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The Eighteenth Century, Volume 49, Number 3, Fall 2008, pp. 197-210 (Article)

Published by Texas Tech University Press
DOI: 10.1353/ecy.0.0014

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The "imaginary voyage" was an early form of the modern realist novel popular in Britain and France from the seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries, set predominantly in the region of Australasia and the Pacific. As a branch of travel literature, it was linked intimately to the expansion of empire. Through repeated stories of successful colonizing schemes and heroic accounts of cross-cultural encounters between European travelers and the people of the antipodes, these texts allowed European readers to enjoy far-fetched fantasies of colonization well before, and during, the period of actual colonial expansion. As in the case of the many better-known examples of literary fiction produced in the later period of European imperial dominance, imaginary voyage fiction helped embed social acceptance of colonial expansion by modeling cultural domination as natural, beneficial, and welcome. Surprisingly, the genre continued to thrive when documentary accounts of actual voyages to the antipodes began to emerge. Now, however, the imaginary voyage receives little attention, and has all but disappeared from public awareness. This essay describes and explores some key aspects of this long-neglected genre, with the aim of showing that it played a more important role both in terms of literary history and in the history of colonization itself than has hitherto been recognized. More specifically, its deliberate exploitation of the shifting boundaries between reality and fantasy casts light on the development of literary realism and especially on the uneasy relationship between fact and fiction that continues to challenge historians and literary critics to this day. Intrinsically linked to this blurring of boundaries was the role of this forgotten genre in the shaping of the colonial imagination.[1]

Typically, imaginary voyages are both utopian in their visions of fictional worlds and written in a satirical style that allows veiled attacks on contemporary political figures and practices. Critics trace the genre's origins to forms of literary romance and utopian projection. Although its status as a prototype

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for the modern realist novel and precursor to the genres of science fiction and fantasy are well recognized, the genre has generally been marginalized or overlooked, mainly on the grounds that the imaginary voyage texts had limited truth value when compared with contemporary accounts of genuine travels. On this basis, the imaginary voyage was seen mainly as a fanciful precursor to documentaries of travel, and as having been displaced by them. But there was another reason, I would suggest, for the lack of critical attention. In terms of genre, imaginary voyages fell between two stools: representing neither history nor romance but a strange marriage of the two. Imaginary voyages reflected and exploited a particular moment in the history of maritime exploration when the edges of the known world were being extended and the public was eager to suspend belief and be part of the process of discovery. When that moment passed, imaginary voyages lost the connection with real history that had served them so well, but had not developed a sufficiently strong identity purely as fiction to claim lasting critical recognition.[2] In retrospect, however, the imaginary voyage genre can be seen as a significant link in the chain of a long tradition, stretching back to very early forms of fictional narrative and forward to the later writers who traveled in their minds to the depths of the sea, to the interior of the earth, to other planets, and to the future. Today most of the writings that form this body of work are almost completely unknown.

This essay begins by discussing the colonialist themes and common textual strategies employed by writers of eighteenth-century accounts of imaginary voyages, especially those set in the region of the "antipodes." This is followed by a detailed investigation of the social and literary contexts in which these works were published and received by a reading public eager to learn of newly discovered lands. The focus in the following pages is not on specific examples of imaginary voyage accounts but rather on the genre and on the genre's peculiarly close relationship with genuine eighteenth-century accounts of voyages of discovery.[3]

I. THE GENRE OF THE IMAGINARY VOYAGE

Writers of imaginary voyage fiction developed a sophisticated literary form that enabled imaginative access to a virtual world by simulating the common rhetoric used in genuine voyage accounts. So convincing were these stories of travel and cross-cultural encounters in distant locations that they were sometimes accepted as genuine documents chronicling the events of real discovery voyages. According to John Dunlop in *The History of Fiction* (1814), the author of imaginary voyages "throws his characters on some inhospitable shore" where "the fancied distance entitles him to people it with all sorts of prodigies and monsters."[4] Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726) were both sometimes mistaken for accounts of

actual travel when first published.[5] The places that Gulliver purportedly visits are in the Pacific region and off the coast of the Australian continent. While *Robinson Crusoe* is not set in the antipodes, it followed the pattern of seventeenth-century imaginary voyages that were.[6] There was no reliable way for contemporary readers to gauge the truthfulness and accuracy of travel accounts, however authoritative they seemed, because there was no trustworthy store of knowledge to draw upon. "Most historians attribute a great variety of monsters to these regions, on no better authority than that of travellers' tales," claims Gabriel de Foigny's narrator in his book *La Terre Australe connue* (1676), which established the French imaginary voyage tradition in the setting of the antipodes. As the narrator puts it:

> Because we are convinced that we must bring back novelties from a far destination, the more subtle the mind, the more it will invent them. And because there is no one to contradict them, such inventions are received with pleasure and hastily spread around as truths that it would be presumptuous to reject out of hand.[7]

In a corresponding way, actual discoveries sometimes seemed too fantastical to be taken seriously. In this climate, the public were as likely to be sceptical of genuine accounts as they were ready to be convinced by imaginary ones.

Apart from interest in famous examples of imaginary voyages such as *Robinson Crusoe* and *Gulliver's Travels,* a small number of critical studies, and a general acknowledgement of the genre in library cataloguing classifications, very little attention has been paid to the imaginary voyage as a coherent literary genre. Discussion of the better-known examples features in many studies, but the literary form itself has been almost completely neglected. The fact that there never has been widespread acceptance, much less an agreed-on definition, of the term "imaginary voyage," undoubtedly has contributed to this situation. Most travel fiction, after all, contains an imagined voyage of some form, and accounts of fictionalized voyages to distant lands are found in the earliest recorded myths and stories of the world's ancient cultures.

There are only a few full-length studies of the imaginary voyage genre in English. They include Geoffroy Atkinson's *The Extraordinary Voyage in French Literature Before 1700* (1920) and *The Extraordinary Voyage in French Literature 1700 to 1720* (1922), Phillip Gove's *The Imaginary Voyage in Prose Fiction* (1941), and David Fausett's *Writing the New World: Imaginary Voyages and Utopias of the Great Southern Land* (1993).[8] Shorter studies in which imaginary voyages are discussed as a specific genre but in less depth include George Mackaness's *Some Fictitious Voyages to Australia* (1937) and John Dunmore's "Utopias and Imaginary Voyages to Australasia" (1988).[9] Dunmore and Fausett are particularly well versed in the French imaginary voyage tradition,

each having recently translated examples into English from their original French versions. A useful reference source for earlier critical material is "A Checklist for Secondary Sources on Imaginary Voyages," published in the *Bulletin of Bibliography* in 1974.[10] Other significant books that make reference to the literature of imaginary voyages include Arthur Tieje's *The Theory of Characterization in Prose Fiction prior to 1740* (1916), and Dunmore's *Visions and Realities: France in the Pacific 1695–1995* (1997).[11]

The earliest critics of the genre tried, with difficulty, to classify and categorize imaginary voyages by reading them in relation to canonical works, often absorbing them into more established literary forms.[12] Often, understandably, misled by the way in which imaginary voyages could so closely and effectively simulate genuine voyage accounts, these critics tried almost fanatically to separate fact from fiction, as they saw it.[13] Charles Garnier made the first known attempt to classify the genre into various branches in his thirty-six volume compilation *Voyages imaginaires, songes, visions et romans cabalistiques* (1787).[14] He tried to sort imaginary voyages into categories on the grounds of the purported voyages being "possible" or "impossible," although at no point does he state his criteria for making distinctions between individual examples. For some critics, following Garnier, the point of distinction between the "possible" and "impossible," or "plausible" and "implausible" represented the dividing line between two very different types of fictional representation within the one genre, one "realistic" and the other "non-realistic." Critics who have given recognition to the genre are unanimous in their opinion that the imaginary voyage is related to earlier forms of literary romance. It shares common features with traditional forms of romance that include quest motifs, heroism, and the overcoming of multiple obstacles and dangers.[15] The effort to differentiate between examples of imaginary voyages as being "possible" or "impossible" corresponds with parallel attempts to group examples of literary romance by measuring the extent to which, to use an early nineteenth-century analogy, "the marvelous formed the web" (that is, the thematic substance) as opposed to simply "the embroidery" (that is, the ornamentation).[16] However, the texts themselves resisted this kind of categorization, and, as a twentieth-century critic of travel literature put it, "commentary and legend embroidered these stories, until ornament and fabric blended into one."[17]

The fact that one can rarely find more than a handful of texts catalogued under the Library of Congress classification "Voyages, Imaginary" in major libraries around the world is not, as it may seem, evidence that relatively few imaginary voyages or works relating to imaginary voyages still exist to be catalogued, although it is true that some examples are now rare. Instead, it indicates an anomaly in classification and a lack of interest in the genre as a recognizable form. In fact, the imaginary voyage is so akin to the genuine travel narrative in themes and structure that it usually has been interpreted

as an unreliable form of travel narrative rather than as a fictional form in its own right.

II. THEMES OF CROSS-CULTURAL ENCOUNTER

In the eighteenth century, the very limited palette of established information left authors of travel fiction free to imagine the antipodes in whatever terms they chose. They did not need to consider whether the images they conjured were relevant to Europe's tested experience of the antipodes since there were few who could question their stories. While this freedom unleashed the literary imagination, it also stimulated the political imagination. Far-fetched fantasies of discovery were blended easily into fantasies of colonial conquest and "natural" supremacy.

The imagined region would provide a position from which to view Europe objectively and so to compare the two worlds. By means of the estrangement enforced by distance and perceived difference, writers of imaginary voyages put forward cultural critiques of contemporary life and politics in Europe. Early contact with distant lands and their peoples often was initiated in the interests of trade, and the reports of these interactions—involving material as well as cultural exchange—provided ample subject matter for literary satire. Because for so long the region had remained unreachable, it offered the perfect setting in which both to imagine utopian societies and "safely" portray European adventurers confronted with extreme cultural difference. In turn, depictions of cross-cultural contact set the scene for justifying colonial expansion as a necessary and logical attempt to secure a place in newly discovered lands.

The greatest number of imaginary voyages was produced in the eighteenth century. However, seventeenth-century examples already had established the genre's standard structure and themes. Accounts of imaginary voyages typically tell the story of a European male traveller, sometimes leading a group of travellers, who discovers a new part of the distant region of the antipodes, explores, braves dangers, survives attacks, and lives there for an extended period of time. The usual destination of the imagined voyage is a southern world, already populated, and this creates the necessary conditions for cross-cultural contact and for negotiations of various kinds. Indigenous populations often are portrayed as it might have been convenient for Europeans to find them in real life: passive, fascinated by the visitors, and pleased to be controlled. Colonialism is presented as natural, desirable, and beneficial to all involved. The traveller usually arrives powerless, but then wins a position of influence and control, imposing various systems of European education, politics, society, religion, and beliefs. Finally, the traveller returns to Europe to tell his tale and publish a manuscript or at least to leave it in the able hands of a friend or stranger who has it published at a later date.

The voyage itself is an essential element of the story. As in accounts of real voyages of exploration, the voyage is the linking mechanism that allows the events to take place sequentially, moving from the known to the unknown, unfolding as though they had happened in real time and space. This dynamic narrative structure propels the plot from the familiar world into the strange and exotic space of the antipodes, traversing a distance that becomes symbolic of difference and displacement.[18]

To make the story seem as true to life as possible, the narrative typically begins with meticulous biographical details, navigational information, and personal responses of the male traveller to the world around, as though he had actually been there. Detailed titles, prefaces, and even maps are included, as well as explanations for why the purported author of the text has since died or why his identity is not known, and why the reader should nevertheless believe in the authenticity of the text. The voyage supplies a fictional passage to the antipodes and the narrative follows the typical format of a genuine traveller's report or diary, sequentially describing events and scenes as they occur on the journey, sometimes with the deliberate clumsiness or incompleteness of a genuine diary or travel report. The traveller's return to Europe much later in the narrative provides the plausible authority for the account of the voyage to be published. This also has a broader thematic function that is a typical feature of most forms of travel narrative. As Diana Loxley explains, when "the circuit is completed, the final goal—'home'—reached," and "the unknown is completely contained and familiarised as the known."[19] It is common for the traveller to die on the voyage home, or on arrival, or soon afterwards, but he manages to deliver the text in some form or other. Read as utopian fiction, this signals "the closure of the utopian circle," allowing social comparisons to gain full significance.[20]

The literature of imaginary voyages tried, as Ross Gibson puts it, to "minimize its sense of originality."[21] Defoe, in particular, is known for the high level of realism in his writing. According to Walter Raleigh, Defoe achieved this effect by "limiting himself to the simplest of facts" and "making it his rule to embellish nothing," so as "to avoid giving the reader anything at all to swallow."[22] In Raleigh's mind, the very absence of marvelous imagery and incidents in *Robinson Crusoe* appealed to readers and won their trust. Defoe, he writes, "makes the most barren parts of his subject interesting by the very sense of expectation that so unprecedented a monotony awakes."[23] Defoe based his character Robinson Crusoe on the real-life experience of Alexander Selkirk, marooned from August 1704 to January 1709 at his own request on Juan Fernandez Island off South America. Defoe took the title of his *A New Voyage Round the World* straight from William Dampier's account of 1697. Taking the same strategy further, Swift claimed that Gulliver was Dampier's cousin, travelling with Dampier on the *Roebuck.* Raleigh described Defoe's "statistical minuteness" and "close simulation of the truth" and observed

that, "the other world" in Defoe "is so like this one, that the reader finds himself wondering why there should be two."[24] This technique proved to be the ultimate form of narrative disguise, a planned and economical style so persuasive, through the sense of total plausibility achieved in its very life-like simplicity, that it could successfully trap its readers into trusting its truthfulness. On the same basis, it could easily trap its readers into acquiescence with its colonialist values.

Colonialist imagery is prevalent in imaginary voyage fiction. And yet, the same texts also can be read as offering critiques of the processes of colonialism. This is especially so at those moments in the texts that run against the grain of the heroic colonial adventure, thus lending themselves to counter-colonial readings.[25] These moments of satire or parody allow the reader to hold two views open at the same time, and result in unstable or ambiguous impressions. The critiques are therefore not clear-cut. As Simon Ryan puts it, "the problem with parody" is "that it tends to reproduce, even honor, that which it criticises."[26] It is the figure of the European traveller in a strange, far-away world that is most openly parodied, more than colonialism itself. Having said that, it is important to note that *Gulliver's Travels* does in fact include an explicit critique of colonialism, and, for this reason, can be considered as exceptional in the history of imaginary voyage literature. Such an explicit critique of colonialism is almost completely absent from other works. So, while studies point to *Gulliver's Travels* as the work that inspired, and in many senses "stands for" the genre, in this study it actually stands out as an exception rather than the rule.

III. WRITING AND READING EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY VOYAGE ACCOUNTS

> Adventures, real or imaginary . . . may serve as pilot's charts, or maps of those parts of the world, which every one may chance to travel through; and in this light they are public benefits.
>
> —*Monthly Review*[27]

Voyage accounts were published in greater numbers than ever before in the eighteenth century. Publishers were keen to please the growing audiences developing a taste for accounts of distant lands being opened up through the process of European exploration and discovery. Literary conventions drawn upon to present these accounts evolved over the course of the eighteenth century. The rise of scientific ways of observing and recording the world and the discovery of new cultures substantially influenced this process of literary, stylistic evolution. The following pages, by ranging over issues relevant to the writing and reception of stories of exploration at that time, aim to provide

insights into the social and political contexts of eighteenth-century Europe in which the stories flourished.

In the quotation above, taken from a contemporary review of Tobias Smollet's satirical narrative *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle* (1751), no distinction is made between real and imaginary adventures. Like maps, claims the reviewer, both kinds of travel writing act as guides for readers who "may chance" to travel through far-away regions. By reading travel literature, Europeans could sail vicariously from the safety of familiar home territory to the strange conceptual spaces of far-away lands. Whether real or imaginary, accounts of voyages to distant places had the liberating effect of transporting readers to new imaginative terrains. "If we consider the true use of these writings," suggests the reviewer of *Peregrine Pickle,* "it is more to be lamented that we have so few of them, than that there are too many." "And where is the traveller," asks the same reviewer, "who would complain of the number of maps, or journals, designed to point him out his way through the number of different roads that choice or chance may engage him in?"[28]

The way in which that information was presented was increasingly important to a discerning public. "Genuine voyage accounts," wrote a contributor to the *Monthly Review* in 1750, "are generally looked upon as truth" because they have "a much stronger claim to the reader's attention, than the most striking incidents in a novel or romance."[29] It was the task of the imaginary voyage writer to stimulate the same level of interest in a form of literary fiction. By mid-century, the *Monthly Review* was reporting "the necessity then of borrowing from truth its color at least, in favor of fiction . . . had occurred at length to some of our writers."[30] Writers of imaginary voyages were adopting a highly realistic rhetoric to produce a "truth effect," and in doing so were aiming at achieving something more powerful in its attraction than the aesthetic appeal of traditional romances. This truth effect was also a vehicle for satire. Raleigh identified this as a kind of impurity when he stated plainly that "imaginary voyages and travels, cannot for the most part, be regarded as pure romances" because "they have generally some ulterior purpose in view, political or satirical."[31] "Pure" romances for Raleigh, it seems, would avoid contemporary political issues or at the very least would try to conceal their political orientation. Neither could imaginary voyages be considered decidedly as novels. Writers' characteristic simulation of genuine voyage accounts rarely achieved the novelistic unity of construction required by the critics, and later this was seen as an aesthetic deficiency in the earlier prose forms.[32]

The linear narrative form that was the basis of all kinds of voyage accounts is also arguably a property of travelling itself. As Paul Carter puts it, "voyaging and storytelling go together."[33] Novels, in particular, share a "spatial metaphor" with accounts of voyages. The novel, "more than any other genre," writes Ralph Freedman, is "spatial."[34] This alignment of the early novel with descriptions of travel in written form provided the basic condi-

tions for the ready association of imaginary voyage accounts with accounts of genuine voyages and their reported discoveries. Michael McKeon suggests that, when claiming to be factual, early prose fiction was taking advantage of what he calls a "naive empiricist assumption," that is, "that history can be separated from romance in narrative—that fact can be distinguished from fable."[35] When the words "voyages" and "travels" were used in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, they often referred to the written account of a voyage rather than to the actual voyage itself. No distinction was made between the actual voyage and the account of that voyage, perhaps because long-distance travel was an activity that relatively few people could experience. The account of the voyage simply became the equivalent of the voyage, implicitly asserting total transparency in the writing process. Following the same pattern, the term "imaginary voyage" usually has been used to refer to the literary text itself rather than to the imagined voyage as a narrative feature.

A key point is that the "genuine" accounts of discovery were also open to writerly embellishment and highly subjective, often politically motivated, interpretation. Explorers' accounts usually began as diaries kept during voyages. The final published product was almost always written up much later, sometimes by professional writers (perhaps even a romance writer as in the famous case of Marco Polo) who, typically, did not have the opportunity themselves to travel to get a taste for the world they were writing about, and would be even more likely to be influenced by stylistic and financial considerations to slant or embellish.[36] Editors who were well aware of the wide market to be netted by sensational descriptions of far-away places would scrutinize and modify texts to be published. Some accounts, furthermore, were based wholly on interviews rather than on original descriptions and, accordingly, would be fully compiled by an external editor.[37]

Readers, at the same time as they were interested in the detailed reported facts of voyages, also hoped for an account that was written in an accessible style and had a well-judged balance between detail and interesting scenes. Writerly impact could be just as important as an exacting adherence to truth. The editors of the *Monthly Review* in 1750, for example, claimed that "sea journals usually afford matter for much entertainment . . . though little instruction." This, they explained, is because sailors

> commonly stuff their journals full of bearings and distances, sea phrases and terms, with an eternal succession of the names of their ships' tackle and an endless series of such common events as always occur on that element, all of which are apt to exercise the reader's patience rather too much, especially if he be a meer land-man, as most readers are.[38]

"Instruction," in this context, suggests a conscious fashioning of ideas to

serve the planned purpose of educating readers in certain ways. The editors praise the young author of a *Journal of the Boscawen's Voyage to Bombay in the East Indies* for "rationally employing the tedious hours of his passage" in making a thoughtfully constructed narrative rather than including the kinds of daily details that would bore readers. They conclude, "we wish that such instances were more common."[39] These samples from mid-eighteenth-century debates over the merits of travel literature demonstrate a continuing tendency to take information reported as useful and instructional, whether or not it was known to be entirely truthful. They also indicate the importance of literary style as a vital ingredient needed to successfully engage the reading public, "anchored," as the readers were, in Europe.

Evidence of the flexibility of truth as presented in travel accounts in the eighteenth century is seen in notable instances where real-life travelers were aligned with fictional characters and renamed as "Robinson," after Robinson Crusoe.[40] Many of the European-language terms used to refer to imaginary voyages could in fact refer to both real and imaginary voyages, blurring notional boundaries even further.[41] Apart from "imaginary voyage" and *voyage imaginaire,* only a small number of terms "unmistakably denote fiction."[42] These include the German terms *reiseroman, reisemarchen,* and *reisefabulistik.*[43] Moreover, collections of genuine voyage accounts, sometimes unwittingly, also included fictional accounts. Genuine voyage accounts, likewise, were sometimes mistakenly included in collections of fictional travel literature.[44] Other inconsistencies were simply hoaxes. Percy Adams's *Travelers and Travel Liars, 1660–1800,* which is a study of a range of fictional texts received as documentary accounts, features discussion on various seventeenth- and eighteenth-century imaginary voyages in the context of literary licentiousness and fraudulence, read as a body of texts whose "object was to deceive."[45] Mentioning explicitly factual and fictional accounts alongside one another was also sometimes part of a romanticized discourse promoting the glory and heroism of discoveries. Despite fundamental differences in truth value, factual as well as fictional texts that made the vision of empire seem glorious could be grouped together quite easily in one breath. Ernest Giles, for example, in *Australia Twice Traversed: The Romance of Exploration* (1889), wrote, "I have been a delighted student of the narratives of voyages of discoveries, from Robinson Crusoe to Anson and Cook."[46]

Literary fiction was a powerful communicative medium in the late eighteenth century. Putting the case very strongly, William Ray suggests that literary fiction emerged "as the primary vehicle for representing contemporary social reality, and even shaping that reality."[47] It was a response to the power of narrative forms, specifically, that enabled literary fiction to act with such persuasive force on readers. In 1761, Henry Home, Lord Kames, deemed narrative "an evocative force equivalent to that of actual perception," explaining, "a lively and accurate description . . . raises in me ideas no less distinct than if

I had been originally an eye-witness."[48] Kames described this positively as an "ideal presence" and, drawing a correspondence with the writing of history, argued that "even genuine history has no command over our passions but by ideal presence only; and consequently . . . it stands upon the same footing with fable."[49] Fable, for Kames, is "generally more successful than history," while both depend "on the vivacity of the ideas they raise."[50] For this commentator, fiction not only has an impact superior to the effect of documentary accounts, it also has the capacity to generate plausible truths and facts, as long as the descriptions are convincingly "accurate." The early novel even became analogous to historical narratives in the eyes of some. For example, in 1775, French author Baculard d'Arnaud, pronouncing the compelling power of realism to convey an intimate sense of the events of real life, wrote, "our best history, leaving aside the sacred scriptures, is the least crude and most realistic novel."[51]

IV. CONCLUSION

Conventional histories of eighteenth-century exploration and voyage literature have tended to discredit accounts of imaginary travels on the grounds that they are a form of literary fiction and should therefore be considered within the ambit of literary history rather than within the broader history of discovery voyages. On the other hand, the same texts have fallen out of favor *because* they borrowed from and owed their success to documentary accounts. What has been neglected in the process is the complex way in which the public responded to the range of texts available to form images of distant lands being opened up in the process of discovery. For the reading public, discovery was as much about the building up of stereotypes of the distant cultural other as it was about seeking to conceptualize the concrete facts reported by explorers. European nations needed constantly to reinvent themselves in relation to the unknown they were gradually coming to know, and the writing of imaginary voyage fiction made a significant contribution to this process.

When eighteenth-century writers set their stories in the antipodes, they were doing so with the assurance that there was very little real knowledge of the region that could complicate their imaginative visions. With such a confusing mix of fact and fantasy characterizing contemporary constructions of the antipodes, "truth" claims needed to be justified in great detail. The sense of confusion confessed by early critics of imaginary voyages is significant because in each case this confusion appears to have been the critic's initial response to the most fascinating and instructive quality of imaginary voyage narratives. That quality is their characteristic bordering of two very different domains of travel writing. On the one hand, these are stories that include painstakingly detailed contemporary references to the emerging reality of the

antipodes as it was slowly being pieced together by explorers. But on the other hand, imaginary voyages are a form of consciously fictional literature that utilized the antipodean setting to serve utopian and satirical ends. While the mixing of fact and fiction—and the resultant generic hybridity—undoubtedly contributed to the disappearance of the genre of the imaginary voyage, this same hybridity gave the genre a special kind of power that has not been sufficiently recognized: the power to influence people's attitudes to colonial expansion in the process of expanding their imaginative horizons.

NOTES

1. See Paul Longley Arthur, "Capturing the Antipodes: Imaginary Voyages and the Romantic Imagination," *Journal of Australian Studies* 67 (2001): 186–95.

2. See Arthur, "Imaginary Conquests," in "Imaginary Homelands: The Dubious Cartographies of Australian Identity," special issue, *Journal of Australian Studies* 61 (1999): 136–42.

3. For information on specific examples, the reader is encouraged to consult Phillip Gove's *The Imaginary Voyage in Prose Fiction: A History of its Criticism and a Guide for its Study* (1941). This bibliographically dense survey of examples of imaginary voyage literature remains the most comprehensive study of the evolving usage of the term in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Gove's study focuses on the eighteenth century and includes an annotated checklist of 215 imaginary voyages published between 1700 and 1800.

4. John Dunlop, *The History of Fiction: Being a Critical Account of the Most Celebrated Prose Writers of Fiction from the Earliest Greek Romances to the Novels of the Present Age*, 3 vols., (Edinburgh, 1814), 2:518.

5. See Richard Phillips, *Mapping Men and Empire: A Geography of Adventure* (London, 1997), 25.

6. Notably, Gabriel de Foigny, *La Terre Australe connue* (Vannes [Geneva], 1676); and also Denis Vairasse, *The History of the Sevarites or Sevarambi, a Nation Inhabiting a Part of the Third Continent, Commonly called Terrae Australes Incognitae. With an Account of their Admirable Government, Religion, Customs, and Language. Written by one Captain Siden* [L'histoire des Sevarambes] (London, 1675).

7. De Foigny, *The Southern Land, known, by Gabriel de Foigny,* trans. David Fausett (New York, 1993), 4.

8. Geoffroy Atkinson, *The Extraordinary Voyage in French Literature before 1700* (New York, 1920), and *The Extraordinary Voyage in French Literature from 1700 to 1720* (Paris, 1922); Phillip Babcock Gove, *The Imaginary Voyage in Prose Fiction: A History of its Criticism and a Guide for its Study,* (New York, 1941); and Fausett, *Writing the New World: Imaginary Voyages and Utopias of the Great Southern Land* (New York, 1993).

9. George Mackaness, *Some Fictitious Voyages to Australia* (Dubbo, N.S.W., 1937); and John Dunmore, "Utopias and Imaginary Voyages to Australasia: A Lecture Delivered at the National Library of Australia, 2 September 1987" (Canberra, 1988).

10. Lance Schachterle and Jeanne Welcher, "A Checklist of Secondary Studies on Imaginary Voyages," *Bulletin of Bibliography* 31, no. 3 (1974): 99, 100, 106, 110, 116, 121.

11. Arthur J. Tieje, *The Theory of Characterization in Prose Fiction Prior to 1740* (Minneapolis, 1916); and Dunmore, *Visions and Realities: France in the Pacific 1695–1995* (Waikanae, 1997).

12. Gove, 13.

13. The same determined impulse to separate out the real and imaginary in maps has been described as a universal condition, related to "cartophilia." See Pierce Lewis, "Pres-

idential Address: 'Beyond Description,'" *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 75, no. 4 (1985): 465–77, 465.

14. Charles Georges Thomas Garnier, ed., *Voyages imaginaires, songes, visions et romans cabalistiques,* 36 vols. (Amsterdam, 1787).

15. See Stephen Clark, "Introduction," *Travel Writing and Empire: Postcolonial Theory in Transit* (London, 1999): 1–28, 16.

16. "Dunlop's History of Fiction," *Quarterly Review* 13, no. 26 (1815): 384–408, 389.

17. Bridget Ann Henisch, *Medieval Armchair Travels* (State College, Penn., 1967), 6.

18. Although there are exceptions to and variations on the structure and themes of imaginary voyages described generically in this paper, it is important to note that the vast majority of examples do follow this model very closely. Representative examples spanning three centuries include: Joseph Hall, *Mundus alter et idem, sive Terra Australis antehac semper incognita, longis itineribus peregrini Academici nuperrime lustrate* (Frankfurt am Main, 1605); de Foigny, *La Terre Australe connue;* Robert Paltock, *The Life and Adventures of Peter Wilkins* [1750], ed. Christopher Bentley, (London, 1973); *Fragmens du dernier voyage de La Pérouse* [*Fragments from the Last Voyage of La Perouse*] [1797], trans. Dunmore, 2 vols. (Canberra, 1987); *Life of Perouse and His Surprising Adventures in a Voyage to the South-Seas* (Edinburgh, 1807); and *Account of an Expedition to the Interior of New Holland,* ed. Lady Mary Fox, (London, 1837).

19. Diana Loxley, *Problematic Shores: The Literature of Islands* (London, 1990), 30.

20. Fausett, xxxvii.

21. Ross Gibson, *South of the West: Postcolonialism and the Narrative Construction of Australia* (Bloomington, 1992), 95.

22. Walter Raleigh, *The English Novel: Being a Short Sketch of its History from the Earliest Times to the Appearance of* Waverly (London, 1895), 134–35.

23. Raleigh, 135.

24. Raleigh, 135.

25. Robert Markley argues that Defoe's later novels offer a complex critique of colonialism and are far more significant as commentaries on cross-cultural relations than critics have generally acknowledged. Markley makes the point that there is even a risk that by focusing on colonialist imagery in imaginary voyages a Eurocentric version of colonial history may be unwittingly perpetuated (*The Far East and the English Imagination, 1600–1730* [Cambridge, 2006], 177–210).

26. Simon Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye: How Explorers Saw Australia* (Cambridge, 1996), 109.

27. "Adventures of Peregrine Pickle," *Monthly Review* 4 (1751): 355–65, 356.

28. "Adventures of Peregrine Pickle," 357.

29. "Boscawen's Voyage to Bombay," *Monthly Review* 4 (1750): 63–64, 63.

30. "Adventures of Peregrine Pickle," 355.

31. Raleigh, 136.

32. Gove, 167.

33. Paul Carter, "Strange Seas of Thought," *Australian,* 14 June 1998, Review of Books, 19.

34. Ralph Freedman, "The Possibility of a Theory of the Novel," *The Disciplines of Criticism,* eds. Peter Demetz, Thomas Greene, and Lowry Nelson, (New Haven, 1968): 55–77, 72.

35. Michael McKeon, *The Origins of the English Novel, 1600–1740* (Baltimore, 1987), 3.

36. On the writing of the account of Marco Polo's travels, see Francis Wood, *Did Marco Polo Go to China?* (London, 1995).

37. For example, see George Keate, *An account of the Pelew Islands, situated in the western part of the Pacific Ocean; composed from the journals and communications of Captain Henry Wilson, and some of his officers, who, in August, 1783, were there shipwrecked, in the* Antelope, *a packet belonging to the honourable East India Company; to which is added, a supplement, compiled from the journals of the* Panther *and* Endeavour, *two vessels sent by the honourable East*

India Company to those islands in 1790, by J. P. Hockin, of Exeter College, Oxford [1798], 5th ed. (London, 1803). For commentary on the text, see Nicholas Thomas, *In Oceania: Visions, Artifacts, Histories* (Durham, 1997), 121.

38. "Boscawen's Voyage to Bombay," 63.

39. "Boscawen's Voyage to Bombay," 63.

40. Gove, 124. Antonio Zuchelli's *Relazioni del viaggio e missione di Congo* (1712), for example, was renamed *Der geistliche Robinson* in its German translation in 1723. For details of this and other examples, see Gove, 41–42.

41. See Gove, 7–11.

42. Gove, 10.

43. Gove, 10.

44. See Gove, 41–42.

45. Percy G. Adams, *Travelers and Travel Liars 1660–1800* (Berkeley, 1962), 237.

46. Ernest Giles, *Australia twice traversed: The romance of exploration; being a narrative compiled from the journals of five exploring expeditions into and through central Australia and Western Australia, from 1872 to 1876* [1889], 2 vols. (London, 1973), 1:lv.

47. William Ray, *Story and History: Narrative Authority and Social Identity in the Eighteenth-Century French and English Novel* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 1.

48. Henry Home, Lord Kames, *Elements of Criticism* [1761], 11th ed. (London, 1839), 35.

49. Kames, 35.

50. Kames, 35.

51. F. M. Baculard d'Arnaud, *Oeuvres Completes* (Amsterdam, 1775), 4:8. Passage translated by William Ray in Ray, 3.