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“I have now done with my  
island, and all manner of  
discourse about it”: Crusoe’s  
*Farther Adventures* and the  
Unwritten History of the Novel

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The Crusoe Trilogy and the Critics

During the last two decades, feminist, Marxist, and New Historicist critics have transformed our understanding of the eighteenth-century novel, but none of them has questioned the iconic status of *Robinson Crusoe* (1719). Even those critics skeptical of the hero’s justifications for colonizing “his” island accept the commonplace that Defoe’s first novel transmutes the raw material of Puritanical injunction and moral self-scrutiny into the psychological realism that helps define the novel form. In turn, Crusoe’s individualistic psychology, most critics agree, marks the transition from a residual aristocratic to an emergent bourgeois, capitalist, and (since the 1980s) broadly Foucauldian ideology of selfhood. The titles of many of these critics’ works – centering on “rises” and “origins” – reveal a tendency to write the history of modern identity, the rise of the novel, and the rise of financial capitalism in mutually constitutive and mutually reinforcing terms.<sup>1</sup> Paradoxically, *Robinson Crusoe* retains its crucial role in revisionist histories of the novel precisely because Defoe can be credited with (or blamed for) developing a colonialist model of subjectivity: conquering the wilderness and exploiting the labor of native peoples allow the colonizer the luxury of becoming a bourgeois subject.<sup>2</sup> Seen in this light, Crusoe’s economic moralizing and religious proselytizing may not quite open a window to the soul, but they do offer a compelling novelistic strategy for representing the psychological complexities of Defoe’s reluctant pilgrim.

This consensus view of *Robinson Crusoe*, however, holds up only if critics ignore or explain away the two sequels that Defoe published shortly after his successful first novel. In this essay, I call into question some of the assumptions and values that

underlie the homology of “bourgeois” identity, the rise of the novel, and early modern capitalism that inform much *Crusoe* criticism. Volumes two and three of the trilogy, the *Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and the *Serious Reflections* (1720), I suggest, represent Defoe’s self-conscious *rejection* of the interlocking discourses of “psychological realism,” economic self-sufficiency, and one-size-fits-all models of European colonialism. In both works, Defoe abandons the narrative strategies that he employs in his first *Crusoe* novel. Rather than seeing the *Farther Adventures* as an unsuccessful sequel, I want to take seriously Defoe’s contention that “the second part . . . is (contrary to the usage of second parts) every way as entertaining as the first, contains as strange and surprising incidents, and as great variety of them; nor is the application less serious or suitable; and doubtless will, to the sober as well as ingenious reader, be every way as profitable and diverting.”<sup>3</sup> His contemporary readers apparently agreed with Defoe’s assessment: published four months after *Robinson Crusoe*, the *Farther Adventures* went through seven editions by 1747 (only two fewer than the original) and was republished regularly with its predecessor well into the nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup> In their eagerness to identify *Crusoe* and its hero as standard-bearers of an emergent modernity, however, many critics have taken at face value the notion that his fictional island is a template for a European colonialism that dominated the eighteenth-century world. In crediting the “realism” of this fantasy of emergent Eurocentrism, they give short shrift to the hero’s subsequent Asian adventures in the second volume of the trilogy, particularly his hyperbolic attacks on every aspect imaginable of Chinese culture. In its obsession with China, *Farther Adventures* marks a significant turn in Defoe’s career. Instead of elaborating a colonialist parable, this novel depicts and seeks to counter nightmare visions of an embattled English identity in a hostile world. In this regard, Defoe’s explicit rejection of many of the values and assumptions associated with *Crusoe*’s twenty-eight years on the island has significant implications for any history of the eighteenth-century novel. Rather than considering his first novel a triumphant innovation, Defoe seems to have regarded it as an experiment that did not bear repeating.

In the most compelling analysis of *Crusoe*’s identity to date, Hans Turley has reread the three novels as efforts to describe a piratical, homosocial self as an alternative to the domestic ideology of a feminized, psychologized identity.<sup>5</sup> According to Turley, Defoe yokes capitalist expansion and Protestant evangelism to privilege *Crusoe* the Christian apologist over *Crusoe* the poster-boy for the bourgeois self. In extending Turley’s argument, I argue that the *Crusoe* novels are marked by a crucial fantasy – one always in danger of collapse and therefore always in need of shoring up – that centers less on “identity” than on the dream of economic self-reliance. In analyzing the liberties that Defoe takes in *Crusoe* with the history of ceramic manufacturing, Lydia Liu has called attention to the strangeness at the heart of “an otherwise thoroughly known text and context”; his shipwrecked hero produces a usable facsimile of Chinese porcelain, a feat beyond the ability of European manufacturers in 1719.<sup>6</sup> If *Crusoe*’s earthenware pot is emblematic of a fantasy of economic self-sufficiency, it also suggests how little attention has been paid to *Crusoe*’s

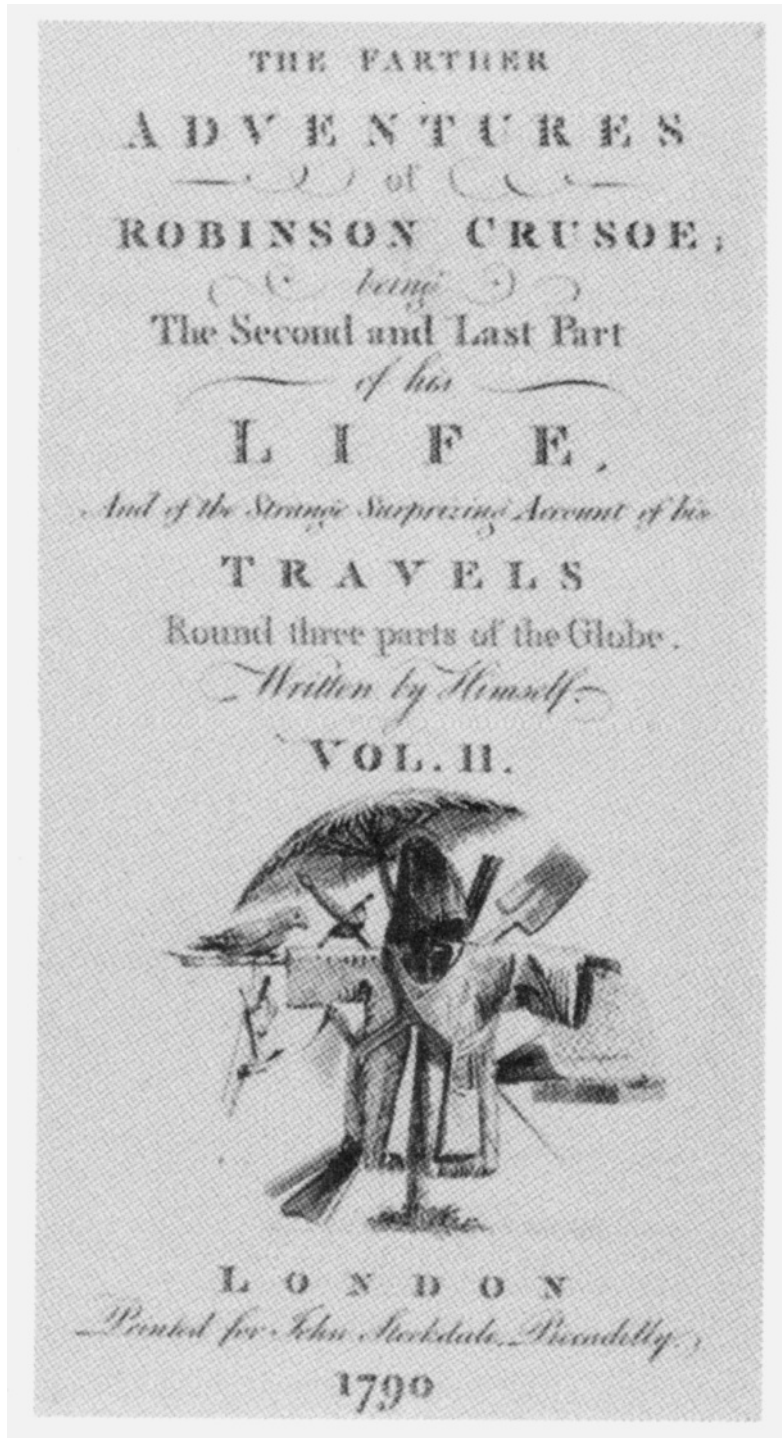


Plate 1. Title page from the 1790 edition of *Farther Adventures* with an illustration by Thomas Stothard, the first important illustrator of *Robinson Crusoe*.

“context,” especially a sequel that becomes increasingly obsessed with the problems posed by the Far East for western conceptions of “capitalism” and national identity.

In the context of the trilogy as a whole, Crusoe’s island and its attendant assumptions and values – the hero’s puritanical self-scrutiny; the colonialist exploitation of the natural world and non-European peoples; the willing submission of “pagans” to Christianity; and economic self-reliance – constitute only one half of a dialectic. Once Crusoe leaves his colony midway through the *Farther Adventures*, Defoe develops the narrative strategies and anatomizes the ideological concerns that shape the rest of his literary career. First, economic self-sufficiency is jettisoned in favor of a discourse about the networks of communication and credit – the merchants, bankers, and middlemen – essential to Asian trade; Crusoe’s implication in these networks provokes a desire to re-establish a religious and national identity that can insulate the hero from cosmopolitanism and contamination. Second, the colonialist parable of *Robinson Crusoe* is abandoned for a different kind of fantasy: the *Farther Adventures* is the first of Defoe’s fictional narratives that promote visions of an infinitely profitable trade to the Far East and the South Seas. Third, the figure of the cannibal as convert, a testament to the powers of European technology and religion, is replaced by the hero’s – and the novelist’s – obsession with far more dangerous “others,” the Dutch and the Chinese. And lastly, puritanical self-scrutiny becomes far less insistent in the sequel; Crusoe’s formulaic protestations of his “follies” give way to fervid, nearly hysterical assertions of European – specifically British and Protestant – superiority to Asian cultures. By the end of the trilogy, in *Serious Reflections*, the transition from psychological self to fanatic crusader is marked by the bone-chilling prescription that Crusoe offers for national prosperity in a world in which “Infidels possess such Vast Regions, and Religion in its Purity shines in a small Quarter of the Globe”: convert or exterminate the brutes.<sup>7</sup> But as the hero’s adventures in the Far East demonstrate, his call for a *jihad* against the Eastern world can take place, at least in 1720, only in armchair fantasies thousands of miles from the Great Wall.

The bizarre prospect of Crusoe trading diamonds in Bengal; opium, cloves, and nutmeg in the Indonesian archipelago; and silks and bullion in China marks Defoe’s fascination with the travel narratives of the seventeenth century and their pursuit of profit, national glory, and the spreading of the gospel.<sup>8</sup> Written at the height of the speculation in South Sea Company stock, *Farther Adventures* seeks to jump-start British ventures in the Pacific by reinvigorating the fantasies of “infinite” wealth to be made in the region. Defoe’s fictional forays into the Far East in *Farther Adventures*, *Captain Singleton* (1720), and *A New Voyage Round the World* (1724) are marked by both fascination and fear. Defoe recognizes – as his contemporaries did and as Europeans had done for two centuries – that trade with China and Japan could return enormous profits; at the same time, he reacts viscerally against the difficulties that Europeans faced as supplicants for trade during a period when China and, to a lesser extent, India and Japan, dominated world trade, bullion and financial markets, and the traffic in luxury items (from spices to porcelain) that had become staples of upper-class consumption, and of elite social identity, in Europe. Although the English

had significant trading ventures in Mughal India, the Ottoman Empire, and Persia, China presented both practical and conceptual difficulties as a trading partner. As the richest and most populous nation on earth, it could dictate the terms of trade to Europeans, levy customs, restrict trading privileges, and force merchants and missionaries to accommodate themselves to Chinese practices.<sup>9</sup> Yet, despite these widely reported barriers to trade, Defoe remains obsessed by the travel literature on which he drew: in dozens of seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century accounts, China, Japan, and the Spice Islands fulfill two crucial, and imaginary, roles: they are both insatiable markets for European goods and a vast, inexhaustible storehouse of porcelain, spices, silk, tea, and other goods that can command premium prices in Europe. In the Jesuit sources that Defoe cites throughout *Serious Reflections*, China represents the apex of civilization – the order and government necessary to carry on an ever-expanding trade; Southeast Asia and the Pacific are characterized frequently as regions where Europeans can either gather commodities with little effort or strike one good deal after another with cooperative natives. The promise that the Far East holds, and the myth it embodies for Europeans, then, is that it can sustain an unending, and infinitely profitable, trade. The reality that Defoe must deal with is that the Chinese cannot be transformed into the subjects or dupes of European imperialism. In his farther adventures, Crusoe confronts a nightmare that lurks everywhere in early modern accounts of the Middle Kingdom: the irrelevance of western conceptions of identity and theology in a sinocentric world.

### Crusoe's Nameless Island

Crusoe's *Farther Adventures* and *Serious Reflections* have troubled critics who come to the novels with expectations that these works should continue the project of defining an emergent selfhood. While the first half of the former novel has Crusoe return to his island and deal with the problems of the colony he left behind, the second half follows the hero through an episodic series of adventures in Southeast Asia, China, and Siberia. By recasting mercantile visions of the endless generation of wealth as the very stuff of Crusoe's "farther" adventures, Defoe presents a compensatory narrative for the problems of colonization – the social, theological, and administrative headaches that occupy Crusoe when he returns to "his" island.

Reading the *Farther Adventures*, one is struck by how little Crusoe has learned from his experiences. Repeatedly in this novel, Defoe uses the same language of folly and sin to describe his hero's obsessions, wanderlust, and rejection of middle-class comfort that he had employed in his first novel. Yet the abrupt transition midway through the novel from the island to the exotic lands of merchant adventuring necessitates new narrative strategies to describe both individual and national identity. The difference between the two halves of *Farther Adventures* is defined by two dreams that Crusoe relates at length: the first, at the beginning of the novel, describes his longing to return to the island; the second, years later, recounts his "anxieties and perplexities"

(415) as a merchant in Southeast Asia. Although, seven years after returning to England, the hero is living comfortably, he is obsessed with returning to the island. This “chronical distemper” troubles his dreams and dominates his life:

The desire of seeing my new plantation in the island, and the colony I left there, run in my head continually. I dream'd of it all night, and my imagination run upon it all day; it was uppermost in all my thoughts, and my fancy work'd so steadily and strongly upon it, that I talk'd of it in my sleep; in short, nothing could remove it out of my mind; it even broke so violently into all my discourses, that it made my conversation tiresome; for I could talk of nothing else, all my discourse run into it, even to impertinence, and I saw it my self. (251–52)

Crusoe succumbs to “such extasies of vapours” that he imagines himself back on the island, conversing with the marooned Spaniard and Friday’s father, and concludes that, while he cannot account for the etiology of his dreams or “what secret converse of spirits injected it, yet there was very much of it true” (252). His dreams, however, reveal little about what Crusoe wants to do when he returns to the island or what the moral significance of his obsession might be. While his dream may foreshadow the action of the first half of *Farther Adventures*, the collapse of distinctions between dreaming and waking underscores the cautionary remarks offered in *Serious Reflections*: “Dreams are dangerous things to talk of. . . the least encouragement to lay any weight upon them is presently carried away by a sort of people that dream waking, and that run into such wild extremes about them, that indeed we ought to be very cautious what we say of them.”<sup>10</sup> The nature of Crusoe’s obsession, his tendency to “dream waking,” is not made explicit; but if “very much” of his dreaming about the island is “true,” then his “desire” takes the form of exercising an authority that the hero describes as “patriarchal.” His dreams become both externalized, half-attributed to supernatural powers, and introjected so that the fantasies of commanding subjects and administering justice express his desire to repossess the island and reassert the socio-political integrity of a self committed to colonial administration and religious instruction. Yet midway through the novel, Crusoe’s daydreams about the island give way to nightmares in the Far East. These violent dreams give shape to fears that are greater than those of being eaten by cannibals – fears of bodily and psychic dissolution that are emblematic of the threats to the Christian, mercantile self in a hostile world.

The first half of *Farther Adventures* set on Crusoe’s island “colony” is didactic, even theologically coercive, in its insistence that administrative and juridical control depend on reclaiming sinners, notably the hell-raising Will Atkins, and reintegrating them into a social order of penitence and probity. Battles with natives are interspersed with long colloquies about the necessity for religious toleration and the virtues of Christian marriage – native women must be converted and married to their pirate and Spanish lovers. But if the enabling fiction of *Robinson Crusoe* is that self-interest and colonization are compatible, that enterprising individuals can trans-

form the wilderness without draining England's wealth or exhausting indigenous resources, then in *Farther Adventures* Crusoe confronts the dilemmas that had been finessed in the first volume: competing economic interests within the colony, contested political authority, and religious differences between Catholics and Protestants.

His concern with colonial politics and Christian conversion may explain why, in fictionalizing the account of Alexander Selkirk, Defoe changes the location of the island in *Robinson Crusoe*. Juan Fernandez, off the coast of Chile, was a resort for buccaneers, a stopover for European expeditions to the Pacific, and a potential naval base. Much to Defoe's chagrin, England had no "plantations" in the Pacific, and the East India Company's voyages to the Far East were, by and large, not efforts to establish colonies but to insinuate its way into regional trading networks.<sup>11</sup> By shipwrecking Crusoe in the Caribbean, Defoe locates his narrative within a New World economy of slave trading and colonial development. This setting renders plausible the "colonization" of the island in a region where England could point to some success, and where Crusoe's dreams, as the hero tells the reader in *Serious Reflections*, reconfirm the prospect of eventual rescue: "in my greatest and most hopeless banishment I had such frequent dreams of my deliverance, that I always entertained a firm and satisfying belief that my last days would be better than my first" (SR 261–62). These frequent dreams of "deliverance" – not depicted in *Robinson Crusoe* – serve as after-the-fact confirmation of the moral and theological values that Defoe promotes. They are, in a sense, geographically specific to a Caribbean world that by 1719 was well-known and well-prospected by the English in their efforts to contain Spanish influence in the Americas. Displaced into East Asia, Crusoe confronts the nightmares of English irrelevance that he can ignore on his island.

The problems that Crusoe adjudicates, however, cannot mask the fact that his island is an unprofitable backwater. He has no dreams that foreshadow the colony's profitability. Rather than rehash the adventures of the first Crusoe novel or continue the moralizing of the first half of its sequel, Defoe abruptly abandons the projects of colonization and conversion. Having cajoled, proselytized, and shamed the European men on the island into marrying their native wives and having brokered agreements among bickering colonists, Crusoe denies any long-term plans or nationalist intention: "I never so much as pretended to plant in the name of any government or nation, or to acknowledge any prince, or to call my people subjects to any one nation more than another; nay, I never so much as gave the place a name" (374). His earlier obsession is gone, and he leaves the nameless island unceremoniously, never to return. He entrusts colonial administration to a nameless partner and the new governor, Will Atkins, declaring, "I have now done with my island, and all manner of discourse about it; and whoever reads the rest of my memorandums would do well to turn his thoughts entirely from it" (374). The vehemence of this admonition is startling, and Defoe is explicit: as an experiment in or as a model of colonialism, Crusoe's island is a failure. Neither ideals of toleration nor the internalized discourses of self-control can

prevent the island from succumbing to the well-known problems of early eighteenth-century colonies – diminishing resources, political conflicts, and external threats:

the last letters I had from any of them was by my partner's means; who afterwards sent another sloop to the place, and who sent me word, tho' I had not the letter till five years after it was written, that they went on but poorly, were malecontent with their long stay there; that Will. Atkins was dead; that five of the Spaniards were come away, and that tho' they had not been much molested by the savages, yet they had had some skirmishes with them; and that they begg'd of him to write me, to think of the promise I had made to fetch them away, that they might see their own country again before they dy'd. (374–75)

This outright rejection of the discourses and practices of colonialism suggests that the hero already has succumbed to the lure of trade and that his creator has recognized the incompatibility of the languages of administrative self-policing and infinite profits. In retrospect, then, the hero's rejection of the dictates of colonialism reveals that the "realism" of *Robinson Crusoe* has been predicated all along on the fantasy that one man is an island – economically and psychologically.

To introduce his subsequent adventures, Crusoe berates himself in much the same language that he uses to describe his first leaving England forty years earlier: "expect to read of the follies of an old man, not warn'd by his own harms, much less those of other men, to beware of the like; not cool'd by almost forty years' misery and disappointments, not satisfy'd with prosperity beyond expectation, not made cautious by affliction and distress beyond imitation" (374). But this moralistic rhetoric hardly describes Crusoe's adventures in the Far East. When Crusoe leaves the island, he leaves behind the moral-judicial structures that he has sought to establish as well as the internalized "reflections" of a man well aware of his own "follies." Although Friday is killed in a battle at sea and Crusoe is forced off his nephew's ship after remonstrating with the crew for massacring 150 villagers on Madagascar, he realizes a fortune from his years in Asia as a trader. His "new variety of follies, hardships, and wild ventures; wherein . . . we may see how easily Heaven can gorge us with our own desires" is long on gorging and short on both physical and psychological consequences of this septuagenarian's "wild-goose chase" (374). Crusoe's characteristic self-doubts and upbraidings quickly give way to denunciations of Asian civilizations and ultimately, in Siberia, to violence. The self, it seems, is no longer held together by moral injunctions and Foucauldian self-scrutiny but rendered coherent only as an instrument of providential fury against threats to Christianity.

### **"Inhuman tortures and barbarities": Crusoe's Nightmares in the Far East**

Crusoe's second set of dreams occurs when he and his partner discover they have bought, inadvertently, a pirate ship and fear that they will be captured and hanged by



the Dutch authorities in the Indonesian archipelago. In recounting these nightmares, the hero mentions no Christian patience, no martyrdom, no sense of placing himself in divine hands:

both my partner and I too scarce slept a night without dreaming of halters and yard-arms, that is to say, gibbets; of fighting and being taken; of killing and being kill'd; and one night I was in such a fury in my dream, fancying the Dutch men had boarded us, and I was knocking one of their seamen down, that I struck my double fist against the side of the cabin I lay in, with such force as wounded my hand most grievously, broke my knuckles, and cut and bruised the flesh; so that it not only wak'd me out of my sleep, but I was once afraid that I should have lost two of my fingers. (414)

This dream extends beyond individual “imagination”; it is shared by Crusoe’s partner and forces the hero to lash out in his sleep and break his knuckles. Crusoe does not use the rhetoric of guilt, sin, and unworthiness to describe his psychological turmoil; if this language has a precedent in his adventures, it is in his fantasies of massacring the cannibals after he has discovered human remains on his island. But the “fury” of this dream, “of killing and being kill'd,” seems to threaten the hero’s own person as much as it does the Dutch. The self-inflicted wound to his hand signifies a threat more troubling than his fear of cannibals in *Crusoe*. The nightmares that Crusoe and his partner experience, in the Dutch-dominated waters of Southeast Asia, mark the irruption of a national bogeyman into their consciousness: the trial and execution of twelve British merchants on the island of Amboyna a century earlier by the Dutch East India Company (VOC).

This 1623 incident was the epilogue to two decades of contention in the region that culminated in the British East India Company being forced out of the spice trade by the more numerous, better financed, and better equipped agents of the VOC. The execution of British merchants on Amboyna is a crucial – indeed defining – national trauma for the British until the 1760s: it marks England’s exclusion from the lucrative spice trade for over a century and a half; it underscores the limitations of British naval power; and it exposes the tenuousness and contingency of a British national identity that takes commercial success as a providential sign that England, and not the Netherlands, is the true defender of the Protestant faith.<sup>12</sup> In *Atlas Maritimus and Commercialis* (1728), Defoe denounces at length “the horrid Massacre” of English merchants by the Dutch, “a Scene so full of Barbarity, and not only unchristian but also inhuman Cruelty,” that its specifics of torture, forced confession, and execution are “not to be express’d.”<sup>13</sup> By invoking Amboyna in *Farther Adventures*, the novelist conjures up a threat to the fundamentals of a national identity founded on the interlocking value systems of enlightened self-interest, civility, and religious faith: the martyred Englishmen, he declares in 1728, “were used in the most violent and inhuman manner, without respect to their Quality or Nation, being Merchants of good repute, and Men of untainted Character.”<sup>14</sup> Social status, nationality, professional honesty, and moral probity all are undone by the nightmare on Amboyna.

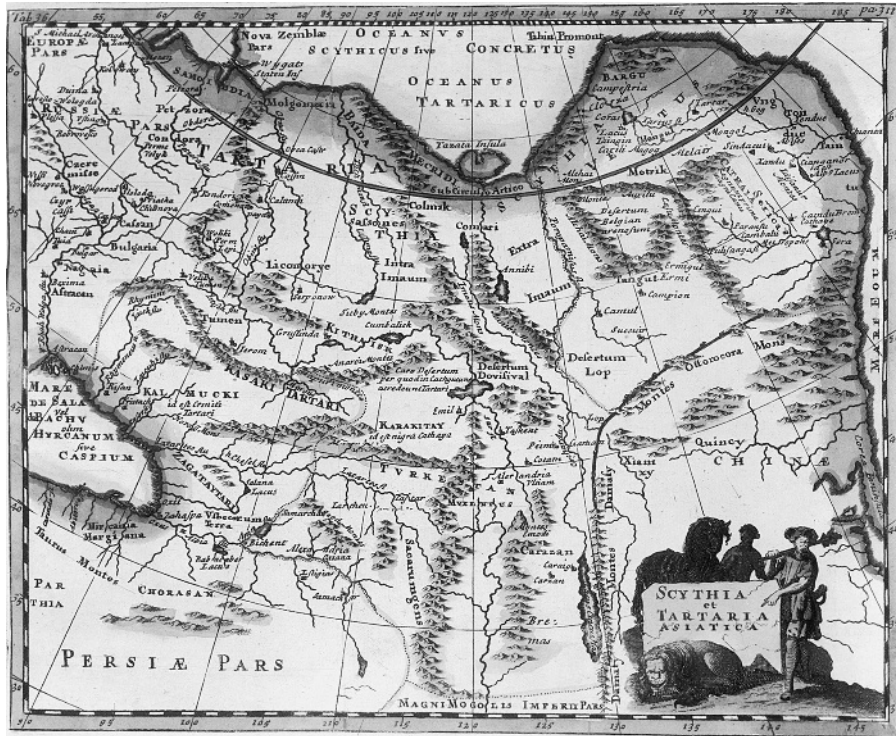


Plate 2. Map of Scythia and Asiatic Tartar, ancient tribal regions of Europe and Asia.

Although Crusoe visits the usual stations of the cross by acknowledging that “Providence might justly inflict this punishment, as a retribution” (415), his own dream is not that of a penitent grappling with the consequences of his sin but of violence and vengeance.

The hero’s analysis of his nightmares describes a pattern that is repeated later in *Farther Adventures*: the threats he encounters in Asia are compared to and found more terrifying than the prospect of being eaten by “savages.” His response to the cultural memory of Amboyna oscillates between “talking my self up to vigorous resolutions, that I would not be taken” and fears that he will be “barbarously used by a parcel of merciless wretches in cold blood.” The Dutch are far more terrifying than New World cannibals:

it were much better to have fallen into the hands of savages, who were man-eaters . . . than [into] those who would perhaps glut their rage upon me, by inhuman tortures and barbarities . . . it was much more dreadful, to me at least, to think of falling into these men’s hands, than ever it was to think of being eaten by men, for the savages, give them their due, would not eat a man till he was dead, and kill’d them first, as we do a bullock; but that these men had many arts beyond the cruelty of death. (415)

Dutch “cruelty” both subsumes and goes beyond the fear of disincorporation. “Inhuman tortures” threaten the integrity of the body politic – the metonymic identification of the merchant’s body with the coherence and self-reliance of the nation. If “his” island represents a failure of colonialism, Crusoe’s obsession with Amboyna reveals “the anxieties and perplexities” that attend making himself an instrument of his overriding desire for profit. Torture lays bare the greed, “barbarism,” and amorality that providentialist and patriotic justifications for international trade mystify. Consequently, the hero’s response to his dream is radically different from the soul-searching and moral accounting that he undertakes in *Robinson Crusoe*; he externalizes the divisiveness of sin, projecting a false “national” identity as a means to safeguard body, nation, and profits. Crusoe is the first, but not the last, of Defoe’s heroes to fly a false flag at sea, to counterfeit a “national” identity in order to escape the consequences of a “free commerce.” In this respect, his fears of being victimized by pirates and mistaken for a pirate represent the ambiguities of the independent trader seeking cargoes and profits in the entrepôts of Southeast Asia: the “patriarch” of the island has become enmeshed in the ongoing negotiations of commercial identities in the East.

His nightmare of being tortured by the Dutch, however, may be the most serious threat that Crusoe faces in the second half of the novel. The colonial authorities in Batavia remain offstage; there is no heroic confrontation with the Dutch, no grappling with internal demons, no vindication of Crusoe’s honor and honesty against an evil commercial rival. In short, no consequences follow from his dreams: Crusoe sells the ship and follows a trading opportunity to China. Idolatry, Catholicism, and despair – the principal threats against which Crusoe struggles to define his moral identity in the first part – pose far fewer difficulties for the hero (or his creator) in the sequel. Although the Dutch may haunt Crusoe’s nightmares, his true antagonists in *Farther Adventures* are the Chinese because they embody a fundamental contradiction that Defoe cannot resolve – a virtuous and prosperous “heathen” civilization that threatens the mutually constitutive fantasies of infinite profits, religious zeal, and a secure national identity.

A long-time critic of the India trade, Defoe consistently, even obsessively, advocated British expansion into the South Seas; trading posts on the the west coast of South America, he maintained, could establish a profitable trade with both New Spain and the Far East. As it reworks material from Defoe’s *Review of the State of the English Nation* (1704–1713), *A New Voyage Round the World* reveals his and his culture’s fascination with trade across the Pacific as a means for England to realize its dreams of a coherent national identity and international economic power. The Crusoe trilogy appeared at a significant time in British efforts to open new markets and amid ongoing debates about the value of the East India trade. Throughout the seventeenth and much of the eighteenth century, Britain imported far more from the East than it exported, and almost all of its exports were in bullion. In 1718 and 1719, when Defoe was writing his Crusoe novels, four East India Company ships called at Canton, and all four carried more than 90 percent of their cargo as silver. As late as 1754, 80 percent of England’s exports to Asia were in bullion.<sup>15</sup>

In *A New Voyage*, Defoe voices his long-standing critique of the East India trade: “we carry nothing or very little but money [to the orient], the innumerable nations of the Indies, China, &c., despising our manufactures and filling us with their own.” He characterizes these imports as either “trifling and unnecessary” – “china ware, coffee, tea, japan works, pictures, fans, screens, &c.” – or as “returns that are injurious to [Britain’s] manufactures”: “printed calicoes, chintz, wrought silks, stuffs of herbs and barks, block tin, cotton, arrack, copper, indigo.”<sup>16</sup> Defoe’s criticism of the India trade – sending out bullion and receiving either luxury items or cotton cloth which competed directly with British woolen mills – is extended in *Farther Adventures* to the burgeoning tea trade.<sup>17</sup> Although East India Company merchants “some times come home with 60 to 70 and 100 thousand pounds at a time” (393), the trade imbalance threatens England’s economic security. “The innumerable nations of the Indies, China, &c.” become, for Defoe, *both* an imaginative space of infinite profits *and* a nightmarish realm where personal and national identity become uncertain. To counter the prospect of the economic domination of the Dutch in Southeast Asia and of China to the north, *Farther Adventures* develops compensatory narratives that deny or repress the limitations of European power in the Far East.

### Crusoe in China

Crusoe has no dreams in China or Siberia, but his characterizations of both lands assume an almost hallucinogenic quality; Eurocentric fantasies of Protestant commercialism replace the moral realism of *Robinson Crusoe*. His obsessive vilification is without precedent in the vast European literature on the Middle Kingdom. As Jonathan Spence notes in his discussion of *Farther Adventures*, “every previously described positive aspect of China [by the Jesuits and others] is negated, and every negative aspect of China is emphasized.”<sup>18</sup> By rejecting accounts that celebrated China’s wealth, socioeconomic stability, good government, and presumed monotheistic religion, Defoe dismisses the arguments that made China a difficult target for Europeans to attack. For sinophiles, the Middle Kingdom was an ancient empire that had escaped the fate of the pagan regimes of the Mediterranean and Near East and continued to prosper; it boasted a written history that, in its antiquity and moral probity, apparently rivaled the Old Testament; it seemed, to many commentators, to provide a model of sociopolitical order; and in its immense potential for trade, it reinforced centuries-old perceptions of “China’s world economic preeminence in production and export.”<sup>19</sup> Eyewitness accounts almost uniformly agreed that “Of all the Kingdoms of the Earth *China* is the most celebrated for Politeness and Civility, for grandeur and magnificence, for Arts and Inventions.”<sup>20</sup> Although Defoe shares his contemporaries’ views of the potential for trade to China and the East Indies, he resists the sociopolitical lessons that Jesuits, sinophiles (notably Leibniz), and English royalists draw in idealizing the Middle Kingdom as a model for Europe to emulate.<sup>21</sup> The prospect of an empire resistant to his critiques of tyranny, sin, and idolatry forces

Defoe into fervent efforts to counter the challenges that China poses to his vision of an infinitely profitable trade.

In both *Farther Adventures* and *Serious Reflections*, Crusoe castigates the Chinese at far greater length than he does any other people or culture. In fact, his long digression on China's civilization is the only time in his travels that he singles out a nation for explicit comment. "As this is the only excursion of this kind which I have made in all the account I have given of my travels," he maintains, "so I shall make no more descriptions of countrys and people; 'tis none of my business, or any part of my design" (423). In *Serious Reflections*, he dismisses the Mughal empire in two sentences and the entire Islamic world in a couple of pages but devotes twenty-three hefty paragraphs to castigating the Chinese for their pride, immorality, technological backwardness, corrupt government, hideous art, and political tyranny. Lashing out at the Chinese enacts rhetorically a compensatory fantasy of European pride and supposed superiority; what Crusoe can only dream about – fighting back against the Dutch – becomes a structuring fantasy for a Eurocentric identity. In identifying the Chinese, not the "cannibals" of the Americas as the "other" against whom he defines his theocentric identity, Crusoe finds the structure of fantasy more certain than the uncertainty of his dreams.

In his satiric fantasy, *The Consolidator* (1705), Defoe targets China as the antithesis of his political and religious values. His satire takes the form of a mock-ironic encomium that travesties Chinese learning, technological accomplishments, absolutist politics, and claims to a pre-Mosaic antiquity. Satirizing John Webb's theory that China was founded by Noah and that the Chinese therefore preserve the ancient language spoken by Adam and Eve, Defoe has his credulous narrator promise his readers "A Description of a Fleet of Ships of 100000 Sail, built at the Expense of the Emperor *Tangro* the 15th; who having Notice of the General Deluge, prepar'd these Vessels," escaped the Flood, and consequently preserved the antediluvian "Perfections" of their culture and a "most exact History of 2000 Emperors."<sup>22</sup> For Defoe, China's widespread renown for its antiquity, virtue, and social stability is merely a cover for noxious political and religious doctrines – notably monarchical absolutism and passive obedience. His narrator avows that there is no "Tyranny of Princes, or Rebellion of Subjects" in any of China's histories, and concludes that these annals offer proof "that Kings and Emperors came down from Heaven with Crowns on their Heads, and all their Subjects were born with Saddles on their Backs."<sup>23</sup> If such absolutism has been decreed by heaven, then Chinese history can be invoked by apologists for tyranny to "explain, as well as defend, all Coercion in Cases invasive of Natural Right."<sup>24</sup> In *The Consolidator*, China symbolizes the political repression and false religion that Defoe spent a lifetime attacking.

Fifteen years later, Crusoe's obsession with the Chinese occasions his vehement attacks on Jesuit accommodationism – the efforts by missionaries, part-belief and part-strategy, to identify Chinese moral philosophy with western monotheism.<sup>25</sup> Although Defoe accepts the Jesuits' wishful characterization of "Confucius's maxims" as an analogue of European "theology," he denounces these texts (widely translated

into European vernaculars by 1720) as “a rhapsody of words, without consistency, and, indeed, with very little reasoning.” He goes on to declare that there are “much more regular doings among some of the Indians that are pagans in America, than there are in China” (SR 123). As he does in vilifying the Dutch, Crusoe compares the Chinese unfavorably to the “pagans” of the Americas. But in China “idolatry” goes beyond ignorance or devil-worship to violate the principles that anchor western conceptions of reality. In a garden outside of Nanking, Crusoe finds a horrific Chinese “idol”:

It had a thing instead of a head, but no head; it had a mouth distorted out of all manner of shape, and not to be described for a mouth, being only an unshapen chasm, neither representing the mouth of a man, beast, fowl, or fish; the thing was neither any of the four, but an incongruous monster; it had feet, hands, fingers, claws, legs, arms, wings, ears, horns, everything mixed one among another, neither in the shape or place that Nature appointed, but blended together and fixed to a bulk, not a body, formed of no just parts, but a shapeless trunk or log, whether of wood or stone, I know not. (SR 126)

This “celestial hedgehog” is too grotesque “to have represented even the devil”; yet, if the reader wishes to form a picture in her mind’s eye of Chinese deities, Crusoe asserts, “let imagination supply anything that can make a misshapen image horrid, frightful, and surprising” and the Chinese will worship “such a mangled, promiscuous-gendered creature” (SR 126). Crusoe overreacts: Chinese art by 1719 was well known in the west: porcelain was a prized import, silks, furniture, screens, fans, and illustrations in travel books made Chinese artistic conventions familiar and popular. Defoe’s insistence on the “hedgehog’s” confusions of physiology, gender, and religion, in this respect, is prompted by his recognition that this “idol” challenges a European ideology of representation and therefore an entire worldview. It is not simply that this “incongruous monster” represents the “other” against which an English Protestant self must be defined, but that Chinese theology and representational practices threaten to rewrite the very principles of theology, gender, and self-identity. Cannibals, like Friday, can be converted; they are amenable to reason and candidates for revelation. Catholics, like the helpful French priest on Crusoe’s island, can become allies against idolatry. Even the Dutch, with their “inhuman tortures and barbarities,” are Protestants who can be understood within a dialectic of national interest and international rivalry for trade. But it is the Chinese *lack* of interest in Europe, its culture, and its merchants that poses a greater threat than disincorporation by cannibalism or psychic disintegration at the hands of torturers. China threatens to *incorporate* Europeans within its standards of civilization, its conceptions of reality. Even as he tolerates “subtle *Jesuites*” in his country, the Kangxi Emperor and his subjects remain largely unmoved by their designs, forcing the missionaries to adapt “their Model [of religion] to the philosophy of *Confucius*, seldom or never Teaching the Crucifixion and Godhead of Christ, and frequently allowing the worship of *Pagodas*.”<sup>26</sup> Going native in early Qing China does not mean reverting to “savagery” but conforming to the assumptions, values, and standards of an alien civilization.

Yet even Defoe's insults reveal his familiarity with the vast literature on China published in Europe by the early eighteenth century. Crusoe's route from Beijing to Archangel follows, in large measure, the itinerary described by the Czar's emissary to Kangxi, Evret Ysbrants Ides, in *Three Years Travels from Moscow Over-Land to China* (1706).<sup>27</sup> Defoe reads Ides selectively. After lavishly praising China's wealth, civility, architecture, magnificence, and women, Ides spends the final two pages of his narrative criticizing the "rude and barbarous" judiciary system of the Chinese and the "perfect Pagan idolatry" of their religion; he concludes that the "great share of Wisdom, Arts and Sciences, for which they are so highly extolled by many Writers, comes far short of the *Europeans*."<sup>28</sup> Such belated denunciations and qualifications often are used by European writers to mitigate or contain the threat China poses to western notions of religious, political, and cultural supremacy. However eager Europeans may have been to flatter the Emperor and the Mandarin officials in the interests of securing trade, they are quite conscious of their patrons, who invested huge sums of money in both trading ventures and religious missions. Employed by Peter the Great and seeking to establish himself in the caravan trade between Beijing and Moscow, Ides seems eager to placate a monarch who has his own imperial ambitions, especially since he returned with a mixed message from Beijing: the Czar's official letters to the Kangxi Emperor were rejected by the Board of Rites because they violated the proper protocols for a barbarian tributary mission – they failed to address the Emperor as a supreme monarch and Ides did not kowtow. Similarly, Le Comte flatters Louis XIV, bogged down in a costly war in Europe, by reflecting "on the facility with which *Lewis* the Great would subdue those Provinces [bordering the Great Wall], if Nature had made us a little nearer Neighbours to *China*."<sup>29</sup> Given the praise that the French Jesuit elsewhere lavishes on Chinese civilization, this is less a military assessment than an enticement for the King to continue supporting missions to the Far East.

Defoe amplifies Ides's perfunctory criticism and Le Comte's formulaic compliment into an all-out assault on Chinese civilization. He is shrewd enough to know that he cannot mimic the density of detail that characterizes first-hand accounts of China so generic diatribes substitute for the descriptive strategies of literary cartographic "realism." China's vaunted prowess, Crusoe asserts, is the effect of the low expectations that Europeans hold for "a barbarous nation of pagans": "the greatness of their wealth, their trade, the power of their government, and the strength of their armies, is surprising to us, because . . . we did not expect such things among them; and this indeed is the advantage with which all their greatness and power is represented to us; otherwise in it self it is nothing at all" (421). It is difficult to convey how jarring an assertion this is in the early eighteenth century: the idealized Empire of Jesuit-inspired literature is replaced by a country caricatured as at once backward and decadent. In confronting the threat that China poses to his vision of national identity and economic prosperity, Defoe describes a land he has never seen only in debased relation to European standards of religious truth, military power, and technological sophistication. Crusoe elaborates authoritative-sounding comparisons that structure his (and his creator's) fantasy of European superiority. "A million of their foot

[soldiers],” he claims, “could not stand before one embattled body of our infantry . . . 30,000 German or English foot, and 10,000 French horse, would fairly beat all the forces of China” (422). This vision of well-trained and well-equipped European forces united against the Chinese army, “a contemptible herd or crowd of ignorant sordid slaves” (422), becomes an imaginary compensation for the wealth and “greatness” of the Chinese empire, not to mention the 900,000 soldiers garrisoned along its northern frontier. This battle of East and West takes place only in a virtual realm where fictional pronouncements about military capabilities take precedence over material reality: European garrisons in the Far East well into the eighteenth century, at most, could muster only a few hundred men, and no British, French, or German soldiers were stationed within 2,000 miles of Beijing. Crusoe’s claim is not a serious challenge or a reflection of the relative strengths of the two nations but an impotent gesture in the face of superior power.

Crusoe’s tirades cannot disguise the fact that Chinese luxuries remain objects of intense desire, such as the £3500 of raw silk, cloth, and tea which the hero brings back to sell in Europe. Much of his stay in China is devoted to negotiating with shady, often dishonest traders who are presented as characteristic of their nation. These scenes, too, present fantasies of wealth and empowerment as a discourse of hard-headed realism. All the eyewitness accounts which Defoe could have read testify to the wealth, business acumen, and ingenuity of the Chinese. Englishmen such as Alexander Hamilton, who in 1703 in Canton had to sell his ship’s cargo at half its market value, were all too aware that they were dealing with clever merchants who drove hard bargains.<sup>30</sup> Some sense of how shrill, even hysterical, Defoe’s attack on China must have seemed to his contemporaries can be gleaned from two important eyewitness accounts published at the same time as *The Consolidator*, Fernandez Navarette’s *An Account of the Empire of China, Historical, Political, Moral, and Religious* and Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri’s *A Voyage Round the World*, which devotes its longest section to China.<sup>31</sup> Careri, an Italian jurist who traveled to China in 1695–6 with no governmental or religious authorization, echoes earlier travel narratives. Noting the “extraordinary industry” of the “very sharp Witted” Chinese, he admits that they “exceed the *Europeans* in Ingenuity.”<sup>32</sup>

This view is shared by Navarette, a Dominican friar who drew on his two decades in China to produce an engaging and detailed account of social and economic life during the early Qing period. The “Nature, Method, and disposition of the *Chinese* Government is admirable,” Navarette asserts, “and may be a Pattern or Model to many in the World.”<sup>33</sup> This sociopolitical stability is reflected in the economic life of the empire. Canton is a city of superb workmen, who produce both exotic items and knockoffs of European imports “counterfeited . . . so exactly, that they sell them in the Inland for Goods brought from *Europe*.” Even as they undercut the market for imports, though, the Chinese more than hold their own against the Europeans as manufacturers of luxury merchandise:

The Curiosities they make and sell in the Shops amaze all *Europeans*. If four large Galeons were sent to the City *Nan King*, to that of *Cu Cheu*, to *Hang Cheu*,



or any other like them, they might be loaden with a thousand varieties of Curiosities and Toys, such as all the World would admire, and a great Profit be made of them, tho sold at reasonable Rates. All things necessary to furnish a Princely House, may be had ready made in several parts of any of the aforesaid Citys, without any further trouble than the buying, and all at poor Rates in comparison of what is sold among us.<sup>34</sup>

Navarette is explicit: the Chinese are better businessmen than the Europeans, equaling or bettering the quality of European goods at much cheaper prices. Throughout his narrative, he quotes the prices he has paid for various staples, marveling at how inexpensively he can purchase food, paper, clothes, and servants. His view of commercial life in China, in short, differs starkly from the fictional descriptions that Defoe offers. Navarette describes Chinese “Traders and Merchants” as “all very obliging and civil; if they can get any thing, tho never so little, they don’t slip the opportunity.”<sup>35</sup> This willingness to negotiate prices marks the Chinese as members of a civilized, transnational class of merchants whose business practices indicate that they share the same moral, social, and financial values as the Europeans. In turn, these values become the external manifestations of a fundamental similarity of worldviews. Careri finds that in dealing with merchants “their Oath is Inviolable, and they will hazard their Head to keep their Word.”<sup>36</sup> This “civil and obliging” behavior guarantees, in effect, that the Chinese share a psychological interiority that can be understood in terms of *universal* desires for profit, civility, and ultimately, Navarette implies, Christian enlightenment. In this regard, like Careri, Navarette accepts his status as a foreign guest in a empire that – except for religion – out-civilizes as well as out-produces the nations of western Europe.

Le Comte, in many respects, confirms Navarette’s account of the Chinese, but his comments suggest a darker perception of the psychological costs of commercial acumen. The desire for profit turns inward upon China’s merchants so that they become the victims as well as the perpetrators of mercantile obsession:

There is no Nation under the Sun, that is more fit for Commerce and Traffick, and understand them better: One can hardly believe how far their Tricks and Craftiness proceeds when they are to insinuate into Mens affections, manage a fair Opportunity, or improve the Overtures that are offered: The desire of getting torments them continually, and makes them discover a thousand ways of gaining. . . . Every thing serves their turn, every thing is precious to the *Chinese*, because there is nothing but they know how to improve. . . . The infinite Trade and Commerce that is carried on every where, is the Soul of the People, and the *primum mobile* of all their Actions.<sup>37</sup>

With a few rhetorical changes, this passage might have been lifted from Defoe’s *Complete English Tradesman*. Chinese merchants embody the very strategies that Defoe’s heroes and heroines adopt over the course of their careers. Like Moll and Roxana, these profit-seekers thrive on their ability to outmaneuver European men. As Le Comte warns his European readers, “a Stranger will always be cheated, if he be alone.” Most

threateningly, for Defoe, China's "infinite Trade" marks the sinicization of capitalist self-interest, a pre-emptive appropriation of the strategies of bourgeois self-definition, including the psychological "torments" of Crusonian obsession. If a European, says Le Comte, employs a "trusty *Chinese*, who is acquainted with the Country, who knows all the Tricks . . . you will be very happy, if he that buys [for you] and he that sells [to you], do not collogue together to your Cost, and go snips in the profit."<sup>38</sup> In contrast to the fictions of economic self-sufficiency, labor, and the devotion of a virtuous servant, China presents Crusoe with confusing networks of "infinite Trade and Commerce," double-dealing and dependency, and untrustworthy locals. In China, Defoe's hero threatens to fall from "patriarch" to dupe. The prosperity and acumen of the Chinese, in this regard, undermine the links between sin and scarcity, virtue and abundance that are crucial to Protestant visions of self-identity and national greatness. Consequently, Defoe must gloss over how an empire "imperfect and impotent" in "navigation, commerce, and husbandry" (428) can produce the riches that dominate European markets for luxury goods and for re-export to the Americas. His invective can prompt no action; his assertion that the English could "batter . . . down in ten days . . . this mighty nothing call'd a wall" (431) can have no consequences, provoke no vindication such as his victory over the cannibals. His taunts can be acted on only after he has left the Qing Empire and the crises of self-representation that it provokes, only when the opportunity arises for Crusoe to assert the superiority of Christian culture against a far weaker antagonist.

### Crusoe The Avenger

To get his hero back from Beijing to Europe, Defoe creates a fictional Russian caravan. The nine caravans that followed Ides's route between 1696 and 1719 were the monopoly of the Czar, an effort to control the trading of furs to China in exchange for gold, damask, and silk.<sup>39</sup> Although Ides had returned a forty-eight percent profit on the state's investment, by 1710 Chinese imports had saturated the tiny Russian market for luxury items and had to be resold in the Baltic for considerably less than they had previously commanded.<sup>40</sup> These caravans across Siberia offered nothing like the fantastic profits that Crusoe reaps in *Farther Adventures*. Yet however fanciful his hero's "wild ventures" may seem, Defoe evidently was fascinated by the narrative possibilities that such an epic trek offered. Having sent Crusoe 5,000 miles across Asia, the novelist has Singleton lead a shipwrecked band of pirates across Africa on foot, and, in *A New Voyage*, fifty sailors walk from Peru, across South America, to Brazil. In the latter two novels, these improbable treks allow the sailors to accumulate vast amounts of gold in regions which are free from competition: the natives in Africa are relatively few; the Amazon basin is a bucolic and unpopulated countryside of verdant hills, abundant game, and rivers of gold. While all three novels fantasize about trading opportunities with "savages" eager to exchange gold for brass pots and rusty hatchets, *Farther Adventures* makes Crusoe an improbable agent in rendering

Siberia a comparatively safe byway for British merchants. In brief, the anxieties provoked by China are displaced onto the nomadic "Tartars"; railing that has no consequences in China becomes a righteous – and violent – vindication of Christian belief on the borders of the Czar's dominions where the few "profess'd Christians" are outnumbered by "meer pagans" (440). In this regard, the fear and desire provoked by China can be unleashed as holy indignation against nomadic tribesmen and backward villagers who can be pigeonholed, albeit with some difficulty, as the colonized subjects of a Christian empire.

Crusoe seizes the opportunity to reaffirm his faith when he encounters a village where the "pagans" worship an idol. After seventy years of hardship, isolation, and danger, Crusoe declares, "I was more mov'd at their stupidity and brutish worship of a hobgoblin, than ever I was at any thing in my life" (441). His response to this "brutish worship" both recalls and exceeds those moments in *Robinson Crusoe* when he fantasizes about killing scores of cannibals. On Madagascar, earlier in the novel, Crusoe had tried to stop his sailors from slaughtering villagers as grim retribution for the death of a shipmate, and his ceaseless upbraiding had led them to put him ashore in India. Now, confronted by the specter of idolatry, he describes to one of his Scots companions how his shipmates "burnt and sack'd the village there, and kill'd man, woman, and child . . . and when I had done, I added that I thought we ought to do so to this village" (443). The excesses of "so bloody and cruel an enterprise" on Madagascar leave Crusoe, at the time, "pensive and sad" (386); now idolatry provokes in him thoughts of genocide. Fortunately, his Scots comrade, Captain Richardson, "famous for his zeal [against] devilish things," points out that because the idol is carried from village to village in this region, it is more cost-effective to destroy it rather than wage war against every settlement that the caravan encounters. The episode which follows is a displaced revenge fantasy for the imagined insults of Dutch torturers and shrewd Chinese merchants.

Although Crusoe declares that his vengeance is intended "to vindicate the honour of God, which is insulted by this devil worship" (442), his language of nearly chivalric honor is compromised by his actual escapade. He, Richardson, and another Scots merchant raid the village at night, tie up several pagan priests, and force them to watch their idol burn. Having struck this blow for their faith, Crusoe and his fellows hurry off with their caravan, never acknowledging to the Russian governor or their fellow-travelers that they are responsible for an incident which provokes a major confrontation between the Czar's officials and the "Tartars" who are "thirty thousand" strong (446). The nomads then pursue the caravan across the steppes, and what follows is an eighteenth-century chase scene across a "vast nameless desert" (447), a strategic standoff in a wood, and yet another narrow escape for the British merchants. The flight across Siberia, in one respect, is a flight from the consequences of cultural and theological conflict and the difficulties of colonial administration: burn the idol, play dumb, and leave the Czar's governor to deal with thousands of angry Mongols. As acts of Christian faith, burning the idol and then fleeing seem uncomfortably similar to the logic behind flying false colors at sea: vindicating the honor of God

looks suspiciously like vandalism. In effect, Crusoe has adopted the strategy of the Jesuit missionaries who, according to the English translator of Le Comte's *Memoirs and Observations*, assume "the Characters of Physicians, Painters, Merchants, Astrologers, Mechanicians, &c. and are receiv'd as such in the Courts of *Asia*, which are too fine to suffer openly the propagation of a strange Religion."<sup>41</sup> Like the Jesuits, Crusoe preaches, it seems, only to the credulous and unarmed. He does not converse with the Siberian nomads; they do not assume Friday's posture of submission before western technology and theology; he rescues no one; and he asserts no theological or political authority. Instead *Farther Adventures* offers the prototypical logic of the action-adventure genre: the reconfirmation, through juvenile acts of "heroism," of moralistic denunciations of alien cultures, the imposition of western standards of morality as universal truths, and violence as a means to an end. At the age of seventy-one, Crusoe re-establishes the hyper-masculinity of the merchant adventurer by burning a phallic log and claiming a symbolic victory. Such declarations ultimately pose no threat to the safety of the caravan or the hero's profits because we recognize that, once outside the borders of China, providence smiles on Christian merchants who use deception as a basic strategy of survival, profitability, and self-definition, who adopt, in effect, the characteristics and strategies of their Chinese counterparts.

If *Farther Adventures* disorients readers who may expect another tale of "man's" triumph over "nature," it also reorients the values and assumptions which traditionally have defined *Robinson Crusoe* and the realist "rise" of the novel. It is significant, in this regard, that the *Crusoe* trilogy concludes with a set piece that harks back to the medieval dream vision, the hero's imaginative ascent to the "angelic world." Crusoe's vision is the generic form to which "realism" tends: if zealotry is the form that fantasy takes to obscure the weakness of Protestant England in an Asian-dominated world, the hero's transcendence of the material world ironically reveals the artificiality of his "serious reflections" on his experiences. All along, this dream vision suggests, readers have been assured by the generic certainty of a faith-based memoir, Crusoe's after-the-fact *apologia* for the engaging literary strategies that shape his adventures. In one sense, *Serious Reflections* reads like the moralizing passages left out of the second half of *Farther Adventures*, belated efforts to bridge the gaps and resolve the inconsistencies within the Eurocentric ideologies of selfhood, economic individualism, and colonialist appropriation. If Defoe's moral and aesthetic imperatives remain the same in the first two volumes, as the novelist claims, *Farther Adventures* represents a broader range of narrative possibilities that Defoe exploits throughout his career: the protean self whose integrity can be guaranteed only by protestations of faith; the balance sheet that shows only profits, and not the costs or consequences of money-making; and a nationalism that picks its fights very carefully. Both the "profitability" and "diversion" of this sequel depend on a dialogic interaction among competing genres: the moral apology, the administrative treatise, the travel narrative, the trade embassy, and what I might call the Protestant revenge fantasy. After 1724 Defoe ceased writing novels, and his last years produced an astonishing array of polemical texts ranging from *The Complete English Tradesman* (1726) to *Conjugal Lewdness* (1727); these works

are anticipated more by the literary experimentation of *Farther Adventures* than they are by the "realism" of its predecessor. In this sequel, Defoe sketches the beginnings of an alternative – and as yet unwritten – history of the eighteenth-century novel, one that depends on adventure, profit, and Protestant fanaticism to turn readers' thoughts from the fate of Crusoe's nameless island. Defoe in 1719 had already done with his island; and his desire to chart the conditions for an infinitely profitable trade demands that the second installment of his trilogy assuage the "anxieties and perplexities" that such fantasies produce.<sup>42</sup>

See also: chapter 2, FICTION/TRANSLATION/TRANSNATION; chapter 3, NARRATIVE TRANSMIGRATIONS; chapter 4, AGE OF PEREGRINATION; chapter 16, AN EMERGING NEW CANON; chapter 19, RACIAL LEGACIES.

## NOTES

1. See Ian Watt, *The Rise of the Novel* (1957; repr., Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1965); J. Paul Hunter, *The Reluctant Pilgrim: Defoe's Emblematic Method and the Quest for Form in Robinson Crusoe* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1966); John Richetti, *Defoe's Narratives: Situations and Structures* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975); Michael McKeon, *The Origins of the English Novel 1600–1740* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987); Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse, *The Imaginary Puritan: Literature, Intellectual Labor, and the Origins of Personal Life* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992); James Thompson, *Models of Value: Eighteenth-Century Political Economy and the Novel* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996); Sandra Sherman, *Finance and Fictionality in the Early Eighteenth Century: Accounting for Defoe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); and Wolfram Schmidgen, "Robinson Crusoe, Enumeration, and the Mercantile Fetish," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35 (2001): 19–39.
2. See Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean 1492–1797* (1986; repr., New York: Routledge, 1992), 184–222; Aparna Dharwadkar, "Nation, Race, and the Ideology of Commerce in Defoe," *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation* 39 (1998): 63–84; and Roxanne Wheeler, "'My Savage,' 'My Man': Racial Multiplicity in *Robinson Crusoe*," *ELH* 62 (1995): 821–61.
3. *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (New York: Peebles Classics, 1927), 250. All citations are from this edition.
4. Recent critics who have dealt with the second and third installments of the *Crusoe* trilogy include Anna Neill, "Crusoe's Farther Adventures: Discovery, Trade, and the Law of Nations," *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation* 38 (1997): 213–30; Jeffrey Hopes, "Real and Imaginary Stories: *Robinson Crusoe* and the *Serious Reflections*," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 8 (1996): 313–28; and Minaz Jooma, "Robinson Crusoe Inc(corporates): Domestic Economy, Incest and the Trope of Cannibalism," *Lit: Literature Interpretation Theory* 8 (1997): 61–81.
5. Hans Turley, "Protestant Evangelism, British Imperialism, and Crusoean Identity," in Kathleen Wilson, ed., *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity, and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660–1840*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); and *Rum, Sodomy, and the Lasb: Piracy, Sexuality, and Masculine Identity* (New York: New York University Press, 1999).
6. Lydia H. Liu, "Robinson Crusoe's Earthenware Pot," *Critical Inquiry* 25 (1999): 757.
7. Daniel Defoe, *Vindication of the Press* (London, 1718), 4.
8. See Robert Markley, "Riches, Power, Trade, and Religion: The Far East and the English Imagination, 1600–1720," *Renaissance Studies* 17 (2003): 433–55.
9. On the dominance of China before 1800, see Andre Gunder Frank, *ReOrient: Global*

- Economy in the Asian Age* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997); Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: Europe, China, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000); Jack A. Goldstone, *Revolution and Rebellion in the Early Modern World* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991); R. Bin Wong, *China Transformed: Historical Change and the Limits of European Experience* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997); and Geoffrey Gunn, *First Globalization: The Eurasian Exchange, 1500–1800* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003), 170–80.
10. *Serious Reflections during the Life and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, introd. by G. H. Maynardier (Boston: Beacon Classics, 1903), 260. All quotations are from this edition.
  11. See O. H. K. Spate, *The Pacific Since Magellan*. Vol. 2, *Monopolists and Freebooters* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 155–65, 205–12; Glyndwr Williams, *The Great South Sea: English Voyages and Encounters 1570–1750* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997).
  12. Robert Markley, "Violence and Profits on the Restoration Stage: Trade, Nationalism, and Insecurity in Dryden's *Amboyna*," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 22 (1998): 2–17. On the English–Dutch rivalry in Southeast Asia, see Holden Furber, *Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient, 1600–1800* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976); Jonathan I. Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585–1740* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989); and Neils Steensgaard, "The Growth and Composition of the Long-Distance Trade of England and the Dutch Republic before 1750," in *The Rise of Merchant Empires*, ed. James D. Tracy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 102–52.
  13. [Defoe], *Atlas Maritimus & Commercialis; or a General View of the World* (London, 1728), 202, 226.
  14. *Ibid.*, 226.
  15. See Hosea B. Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China 1635–1834*. 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926–29), 1:308; 1:122–23.
  16. Daniel Defoe, *A New Voyage Round the World by a Course Never Sailed Before*, ed. George A. Aitkin (London: Dent, 1902), 155–56. I discuss this novel in "So Inexhaustible a Treasure of Gold': Defoe, Credit, and the Romance of the South Seas," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 18 (1994): 148–67.
  17. See Steensgaard, "The Growth and Composition of the Long-Distance Trade of England and the Dutch Republic," 104–10.
  18. Jonathan D. Spence, *The Chan's Great Continent: China in Western Minds* (New York: Norton, 1998), 67.
  19. Frank, *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age*, 111.
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  23. *Ibid.*, 12–13, 13–14.
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30. See Alexander Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*. 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1727), 2: 220–35.
31. Both works appeared in English translation in Awnsham and John Churchill's collection of previously unpublished manuscripts or untranslated foreign accounts, *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*. 4 vols. (London 1704–5).
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35. *Ibid.*, 1:60.
36. Careri, *A Voyage Round the World*, 4:372.
37. Le Comte, *Memoirs and Observations*, 237.
38. *Ibid.*
39. Mark Mancall, *Russia and China: Their Diplomatic Relations to 1728* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971). See also C. Pat Giersch, "'A Motley Throng': Social Change on Southwest China's Early Modern Frontier, 1700–1880," *Journal of Asian Studies* 60 (2001): 67–94.
40. Mancall, *Russia and China*, 201.
41. Le Comte, *Memoirs and Observations*, A3r–A3v.
42. This essay is adapted from chapter five of my study, *The Far East and the English Imagination 1600–1730* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

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