the prophecy of the empire."

Joyce's observation that Cecil Rhodes is in a direct line of descent from Captain Singleton is intriguing, if only because he offers no clues to how the real-life exploiter of southern Africa's resources resembles the fictional character. In all probability Joyce was thinking of Rhodes' energy, cunning, and will to power, as well as his readiness to resort to any means available to achieve his goals, and his success in utilizing other men, especially the natives, to make him fabulously wealthy and powerful. It seems likely that to Joyce, Singleton and Rhodes are alike in representing the English colonizing spirit, for both were enterprising and willing to take charge in pioneering situations.

Singleton starts life seemingly destined for the gallows. In the series of events which leads to his exile in Madagascar along with some other mutineers he shows no signs of being someone who would ever stand comparison with a Rhodes. But when the men decide to build a boat which would
take them to the Indian coast, Singleton presents his own plan. He would rather prey on the natives of Madagascar and capture a boat from them. Indeed, he confesses that he has no scruples to take the first ship they meet, even if it was an European one. His next suggestion is to attack the Malagasays for their cattle. Though the other men reject both his proposals as too dangerous, Singleton has impressed them with his confidence, aggressiveness, lack of scruples, and preference for decisive action.

While Singleton is gradually asserting his presence, Defoe offers us glimpses of the type of Crusoe-like ingenuity required of pioneers. The carpenter of the group is shown to be indispensable and is asked to build boats and containers for their voyages. A man who had once been a cutler now earns the title of an artist because of his skills in designing bracelets and necklaces out of chains which are in great demand among all the natives of Africa. The same man is able to make bullets out of fragments of lead, iron or nails; these prove especially useful to the band in some of their skirmishes with African tribes. When driven to the shore by bad weather, the men work together to build a little fortified camp. Perhaps because Defoe considers such ingenuity commendable, he has Singleton detail this operation with the apology that "the Idea is so fresh in my Thought, that I cannot but give a Short description of it"
(CS, 41). Later, with the inventiveness born out of necessity, and in a manner very reminiscent of Robinson Crusoe, the men build in four weeks a sloop which carries them to the African mainland.

In their travels across Africa, Singleton and his band note carefully the customs of the natives which will help future explorers and mark the produce of different regions. In this way, they advance the colonial theme and typify the qualities required of an exploring party. For instance, the men learn from a native how to make a glue from a certain tree which can serve in place of pitch or tar to make vessels waterproof. In all they do, the band members similarly demonstrate the importance of observing and learning from experience.

At the same time, Singleton's band proves that an exploring party travelling across vast stretches of uncharted land cannot, as Crusoe does, square everything with reason. The men must at times show "more Courage than Discretion, more resolution than Judgment" (CS, 54). There is an element of recklessness in their voyage on a frail vessel across the Mozambique Channel, or in their journey across the African mainland which would not have survived mature consideration. Perhaps drawing on his knowledge of the explorers of the great age of discovery of whom he wrote so glowingly in his History of the Principal Discoveries and
in *Atlas Maritimus* and whose adventures and bold spirit he euologizes on many occasions, Defoe seems to be emphasizing in *Captain Singleton* (and later in the *New Voyage Round the World*) the sheer audacity and determination of his fictional explorers.

Defoe stresses through the experience of the intrepid band the importance of firepower in any colonial expedition. Singleton makes a point of telling his readers that ammunition was "absolutely necessary" for the band's survival, since on it depended their "subsistence" as well as "safety" (CS, 62). As in *Robinson Crusoe*, we are given repeated illustrations of the way in which countless Africans are amazed, stupefied, and cowed into submission by a handful of armed white men firing their weapons. As in Defoe's most famous novel, the natives endow the intruders with supernatural powers because of their deadly weapons. Like Crusoe, the men exploit this fear since it gives them absolute power over their defeated foes.

Significantly, Singleton is made joint commander of the expedition across Africa when he reveals his leadership qualities in the band's victory over a hostile tribe. As Richetti observes in *Defoe's Narratives*, Singleton, like Crusoe, "suddenly becomes omnicompetent" during and after an armed encounter. During the battle, he suggests to the men that if they agreed to be "ruled" by him, he would "make the
negroes run fast enough" (CS, 66). After they have won, he proposes that the party could now solve their transportation problem by making some of their prisoners carriers. The mixture of aggressiveness, opportunism, ruthlessness, and cunning which Singleton shows throughout this episode perhaps caused Joyce to suggest that Defoe's hero has a place somewhere among Rhodes' progenitors. Singleton himself realizes during the adventure what separated him from the rest of the men; unlike him, they are "Void of Counsel, or as I now call it, Presence of Mind" (CS, 66).

Now that he has become a leader of men, Singleton, whose learning till this point consisted of a little Latin and Portuguese and "a little superficial knowledge of navigation" (CS, 6), suddenly reveals a thirst for knowledge. Possibly because the colonial situation requires the leader to exercise his navigational, astronomical, and geographic skills, Singleton decides to acquire them. His teacher, the gunner of the expedition, tells him what we have tried to isolate as one of Defoe's chief assumptions in his colonial tracts: knowledge is power. This is how Singleton reports his teacher's message and its effect on him:

In especial Manner, he filled my Head with aspiring thoughts, and with an earnest Desire after learning everything that could be taught me; convincing me that nothing could qualify me for great Undertakings, but a degree of Learning superior to what was usual in the Race of Seamen; he
told me, that to be ignorant, was to be certain of a mean Station in the World, but that knowledge was the first Step to Preferment. He was always flattering me with my Capacity to Learn, and tho' that fed my Pride, yet on the other Hand, as I had a secret Ambition which just at that time fed itself in my Mind, it prompted in me an insatiable thirst after Learning in general....(CS, 68-69).

Perhaps because he never quite learns as much as he wants to, Singleton never really qualifies for great undertakings. But what he learns, and what someone of a superior intelligence or education like the gunner in this part of the story or Quaker William in the second half can reveal to him is enough to reinforce his natural flair for leadership and to set him on the way to prosperity.

As the joint commander of what is meant to be a colonial expedition, Singleton takes a number of decisions which reveal his Rhodes-like skills as a tactician. As he did with Crusoe and as he will do later with Jack, Defoe has Singleton break his blacks into slavery by exploiting their capacity for gratitude. Shrewdly, he asks the surgeon of the band to cure a Prince who is among their prisoners. This not only ensures the loyalty of the Prince, but also impresses on his people the notion that just as the white men "could kill at a Distance by something invisible to them...so [they] could make them well again too" (CS, 70). Like Crusoe, Singleton takes the trouble to teach the Black Prince to speak his language. This allows him to learn from the
natives how to procure provisions in their land and it enables him to command them to carry the band's goods. Especially shrewd is Singleton's offer to the Prince: if he could make his men carry his party's supplies, he "would not let him carry any thing" (CS, 73). By deciding to restore his arms to him, and by swearing to protect the rest of his countrymen and provide for them, Singleton earns the unswerving loyalty of the Prince and his people. Just as Defoe is at times fond of using a *nota bene* in his tracts to stress a point or make a distinction, his hero uses the device to attract our attention to his handling of his slaves: "Note, when we loaded them, we untied their Hands, and tied them two together by one Foot" (CS, 84). Soon even this precaution proves unnecessary; so successful is Singleton's mastery over the Africans that he is able to set most of them free.

Among the advantages of treating captured slaves with leniency is that their knowledge of local conditions is indispensable to an exploring party. The Black Prince, for instance, wisely counsels Singleton's band to camp by a riverside and make mats to shelter them at night. The natives also devise a way to carry these mats and other provisions in the trans-African trek, and this procedure proves to be so effective that even the white men learn to use it to carry their water bottles. When wild animals threaten the expedition's camp, the Black Prince advises the
explorers to fight the predators with fire. Not surprisingly, the white men are able to improve on this suggestion immediately, for while the single fire proposed by the Prince is able to keep the animals at a distance, a whole series of "artificial Fire-works" devised by the Gunner drive them totally away (CS, 111).

Once the natives are 'tamed' and 'put to use,' Singleton demonstrates his leadership qualities in other ways. Thus when the Black Prince alerts him to the presence of gold along one stretch of their journey, Singleton, after pretending not to take much notice of it in front of the Africans, and after acquainting the Gunner with the discovery, proposes a series of measures to mine the gold without creating division amongst the white men. He suggests that a joint-stock company be formed to share the profits and that gambling be forbidden. The efficiency with which Singleton and the other members of his band exploit the natural resources of Africa to grow fabulously rich is, of course, another reason for Joyce to compare Defoe's hero with Rhodes. Of Singleton's measures to mine the gold and lead the band across Africa, Richetti has aptly observed: "There is a great deal more of such rational discourse throughout the journey, enough to let us see quite clearly that the unruly natives and threatening fauna are primarily there to provoke cunning and caution, to give us the pleasure of
seeing Bob especially master complications of a staggering sort."

As in Robinson Crusoe, then, part of the profit and a great deal of the pleasure of reading Captain Singleton is meant to come from the images of archetypal European adventurers exploring, exploiting, and mastering an hitherto uncharted land, subjecting other races and putting them to work, and becoming prosperous in the process. As in the earlier work, the number of things Defoe's readers can learn from the protagonist's experience about survival and success in an alien environment is almost endless. They can learn, for example, how to build a town and fortify it in the wilderness (CS, 120-121); why garbage should not be thrown out in an area infested with predatory animals (CS, 124); and why treating natives with 'civility' whenever possible is always rewarding (CS, 143).

In the second part of Captain Singleton, the protagonist has turned pirate and no longer typifies the colonial explorer. Still, guided by William, the very intelligent and very rational Quaker, Singleton continues to function efficiently as a pirate captain called upon to make decisions on leading his men and to profit from his encounters with other races in distant lands. As Manuel Schonhorn has noted, Singleton is transformed from the traditional buccaneer to a man who enacts Defoe's "own deep mercantile interests."
William's cunning, ruthless efficiency, single-minded interest in profit, and ability to exploit other races reinforce Singleton's tendencies: together they are able to wean their men away from piracy to profit-making activities. It is almost as if Defoe, the author of a consistently critical series of biographies about pirates, is telling his readers what adventurous men on ships sailing across the oceans should do instead of indulging themselves only in destructive feats and unlawful raids on Europe's merchant fleets.

Part of the significance of Defoe's *Moll Flanders*, and the justification for considering its protagonist as a prototypical figure, infused with the pioneering, enterprising spirit and the qualities needed to prosper in the plantations is to be found in George Borrow's *Lavengro* (1851). In this autobiographical work, Borrow describes an occasion when he comes across an old fruit woman reading a book in her London stall. She reveals to him that her son has been transported to Botany Bay because of a theft, but that she considered his fate no cause for grief, for had not Moll Flanders, the heroine of the book she was reading, prospered precisely because of such a fate? As the old woman expresses it: "'Oh, it is a comfort to me that the blessed woman was transported, and came back -- for come back she did, and
rich too -- for it is an assurance to me that my dear son, who was transported too, will come back like her."

Borrow's old fruit woman praises Defoe's Moll, then, as an exemplary character, a culture heroine, whose fall into criminality is fortunate because it will lead her to the New World where she will redeem herself. Moll has become to her the type of the transported convict who rises above adverse circumstances with rational courage and resourcefulness. Borrow's fruit woman has taken to heart what the fictional editor of Moll's story considers to be part of the "message" of the narrative:

Her application to a sober Life, and industrious management at last in Virginia, with her transported Spouse, is a Story fruitful of Instruction, to the unfortunate Creatures who are oblig'd to seek their Re-establishment abroad; whether by the Misery of Transportation, or other Disaster; letting them know, that diligence and Application have their due Encouragement, even in the remotest Parts of the World, and that no Case can be so low, so despicable, so empty of Prospect, but that an unwearied Industry will go a great way to deliver us from it, will in time raise the meanest Creature to appear again in the World, and give him a new Cast for his Life (MF, 4).

Though other stages of her life are subjected to the editor's disapprobation, and though Defoe treats many episodes of her story with irony, the colonial episodes of Moll's life are meant to be taken without reservation or criticism: she is the prototype of the criminal who makes good in the
new World with "industrious management," diligent application, and "unwearied Industry."

Moll herself has the good sense to learn from the exemplum of her mother's life. From her experience and from her account of other colonials, Moll knows that "Diligence and good Management" will raise a transported felon to prosperity and respectability in Virginia (MF, 88). As a proselyte, Moll tries to convert her Lancashire husband, Jemmy, to what she has learned from the typical story of her mother's success. She seeks to convince him that with adequate preparation "a man of application" would be able to establish an estate and acquire riches (MF, 157). Her mother's fortune, along with the stories she has heard about other settlers, has impressed on Moll that "it was morally impossible with a supposition of any reasonable good conduct that [they] must thrive and do very well" (MF, 158).

What Moll must do to achieve the status of the fallen woman who has raised herself again in a new world through diligence and good management is to re-enact her mother's progress. She gets her opportunity, of course, in the concluding phase of her chequered career when, after sinking to the nadir of her fortunes, she repents of her past life, and arranges for her transportation. She proceeds confidently, for she is acquainted "with the method" as well as the "probability of success" in the colonies (MF, 303); she is
"far from being ignorant of what was needful on that Occasion" [of planting] (MF, 316).

This last stage of Moll's life is a demonstration of "the method" to be followed by other transported criminals. First of all, Moll takes the necessary measures to ensure that she and Jemmy are put on the same ship. Then she puts her Governess-accomplice to work to stock on her behalf the type of goods needed to start a plantation in the new world. Though she is well versed in plantation affairs, she does not hesitate to take the advice of others who are more knowledgeable. The Captain of her ship, for instance, tells her how to buy herself out of bondage and what to take for her plantation. Later, a Quaker will direct her to the type of servants "absolutely necessary for all People that pretended to Settle in that Country" (MF, 331) and show her the land best suited for her purposes. Once in Virginia, she makes sure that the goods she has brought along with her are placed in a store-house till she has built her own estate. Her careful preparation soon bears fruit: in a year's time, she has "near fifty Acres of Land clear'd, part of it enclos'd, and some of it Planted with Tobacco...and Corn sufficient to help supply [the] Servants with Roots, and Herbs, and Bread." Afterwards, she brings for her plantation "the Horses, Hogs, and Crows, and other Stores" donated to her by her son (MF, 334). Next, she writes to her Governess
to send her the rest of her money in goods which are essential for her rapidly increasing estate: English textiles, household items, and tools. Her deft exploitation of her capital, of Jemmy's money, and of what she has acquired from her mother's estate, and her manipulation of her son enables her within eight years to bring her Plantation "to such a pitch, that the Produce was, at least, 300 £ Sterling a Year" (MF, 341), a considerable sum for the period, and reason enough for Defoe's readers to take note of the significance of Moll's experience.

In all probability, Borrow's old fruit woman did not read *Colonel Jack*, the other work published by Defoe in 1722 which dealt with a character who is transported to the American mainland colonies only to return rich and improved. If she had followed Jack's story, she would have found a fresh source of inspiration in him, for Jack also uses his native wit and ability to overcome difficulties and to rise above his station. In fact, Borrow's old woman would have found Jack's story even more of an inspiration than Moll's; unlike her, Jack does not land in America as a free person with some money. Starting as a white servant instead, he is promoted rapidly to the position of an overseer and then given his own plantation solely on his own merit. But like Moll he is a figure drawn from what Defoe felt was the typi-
cal experience of many an English convict, redrawn only to the extent that he becomes a prototype.

In essence, Defoe's portrait of Jack's rapid climb up the socio-economic ladder in the New World is a celebration of method, of the way in which application and rational conduct can effect one's fate. Like Crusoe's island, Singleton's Africa, or Moll's Maryland, Jack's Maryland-Virginia is the territory in which his ability to seize the day will transform his condition. Like Defoe's other heroes, he will rise to the occasion by calculation, willpower and cunning.

As he lands on the bank of the Potomac River, Jack knows that here is his opportunity to leave behind his past and look forward to a future when, having served his time, he will be given his own tract of land. "Very submissively," he responds to the admonition of the manager of the plantation to which he has been sold to work hard (CJ, 119). "Exceedingly mov'd" by his master's exhortation to another transported felon to reform and to perform diligently, Jack reacts with such emotion that he attracts the "great" man's attention (CJ, 121).

Jack's enthusiasm for his new life and for the gospel of salvation through hard labor is soon rewarded. He is made an overseer and is asked to govern and direct other white servants and black slaves. Though initially revolted by the cruelty he has to exercise in his job, Jack soon adjusts to
his new situation by perfecting a method to win over and work even the most hostile slave. Like Crusoe with Friday or Singleton with the Black Prince, Jack manipulates the blacks by exploiting their feelings. Adopting a carrot-or-stick policy, he sets out to prove that even "the worst of those tempers might be brought to a compliance without the Lash, or at least without so much of it, as they [other planters] generally inflicted" (CJ, 129). Using his ratiocinative skills, Jack has found out the "happy Secret, to have good Order kept, the Business of the Plantation done, and that with Diligence and Dispatch": practice leniency while threatening terrible punishment. Using a black named Mouchat as a test case, Jack triumphantly proves to his master the efficacy of his method. Moved, and with the delight of a student who has just seen a difficult problem solved, the master confesses: "you have made an Example that will never be forgot, that a Negro can be Grateful" (CJ, 142).

Because Jack's stratagem restores racial harmony to his plantation and, more importantly, raises productivity, the master rewards him with freedom from servitude and a plantation. Just as Jack is meant to be the type of the reformed criminal who prospers in the New World through his application and inventiveness, his master is presented as the type of the colonial aristocrat. Obviously a man of power and
great wealth, he rules over his subjects like a benign despot, encouraging them, rewarding the industrious, recommending firm, resolute action tempered by mercy, and accepting readily reforms which promote business.

Not content with dramatising his success, something which Jack modestly attributes to "Heaven and kind masters" (CJ, 152), but which, as we have seen, is largely due to his own abilities, Jack breaks his narrative to outline the measures to be adopted by other felons who have served their time in the colonies. Projecting the case of a man like him who has been released from servitude and offered some credit, Jack calculates how he will soon become a considerable planter since every year he will be able to repay his debtors through his crops of tobacco while also increasing his acreage. Jack adds: "...in this Method...no Diligent Man ever Miscarried, if he had Health to Work, and was a good Husband" (CJ, 153).

Jack himself is the living proof of the success of his method. He has been able to increase his plantation steadily and is soon able to export his tobacco and import European goods without a middleman. He brings to his estate, as he did to his master's, racial harmony: "I wrought so upon the Reason and Affection of my Negroes, that they serv'd me cheerfully, and by Consequence Faithfully and Diligently" (CJ, 159). By starting off on the right track another
convicted felon desirous of a better life, Jack procures a loyal manager and aide who will, in time, reenact his success. As a bonus, he is able to acquire from this man an adequate education and some religious instruction.

Jack still has many years to live, many countries to tour, and many vicissitudes to experience before he becomes the penitent who writes down his story. Still, as he phrases it at the end of the first stage of his wanderings, Virginia is the only place he "had been bless'd at, or had met anything that deserv'd the name of success in" (CJ, 250). The story of his success, and of his eventual return to England at the end of his adventures is meant to be admired and emulated. In Jack, as in Moll, Defoe has consciously created an image of success in the colonies, a portrait which he hoped would be a source of inspiration for readers like Borrow's old woman, readers for whom such characters would enter into the pantheon of saints.

By now, we should have a clear idea of the qualities Defoe requires of his protagonist in colonizing situations: they must be diligent, methodical, "scientific", resourceful, alert to all occasions and able to rise above adverse circumstances. Ideally, they will be problem-solvers, ready to observe and profit from experience, capable of perfecting a method to deal with nature or with natives, good managers
of people and of profits. In addition, they will be intrepid and cunning.

All these characteristics, and even more desirable traits, are combined in the narrator of the New Voyage Round the World. Paradoxically, this most typical and most perfect of Defoe's heroes is also the most elusive. Presented to us without a name and, atypically, without a past, he is too much a creature of his maker's propagandistic intentions to be a graspable character. In a sense, also, he is too perfect, and one-dimensional, too faithful to his calling as the commander of a colonial expedition to be believable. Other Defoe heroes, for instance Crusoe and Jack, are touched with unconscious longings and bursts of energy which make them wander. This man is always in control, is all purpose and meaningful movement.

From the outset, the narrator of the New Voyage knows exactly what he should do and how he should do it. He is going to captain a fleet equipped to trade surreptitiously with the Spanish American and Dutch Indian settlements, prey on vulnerable Spanish ships and, most importantly, explore the South Seas and Patagonia for their colonizing potential. His project has been commissioned by a man very much after his own heart (and suspiciously like Defoe), a person "particularly addicted to what we call new discoveries" (NVRW, 6). As for his method, everything that he does
shows that he has calculated all his moves according to carefully considered and utilitarian principles.

Since to follow every move of such a pattern of perfection as the narrator of the *New Voyage* is meant to be will lengthen this chapter unnecessarily, we will focus only on a few representative episodes in which his extraordinarily good sense is in evidence. One such passage is detailed in the lengthy account of a foiled mutiny early in the narrative. Apparently, some of his men had conspired to overthrow him, not because he was at fault but because a few of his officers had aired their differences from him on the route which the fleet should take. Faced with this threat to his authority, the narrator checks his passions and settles the problem quickly and decisively. He imprisons or neutralizes the chief conspirators, convinces the rest of the men of the reasonableness of his proposed route, and offers to set those ashore who disagreed with his plans. Acting on principles followed by Crusoe, Singleton, and Jack, he conquers his men by working on their sense of obligation. At the same time he reveals an almost Machiavellian knack for secret, underhand tactics which will restore his power but conceal his manipulative skills.

That Defoe wants his readers -- among whom we must number in the case of the *New Voyage* the more educated, affluent, and business-minded section of the reading public,
possibly the type of men who subscribed to *Atlas Maritimus*\(^1\) -- to take careful note of the narrator's line of action in handling the mutiny is implied by the fact that some fifty pages are devoted to it. On other occasions, too, the narrator's method of administering his fleet and handling his men and equipment is made the object of the reader's attention. About halfway through the voyage, for instance, when his fleet drops anchor off the coast of Juan Fernandez Island, he takes a series of measures for the benefit of his men and his ships. Knowing that the sailors need an outlet for their pent-up energy after having been on board a ship for a long time, he allows the men to go ashore and to hunt, making sure, however, that everyone alternated between duty and pleasure. This measure ensures a steady supply of fresh meat and water, but the narrator is careful to check the temperature of the liquid before the men get a chance to drink since too cold water would endanger their health. Also, as he has done throughout the voyage, he sees to it that the men get the opportunity to balance their diet with green vegetables, which they have discovered to be a good cure of and protection against scurvy. At a time when this disease routinely killed dozens of sailors, his claim that he lost only two men while sailing from the East Indies to Juan Fernandez Island is thus meant to be admired. Also, the number of occasions when the narrator mentions this measure,
along with the countless instances when he pauses as in Juan Fernandez to careen his ships, suggest that Defoe was using them as "redundancies" to make specific proposals for all subsequent commanders.

When his fleet sails to various uncharted regions of the Pacific, the narrator shows that his ability to handle other individuals is as praiseworthy as his handling of his own men. When his ships moor on the first large island in this part of the world, for example, he makes sure that two native women caught by his sailors are treated very well and then released. He has his reasons for such conduct: "the discovery we were to make would be something the easier on account of the usage of these young women" (NVRW, 110). True to his prediction, the islanders show their appreciation by providing the sailors with plentiful supplies of foodstuff and other useful items. Once again, Defoe emphasizes the importance of the narrator's decision by repeating it in different contexts. On one occasion he cannot help making the obvious point: "humanity and courtesy" on the part of explorers would make races still unacquainted with the European "easily subservient and assistant to any European nation that would come to make settlements among them" (NVRW, 176).

The narrator of the New Voyage, then, reveals throughout the novel an unfailing grasp of the nature of men and is
able to manipulate his own sailors as well as other men with ease. Moreover, he exhibits in many episodes the courage and cunning required of a master tactitian.

As the leader of a voyage of discovery he must also possess all the available information about the different parts of the world and be able to put it to use. In fact, unlike Defoe's other protagonists, the narrator of the *New Voyage* is very well versed in the literature of voyaging. On occasion he even scoffs at other famous explorers and commanders for their intellectual shortcomings, revealed to him not only in their inability to write competently about their adventures, but also, as is the case of Sir John Narborough and many others before him, in their pursuit of discoveries which "they had no need to have troubled themselves with, and which nobody will ever go through anymore" (NVRW, 3). His own project of sailing across the world, as the title has it, "by a course never sailed before", is evidence of his intellectual daring and of his knowledge of geography and trading patterns and recent political and economic developments. By sailing from the Cape of Good Hope to South America via Madagascar, Ceylon, the Philippines, and the South Seas, instead of reaching the Spanish American colonies of the Pacific by rounding Cape Horn as was conventional, he hopes to benefit in several ways. This route would enable him to sell European goods directly and
profitably to the Spanish merchants in the Philippines, to buy Oriental goods from Chinese and Japanese merchants who traded in these islands, to sell these goods to the Spanish colonials in South America, to discover new countries suitable for trade and colonization while sailing across the South Pacific, and finally to cap all this with an investigation of the potentialities of Patagonia.

The narrator's intellectual prowess, so admirably displayed in his revolutionary route around the world, is also in evidence on other occasions. Influenced by the methods and objectives of the Baconians, and following the recommendations of the Royal Society (see Chapter II), the narrator decided to "make many useful discoveries and experiments in trying that course, that it would be worth [his] while not only to go that way, but to have all the world take notice" of him and his expedition (NVRW, 8). The "discoveries" he makes in the South Seas and in Patagonia have been discussed in the preceding chapter; here we will note some of the "experiments" he conducts along the way.

At the very beginning of the expedition, when the fleet casts anchor off the Atlantic coast of Patagonia, the narrator proceeds to make many "observations" which he then presents under the following heading:

An Observation concerning the Soil and Climate of the Continent of America, south of the River de la
Plata, and how suitable to the genius, the Constitution, and the manner of living of Englishmen, and consequently of an English colony (NVRW, 14).

Wherever and whenever possible, he makes similar "observations", conducts experiments to test the fertility of the soil, gathers information about the topography, natural resources, and people of various places on scientific principles. As is appropriate for the commander of a large fleet engaged in discoveries, he always sends out an exploring party before engaging all his men in an unknown place. As the leader of one such party involved in reconnoitering the passageway across the Andes, he carefully instructs assistants to "make landmarks, bearings and beacons" at every step of the way, "to keep each of them a separate and distinct journal of these things" (NVRW, 247), and "to take their observations of every distant objects, and to look at everything with their glasses" (NVRW, 275).

Not surprisingly, when the narrator selects someone to lead the land party across Patagonia, he chooses a person who is not only "a bold, enterprising man," but also "an excellent geographer," a "general artist," "faithful and vigilant in whatever he undertook" (NVRW, 285); a man, in short, very much like himself. The narrator then lays down the rules and conditions to be followed by each member of the party, the wages they are to receive for their undertak-
ing, the arrangements to be made for their families in case of their death, and the equipment they are to take along.

The four pages devoted exclusively to the procedure followed by the narrator suggest that we should read them as rational discourse, as a mode of conduct for future commanders of exploring teams.

In addition to his leadership skills, his penchant for discovery, and his adoption of the "scientific" method in reconnoitering, the narrator of the New Voyage displays the skills of a businessman and the delicacy of a diplomat in his handling of trade negotiations and in his dealings with Spanish colonial administrators and with the sovereign of one of the islands he visits in the South Pacific. Everywhere, he does business on the principle Defoe thought was basic to trade: buying cheap and selling dear, but doing so without offending the other side. In trade and commerce, as in his handling of his men and his colonial encounters, he reveals a fondness for clandestine dealings, bribing officials or showering them with gifts. Even in trade, he makes a distinction between what he calls a "rational adventure" and what he feels is an unsound proposition, because not based on scientific principles (NVRW, 193).

Perhaps conscious that his already nameless hero was becoming too much of a paragon of rationality to be believable, Defoe allows his narrators a few faults. But even his
faults become him. While reviewing the progress of his fleet in Juan Fernandez, for instance, he acknowledges that he made a mistake in not sailing directly south from the Philippines, but preferring at that time to reprovision his ships in the Ladrones before heading in that direction; he now feels there would be even more islands to discover in the route not taken. Similarly, he regrets now that he took along no "botanist" to analyze the flora of the South-Sea islands, since the learned men of his expedition "never went a-simpling, as they call it, or to inquire what the earth brought forth that was rare and not to be found anywhere else" (NVRW, 175). Later, after the fleet had coasted the South American waters and returned to Juan Fernandez for reprovisioning, he admits to being negligent in not recording the results of the observations made by his surgeons of some herbs of the island. As he so ruefully puts it: "...it is the only discovery in all my travels which I have not reserved so carefully as to publish for the advantage of others, and which I regret the omission of very much" (NVRW, 205).

Despite his failings, or even because of them, the narrator of the New Voyage attracts our attention to the qualities Defoe considers essential for the commander of any major expedition undertaken for the purposes of trade, commerce, and colonization. His favourite adjectives ("reas-
nable" and "rational"), his almost total control over what little emotion he betrays, his devotion to policy, all indicate his deliberate, methodical, logical nature. Indeed, it seems curiously appropriate that Defoe's ideal colonial should have no name: he is all essence and has very little or no existence as a human being. His portrait indicates a weakness perceived by Susan Suleiman in the characters of the purely ideological novel: "...to the extent that the didactic demonstration is clearer when the characters and their story are simple and without internal contradictions, the roman 'a these will tend to eliminate precisely those aspects of the character and of the story that contribute to making them verisimilar. In doing so, the novel necessarily weakens its own credibility as a representation of the real."15 Consequently, though meant to be prototypical like Crusoe, Singleton, Moll, or Jack, the narrator of the book is not so believable, not so human, not so flawed as a person as to be a-little-less-than-the-perfect-colonial as is Crusoe, for instance, in neglecting his plantation at one stage of his life.

The narrator of the New Voyage, however, represents only an extreme instance of what Defoe felt his characters could do: instruct pleasurably his readers in the method to be followed by Englishmen in colonial situations. Whether as a solitary settler, intrepid explorer, convict-turned-plant-
er, or as the leader of a voyage of discovery, Defoe's protagonists illustrate the dynamic, purposeful, rational tendencies which he felt would lead to the efficient colonization of the world outside Europe. For them, the "programme of action is empire"; for Defoe's readers, the interest is designed to be in following the protagonists in their successful execution of their programme.
NOTES


2 Joyce, pp. 24-25.


5 Reiss, pp. 305, 306.

6 See the discussion of Bacon and his influence in Ch. II of this dissertation and Walter E. Houghton's "The History of Trades, its Relation to Seventeenth Century Thought," Journal of the History of Ideas, 2 (1941), 33-66.


10 Richetti, p. 84.

11 Richetti, p. 85.


14 It must be admitted that the reasons for projecting a more select body of readers for the *New Voyage* are not based on any external evidence. But as Jane H. Jack in "*A New Voyage Round the World: Defoe's Roman a Thèse.*" Huntington Library Quarterly, 24: 1 (1964), 323-336, and James Sutherland in *Daniel Defoe: A Critical Study* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971), pp. 153-57, have noted, this work shows more planning and more sophistication at the level of style and structure than any other of Defoe's fictional works. Their comments and those of Novak in *Economics and the Fiction of Daniel Defoe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), pp. 106-107 and 142-143, hinting at a link between the *New Voyage* and the fortunes of the Ostend Company suggest that Defoe was aiming it at Englishmen who were interested in financing trading and colonial expeditions.

CHAPTER VIII

Defoe's Protagonists as Prototypical Colonizers (2)

As prototypical planters and explorers, Defoe's protagonists display traits which he considered useful for colonizers. Because he thought that his readers could benefit from the example of his characters, Defoe made them rational, methodical, and efficient; the type of individuals who would become successful colonizers. But to some later readers, Defoe's protagonists reveal characteristics which make them less than attractive as human beings. James Joyce, for example, remarks not only on Crusoe's abilities but also his "unconscious cruelty...sexual apathy...calculating taciturnity." When Joyce compares Defoe's Singleton to the African empire-builder, Cecil Rhodes, he presumably wants us to notice the greed, cynicism, unscrupulousness, and worldliness of this archimperialist, as well as his dynamism, inventiveness, and other traits. Many years before Joyce delivered his lecture on Defoe, Leslie Stephen, in a celebrated essay, drew this unflattering portrait of Crusoe:

In Robinson Crusoe is De Foe, and more than De Foe, for he is the typical Englishman of his time. He is
the broad-shouldered, beef-eating John Bull, who has beenshouldering his way through the world ever since. Drop him in a desert island, and he is just as sturdy and self-composed as if he were in Cheapside.... He does not accommodate himself to his surroundings; they have got to accommodate themselves to him. He meets a savage and at once annexes him, and preaches him such a sermon as he had heard from the exemplary Dr. Doddridge. Cannibals come to make a meal of him, and he calmly stamps them out with the means provided by civilisation.... He comes home as he went out, a solid keen tradesman, having, somehow or other, plenty of money in his pockets, and ready to undertake similar risks in the hope of making a little more. He has taken his own atmosphere with him to the remotest quarters. Wherever he has set down his solid foot, he has taken permanent possession of the country. The ancient religions of the primaeval East or the quaint beliefs of savage tribes make no particular impression upon him, except a passing spasm of disgust at anybody having different superstitions from his own; and, being in the main a good-natured animal in a stolid way of his own; he is able to make use even of popish priests if they will help to found a new market for his commerce. The portrait is not the less effective because the artist was so far from intending it that he could not even conceive of anybody being differently constituted from himself. It shows us all the more vividly what was the manner of man represented by the stalwart Englishman of the day; what were the men who were building up vast systems of commerce and manufacture; shoving their intrusive persons into every quarter of the globe; evolving a great empire out of a few factories in the East... stamping firmly and decisively on all toes that got in their way... managing always to get their own way, to force a reluctant world to take note of them as a great if rather disagreeable fact, and making it probable that, in long ages to come, the English of Robinson Crusoe will be the native language of inhabitants of every region under the sun.3

"...a great if rather disagreeable fact": although Stephen caricatures, distorts, and even patronizes Defoe's hero and
his type, he accurately singles out his achievements and limitations. In particular, Stephen detects the unpleasant features of Crusoe the prototypical colonizer, features which he feels were unconsciously bestowed by his creator, but which to Stephen are as prominent as the colonizer's "rational", empire-building aspects.

Leslie Stephen's comments, and those of Joyce, are thus convenient points of departure -- this time for a chapter which will dwell not on the qualities which Defoe wants us to admire in his planters and explorers but on their more disagreeable sides: the aggressive, authoritarian, acquisitive, manipulative features of these characters who turn out to be -- at bottom -- suspicious, anxious, insecure individuals, prone to violence, and activated by cultural prejudices. As Stephen has indicated, someone like Crusoe, when not elbowing out other races, will endeavor to convert them to his religion and teach them his language. Because he either denigrates or denies the cultural identity of other nations and wants to impose his own values on them, religious and linguistic bigotry further typify the Defoean hero.

The most intriguing aspect of Defoe's protagonists, however, is their tendency, at certain points of their narratives, to betray their own uneasiness about their roles as exploiters and usurpers. Inadvertently, they will
provide the standards by which their actions can be judged. Either by providing surplus information or by trying to conceal facts, they will call into question the legitimacy of their endeavors as planters or explorers.

I

Leslie Stephen's paragraph amply describes Crusoe's aggressiveness -- as the Victorian scholar sees it, Defoe's hero shoulders, shoves, annexes, dominates, stamps firmly or decisively on others, forcing them to adjust to his movements. Crusoe's aggressiveness seems to be related to the restless energy which makes him leave his home and wander from place to place. This energy also compels him to dominate and destroy. Even a relatively innocuous act such as Crusoe's execution of a "terrible great Lyon" in West Africa (RC, 27) can be attributed to this irrational force, for he has no reason to go on shore and kill the beast. Indeed, his only reason for shooting the lion seems to be the pleasure he has "to see him drop" (RC, 28). On the island, the single footprint brings out Crusoe's combative instincts; he becomes obsessed with the idea of destroying any intruder. Crusoe's eventual attack on the cannibals is remarkable because it is unprovoked: by the time he decides to strike, Friday has outstripped his pursuers; Crusoe himself is in no
danger from them in his concealed, fortified retreat.\(^4\) He is as pugnacious in the sequel when he wonders aloud about the possibility of blowing up the great wall of China, or when he actually leads an attack on some idol-worshippers in Central Russia. And in *Serious Reflections during the Life and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, the belligerent narrator proposes numerous crusades against heathen nations, invoking the cause of Christianity to justify his militancy. At times heedless of danger, often inventing excuses for his warlike actions, Crusoe seems to be driven to aggressive schemes.

Other Defoean protagonists prove to be as combative as Crusoe. Singleton, for instance, is portrayed as a bloodthirsty man whose path to success depends at least partly on his saber-rattling. In Madagascar, he proposes seizing a boat from the natives or some Europeans and attacking the Malagasays for their cattle. On the African mainland, he is all in favor of a fight with the Africans when his party feels the need for beasts of burden. Even the most self-controlled of Defoe's heroes, the narrator of *A New Voyage Round the World*, seems to approve of the truculence of his sailors in the East Indies when, thwarted by natives who would rather strike a bargain than yield their goods gratis, they "made no scruple to go on shore a hundred or more at a time, and plunder and burn what they could not carry off;
till at last we began to be such a terror to them that they fled from us wherever we came" (NVRW, 87).

Defoe's protagonists, especially Crusoe, are strikingly authoritarian, and fascinated with power for its own sake. It is not only the Carib, Friday, who must submit and do obeisance to Crusoe, the Spaniard and his companions and the beached English captain and his friends must also recognize his sovereignty. Just as Crusoe on his island comes to terms with what he feels is the supreme authority-figure, God, Crusoe's subject must abide by the rules laid down by him and submit to his regency. Although Crusoe is only half-serious when he first confesses to a feeling of delight at being "king and Lord of all this Country indefeasibly" (RC, 100), the humor disappears in some later allusions to his kingship. The self-irony seems to be unintentional when, for example, Crusoe requires the Spaniard and his countrymen to be "absolutely under my Leading, as their Commander and Captain...to be directed wholly and absolutely by my Orders" (RC, 245), or when he informs the English Captain that "he had a Seat in the Country, as most Princes have" (RC, 258). Crusoe also pictures himself as omnipotent, and remarks with satisfaction how other characters saw him as God-like. It is true that Friday thinks of him as divine because of his firepower, but even the English Captain sees him as more than human. As the Captain tells his recuer: "Am
I talking to God, or Man! Is it a real Man, or an Angel!" (RC, 254). Once again, Crusoe undercuts the seriousness of this initial reference, suggesting humorously to the Captain that an Angel from God would have been better dressed and armed. However, when in the sequel the Spaniard welcomes Crusoe back to his colony by declaring that it was "inexcusable not to know that face again that he had once seen as of an angel from Heaven, sent to save his Life" (FARC, 36), Crusoe reports the declaration without irony, thereby suggesting to the reader that he had come to see himself as more than human. Even when Crusoe decides to abandon his colony, he is not willing to renounce the power that he thinks he still has. Thus, near the conclusion of Farther Adventures, Crusoe, while talking to a philosophical Russian prince in Siberia, informs him proudly of his "absolute power" over the colonizers and acknowledges himself to be their "tyrant" (FARC, 300).

Now, it is possible that Defoe's own attitude to his protagonist's love of power and urge to dominate is more complex than that of his hero. Even Crusoe ends his narrative in the Farther Adventures by resolving to imitate the Russian prince's renunciation of "the greatness, the authority, the riches, and the pleasures which some enjoyed in the world" (FARC, 301). Two things, however, indicate that Defoe did believe that the colonial, whatever his attitude in
retirement, should exercise his sovereign power when in a position to do so. Firstly, we have Maximillian E. Novak's report of Defoe's "rather strange announcement in the Weekly Journal of 19 April 1718 of a scheme to raise all kings to the status of emperors and all men with full political control of an area to the rank of king," and Manuel Schonhorn's suggestion that Defoe believed in warrior monarchs and benevolent despots. Then we have the evidence of the other works: all his other heroes display in one context or another their love of power and authority.

Singleton, for example, gets the title of a Captain because, as he phrases it, "I had taken State upon me before one of their [a Malagasay tribe's] great Princes" (CS, 43). On the very next page, Singleton declares his admiration for North Madagascar and expresses the following wish: "...if I had but a ship of 20 Guns, and a Sloop and both well manned I would not desire a better Place in the World to make my self as rich as a king" (CS, 44). In Colonel Jack, the protagonist reveals his admiration of his master's unlimited power and seems to be fascinated by the despotic tendencies of the plantation owner. Jack notes that his master received his new servants in "a kind of state" (CJ, 119). When he is summoned to an interview, he records his admiration for the "great man" who "sat in a seat like a Lord Judge upon the Bench, or a Petty King upon his Throne" (CJ, 122). Jack him-
self is as fawning to his master as he wants his servants to be to him. Like Crusoe he seems to have the urge to submit to a superior power while extracting homage from an inferior being.

In addition to being aggressive and authoritarian, Defoe's heroes are very manipulative. As we have seen in the previous chapter, Crusoe, Singleton, Jack, and the narrator of the *New Voyage* manage to utilize other people by working on their emotions, especially on their capacity for gratitude. There is, therefore, no need to detail these episodes where Defoe's heroes exercise their manipulative skills; we will be content for now simply to recall them, to point out a few more instances when the protagonists reveal their artfulness, and to focus on what these skills reveal about them.

In their dealings with other people, Defoe's protagonists, like many others before them attempting to elevate themselves to a position of power or to property, indicate that they are aware that "the fashioning of human identity" is "a manipulable, artful process." Not only can a Crusoe, a Singleton, or a Jack, fashion his own self in the New World, but he can also mold other selves for his own interest, especially if they, like Friday or the Black Prince or Mouchat, belonged to an alien and more manageable culture. This ability to impose his will on other races, either by
force or by deceit, seems to be essential to his success. Indeed, Defoe's heroes improvise, and plot, and use their wiles to set others to work so that they can achieve success. In their readiness to manipulate and exploit, they exhibit a cynical side, distance the head from the heart, and disregard the means in concentrating totally on the ends. Other people simply become tools to be used to build the protagonists' fortunes.

Crusoe's treatment of Xury illustrates some of these points. When he escapes from the Barbary pirates, Crusoe takes along with him the African, promising to make him "a great man" if he proves to be faithful to him (RC, 23). As they sail southwards, Xury gives such proof of his "Affection" for his master that Crusoe resolves to "love him ever after" (RC, 25). But when Crusoe is rescued by a Portuguese ship, he quite readily sells the African, contenting himself with a promise from the purchaser that Xury would be released after ten years and after turning Christian. Faced with this act of betrayal, the reader can only consider Crusoe's promise to Xury or his declaration of love as false and Crusoe himself as an opportunist. Xury as a person has little appeal for Crusoe; only when he needs an extra hand, as in his Brazilian plantation, or on his island when he wants to sail to the mainland, does Crusoe long for the African's presence.
Although Friday's arrival ends Crusoe's loneliness and brings out his more human side, it is clear that the Carib meets Crusoe's earlier expressed need for a servant and for a pilot who would guide him away from his island. Because Friday is so submissive, affectionate, trusting, and "without Passions, Sullenness, or Designs" (RC, 209), and because he has a "simple, unfeign'd Honesty" (RC, 212), he can be shaped to fit Crusoe's schemes. But Friday never becomes anything more than the ideal servant, as is obvious in Crusoe's expression of regret on the Carib's death: "...I was the most disconsolate creature alive for want of my man Friday, and would have been very glad to have gone back to the island, to have taken one of the rest from thence for my occasion, but it could not be...." (FARC, 179).

Such lack of concern for the other person is also characteristic of Singleton (whose considerable skills at manipulating his African prisoners and the Black Prince have already been discussed in Chapter VII) and of his adviser, Quaker William. Perhaps more than any other Defoean character exposed to life outside Europe, William delights in deviousness and craftiness. From the moment when he arranges for his own abduction by Singleton's pirates to the time when he and Singleton disguise themselves as merchants to return to England, William shows his cunning and his ability to exploit others. Thus, when the buccaneers come across a
slave ship whose slaves had revolted against their cruel masters, he restrains the pirates from murdering the rebels, defending their actions by emphasizing the injustices committed by slavers. Subsequently, he treats the slaves with tolerance and kindness, but when the pirates sail to Brazil, William sells the blacks to Portugese planters, improvising merrily along the way to conclude the deal. This episode is remarkable not only for William's proficiency in role-playing, but also because it shows his willingness to separate his head from his heart for the cause of gain. Later when the pirates seem satiated because of the capture of a treasure-laden Moghul ship in the Bay of Bengal, William, at Singleton's instigation, "put[s] such farther Golden Hopes into their Heads" that they feel compelled to agree to move on to the East Indies (CS, 230). William, in short, reinforces Singleton's tendency to use others to secure his own ends, demonstrating in the process the kind of worldliness and cynicism typified by his observation: "I would as soon trust a Man whose Interest binds him to be just to me, as a Man whose Principle binds himself" (CS, 242).

Although Colonel Jack is the most spontaneous and sentimental of Defoe's protagonists, he is no less adept in working on the emotions of the people he meets to further his own fortunes. To put it bluntly, and in the words of his admiring master, Jack is "too cunning" not to manipulate
others (CJ, 132). As we have seen, Jack's moment to achieve greatness comes when he perceives that the "Brutal temper of the Negroes was not rightly manag'd" (CJ, 128). By perfecting a technique which will simultaneously exploit the slaves' emotions of fear and gratitude, Jack climbs up the ladder of success. After plotting to tame Mouchat, Jack stagemanages events so that his master is fully impressed with his manipulative skills. So effective is Jack's presentation of his manner of insinuating himself into Mouchat's conscience that the master declares: "'tis all a New Scene of Negro Life to me, and very moving" (CJ, 142).

Like William and Moll, Jack is a capable dissembler. For example, when his master asks him why he has shown so much emotion while another young pickpocket was being hectored, and whether their cases were similar, Jack disingenuously replies: "Indeed Sir, I have been a wicked idle Boy, and was left Desolate in the World, but that Boy is a Thief" (CJ, 124). Such improvisatory skills come in handy when Jack discovers from his master that the ship carrying his cargo had capsized, thus putting him inescapably in his master's debt. Jack reacts by addressing his master with "more Cunning and Respect than ever, because I thought my self more under the Hatches than I was before" (CJ, 155). Near the conclusion of his story, when Jack is made a prisoner by the Spanish colonials of Cuba, he is able to bluff
and flatter his way out of captivity by acting the part of a Catholic loyalist. As he puts it: "this way of managing my self, obtain't me the Libery of the Place" (CJ, 279-80). Managing one's self and manipulating others seem to be attributes as essential to Defoe's protagonists as their aggressiveness and will to power.

The narrator of the *New Voyage* shows a similar fondness for, and proficiency in, self-fashioning, feigning, and utilizing other selves. As a result, he is able to direct the entire fleet according to his own wishes. He exults in manipulation; his delight is obvious when he declares that he "did play them [the Spaniards] a trick at the Rio de la Plata" but had "quite another game to play" in the Philippines (NVRW, 93). Here he prefers to remain behind the scenes, managing a show designed to lure the Spanish officials into contraband trade. Indeed, as he notes at one point in his narrative, he had "traded all the way by stratagem" and had "acted...upon a double foundation," appearing to the Spaniards either as "a French ally and merchant" or as an "English enemy and pirateer" (NVRW, 190). His ability to capitalize on the unforeseen and to impose his schemes on his men characterize his conduct throughout his voyage round the world.

The energy, aggressiveness, love of power and authority, and manipulative skills displayed by Defoe's heroes are
complemented by their acquisitiveness. Reviewing Bohn's edition of Defoe, an anonymous critic had written in 1856 about the novelist: "...in his heart he must have had an intense love of property; in his novels he lets his passion for it run free. He gloats over money or bales of silk, over spices and pearls...." We can question the too easy identification here of Defoe's personality with that of his protagonist, but it seems not inappropriate to characterize his heroes thus. Men like Singleton, who knows that "gold...was the makebait of the world" (CS, 115), and like the narrator of the New Voyage, who observes shrewdly that "there is a kind of satisfaction in the work of picking up gold besides the mere gain" (NVRW, 312), seem to be unusually self-aware. They are eager to exploit their insight into human conduct to lead their men on with the promise of riches. The acquisitive spirit is also typified by Crusoe who, in that famous passage, reflects on the uselessness of money on his island, and then decides to keep it. But perhaps the most rapacious of Defoe's fictional characters is the Englishman stranded in the interior of Africa. Crusoe-like, at one moment he will comment on the paradox, "For what Advantage had it been to me, or what richer had I been, if I had a Ton of Gold Dust, and lay and wallowed in it" (CS, 155); but in the next year or so he will goad Singleton's band to one gold-rush after another. Eventually,
this man dies of grief because the money he had sent back to England was lost. His case represents only an extreme form of the lust for riches which characterizes most of Defoe's characters. The anonymous critic of the National Review was probably thinking of Moll and Jack when he commented on Defoe's love of property and his tendency to gloat and calculate, for they do not stop till the very end of their tales to covet and to amass, but even the narrator of the New Voyage is afflicted with the disease which he feels can be cured only by the "drug" that is gold (NVRW, 231).

Space itself becomes for Defoe's appetitive heroes something to be tasted and treasured. Hence Crusoe, who successively annexes, gloats over, and in a sense, consumes the different parts of his island, labelling them his home, bower, country-house, plantation, kingdom, and colony. Hence Colonel Jack, who on returning from his European adventures, "desire[s] to see the Plantations and to view all the servants" that he has by then amassed (CJ, 251). Indeed, Jack's wants seem never to be satisfied, for even after he has become very prosperous, he, like Crusoe, will set out on still another trading voyage. Crusoe, of course, denies having any "desire about getting more money" when he sails on another business mission to the East Indies (FARC, 213). Despite the disavowal, however, he does not fail to calculate his profits or pass up a deal till the very end: desire
of seeing new places being as evident in his conduct as the desire to accumulate more money.

Characters who are as aggressive, authoritarian, manipulative, and acquisitive as we have seen the Defoean protagonists to be, should not, at least in theory, be weak, vulnerable or fragile. Paradoxically, however, someone like Crusoe, like the colonial or authoritarian personality diagnosed by some writers, is in many respects emotionally immature, anxious, fearful, and unstable, prone to sudden outbursts of violence and something very like paranoia.\textsuperscript{9} There is, in other words, an irrational and insecure side to the apparently unflappable, domineering, rational hero which comes out from time to time in his colonial adventures.

Although Crusoe's reaction to the single foot-print and to the cannibals who use his island for their feasts has become the \textit{locus classicus} for anyone interested in the neurotic side of Defoe's heroes, it is pertinent to point out that Crusoe's fear of being devoured by wild beasts or cannibals antedate his momentous discovery (RC, 23, 58, 124). The discovery of the foot-print, however, thoroughly destabilizes Crusoe for some time; there seems to be little that he is able to do to contain the "Cogitations, Apprehensions and Reflections" which disturb his peace for months (RC, 157).

Eventually Crusoe composes himself enough to further
fortify and disguise his retreat, but from the moment he comes across the remains of a cannibal feast, all his apprehensions and anxieties return. Fear and horror give way to his more violent impulses; for some time he is obsessed with the idea of massacring the cannibals. He fantasizes about the possibility of blowing up the intruders at their feast with gunpowder, but desists because he is "very loth to waste so much Powder upon them" (RC, 168). He then pleases his fancy with the thought of first ambushing and then exterminating them. Indeed, Crusoe exhibits at this juncture all the symptoms of the paranoiac -- his fear of being eaten alternates with his urge to dominate and destroy. His conscience tells him that revenge is not his prerogative, yet his perverse fascination with the abomination compels him to become an avenger. The thought of shedding blood deters him for some time, but the hope that by rescuing a prisoner he will get a pilot who will help him get away from the island renews his desire to attack. In short, his unstable state of mind and his practical need are the reasons for Crusoe's final decision to fire on the cannibals.

Crusoe's later behavior confirms him as a volatile, obsessive character who is attracted by the notion of being an avenger. Although Friday informs him that cannibals "never eat any many but such as come to fight with them, and
are taken in Battle" (RC, 223), and although his conscience once again warns him that taking revenge is none of his business, Crusoe is unable to restrain himself from taking a closer look at the cannibals who have returned to his island for a second feast. The discovery of a white man amongst the prisoners is enough to make Crusoe's blood boil and with Friday's assistance he rescues the Spaniard. Among the three of them, they massacre the cannibals. Crusoe then presents a list of the number of cannibals slain and wounded by them. Later, suspicious as usual, he extracts from the Spaniard a promise that he would not be turned over to the Inquisition by him or his countrymen. Still later, when he observes a long-boat from an English ship heading towards the island, he decides to conceal himself, instinctively distrusting his own countrymen.

Novak feels that the Crusoe of the Farther Adventures is far more tolerant of "primitive behavior" than the hero of the first work. As proof, Novak cites Crusoe's condemnation of the "Massacre of Madagascar" (Crusoe's title for the mass slaughter of Malagasays by sailors from his nephew's ship) and concern for the murder of a Cochin Chinese by one of his own men. But the critic is too generous to Defoe's hero: while Crusoe expresses his shock at the injustices committed on the Malagasays during and after the event, he seems to have forgotten his compunctions by the time he is
ready to attack the idols of a Russian tribe. To instigate the assault on the Russians, Crusoe relates to a Scots merchant the story of the massacre at Madagascar. He tells the merchant how the men had "burned and sacked the village there, and killed man, woman, and child for their murdering one of our men, just as it is related before; and I added that I thought we ought to do so to this village" (FARC, 285, italics added). Even while introducing the incident which causes him to regret the death of the Cochin Chinese, Crusoe betrays his sadistic tendencies: the story of his men's victory over the Cochin Chinese by pouring boiling pitch on them is said to "deserve our laughter" (FARC, 230). This from a man who had written earlier: "a truly great man though obliged by the law of battle to destroy his enemy, takes no delight in his misery" (FARC, 98).

Crusoe, however, is not the only character in Defoe's novels who gives in to his violent, destructive, or sadistic impulses. Certainly, Singleton is as willing to shed blood as Crusoe, as ready to destroy or kill. Thus after a skirmish with some African tribe in which they kill, wound, and frighten the natives, Singleton and his men fire upon the prostrate Africans and knock them down with their muskets (CS, 62-65, see also pp. 92-94). He or his men are responsible for at least four massacres. As we have noted above, the narrator of the New Voyage too seems to condone the
cruelty of his men in the East Indies. Like Crusoe in his report of the murder of the Cochin Chinese, he is capable of finding delight at the pain inflicted on others. Thus, in Ceylon, the narrator of the *New Voyage* informs us, his men had almost whipped to death a native of the island who had been caught stealing from them. Only his intervention had saved the life of the thief; undoubtedly, we are meant to approve of his action. A page or two later, however, this is how the narrator suddenly remembers the case of the Ceylonese:

> What became of the fellow that we lashed we know not, but as he had but little flesh left on his back which was not mangled and torn with our whipping him, and we suppose they are but indifferent surgeons, our people said the fellow could not live; and the reason they gave for it was, because they did not pickle him after it. Truly, they said, that they would not be so kind to him as to pickle him; for though pickling, that is to say, throwing salt and vinegar on the back after the whipping be cruel enough as to the pain it is to the patient, yet 'tis certainly the way to prevent mortification, and cause it to heal again with more ease (NVRW, 86).

Perhaps the matter-of-fact tone in which the comments of the sailors are reported is meant to be funny, but it seems impossible now to share the joke. Indeed, the narrator here betrays a moral blankness, a secret pleasure in the way the thief has been tortured and in the cynicism of his men. Certainly, his sailors reveal their delight in the exercise
of power, their hatred of the Ceylonese, and their indifference to human suffering.

II

Defoe's heroes participate directly or indirectly in the slaughter of so many nations and find fun in the suffering of so many victims because their skills and weapons make them feel superior. They assume that the sufferers were, in any case, less than human or to be held in contempt. This is another way of saying that Defoe's heroes dominate because they think that this is the natural order of things. Xenophobia, preconceptions about race, religion and language further typify these characters.

Defoe's fondness for stereotyping should by now be obvious. Certain European nations (the Spanish and the Portuguese), a few religions (that of the North Africans and the Chinese), some civilizations (the Ceylonese, Malay, Indonesian and the Chinese) are consistently held up to ridicule by him. On the other hand, Defoe invariably treats the English as the nation whose strength of character and intellectual abilities have placed them in an unique position to conquer the world. As for the other peoples of the world, they could be divided into savages -- ignoble or potentially noble --
and barbarians. Even the potentially noble savages are seen as destined to be slaves, although occasionally Defoe holds out the prospects of racial integration. With few exceptions, and with almost total indifference to the uniqueness of each culture, Defoe makes his protagonists conform to these categorical views about the rest of the world.

Because three works are devoted to his adventures, Crusoe has more to say about other nations and more prejudices to reveal than any other of Defoe's protagonists. In particular, two chapters of *Serious Reflections during the Life and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, titled "An Essay on the Present State of Religion in the World" and "Of the Proportion between the Christian and Pagan World" allow Crusoe to expatiate on other cultures. For this reason more weight will be placed on his views in the following discussion, but from time to time they will be supplemented by perspectives adduced from other Defoean characters.

Crusoe's reactions to the cannibals who feast while on his island include some of his most complex emotions and his deepest reflections on other cultures. He is horrified by this evidence of the "Degeneracy of Humane Nature" (RC, 165); he thanks God for casting his "first Lot on a part of the World, where I was distinguish'd from such dreadful
Creatures as these." Crusoe's subsequent thoughts on the cannibals run in this same channel. He feels that they were condemned to live not by Reason but by their "own abominable and vitiated Passions" because they had somehow sinned against "the Light" (RC, 170, 210). Even Singleton's hardened, homeless heart harbors some sentimental and religious thoughts when the inexplicable and seemingly degenerate rituals of his African prisoners lead him to consider "how happy it was, that I was not born among such Creatures as these, and was not so stupidly ignorant and barbarous" (CS, 74).

The use of the word "Creature" by both Crusoe and Singleton is interesting; it implies that the Caribs and the Africans are somewhat less than human, or at least distinct from Crusoe's own people. The Oxford English Dictionary records that the word is used in several ways: it can refer to anything created or animate, but is often used as distinct from "man"; it can be utilized with tenderness to refer to another human being, but is often used with "a shade of patronage"; it can refer to an "offspring of anything" but also implies "a person who is activated by the will of another." Clearly, when Crusoe or Singleton use the word as above they are utilizing the second of the two senses; the cannibals and the Africans are different from them and inferior beings at least partly because of their rituals.
Later uses of the word indicate that he also sees them as childlike and capable of being regenerated only by his example. Thus Crusoe confesses after his successful conversion of Friday that he "began really to love the Creature" (RC, 213). In the sequel, when Crusoe reports the success of his colonizers in taming the captive Caribs, the word has similar connotations: "there they lived, the most subjected, innocent Creatures that ever were heard of" (FARC, 103). In Colonel Jack, Jack's kind master makes him a present of Mouchat, the slave who has been a test case for the success of Jack's method, informing him that "it was a Debt due to the Affection that poor creature" had always had for him (CJ, 153).

Deprived of reason, depraved, animal- or child-like -- these seem to be the dominant features which Defoe's heroes attribute to the many tribes and nations they encounter outside Europe. The animal imagery is especially persistent. The Caribs who attack Crusoe's colony, for example, are said to be wolves (FARC, 101). The Barbary pirates are perceived to be "as cruel as beasts" (SR, 111); the Chinese are described as "grovelling in the very sink and filth of idolatry" (SR, 118); the Malagasays are categorized as a "ravenous, brutish sort of People" (CS, 25). Even the friendly South-Sea islanders appear at first to the sailors as "black creatures" swimming towards their ships, like
porpoises or sea monsters or a dog or a duck (NVRW, 109). And when not depriving other races of speech altogether, Defoe's characters will compare their utterances to that of beasts. At his most Hobbesian, Defoe will quote his favorite poet, Rochester, and will use the "Satyr against Mankind" to liken the whole of the human race to predatory animals (SR, 106), but most often the animal imagery is reserved for the people who live outside Europe.

For Defoe and his contemporaries there were, of course, two very different images of the savage to choose from. He could be seen as a debased "creature", incapable of reason and condemned to his passions, prone to such practices as cannibalism and incest (Crusoe's preconceptions about the Caribs include the belief that they "marry anyone, without regard to relation, consanguity, or family" but Will Atkins tells him that this is not true (RC, 151)) and other horrific or inexplicable rituals. As we have been arguing, this image is ubiquitous in Defoe's fiction. Interestingly enough, the other image of the savage, of the naturally virtuous man, the "noble savage", complicates the picture from time to time. Even Friday and his fellow Caribs, for example, are removed from the brutish stereotype by Crusoe after he comes to know of some of their 'praiseworthy' traits. In fact, while the anxious and unstable protagonist of Robinson Crusoe instinctively categorizes the cannibals
as degenerate and abominable, the older and more reflective man who writes discursively in *Serious Reflections* finds the Carib practice of eating human flesh the only thing that is repulsive about them; "in their other conduct those savages were as human, as mild, as gentle as most I have met with in the world, and as easily civilised" (SR, 116). We will come to the implications of the last phrase in the next paragraph; for the nonce let us note that Crusoe even indulges himself in a Montaigne-like defence of cannibalism, observing that the cannibals eat only their enemies as a "martial rage rather than a civil practice" and that, after all, the Europeans were almost as brutal in their wars.

But Defoe's noble savages are pictured as noble not because they exemplify the desirable primitivistic life; they are praised because they can be so "easily civilized". Unlike barbarians -- the Moors and the Chinese qualify for this epithet -- or unimproveable tribes like the Hottentots, the Caribs are endowed with virtues which make them attractive to colonizers. As many critics have observed, Friday looks like an European and is not quite dark; the natives captured by Crusoe's colonizers include women who "would have passed for very handsome women, even in London itself" (FARC, 74). Then, the Caribs are grateful, affectionate, simple and eager to learn European practices. Similarly, the South-Sea islanders of the *New Voyage* are pictured as noble
savages -- even nobler than the Caribs because they are not cannibals and show no martial rage -- not because the narrators wants his readers to emulate the simple life of this exotic people, but because "as the natives of these places were tractable and courteous, so they would be made easily subservient and assistant to any European nation that would come to make settlements among them" (NVRW, 176). By their actions these islanders show that they are willing to be draped in European cloth and customs.

One sign of the readiness of the South-Sea islanders to be converted to the European way of life detected by the narrator of the New Voyage is their gesture of looking towards the sky to seal a deal. Friday, we remember, also told of the god of his nation, Benamuckee. The fact that these people possess the notion of a deity is important; it indicated that they could be easily converted to Christianity.

Defoe's program for the conversion of the rest of the world to Christianity is outlined in the two essays on religion collected in the Serious Reflections. In "An Essay on the Present State of Religion in the World," Crusoe reports with regret how infrequently he had met Christian nations in all his wanderings. As far as he is concerned, some people -- like the Caribs -- have a notion of God but do not have the benefit of revelation; others like the
Chinese have degenerated to the point of worshipping ugly idols; while still others -- like the Tartars -- have reverted to pagan practices. Crusoe notes sadly how many millions "are yet abandoned to the grossest ignorance and depravity" (SR, 110). On the other hand, the conviction that "wherever Christianity has been planted...even where it has not had a saving influence, it has yet had a civilizing influence" (SR, 112), makes him happy. In other words, even where conversion does not guarantee redemption, it ensures that the savage is made more amenable to European government and manners. In short, there is a definite link between missionary activity and cultural diffusion in the service of colonialism.

In Chapter VI of Serious Reflections, "Of the Proportion between the Christian and Pagan World," Crusoe takes up the argument for Christianizing the world. Although he prefers not to "plant" religion by the sword, Crusoe feels that the existing situation justifies "this way for the spreading of Christian knowledge" (SR, 217-18). His "crusado" would involve the conquest of North Africa, Madagascar, Ceylon, India, the East Indies, China, and Japan, and "the extirpation of idolatry, paganism, and devil-worship" from the world (SR, 232). We who have followed Defoe's attempts to interest his readers by offering political and economic arguments for the colonization of most of these regions will
find their appearance in this religious context more than coincidental: his religious ambitions are not far removed from his colonial interests.

In the last two decades, numerous scholars have written convincingly of the links between Defoe's fiction and Puritan sub-literary traditions. The connections between Defoe's religious projects and his colonial concerns, however, have gone unnoticed. Yet the essays published in Serious Reflections are quite explicit on this point, and the fiction implicitly suggest it. Crusoe, for example, embarks on a crusade even before his own conversion when he demands that Xury should "not stroak" his "Face" to be true to him, "that is, swear by Mahomet and his Father's Beard" (RC, 23); Xury's renunciation of what was perceived as Muslim religious practice seems to be a first step before he can enter into servitude. Friday, of course, is Crusoe's greatest triumph as a missionary and illustrates the connection between religious conversion and colonization: the civilized, Christianized Carib makes the perfect servant. Then there is the success of the Catholic Priest in the Farther Adventures who convinces Crusoe of the necessity of bringing religion to the colonizers and to the pacified Caribs. When the zealous missionary convinces Defoe's hero of the importance of weaning the natives away from their idolatrous practices, Crusoe confesses to him in typically
utilitarian fashion: "How far...have I been from understand-
ing the essential part of a Christian, viz: to love the
interests of the Christian church and the good of other
men's souls!" (FARC, 129). No irony, probably, was intended,
but we cannot help seeing here a link between religious and
commercial morality. Later in the sequel, when Crusoe has
embarked on his world voyage, he takes satisfaction in
crediting to Dutch missionary activity in the region the
courtesy and civility extended to his ships by the natives
of Formosa. The behavior of the Formosans is to him proof
"that the Christian religion always civilizes the people and
reforms their manners, where it is received, whether it
works saving efforts upon them or not" (FARC, 233).

In Serious Reflections, Crusoe opines that linguistic
conversion should follow fast on the heels of religious
invasion. The conquerors should especially see to it that
the younger generation of the recently Christianized land
should be taught their language, for in a few years, the
older generation having been worn out, "the posterity of
them and of the conquerors would be all one nation" (SR,
232). Crusoe, in effect, wants to set in motion what Leslie
Stephen feels he had made probable: that "the English of
Robinson Crusoe will be the native language of inhabitants
of every region under the sun."

Actually, the urge of an Englishman to impose his
language on the rest of the world outside Europe predates Defoe's *Serious Reflections* by at least one hundred years. We need only to read Stephen Greenblatt's provocative paper, "Learning to Curse: Aspects of Linguistic Colonialism in the Sixteenth Century," to find out how persistent were the proposals during the Renaissance to spread the English language. According to Greenblatt, "planting" English, like "planting" religion and colonies, became then a goal for many. Samuel Daniel, for instance, meditates on "the New World as a vast, rich field for the plantation of the English language." Typically, he sees the imposition of English not as a conquest but as a gift. Greenblatt notes some of the assumptions shared by European colonizers: that American Indians "were without eloquence or even without language;" that Indian speech sounded like gibberish; or that "there was no significant language barriers between Europeans and savages," and therefore no difficulties in communicating between the colonizer and the colonized.\(^1\)

Remarkably, we can find all these assumptions in Defoe's narrators. Linguistic colonialism is a goal for at least a few of them. Crusoe's success in teaching Friday to speak English has attracted everyone's attention, but we can also cite the achievement of some of his colonizers in *Farther Adventures*: the English men who had married the native women "had taught them to speak English pretty well;
and all the children they had...were taught to speak English too" (FARC, 107). As far as Crusoe is concerned, this is "The utmost of all the improvement" which the wives received from their husbands. Similarly, Singleton teaches his Black Prince "our way of talking" (CS, 72), although this seems to involve a mixture of English and Portugese.

Usually, Defoe is very deprecatory about other languages. When Defoe condemns in Atlas Maritimus the Indian place names of North America because they are to him so "ill-tuned" and "harsh, unsonorous" (AM, 284), he is close to calling Indian speech gibberish; some of his narrators are even more abrasive. Thus Crusoe reports in the Farther Adventures the "screaming and yawling...a kind of howling noise...strange noises...a hideous cry" uttered by the defeated Caribs in his colony (FARC, 98-100). Later he has this to say about the speech of a Brazilian Indian: "his speech was so odd, all gutturals...and we were all of opinion that they might speak that language as well if they were gagged as otherwise" (FARC, 179). As for the Cochin Chinese expressing pain, he serenely observes: "I cannot give the noise these creatures made a better name than howling, nor a name more proper to the tone of it; for I never heard anything more like the noise of wolves" (FARC, 231). Similarly, the outcry of the besieged islanders in Captain Singleton is heard as "a strange noise more uncouth
and inimitably strange, more like the Howling and Barking of wild Creatures in the Woods, than like the Voice of men, only that sometimes they seemed to speak words" (CS, 251). Later, when the sailors attack the Ceylonese, Singleton admits that "it is impossible to express the confusion and filthy vile noise" emitted by the bewildered natives (CS, 289). Not surprisingly, the narrator of the New Voyage also hears the language of the Ceylonese as "confused ugly noises" (NVRW, 84).

Rarely, however, does language seem to pose any problems when the protagonists want to communicate with friendly or peaceful natives. Crusoe, for example, uses signs to ask Friday to come forward, signs which "he easily understood" (RC, 203). Crusoe follows up with "the Signs of Encouragement;" the grateful Carib immediately kneels down "in token of acknowledgment for my saving his life." Crusoe then smiles at Friday and in response the latter prostrates himself again, taking Crusoe's "foot upon his Head; this it seems was in token of swearing to be my Slave for ever" (RC, 203-04). It is almost as if language is being dismissed as an obstacle in communication between peoples; as if the most rudimentary gestures were enough to claim or yield sovereignty. Like Crusoe, Singleton and his men limit or deny the existence of a linguistic barrier as they trade with or put to work the many tribes they meet in Africa. Similarly, the
narrator of the _New Voyage_ and his sailors need only a few signs to learn the source of their riches from the South-Sea islanders.

On one occasion, Crusoe almost suggests that Friday had no language of his own. This occasion comes when Defoe's hero, delighting in his role as the master, informs us that he was teaching his pupil everything that was "useful, handy, and helpful; but especially to make him speak, and understand me when I spoke" (RC, 210). For a moment it almost seems that Friday was without speech before this time and that to speak is to speak English. This fits in with the tradition of colonial discourse which Greenblatt traces to Columbus who in 1492 had recorded in his journal why Indians should make good servants: "for I see that they repeat quickly whatever was said to them....I, please our Lord, will carry off six of them at my departure to your Highness, that they may learn to speak."15

Needless to say, Crusoe could not have literally meant that Friday was without speech. In fact, Crusoe had recorded earlier how Friday had during his rescue spoken a few words which Crusoe could not understand, words which "were pleasant to hear, for they were the first sound of a man's voice, that I had heard, my own excepted, for above Twenty Five years" (RC, 204).16 Nevertheless, it is significant that Crusoe, like Columbus, should forget or neglect to mention
at a certain point the fact of speech. In their eagerness to teach the natives a European tongue, especially words which would make them useful, they minimize the problems posed by linguistic barriers. It is also noteworthy that both Friday and the Black Prince first learn words like "Master", "Yes", "No", and "Yes, Sir" so that, as Singleton puts it, his slave could understand "what use we intended to make of his Men" (CS, 72). Defoe's message could hardly be made any clearer: language instruction is the indispensable first step to be taken in setting the natives to work in any colonial venture.

Charles Gildon, among Defoe's earliest and severest critics, pounces upon what appears to be a flaw in Defoe's handling of the language issue. In his satire on *Robinson Crusoe*, Gildon has Friday complain to Defoe because his creator has made him "able to speak English tolerably well in a Month or two and not to speak it better in twelve years after." But Defoe must have given the matter some thought, or must have received information from some other source, for in the Farther Adventures he has Crusoe observe: "all these nations [the Brazilian Indians], as also those of Africa, when they learn English, always add two e's, and make two accent upon them as makeé, takeé, and the like; nay, I could hardly make Friday leave it off, though at last he did" (FARC, 180). Thus the Carib, Friday, talks very much
like Colonel Jack's black slave, Mouchat, even though he eventually gets rid of his accent.

It is easy for us to understand Friday's difficulty in losing his accent, but it is hard to see how an African could speak English in the same way as a Carib. The point is not unimportant; it allows us to make another observation about Defoe's presentation of other people. From his perspective, it does not matter much that different nations from different parts of the globe have their distinct intonations, their distinct cultures; what is important is that his readers perceive how willingly they learn to speak English or follow instructions in that language. It is obvious that the notion that a native might be reluctant to learn a new language or, for that matter, practice a new religion, does not cross Defoe's mind. The assumption that European culture was superior, and therefore worth propagating is pervasive.

Paradoxically, however, Defoe seems to deny that a converted native could ever want to be, or should be, given the dignity and the freedom of a European: he still had to be inferior or a slave. As noted above, Crusoe seems even unsure whether the Christianizing of the native would save his soul; the only thing that was certain was that Christianity would civilize them and make them more tractable. Crusoe might have the generosity to give the thirty-seven
"wonderfully civilized" (FARC, 104) Caribs of his colony the option to choose between servitude and freedom to cultivate, but only three or four of them will agree to work their own land. The majority simply prefers to be "employed as servants in the several families" he had settled (FARC, 164). Colonel Jack, whose success in life depends entirely on proving that blacks have all the "Faculties of reasonable Creatures" (CJ, 136), including the capacity for gratitude, nevertheless remonstrates with his master that the latter could not believe that he had "as much gratitude as a Negro" (CJ, 148). The narrator of the New Voyage, whose admiration of the friendly South-Sea islanders seems to be genuine, cannot help wondering "what sort of a posterity" those sailors would engender who had deserted ship and presumably would marry native women (NVRW, 154). In other words, even racial intermarriage -- something Defoe considers as desirable in Atlas Maritimus and Farther Adventures -- does not hold for the narrator a guarantee that the later generations will eventually be like their European fathers. Although Defoe's protagonist does not hold as extreme views, his speculation reminds one of the sentiments of the narrator of Tennyson's "Locksley Hall." This man imagines for a moment an idyllic life for his half-breed children in some tropical island, but rejects this line of thought in favor of the notion that the true-born European could never be inferior.
This is how he berates himself: "Fool, again the dream, the fancy! but I know my words are wild/But I count the gray barbarian lower than the Christian child" (11. 173-74).

Tennyson's speaker goes on to express some more chauvinistic views: the savage is "a beast with lower pleasures" and "with lower pains" (1. 176); the European is "the heir of all the ages and in the foremost files of time" (1. 178); "Better fifteen years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay" (1. 184). Remarkably, he articulates in these lines views which with little or no change could also have been attributed to Defoe or his heroes, views which show that bigotry and jingoism were characteristics of some colonial enthusiasts for quite some time.

III

Our analysis of Defoe's protagonists as prototypical colonizers is now almost complete: we have found them to be deliberate, methodical, and efficient exploiters of the earth's resources and exemplary planters and explorers, but also domineering, cruel, occasionally violent, suspicious, insecure, manipulative and bigoted individuals who, confident of their own superiority, impose their culture on other races. One final question about these characters remains to be answered: do they ever betray their uneasiness about
their actions as exploiters and begin to doubt the legitimacy of their deeds? Or to phrase the question somewhat differently: is there anything in Defoe's narratives which tend to subvert or contradict his colonial intentions or call those intentions into question?18

Crusoe's debates with himself about the legitimacy of his resolution to destroy the cannibals provide part of the answer. This is how Defoe's troubled protagonist records one such debate on the eve of his second attack on the cannibals: "it occurr'd to my Thoughts, what call? What Occasion? much less, What Necessity I was in to go and dip my Hands in Blood, to attack People, who had neither done, or intended me any Wrong?" (RC, 232). Since the cannibals never directly threaten Crusoe, this bit of soul-searching alerts us to the fact that both his attacks on the cannibals are not justifiable. True, Crusoe offers some reasons for his actions: the first assault is motivated by his desire to rescue Friday and the second by his horror at the discovery that the cannibals had brought along a white prisoner, apparently to serve their appetites. But as E. Pearlman has pointed out, in the first instance Friday is already "on the point of saving his own life when Crusoe intervenes fatally and unnecessarily;" in the second he acts despite what Friday has told him: cannibals feast "only on captives they take in a battle, and that twenty or so Europeans are living peace-
fully with the Indians on the other island." In other words, Crusoe can never satisfactorily fulfil the criteria for action suggested by his own questions and thus cannot completely justify his shedding of blood; these questions exist to remind us that the rationale for his conduct offered by him was not the "right" motivation.

Similarly, Crusoe's ruminations on the massacre of the Malagasays offer us the standard by which to judge his actions later on. As already noted, Crusoe's disapproval of the conduct of the sailors on his nephew's ship does not imply a fundamental change in Crusoe himself; he will later boast of this "achievement" and will urge that similar damage be inflicted on the idol worshippers of Central Russia. Why then does Crusoe express his sadness at the murder, and why does he criticize the perpetrators of such mischief until long after the event? The answer, in all probability, is that the immediate demands of the fictional situation -- that such senseless executions should never be approved -- has led Crusoe to disavow instincts which are too deeply-rooted in him to be denied forever. In effect, Crusoe has inadvertently introduced into his narrative ideas which will later condemn his own conduct.

Quaker William also exemplifies the character who makes moralistic observations at one stage of the narrative which can be used to judge his own actions at another. Throughout
the second part of the novel, William urges restraint and
tolerance, and successfully weans Singleton and his men away
from unnecessary violence. The best instance of the humane,
peaceful conduct he advocates is provided by his appeal to
the pirates in Ceylon: when they resolve to attack the
Ceylonese for daring to prevent some of them from taking
liberties with the native women, William placates the men.
He suggests to the men "That is was destroying innocent Men,
who had acted no otherwise than as the Laws of Nature
dictated, and that it would be as much murther to do so, as
to meet a Man on the High-way and kill him, for the mere
sake of it, in cold-Blood, not regarding whether he had done
any wrong to us or no" (CS, 266). Yet, William himself has
directed in the previous episode what must be one of the
most unprovoked, cold-blooded, and pointless massacres in
the history of colonial fiction.

The episode in which William organizes the slaughter of
the inhabitants of an unnamed South-Sea island deserves more
comment than it has received till now. Not that it has
totally escaped critical attention. But incredibly, A.W.
Secord finds it to be a "thrilling encounter," while another
critic, Timothy C. Blackburn, opines that despite "the
incident's brutality, Defoe maintains a comic tone." Only
Manuel Schonhorn perceives this as "one of the most unpleas-
ant and inhumane scenes in Defoe's fiction," although he
alludes to it as evidence that Singleton steadily dissociates himself from the carnage which pirates usually left in their wake. Schonhorn, too, ignores the significance of the usually nonviolent Quaker's sudden involvement in a massacre. It is certainly difficult to see how the episode can be perceived as thrilling and funny; the manner in which William, out of sheer pique, directs his animosity at the islanders who have dared to defend themselves with daring and ingenuity is anything but laughable. Surely, there is nothing comic about these lines: "there we saw what was become of the Garrison of Indians too, who had given us all the Trouble; for some of them had no Arms, some no Legs, some no Head, some lay half burned in the Rubbish of the Mire, that is to say, in the loose Earth that fell in; and, in short, there was miserable Havock made of them all...." (CS, 259). And as for Schonhorn's attempt to distance Singleton from this incident, we note that his next sentence implicates him in the action: "We had now our full satisfaction of the Indians..." Both William and Singleton stand condemned not only by their own standards of justice, but also by that of any other code of conduct.

Both Singleton and William show no remorse after this incident or after the battle with the Ceylonese (despite the Quaker's pleadings, the sailors find themselves in another bloody encounter). But as his narrative comes to a close,
and at a time when William has been drawing him into thoughts of religion and the afterlife, Singleton explicitly acknowledges to the Quaker his feeling of guilt for his actions as an adventurer. Both Singleton's confession and William's response to it are worth quoting in full:

Why, William, says I, ... do you think that if there is a God above, as you have so long been telling me there is, and that we must give an Account to him? I say, Do you think if he be a righteous Judge, he will let us escape thus with the Plunder, as we may call it, of so many innocent People, nay, I might say Nations, and not call us to an Account for it before we can get to Europe, where we pretend to enjoy it.

William appeared struck and surprised at the Question, and made no Answer for a great while, and I repeated the Question, adding, that it was not to be expected.

After a little Pause, says William, thou hast started a very weighty Question, and I can make no positive answer to it, but I will state it thus; first it is Time, that if we consider the Justice of God, we have no Reason to expect any Protection, but as the ordinary Ways of Providence are out of the common Round of human Affairs, so we may hope for Mercy still upon our Repentance, and we know not how good he may be to us; so we are to act as if we rather depended upon the last, I mean the merciful part, than claimed the first, which must produce no thing but Judgment and Vengeance (CS, 321-322).

But Singleton is not so easily convinced; he knows that he can never return to the rightful owners what he has "taken away by Rapine and Spoil" (CS, 322). He contemplates suicide as a way out of his dilemma; he has frightful dreams where he accuses himself of being "a Thief, a Pirate, a Murtherer,"
[who] ought to be hanged" (CS, 325).

Eventually William calms Singleton and convinces him that he is not to despair of God's mercy. The Quaker urges him to confess, ask for forgiveness, and resolve to do good during the rest of his life. William's counselling and Singleton's return to serenity, however, cannot cancel our memory of the guilt which Singleton has expressed so vividly. Undoubtedly, many of the crimes Singleton confesses to can be traced to his pirateering activities, but it is difficult not to see him as also haunted for a time by his callous treatment of the many nations he has encountered in the course of his adventures. Certainly, he has used brutally and has exploited cynically many Africans in his trans-Africa trek, and has been directly or indirectly responsible for the death of many people in his career as a pirate commander.

The fact that William appears "struck and surprised" and pauses for a long time before trying to console Singleton is almost as revealing as the latter's lengthy confession. Always the "wise and wary Man" (CS, 321), William is seldom at a loss for words or ideas. His reticence on this occasion can be seen as a sign of his complicity in Singleton's crimes; as evidence that even he feels for a moment the enormity of his sins.

Not saying enough, then, can be as incriminating as the
moralistic observations supplied by other characters. Similarly, failing to follow an argument to its logical conclusion because of the fear that the gaps or inconsistencies in one's own cherished beliefs will be exposed can also be inculpatory. Two examples from Robinson Crusoe will illustrate the point. The first is very well known; almost every adult reader of the book knows how unsettled Crusoe becomes when Friday asks him the unanswerable question: if God is all-powerful, why does he not punish the Devil? Crusoe tries his best to divert Friday from such a line of reasoning, prays to God to help him instruct the Carib, and claims to have become a better Christian in the process. Nothing, however, can disguise the fact that Crusoe has not really answered Friday's question and that the latter has revealed, if only for a moment, a weakness in the religious system which Crusoe champions and wants to impose on others. The second instance, when Crusoe declines to pursue an idea because it would unsettle his view of things is when Friday comes running to him to report the brutality of the English mutineers. As far as Friday can perceive it, the rebels are indulging in cannibalistic activity in their treatment of their captive captain ("You see English Mans eat Prisoners as well as Savage Mans ((RC, 251))) . Crusoe knows that this cannot be literally true; he will not admit, however that at least metaphorically, the sailors were preying upon their
commander. But what Crusoe will not admit here he will implicitly comment on in the *Serious Reflections*: "man for baser ends, such as avarice, envy, revenge, and the like devours his own species...." (SR, 106).

Colonel Jack also exemplifies the character who chooses not to follow the implication of a situation because it will lead him to unpleasant conclusions about people or causes he wants to uphold. Thus when Jack is made an overseer, he is confronted immediately by the fact that under the existing system the slaves needed to be brutalized to be made to work. Obviously, the blame in this case should lie on the institution of slavery which had legitimized cruelty, but according to Jack,

the cruelty so much talk'd of, used in Virginia and Barbadoes, and other Colonies, in whipping the Negro Slaves, was not so much owing to the Tyranny, and Passion, and Cruelty of the English, as had been reported; the English not being accounted to be of a cruel disposition, and really are not so; But that it is owing to the Brutality, and obstinate Temper of the Negroes, who cannot be manag'd by kindness and Courtesy; but must be rul'd with a Rod of Iron, beaten with Scorpions, as the Scriptures call it; and must be used as they do use them, or they would Rise and Murther all their Masters, which their Numbers consider'd, would not be hard for them to do, if they had Arms and Ammunitions suitable to the Rage and Cruelty of their Nature" (CJ, 128).

Everything in the text, including Jack's subsequent comments, suggests that the opposite is true: as Jack himself
puts it later: "But having never been let Taste what Mercy is, they [the Negroes] know not how to act from a Principle of Love" (CJ, 143). Nevertheless, Jack continues to talk of "this Brutal Temper of the Negroes," their "refractory and incorrigible Temper," the necessity of subjecting their "Natural Temper," and so on (CJ, 128, 131, 134). Jack's master, in most respects Jack's alter ego, quite literally dramatizes this unwillingness to confront the truth. Although ultimately responsible for, and quite cognizant of, all the cruel methods employed on his plantation to raise productivity, he refuses to be directly responsible for them or witness them. This is how he rebukes Jack when he fears he will have to face the truth: "Alas, Alas,...why did you bring me this way? I do not love such sights, what must I do now?" (CJ, 30).

To a great extent, the contradictions and the ambivalences displayed by Defoe's heroes -- their uneasiness about their roles as exploiters or slave drivers, their refusal to acknowledge the truth about the problem areas of their beliefs, and their confessions of guilt or complicity -- are contradictions and ambivalences they share with their creator and his age. It suffices to recall the discussion of Atlas Maritimus where Defoe condemns the Spaniards for their brutal treatment of the American Indians at one point, but regrets Spanish inability to entirely reduce or destroy the
Indians of the St. Martha region of Central America at another, and where he criticizes the cruel practices of the West Indian planters at one juncture but advocates harsh and decisive action at another. Defoe's age had not yet resolved the conflicts between commercialism and morality on the question of slavery; it had not yet attained the perspective which allowed Leslie Stephen to scoff at Crusoe's "passing spasm of disgust at anybody having different superstitions from his own." Indeed, such contradictions and ambivalences make us aware that part of Defoe's greatness as a writer depends on his ability to reflect the tensions and uncertainties of a period when England was about to embark on another phase of her colonial history. Finally, these hints of unease complete Defoe's portrait of his colonizers; their confessions, their unwitting disclosures of their doubts about their conducts make them, in the last analysis, all the more prototypical.
NOTES

1 James Joyce, Daniel Defoe, ed. and trans. from Italian ms. by Joseph Wescott, Buffalo Studies, 1 (1964), 24-25.

2 Both J.H. Plumb in his Introduction to John Flint's Cecil Rhodes (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1974), pp. xiii-xviii, and Flint in his judicious assessment of Rhodes' achievement have pointed out the many negative aspects of his character: his schoolboy fantasies of racial supremacy, suspiciousness, lust for money, cynical exploitation of Africa and Africans for his own aggrandizement, love of power for its own sake, unscrupulousness, and delusions of grandeur. We will also find these features in Crusoe and Singleton.


4 For a more detailed consideration of this episode and a stimulating discussion of Crusoe's aggressiveness see E. Pearlman's "Robinson Crusoe and the Cannibals," Mosaic, 10 (1976), 38-55.
5 For a political perspective on Crusoe's claim to power and his despotic tendencies see Maximillian E. Novak's *Defoe and the Nature of Man* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), pp. 51-63.


7 The words within the quotation marks are from Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), p. 2. They seem too obvious to merit attention, but one needs to read Greenblatt's work to realize the implications of such self-consciousness, especially in colonial situations. I wish to acknowledge here my indebtedness to Greenblatt's ideas in writing this chapter.

8 "The Novelist Assessed," in *Defoe: The Critical Heritage*, p. 140. Pat Rogers, the editor of the volume, thinks that the author of this review was probably Walter Bagehot.
9 A few writers have already treated Crusoe as the type of the colonial personality and have tried to account for his violent outbreaks and authoritarian tendencies. I will, therefore, make no attempt to elaborate on the issue and will be content to recapitulate some of the opinions expressed about Defoe's hero. Perhaps the first person to psychoanalyze Crusoe, O. Mannoni, in *Prospero and Caliban: The Psychology of Colonization* (1950), tr. Pamela Powesland (London: Methuen, 1956), pp. 97-109, has attributed Crusoe's urge to dominate, his projection of his fears onto others, and his violent outbursts to feelings of guilt caused by his disobedience to his father. Mannoni places Crusoe in the wider context of colonial characters he had studied in Madagascar. E. Pearlman, in a paper already cited above, tries to establish a link between Crusoe's repression of his sexuality and his violent tendencies. Pearlman notes that Crusoe fights the cannibals not because he has to but because of his need to urge and dominate. Pearlman, like Mannoni, sees Crusoe's authoritarian behavior as representative of the colonial. As he puts it:

For when the novel is stripped of its ethnocentric biases, what is left is the essence of the colonial encounter. A weak individual, unable to succeed in his own country, of restless and unstable character, moves on to an exotic land where the technological advantages of his civilization gives him armed superiority over the indigenous population. There he exploits the land, slaughters the heathens
and makes instruments (military and otherwise) and selected converts. He despises the natives, but is fearful of them, and is prepared to justify massacre if he can fantasize a threat to himself. It is on this foundation that expansion and colonialism is reared, and it is for this reason that Robinson Crusoe demands our continual attention (Pearlman, pp. 54-55).

In Kipling & Conrad: The Colonial Fiction (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981), a work which does not mention Defoe, John A. McClure also sees the colonial personality as a typically authoritarian person, respectful of power, filled with the urge to dominate, but extremely insecure and fearful of becoming isolated and impotent in a threatening world (pp. 10-11).

10 Novak, Defoe and the Nature of Man, p. 64.

11 See Chapter II of Defoe and the Nature of Man for an overview of Defoe's ideas about savages, both of the noble and the ignoble variety.

12 It should be pointed out that Defoe's narrators apply the word also to their fellow Europeans. Thus Moll speaks affectionately of the kind lady who listens to her story as the "good motherly creature" (MF, 12), and Jack refers admiringly to Major Jack as potentially "the most generous and most compassionate Creature alive" (CJ, 6). But
clearly the word carries different overtones here than when it is used for other races.

13 For instance, J. Paul Hunter's study of Crusoe's missionary endeavors, "Friday as a Convert: Defoe and the Accounts of Indian Missionaries," Review of English Studies, NS 14, no. 55 (1963), 243-248, does not discuss the links between religion and colonialism and ignores the two essays on Christianizing the world collected in the Serious Reflections.


16 And to be perfectly fair to Defoe, we must record that on a few occasions he does make an attempt to reproduce native speech. For example, we know that Friday's god is called Benamuckee, and that the old men of his tribe are called Oowocakee (RC, 216-217); in Farther Adventures some of the natives cry out: "Oa, oa, Waramoka," (FARC, 99); in
Captain Singleton we are informed that the native word for Bread is "Chiaruck" and that "Okoamo, okoamo" meant "Help, Help" (CS, 74, 85); and in the New Voyage the narrator tells us that the South-Sea islanders called their sheep-like animals "Huttash" (NVRW, 146). But the dominant assumptions remain that the speech of hostile natives was like gibberish and that the language of the friendly tribes posed no problem or was transparent.


18 See Chapter 5 of Susan Rubin Suleiman's Authoritarian Fictions: The Ideological Novel as a Literary Genre (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983) for a discussion on how an ideological novel will often contain elements which perturb or disturb its own thesis. Basically, Suleiman feels that this can happen if a text contains information which is not, strictly speaking, relevant to its message, or if it tries to conceal information. To quote Suleiman: "If the text can subvert itself by exceeding the demonstrable frame, it can produce the same effect through understatement, indirection, the suspension or withholding of meaning" (p. 224).
19 Pearlman, p. 53.

CONCLUSION

There is no easy way of gauging Defoe's success as a promoter of the idea of colonization or of his own favorite schemes for overseas expansion. Despite his persistence, none of his pet colonial projects were implemented during his lifetime; no one seemed to be ready then to invest in his schemes for colonizing Guiana, Patagonia, North and West Africa, and Madagascar; no one appeared to be willing to finance expeditions based on his hopes for the uncharted regions of the world. Still, the fact that Defoe always managed to find new outlets for his colonial projects in print, or that he lined up so many influential members of the reading public to subscribe to a volume like Atlas Maritimus indicates a degree of success: men were at least willing to read his tracts even when not ready to implement his proposals. The fictions, of course, were widely circulated: of the novels considered in the dissertation, only the New Voyage failed to be reprinted during its author's lifetime. As a result, it appears likely that the ideas about colonization contained in them were widely disseminated.
After Defoe's death, his colonial tracts slid into oblivion while his fictions continued to be read and admired for, among other reasons, fostering the spirit of adventure and colonial enterprise. Of the tracts which were designed as colonial propaganda, only the Plan of the English Commerce survived its author's death. Indeed, works like the History of the Principal Discoveries and Atlas Maritimus remained unread and unattributed to Defoe till very recently.

Considered by themselves, the colonial tracts are not very distinctive or original, though we have tried to see them as repositories of Defoe's knowledge of colonial activities, economics, geography, and current affairs. Considered as part of an ensemble of discursive texts which transmitted concepts about English world domination and promoted different regions of the world on the basis of their exploitable resources, however, Defoe's tracts have their place in the history of English overseas expansion. They kept alive for his readers the idea of colonization at a time when, as Defoe puts it, the English had given up the thought of new discoveries, "as if we had done our utmost [and] were fully satisfied with what we have" (PEC, xii). As part of a collective formation, Defoe's tracts gathered weight and led to a new outburst of colonial activity in the second half of the eighteenth century. After all, writers like Defoe, and
the John Campbell who published the second edition of the Harris collection (1744-1748), continued the Hakluyt tradition of providing the intellectual stimulus to colonization in the first part of the century.¹

Unlike the tracts, however, Defoe's fictions have merited a separate and distinctive place in English colonial discourse. They are important for two very different reasons; on the one hand, they continued to appeal to a wider section of the reading public who were converted to the cause of overseas expansion because of the images of success contained in them, and dramatized effectively the prospects of refashioning one's self in the colonies; on the other, they initiated a tradition of novels set in the colonies or in the little-known parts of the world, novels which deal explicitly or implicitly with the colonial experience.

That Defoe's novels inspired many of his readers to brave their lives in a new world have been attested by many. In Chapter VII we have recorded the testimony of the old fruit-woman who informs George Borrow of the comfort she derived from the experience of Moll Flanders in the American colonies; earlier in his Lavengro, Borrow himself had waxed enthusiastic about the inspirational nature of Robinson Crusoe: "a book...to which, from the hardy deeds which it narrates, and the spirit of strange and romantic enterprise
which it tends to awaken, England owed many of her astonish-
ing discoveries both by sea and land, and no inconsiderable
part of her naval glory."2 We can also cite the two verse
tributes by W.S. Landor collected in Pat Rogers' Defoe: the
Critical Heritage: the first attributes Baron Rodney's and
Nelson's naval triumphs to Defoe, the second upholds the
outgoing qualities of the Englishman as a legacy from
Crusoe.3 James Joyce, whose two lectures on Defoe have been
important to our study of the fiction, declared with obvious
irony in the draft version of one of them that anyone inter-
ested in "tracing current phenomena to their sources" should
reread the story of Crusoe and Friday, for he would find in
it, "many very useful observations there for that interna-
tional industry of our time, the cheap manufacture of the
English imperialist type and its sale at reasonable
prices."4

That Defoe's novels inspired some later writers to use
the medium of fiction to spread the gospel of empire or to
write of colonial encounters has not escaped scholarly
attention. In Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire (1979),
Martin Green has placed Defoe at the head of a succession of
novelists who fostered the spirit of colonial enterprise
through narratives of adventure. In Images of Imperial Rule
(1983), Hugh Ridley has noted a few of the innumerable
progenies engendered by Robinson Crusoe, novels like J.D.
Wyss's *Swiss Family Robinson* and Captain Marryat's *Masterman Ready* (1841), novels which quite obviously reiterate the biases of Defoe's pioneering work. And though he is not interested in tracing the genealogy of the genre or the place of Defoe in it, John A. McClure in *Kipling and Conrad: The Colonial Fiction* tells us that the young Kipling, "the future poet of Empire would play at being Robinson Crusoe, the archetypal imperialist."⁵

According to Jeffrey Meyer in *Fiction and the Colonial Experience*, colonial novels "form two large streams": the first, "romantic-adventure novels" in the tradition of Kipling's early stories include works like Rider Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines* (1885) and G.A. Henty's *Through the Sikh War* (1893); the second, novels "that seriously deal with the question of cultural conflicts and race relations" include books like Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1899), Kipling's *Kim* (1901), and E. M. Forster's *A Passage to India* (1924).⁶ Obviously, Defoe's fictions have proved seminal for the works belonging to the first group: these texts celebrate the spirit of adventure and colonial enterprise; record the triumph of their protagonists over adverse conditions posed by the terrain or by the natives; stereotype other races and ignore their cultures or relegate them to a position of inferiority. Often, the novelists of the first group, like Defoe, indulge in the most obvious form of
colonial propaganda. Noting that the landscapes of the *New Voyage* recur in the novels of Rider Haggard and Conan Doyle, Martin Green observes: "the land, empty land, asking to be worked, is the beatific vision of modernist adventure."\(^7\)

But the ambivalences, the hesitations, and the subversive tendencies which we have traced in certain parts of Defoe's narratives in Chapter VIII of this dissertation indicate that his works could have also led to the second, more sensitive group of the colonial novel. In *Economics and the Fiction of Daniel Defoe*, Maximillian E. Novak finds a resemblance between the Englishman of *Captain Singleton* who suddenly becomes obsessed with the idea of amassing gold and ivory, works the natives and even Singleton's band to satisfy his own avarice, and dies of grief when his fortune is lost, and Conrad's Kurtz.\(^8\) We can also compare the Quaker William of Defoe's fiction whose altruism gives way to a desire to destroy some natives of the unnamed South-Sea island and Conrad's character who works on a report for the Society for the Suppression of Savage Customs only to scrawl on it at a self-revealing moment: "Exterminate all the Brutes!" The image of the Quaker exploding the islander's retreat for no apparent reason finds a parallel in the image of the French man-of-war firing incomprehensibly into the African continent in *Heart of Darkness*.

Nevertheless, it is important to remind ourselves at
the close of this dissertation that these ambivalent moments in Defoe's fictions are few and not, in all probability, consciously intended. Defoe's place is secure at the head of the first group of colonial novelists who used fiction as colonial propaganda; his relationship to the second group of colonial novelists is incidental and tenuous. Indeed, the distance between him and a Conrad is the distance between the enthusiast and the ironist, between the propagandist who devoted a part of his life to overseas expansion and the skeptic who questioned the whole colonial enterprise, between the purveyor of myths of racial superiority and the doubter who wondered out aloud if the colonizer's actions were really less brutal and barbaric than the inexplicable rituals of savage tribes.
NOTES

1 Harris' role as a colonial propagandist is discussed by G.R. Crone and R.A. Skelton in "English Collections of Voyages and Travels," an essay collected in Richard Hakluyt and His Successors, ed. Edward Lynham (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1946), pp. 93-97. Like Defoe, Campbell was interested mainly in history, politics, economics, and geography, and had made a name for himself as a professional writer. He advocated the exploration of the South Pacific and tried to interest his readers in various colonial projects.


4 James Joyce, Daniel Defoe, ed. and trans. from Italian ms. by Joseph Wescott, Buffalo Studies, 1 (1964), p. 27.


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