THE PROSE VOYAGE IMAGINAIRE BEFORE 1800: AN HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL STUDY

BY

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INTRODUCTION.

Apology is perhaps due to a suffering public for adding to the already large stock of historical and critical material on the novel and romance; but it may be urged in defence of this volume that it treats of a field which has so far been ignored by the chief critics and historians. The Germans, as the bibliography and the first chapter will indicate, have done considerable with the utopias, but not in a literary way; their interest has centered not in the literary or artistic qualities and significance of these works, but in their intellectual influence. Even historians of fiction have, while dealing with occasional works of this class, tended to ignore the type as a type; or when they did recognize its existence, they have not given it consideration enough to reder the formulation of an accurate definition possible. This dissertation has sought, therefore, to give within the limits set for it a thorough historical survey of a class of prose fiction, as well as to define that class.

Certain of the strictures placed upon the study may seem arbitrary. The limitation of the scope of the work to the field of the prose voyage imaginaire is one of these; but the inclusion of poetical voyages would have produced two hampering results. It would, first of all, have extended the bounds of the investigation beyond a manageable limit; and in the second place, it would have precluded the discussion of the voyage imaginaire as a type of prose fiction. As a precedent for such restriction of a study to prose fiction I cite Duslop. Furthermore, the prose voyage and the poetical deal, in most cases, with entirely different materials and subjects, and their form makes possible theories concerning them divergent. The exclusion of poetry has, then, tended to produce a unity of subject matter not otherwise obtainable. The date set as the close of the period covered in this investigation was determined chiefly by the fact that by 1800 practically all of the characteristics
which distinguish the voyage imaginaire had been developed, and that consequently a survey of the type before that year would reveal in full the growth and expansion of the voyage. Lack of time also made necessary a limitation of the material presented, and so the nineteenth century was omitted as being able to be spared with least loss to the value of the study as a history.

For the same reason many interesting side issues have been ignored — the relation of the voyage imaginaire to politics, political science, economics, religion, and education. These omissions I hope to remedy in the printed book.

Certain apologies are also due to scholars abroad. While the subject of this thesis was suggested to the author in the summer of 1912, and was held in mind by him from that time on, actual work on it was not begun until the autumn of 1914 since research equipment was not available to him during the interim. When I returned to the University of Illinois, hostilities had already broken out in Europe. This situation made it impossible to secure certain German books of great importance to the work — notable Frye, Der Staatsroman in 16ten und 17ten Jahrhunderte and Hännling, Fahrten nach Lond Sämmer — as well as others of lesser value. In addition, volumes xxi—xxxix of the Voyages Imaginaires (Garnier, 1737—1739) have not been available, although some of the material contained in them has been found elsewhere, either in separate editions or in summary. It is possible, of course, that the examination of this material might change some of the conclusions I have drawn; but I do not believe that such is likely to be the case. I think, moreover, that any possible changes would be very slight. There is, also, some likelihood that I have appropriated to myself discoveries already published in some of these unobtainable critical works. If such has been the case, I hasten to disclaim any intentional trespass, and to apologize for the unintended plagiarism.

There remains only to express my indebtedness to particular individ-
uals. Especial thanks must be accorded Professor Ernest Bernbaum, of the University of Illinois, under whose immediate supervision this thesis was prepared. Acknowledgement is also due to Professors E. C. Baldwin and Jacob Keitel, of the University of Illinois, and to Dr. A. J. Tieje, of the University of Minnesota, for valuable suggestions, as it is to various members of the University of Illinois Library Staff, especially Miss Nellie Roberts, for their unfailing courtesy and kindly aid in securing books.

Urbana, Illinois,
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Chapter I.

THE DEFINITION OF VOYAGE IMAGINAIRE.

Much has been written on the history of prose fiction; criticism has treated certain special phases of it; but the voyage imaginaire, although the term has found occasional use for almost two hundred years, and the type has been in existence for as many more, remains undeservedly neglected. Various circumstances have, no doubt, contributed to this disregard. First of all, many works which may be so classed have disappeared altogether, or exist now only in rare copies. Even collections of these fictions, such as Garnier's Voyages Imaginaires (1787 - 1789) or Weber's Popular Romances (1812), can not readily be procured; in fact, only the former seems now to be obtainable, and at that seldom in complete sets.1 Another cause of this neglect has been the tendency to classify novels according to their apparent purpose or to the author's manner of treating his subject -- as political or pastoral. The voyage imaginaire has, however, in the course of its development dealt with a variety of purposes and has not always treated its material in the same way; and as a result of this classification has usually

1. I know of no complete set in America. The British Museum and the Bodleian Library have one each. Harvard has volumes 1 - 30 inclusive; the University of Illinois, volumes 1 - 20 inclusive. See Bibliography for full title and contents.
been assumed to be a sub-variety of some other species. But whatever the cause, the result is clear; the term has had very little real and exact signification and still less use. Among historians of fiction Dunlop and Raleigh alone mention the type, Burton, Cross, Dawson, Forsyth, Holliday, Jeffresson, Jusserdand, Lanier, Saintsbury, and Stoddard contenting themselves, when they discuss works which might be so classed, with a consideration of the individual author and his books. Two scholars have also attempted definitions, which, however, cannot, as will be seen, meet the test of practicability. The purpose of this study is, then, not alone to establish the voyage imaginaire in its rightful place as an important type of prose fiction, but also to give the term a meaningful and workable definition, and at the same time to trace, as far as possible, the relation of the individual voyages to each other and in some measure to the development of prose fiction as a whole.

As has been said, the term voyage imaginaire is almost two hundred years old; but in all that time it has not borne any real or exact meaning. Perhaps the earliest definition is that of l'Abbe Desfontaine, who in the Preface to his translation of Gulliver's Travezs (1727) classifies under that term

Plato's Republic, More's Utopia, Bacon's New Atlantis, Lucian's Verae Historiae, Cyrano's Voyages, Vairasse's L'Histoire des Severambes, Foigny's Jacques Sadeur, the Voyages de Jacques Mace, and Swift's Gulliver as containing the idea of "un pays suppose et un voyage imaginaire". Sixty years later an equally loose classification persisted; for when in 1787 Garnier began issuing his collection of Voyages Imaginaires, Romanesques, Merveilleux, Allegoriques, Amusans, Comiques et Critiques, Suivis des Songes et Visions, et des Romans Cabalistiques, he opened it with Robinson Crusoe, and included such fiction as Gulliver's Travels, Cyrano de Bergerac's Etats et Empires de la Lune et du Soleil, Holberg's Iter subterraneum, and Bethune's Monde de Mercure.

The utopias are represented by Vairasse's L'Histoire des Severambes and Grivel's L'Isle Inconnue. The collection also contains the Adventures of Captain Robert Boyle -- a guide book description of various real countries which the author supposedly visited, together with the histories of several pairs of lovers, ending with a description of Pennsylvania and the city of Philadelphia. Les Voyages de Quevedo -- a dream satire on the follies of mankind -- likewise finds a place in the collection.

The later volumes include Sorel's L'Ile de Portraiture and Sterne's Sentimental Journey. After surveying these volumes

7. Other representatives of the realistic type in Garnier's collection are Les Aventures d'un Espagnol, vol. XII, pp. 7 - 72.; Naufrage et Aventures de M. Pierre Vianu, same, pp. 213 - 384; and Naufrage de Mme. Godin, same pp. 387-421.
8. I have cited examples of the voyages Imaginaires only. The songes et visions are represented by Levesque's Reves d'Aristobule, etc.; and the roman cabalistiques by L'Amant Salamandre, etc. For a complete list of contents see the Bibliography.
and seeking to reconcile under one definition their varied contents, the confusion becomes only the worse confounded.

Upon this collection, however, Dunlop based his discussion of the type. His treatment is, nevertheless, valuable not only because it is the first in English studies of the novel, but because it is the only one; for Raleigh merely notes in one case that novels of this genre have an "ulterior purpose, political or satirical", and in another that Peter Wilkins (1750) is a voyage imaginaire. Dunlop's discussion has further worth in that it preserves summaries of rare books, such as the Hai Ebn Yokdhan (cir. 1198), and points out parallels, as in the case of Cyrano de Bergerac and Dean Swift. Its great fault, lies in basing its classification not upon a critical examination of the individual works, but upon a printer's collection. Garnier's divisions as indicated on the title page of the French work Dunlop follows exactly. His own definition, moreover, is un-workable. To say that voyages imaginaires "bear the same relation to real travels and voyages as the common novel and romance to history and biography" is to state the truth but vaguely; for the border line between the real and the fictitious is not always drawn with ease and accuracy. He comes somewhat nearer the heart of the matter when he writes they "are generally intended to exhibit descriptions, events, and subjects of instruction, which are not furnished by the scenes and manners of this world" (389); but the meaning of these words is made uncertain

by his admission to the genre of such books as Sterne's Sentimental Journey. In fact, Dunlop carries the student no farther along the road toward a definition than did his French predecessors.

More recent writers have also failed to produce satisfactory definitions. Miss Charlotte Morgan, as has been mentioned, says the voyage imaginaire is a sub-division of the political romance, and cites Hall's Mundus Alter et Idem as an example. Since, however, Hall's Mundus Alter et Idem deals very little with political affairs and is primarily a moral satire, Miss Morgan's classification is hardly sound. Moreover, it does not allow the inclusion within the genre of such works as Peter Wilkins and the Voyage de Milord Céton, both of which are obviously voyages imaginaires.

Dr. A. J. Tieje is more exact. He says: "By the term voyage imaginaire is meant a rather unified narrative, aiming specifically at literary criticism, at amusement through the introduction of the wildly fantastic, or at social improvement of the race, and invariably carrying the reader into unexplored regions". At first sight this definition appears to be satisfactory, but there is real difficulty in its application. As regards realistic fiction, such as Robinson Crusoe, Dr. Tieje carries us no farther than did Garnier and Dunlop. For the former included that work in his collection; the latter accepted the inclusion; and Dr. Tieje placed it in his Bibliography as

a voyage imaginaire. To it he adds Captain Singleton and the New Voyage Around the World, as well as certain novels of Penelope Aubin. Why these are voyages imaginaires is not clear. Just what social or literary criticism Defoe expresses is not obvious; nor is it apparent just what elements of the "wildly fantastic", barring, perhaps, the African desert in Singleton, his works contain. Except for this one detail of natural history the book is both probable and possible. In the New Voyage, as Dr. Maynadier remarks, "the hero sees animals somewhat different from any in England, and rich goldfields, and frightful volcanoes, but never anything beyond the imagination of the most prosaic man". Robinson Crusoe, likewise, is strongly realistic; its adventures are scarcely as improbable as those of Treasure Island. In addition, whatever the professed aim of the Robinsonades may be, they gain their end by the minutely detailed narration of the efforts exerted by an individual or a group to sustain life on a desert island. Their interest lies not in a journey, not in the discovery of new peoples, but in a realistic story of a struggle for existence, or man removed from civilization and in combat with nature. As long as this is their aim, they are not voyages imaginaires, but voyages in a real world. Only when they use the Robinsonade element as a means to the description of an imaginary state, as in L'Histoire des Severambes (1675); or to that of an ideal commonwealth, as

14. Tieje, A. J., The Theory of Characterization in Prose Fiction prior to 1740, 1917, pp. 127. Adventures of Count de Vinevil (1721), Life of Madame Beaumont (1721), The Noble Slaves (1722), and Life and Adventures of Lady Lucy (1726) are the novels of Penelope Aubin which Dr. Tieje calls voyages imaginaires.

in *L'Isle Inconnu*é (1783 - 1787); or to the expression of moral satire, as in *Gulliver's Travels* (1726); or to the exhibition of marvels, as in *Peter Wilkins*, can they be accepted as falling in the class of imaginary voyages.

What has been said of Defoe's works may also be applied to those novels of Penelope Aubin which Dr. Tieje includes in his bibliography as *voyages imaginaires*. They appear, in fact, to have even less claim to inclusion than have those of Defoe. It is true there is in them some dwelling on desert islands and in caves, and some travelling from one place to another; but these are the mepest incidents in the novels. The main design is the exhibition of virtue, and the narration of "histories". If these novels be *voyages imaginaires*, it is difficult to conceive how any story, characters of which travel from one town to another, can be excluded from the class.

The difficulty of giving an exact definition has lain in the fact that "*le pays suppose et un voyage imaginaire*" of l'Abbe Desfontaine have been considered as the authors' aim, whereas in most cases they are really a means. Dr. Tieje, in avoiding this error, fell into that of making his lines of demarcation too vague, and of accepting his predecessors' lax interpretation of the word "imaginary" as meaning "that which did not actually take place" -- no matter how likely or possible it was for it to have taken place. In order that these mistakes may be corrected two things must be remembered. The first is that, in and of themselves, the voyages, the shipwrecks, the

imaginary countries and beings (except where amusement is the author's sole design) have only a minor importance and a subsidiary interest in the story. The author seeks (except again where amusement is his sole design) to instruct, reform, or edify the reader by presenting the government or manners of an imaginary people. The second thing to be remembered is that the word "imaginary" in this term applies only to the non-existent; not only must no journey have been made, but the nation or country visited must also be one which has no real being. A voyage imaginaire is, then, an autobiographic narrative of a journey into an imaginary country written either for the pleasure or profit of the reader, or for both.

The application of the definition to works in which the author's whole or partial aim is instruction or reform is not difficult. In them, as has been suggested, the writer seeks to afford to the reader an illustration of good or evil, by describing either the excellence or the depravity of the government or manners of an imaginary country inhabited by imaginary beings — men, beasts, or even plants. None can question the propriety of considering such ideal states as More's Utopia (1516) or Vairasse's L'Histoire de Severambes, as voyages of this class since they make use of a traveller to present their matter and since they deal with imaginary countries. On the other hand, Harrington's Oceana is a work of another kind; there is in it no journey, and it is so expository in character that one may question whether it be narrative at all. Nor is there doubt as to the classification of such philosophic works as Daniel's Voyage to
the World of the Cartesians (1690), of such moral satire as Hall's Mundus Alter et Idem (1607), or of such political satire as Brunt's Cacklogallinia (1727), for they, too, employ the voyage as a means, and to gain their ends employ the description of improbable, if not impossible, countries.

Difficulty does, however, arise in a consideration of those voyages imaginaires in which, for the amusement of the reader, a fictitious hero is presented who experiences marvellous and improbable adventures in an imaginary country. To avoid the confusion both imaginary character of the country and the improbability of the adventures must be kept in mind. For if a fictitious hero having fictitious adventures during a fictitious journey in an "unexplored region" were all that is necessary, as Dr. Tieje implies, then neither any romance of the sea nor any travel story can be distinguished from the class. But many of these are realistic, as, for instance, Defoe's work. The fictitious alone, therefore, is not a sufficient qualification. Likewise, improbability alone is not a sufficient qualification. For if it were, then a host of improbable fictions with realistic settings, such as Treasure Island and Tom Sawyer Abroad, would intrude into the genre. In either case the lines of division become too vague and shifting for the term voyage imaginaire to have any special meaning and significance. It must, then, be reserved, when applied to a book written for amusement, to fictions like Barnes' Gerania (1675), Paltock's Peter Wilkins, Verne's Off on a Comet, or de Mille's Manuscript Found in a Copper Cylinder.
In connection with this fixing of limits for the genre it may also be well to attempt some definition of its subdivisions. Certain of these are clear in themselves. Voyages written for the purpose of social and philosophic satire can hardly be mistaken; while voyages written for amusement offer small difficulty except as they are to be distinguished from the Robinsonades, and a careful application of the second half of the definition will, it is believed, solve this problem. The utopia, however, does present a question. The term has been loosely used in two senses -- that of an idealistic state and that of an imaginary state. Moreover, the two senses are often confused, not to say contradictory. Hall's Mundus Alter et Idem is "ideal" as far as it is a creation of the author's fancy; but it is certainly the opposite of "ideal" if that term means "perfect" or "worthy of emulation". For this reason I have throughout this study used the term imaginary state to denote all such works, and have qualified the phrase further according as the nations exhibited were, or were not, excellent in their manners, habits, and governments.

Some confusion seems to have arisen as regards the character and purpose of these imaginary states. Von Mohl, the first scholar to attempt an exhaustive study of the field, found that they fell into three kinds, travel books, statistical descriptions, and lives. With only the first of these is this study concerned. A further and more important contribution on

his part is this, that the imaginary state concerns itself primarily with three questions -- that of marriage, that of property, that of the distribution of labor. To these Bruggeman added a fourth -- that of an asylum from the world. And all writers thus far have omitted the subject of education, which is an important element in practically every imaginary state from Plato onward.

Voigt assumes a point of view different from von Mohl's when he says that the three elements in a utopia are the politic, the philosophic, and the religious. These seem, however, not to be elements, but rather to be attitudes on the part of the authors; for narratives of imaginary states deal always with one or more of the problems mentioned. It is the author's purpose not the content of the book, which determines whether the product shall be philosophic, as Plato's Republic; politic, as More's Utopia; or religious, as Andreae's Christianopolis (1619).

Von Mohl, however, gave no accurate definition of the type. Sudre included in it all literary and scientific writings bearing on the problems of political reform -- a classification which, we may conclude with Bruggeman, "ist so gut wie nichts". Voigt, also, attempted to isolate the species when he raised

an elaborate distinction between Idealimus, Utopismus, and Realismus, concluding that a writer of utopias (Utopist) is one "who is, taken all in all, a man startled by the great defects of the existing order in state and society, filled with sadness over them, and often in addition, with an embittered hate against them, and full of pity for all those who suffer under their oppression". His attitude toward such sympathy is disclosed when he remarks: "This is the true weakness of utopianism that the world appears to it too simple, and that it believes to have found the solution of all the world's problems". However much light these commentaries may throw upon the state of mind which produces a utopia, they do not illuminate the type. And Voigt complicates the matter still more by distinguishing two artificial classes, the archistic and the anarchistic (the centralized and the decentralized). Such an arbitrary division, Bruggeman declares, and we may agree with him, to be useless since pure instances of either are not to be found except in rare cases -- Jacques Sadeur being the only strictly anarchistic state known. To Bruggeman, then, in default of other definitions, we must turn for a compact expression. He says, and his statement is reasonably accurate, "A utopian romance is any presentation of an ideal com-

22. Voigt, A., Soziale Utopien, pg. 17: "Der ist, um alles zusammenzufassen; ein Mann, ergriffen von der grossen Unvollkommenheiten der bestehnenden Staatsund Gesellschaftsordnung, erfullt mit Unzufriedenheit mit ihr, oft geradezu von erbitterem Hasz gegen sie, und voll Mitleid fur alle, welche unter jenen Mangeln leiden".

23. Same, pg. V, Introduction, "Das eben ist ja der Fehler des Utopismus, dass ihm die Welt zu einfach vorkommt und er die Lösung ihrer Widerspruch gefunden zu haben gelaubt".
munity in romance form, whether dealing with the ordering of the government or of society".24 Such a definition would, of course, include all varieties of the voyage imaginaire except those written solely for the purpose of amusement. The main difference is, as has already been seen, that those voyages which aim at social or philosophic criticism, as well as those which aim at political reform, seek to gain their end by the presentation of an imaginary state. But general usage has restricted the term to those works which deal specifically with the political organization of the state, and more narrowly still to those which present perfect states. It is in this last and most limited sense that the word "utopia" is used in this study.

In this review of earlier discussions of voyages imaginaires, only attempts at definition have been considered. Discussions of particular works of the genre can best and most clearly be presented in connection with our discussion of those works. Of general critical discussion there is little, as has been said, there are no extended considerations of the voyage imaginaire, and those few brief ones which do exist are concerned mainly with the definition. The Germans, however, as the reader may have inferred, have been busy in the field of the Staatsroman; but their studies have by no means been limited to the voyage imaginaire type. Some of their discoveries, nevertheless, deserve mention here. It was von Mohl who first stated that the

utopia did not flourish in the middle ages, assigning as causes (1) the growth and spread of Christianity which lifted men's minds from a contemplation of this world to a hope of reward in one beyond, and (2) the influx of barbarian tribes with the attendant destruction of culture. In this opinion Voigt followed him.25 That it is just as far as the utopias are concerned cannot be denied, but the student must not extend the generalization to the voyage imaginaire. Von Mohl and Voigt also agree in assigning to Plato's Republic and Laws a general direct influence upon all later utopists — an indebtedness which Barker is not so ready to acknowledge. He prefers to consider Plato's influence as pervasive rather than direct, and in this he is probably right.26

Only two extended attempts have been made to trace individual influences between books of the genre. The first is Bruggeman's analysis of Schnabel's Insel Felsenburg (1731), in which he discovered that only two utopias, L'Histoire des Severambes and Jacques Sadeur, affected it. The other is Felix Held's Introduction to his translation of Andreae's Christianopolis. This work will, for the sake of clearness, be considered in detail in Chapter III. Here it is sufficient to remark that the incomplete examination of evidence, the inconsistent application of parallels, and the rash assumptions of probability invalidate many, if not all, of the author's conclusions.

26. Barker, E., Political Thought of Plato and Aristotle, 1906, Appendix B.
Certain facts regarding the critical literature concerning the *voyage imaginaire* are now clear. Only a few of these *voyages* seem to have been considered by previous scholars. Plato, More, Campanella, Andréae, Bacon, Vairasse, Foigny, and Holberg practically exhaust their lists. Unknown to them, or ignored, were Camões, Godwin, Hall, Gott,27 Cyrano, Daniel, Grivel, and Bethune. Some of these, as Cyrano and Daniel, were of no significance in their work; but certainly Grivel was. The student also realizes after a survey of the field that the relations of individual works have been but superficially touched upon. Neither von Mohl, Voigt, or Dunlop do more than suggest scattered or separate points; they do not follow up their clues. Brugge-man's interest centers chiefly on the Robinsonades. Held's work is untrustworthy.

Obviously, then, a study of the *voyage imaginaire* is desirable if for no other reason than to clear up the confused notions in regard to the type. As a first step in this direction a definition has already been attempted and made. There still remains, however, the larger part of the task. The definition itself must find justification in the historical survey. Although German scholarship has covered certain utopias in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, others it has left untouched. What is the importance of those not mentioned? What is the significance of those *voyages imaginaires* which are not political in their bearings? Also, has there been any

27. Gott is discussed by Held. His work was not known until 1902, and then it was erroneously accredited to John Milton.
continuous development within the genre, and what relation has such development to that of fiction as a whole? And finally there remains the great question, what fictional value has this type of narrative? What does it enable the author to do, or the reader to enjoy which other types do not? How has it solved the problems of character, setting, and style? To answer these questions is the purpose of this study.
Chapter II.

THE VOYAGE IMAGINAIRE BEFORE MORE'S UTOPIA (1516)

Since the innate curiosity of man concerning neighboring countries did not always have at hand the means to satisfy itself, imagination was often forced to supply the lack of facts. Thus have grown up the legends of strange races — the Amazons and the Hyperboreans, of remarkable nations — the Lilliputians and the hairy giants, of perfect states — Utopia and Severambia. In primitive times such inventions limited themselves to nations across rivers, mountain ranges, or seas; but as civilization advanced and the means of intercommunication improved, the misty regions of the unknown retreated. To Herodotus in fifth century Greece Africa below Egypt and beyond the mountains of Atlas was an unknown land; so, likewise, was trans-Danubian Europe and Asia beyond the eastern frontier of Persia. For the medieval mind the marvellous was found in India, China, and the Spice Islands of the East. When to these exploration added hitherto unknown continents (America and Australia), speculation turned thitherward and for two centuries peopled the new lands with fabulous races and cities. After a time, however, further discovery took from the new world its attractive mystery, and left

1. Antonius Diogenes, Of the Wonders beyond Thule, cir. A.D. 1st cent., preserved only in summary by Photius.
2. Voyage and Travaile of Sir John Maundeville, Knight, cir. 1350.
3. More, Campanella, Bacon, Vairasse, and Poigny located their imaginary states in one or the other of these regions.
it a place no longer fit for imaginary states and extravagant adventure. Then the literature of the voyage imaginaire, following the lead of Lucian, entered the still more fantastic field of interstellar space, where moon-people and star-people are exhibited to the reader's gaze; or under the influence of science it explored the portions of the earth yet unconquered by man - the poles, the bottom of the sea, and the center of the earth.

It was with the record of this curiosity and this imagination — amazing in its variety of form and content, and distinctive enough to have attracted to itself the special class name of voyage imaginaire — that this study is concerned. What was the first voyage imaginaire cannot be determined with exactness; and in an historical study a solution of the question is not imperative since the type did not become really influential until after 1516. Before that date only one real voyage imaginaire — Lucian's Verae Historiae (cir. A.D. 200) — appears to have been written; but works of other sorts contain much material upon which later authors of the voyage drew. The True History of Herodotus (5th cent. B.C.) abounds in descriptions of little known nations. Plato in his Republic, Timaeus, and Critias (4th cent. B.C.), and Plutarch in his Life of Lycurgus (A.D. 1st cent.) depict ideal states. Later still the Hai Ebn

4. Falstock, Robt., Peter Wilkins (1750).
5. Verne, Jules, Twenty Thousand Leagues under the Sea. (1872)
7. The works of Antonius Diogenes (see note 1, above) and of Iamblichus, which Lucian satirizes in his History, are, unfortunately, lost. They were intended, it appears, as serious productions.
ypkdhan (cir. 1198) and Mandeville's Travels (cir. 1350) present yet other matter which was also incorporated in the voyage imaginaire. The aim of this chapter is to analyse each of these works in an effort to determine what elements of the type exist in them.

The True History of Herodotus is not a voyage imaginaire, but is, as its first paragraph says, a history of the Persian wars. The historian's duty, as Herodotus conceived it, was, however, to give not only an account of battles but also of all contingent causes and events; consequently the book contains descriptions of the many nations and colonies lying around the Mediterranean and Black Seas. The author, it is generally agreed, travelled through most of the countries he describes, and his observation of "their scenery, their cities small and large, their various wonders, their temples and buildings" as well as of their manners and customs "is for the most part close and accurate". In this respect the True History is a travel book; yet from it the authors of the voyage imaginaire may have

8. "These are the researches of Herodotus of Halicarnassus, which he publishes, in the hope of thereby preserving from decay the rememberance of what men have done, and of preventing the great and wonderful actions of the Greeks and the Barbarians from losing their due meed of glory; and withal to put on record what were the grounds of the feud." (From the translation by George Rawlinson, 1858-1860).

9. George Rawlinson, Introduction to his translation of the True History, says: "The quantum of his travel has indeed been generally exaggerated; but after every deduction is made that judicious criticism suggests as proper, there still remains, in the distance between the extreme limits reached, and in the fulness of the information gained, unmistakable evidence of a vast amount of time spent in the occupation. Herodotus undoubtedly visited Babylon, Ardericca near Susa, the remoter parts of Egypt, Scythia, Colchis, Thrace, Cyrene, Zante, Dodona, and Magna Graecia -- thus covering in his travels a space of thirty-one degrees of longitude (above 1700 miles) east to west, and twenty-four of latitude (1660 miles) north
learned the method of describing similar practices when they included them in their own works. Later writers may, also, have borrowed directly from Herodotus some of the marvels he mentions; but the authors of the voyage imaginaire seldom indulge in such flights of fancy except when, as did Lucian, they turn to satire.

From the point of view of this study the most important practice of Herodotus is his effort to gain verisimilitude. Herodotus well knew that much of what he told would be sceptically received by his Greek countrymen; and so, like a true artist seeking a willing suspension of disbelief on the part of his readers, he aimed to give his work an appearance of verisimilitude. His method was simple; yet with an unsophisticated people it doubtless was effective. It is not wholly ineffective to-day. The practice consists chiefly in a reiteration on one form or another of the phrase "I myself saw". "Of my own knowledge I can testify to this", he says; or, "What I have here mentioned I saw with my own eyes". 10 But Herodotus was too clever a writer to rely wholly upon this

to south. Within these limits his knowledge is for the most part close and accurate. He has not merely paid a hasty visit to the countries, but has examined them leisurely, and is familiar with their scenery, their cities small and large, their various wonders, their temples and other buildings, and with the manners and customs of their inhabitants. The fulness and minuteness of his information is even more remarkable than its wide range, though it has attracted less attention." (Quoted from reprint in Everyman Edition of the True History, pp. ix-x.)

10. Herodotus, True History, translated by George Rawlinson, IV, 33, and III, 12. (The Roman numerals refer to the Book; the Arabic to the paragraph or chapter.) For other examples see: IV, 15 and II, 27.
rather transparent method; and when the strain on the reader's credulity became greater, he shifted the responsibility for the truth on the shoulders of a third party. He writes, for example, "That these were the real facts I learnt at Memphis from the priest of Vulcan"; and again, "In all this I only repeat what is said by the Libyans".\footnote{11} At times, also, Herodotus even protests his limitations, thereby adding weight to his bare word. He tells that "though I have taken vast pains, I have never been able to gain an assurance from an eye-witness that there is any sea on the further side of Europe"; or "As far as the Atlantes the names of the nations inhabiting the sandy ridge are known to me; but beyond them my knowledge fails".\footnote{12} For greater effectiveness, also, he occasionally seasons the narrative with his own doubt. He says, for instance, "I think, but I speak only from conjecture", or "I do not believe this tale, but it is told nevertheless".\footnote{13} Such constant assurance of personal knowledge, of personal belief, and of personal doubt has its desired effect. The story seems true. Only when our more extensive modern learning is critically applied to its statements is the probability of the \textit{True History} questioned.

Herodotus' information concerning the nations he visited may be both full and minute, as Mr. Rawlinson suggests;\footnote{14} but while the variety of it may at times be amazing, the paucity of

\footnote{11. II, 3 and IV, 187. See also I, 83 and II, 99.} 
\footnote{12. III, 115 and IV, 185.} 
\footnote{13. IV, 88 and IV, 5. Other examples of the method may be found in I, 105; II, 55 and 123; III, 50 and 80; IV, 16 and 86; V, 72; VI, 47; VII, 60, 152, and 165; VIII, 8.} 
\footnote{14. See Note 9 above.}
detail is more often disappointing. When, for example, Herodotus narrates the origins of certain peoples, he is interested only in accounting for existing alliances; and so he is content with naming the parent stock or colony. Forms of government, legal practices, and political institutions also receive but brief mention. And his geographical data are often unreliable; in fact, only once is he both explicit and exact, the geography of Scythia being so minutely detailed that to-day the rivers mentioned in the account may be identified with those in the region. He is, however, as one would expect of an historian, more circumstantial in his descriptions of the methods of war. When he enumerates the units of the Persian host assembled by Xerxes, he gives a stupefying catalog of dress and equipment. At other times, as in his treatment of the Scythians, he explains in detail various warlike practices; or when he speaks of the Athenians, he tells how they order their battle line. But in general Herodotus is content to mention the detail and pass on; in no case is the development of a length great enough to have afforded more than a hint to later writers.

The descriptions of home life, of social customs, of religious and other practices are frequently longer, and are to us perhaps of more importance, not because they constitute the original source from which all later authors drew but because they may have suggested to those who later described real or imaginary

15. See I, 56; and 173; IV, 5 and 8-14; VII, 61, 62, 73, 75, and 91.
16. For governmental forms see VI, 56-57; IV, 106; and V, 3. For legal practice see I, 137 and IV, 69. For political institutions see III, 20; VI, 59; and VIII, 8.
17. IV, 47-59.
19. IV, 64-65.
states the inclusion of such details in their work. Food, dress, and shelter are seldom mentioned, and only in a few instances are they fully described. He says that the Egyptians eat corn, salted flesh, lotos, and another species of the "lily ...... which grows in the river ...... and resembles the rose"; or he tells how the Agrippeans prepare aschy from the "fruit of a certain tree, the name of which is Ponticum". But in most cases he merely names the food, or cites such an unusual practice as that of the Budini who eat lice. Other than the passage concerning arms and armor dress is mentioned in only two places and then briefly. And shelter is fully described but twice.

Marriage is the one social custom which appears to have interested Herodotus; but he seldom develops even that topic unless complicated regulations, such as those of the Cnidians, force him to do so. It should, however, be noted that he records communistic practices as existing among three nations. The Auseans, he says, "dwell together like gregarious beasts", and every three months their assembly assigns the grown children "to those whom they most resemble". The Massagetae, in some unexplained way, combine communism and monogamy; for while "each has but one wife, yet all the wives are held in common".

20. II, 77 and 92.
21. IV, 213.
22. VI, 109. For other references to food see: I, 216; IV, 172 and 174; and VI, 84.
23. III, 96 and V, 6.
24. IV, 191 and V, 16. For other references to shelter see: IV, 23 and 108.
26. IV, 160; see also IV, 23.
27. I, 216. For other references to marriage practice see: I, 136 and 196; IV, 117, 118, 172, 176; and V, 6.
munism of women is also practiced by the Agathyrsi. It is, however, unlikely that the authors of the voyage imaginaire borrowed these details of communism from Herodotus. With the exception of Campanella they do not extend the theory to include women but confine it to property; besides, a better source was more readily at hand in Plato's Republic which held up communism as an ideal. The treatment of other social customs is even more slight than that of marriage. Only in the description of the Persians does he discuss education, and then merely to tell that the children remain with the women until the fifth year. More unusual practices, also, are only mentioned, such as that the Maxyans' shaving one side of the head, or that of the Scythians' blinding their slaves.

Since religion was an intimate duty of the individual in the ancient world, Herodotus makes frequent mention of it. Sometimes he does nothing more than name the gods; at others he tells of some peculiar religious rite, or explains a practice, such as that of divination or soothsaying. Only in the description of Persia, however, does he devote any considerable space to the topic. Similarly the burial ceremonies of the various nations are quickly passed over, those of the Spartans, Egyptians, and Scythians alone receiving circumstantial description.

28. IV, 104.
30. IV, 191.
31. IV, 2. For other customs see: I, 133, 134, 136, and 138.
32. I, 216; IV, 62; V, 7.
33. I, 74; III, 8; IV, 67, 68, 70, 172.
34. I, 131 and 132.
35. VI, 58; II, 78 and 85ff; IV, 71 and 72. See also I, 140; III, 24; IV, 26 and 190; V, 4 and 8.
The treatment of other customs is even more cursory. Bathing is mentioned three times; and the Persians appear to be the only people who take any sanitary precautions, while medical practice is not noticed except in the descriptions of Egypt and Persia. Commercial relations also are slighted, Herodotus simply telling that the Persians have no markets; that in Sparta the trades of herald, flute-player, and cook are hereditary; and that the Egyptian men labor at the loom while the women carry on trade. Even the stranger beliefs, such as the loup-garou superstitions of the Neurians, are also passed over briefly.

A more interesting and more influential portion of the True History is that which deals with the marvellous. Sometimes the wonders are artificial creations, such as the canal dug by the Cnidians or the irrigation system of central Asia; again they are artistic productions, such as the golden vine and plane tree presented to Darius. Natural wonders are, however, more common. Geological marvels are presented in disappearing streams and fountains which are coolest at midday, and meteorological phenomena by the rainless winters of Scythia.

36. IV, 73; IV, 75; IX, 110.
37. I, 139.
38. II, 84: I, 197.
39. I, 153; VI, 60; II, 35. See also I, 94 and IV, 74.
40. See I, 94; IV, 2, 76, 105; and V, 6.
41. I, 74.
42. III, 117. See also III, 18 and 23, and IV, 186.
43. VII, 27. See also IV, 81.
44. VI, 76 and VII, 30. These marvels, as are all the others, are accepted at Herodotus' own evaluation. Such sinking streams are now known to be fairly common in regions underlaid by limestone.
45. IV, 181. See also VI, 74.
46. IV, 28 - 30. "The character of the winter", he says, "is unlike that of the same season in any other country." (IV,28). See also II, 22 and 142; III,104; IV, 7 and 31.
There are, too, strange races of men -- the goat-footed people of the Caucasus, the nation in northern Europe which sleeps one half of the year, and the one-eyed Arismapi. But his animals are more curious than any of these. There are the Garantian oxen which graze backward because of their huge horns, horned asses, wild asses which do not drink, gold-mining ants, gold-guarding griffins, and the strange serpents of Arabia.

From this summary of the True History of Herodotus three things are clear. First, Herodotus seeks to gain the reader's belief by the simple method of direct testimony, being content to say that he has seen or that someone has told him -- a method not essentially different from that of many later authors. Second, his descriptions of manners, morals, customs, national origins, geography, methods of war, and government are too brief to have afforded more than a suggestion to later writers, and are in many cases not of the sort later used in narrations of imaginary countries. Third, the wonders mentioned by Herodotus are of the kind which later writers of travel books regularly described; and many of them may have been taken over directly and without material change, as the gold-mining ants of India or the creatures with eyes in their breasts, while others descended indirectly through various kinds of narrative that were indebted to Herodotus. These wonders, moreover, are the part of the True History which was most likely to have appealed to medieval and renaissance minds excited by the current

47. III, 116; IV, 13 and 25. See also I, 202; II, 33ff; IV, 13, 23, 32, 43; VII, 70.
48. IV, 183; IV, 191 and 192; III, 102; IV, 13; III, 107, 109, 110. See also II, 73, 75, 93; III, 103 and 113; IV, 111; V, 9; VII, 126.
tales of the Orient and by the then recent discoveries of Columbus and other explorers. To the marvellous in his work, then, and also to his method of direct testimony as a means of gaining verisimilitude Herodotus owes what influence he may have had upon the voyage imaginnaire.

II.

A true instance of the voyage imaginnaire is Lucian's Verae Historiae. It was intended to be a satire upon the works of Herodotus, Ctesias, Antonius Diorenes, and Iamblichus, and as such indulged in the wildest extravaganza. Unlike Herodotus, Lucian purports to have no aim other than the description of the countries he visited and the narration of his adventures by the way; but like Herodotus, he paints with rapidity and with a superficiality of detail. For his desire was not accuracy or consistency. It was satire through exaggeration and improbability.

This design, however, did not prevent him giving a kind of vraisemblance to his fantastic world. The circumstantiality of his opening, for instance, is almost modern. "The motive and purpose of my journey", he writes, "lay in a desire for adventure, and in my wish to find out what the end of the ocean was, and who the people were who lived on the other side".

49. The likelihood of this influence is increased by the fact that the True History was first printed in 1502 by the Aldine Press, Venice.
50. These works, with the exception of the first, are now lost. See Note 1 above.
51. Lucian, Verae Historiae, translation and text by A. M. Harmon, 1913. I, 257. (Roman numerals refer to the Book; Arabic to the page in Harmon's translation.)
The preparation, too, is detailed with a realism that would do credit to Defoe. After the embarkation there followed a storm, which lasted for seventy-nine days and drove the ship far off the course. With the return of calm the expedition landed, and having divided, twenty proceeded inland while thirty remained behind to guard the ships. Here again the narrative is strictly realistic. But attempts at verisimilitude are not confined to the opening pages. When the crew passes from the Moon to Lamptown, the log is kept circumstantially even to the details of procuring water, of unfavorable winds, and of lapse of time. Other methods are also employed to gain credence on the reader's part. Having rendered service to Endymion, the author is naturally rewarded with presents; the demand to see them is, however, forestalled by the naive, yet likely, explanation that they were left behind "in the whale". Likewise a new poem given to him by Homer in the Isle of the Blest was lost "along with everything else". Finally there is a delicious

52. I, 253. "I put on board a good store of provisions, stowed water enough, enlisted in the venture fifty of my acquaintances who were like-minded with myself, got together also a great quantity of arms, shipped the best sailing-master to be had at a big inducement, and put my boat -- she was a pinnace-in trim for a long and difficult voyage."

53. I, 253 - 254. Note the similarity to later descriptions. "For a day and a night we sailed before the wind without making any offing, as land was still dimly in sight; but at sunrise on the second day the wind freshened, the sea rose, darkness came on, and before we knew it we could no longer even get our canvas in. Committing ourselves to the gale and giving up, we drove for seventy-nine days."

54. I, 255.

55. I, 281.

56. Same, for an explanation of the reference to the whale see pg. 31, this ch.

57. II, 327.
bit of Herodotean testimony: "Anyone who does not believe this is so, will find, if he ever gets there himself, that I am telling the truth."\textsuperscript{58}

The great significance of Lucian's book lies, however, in the wonders of which he tells. So numerous are they that complete citation is impossible here; only the more striking will, therefore, be discussed. At his first landing he found a river of wine, in which were fish that tasted like wine, and that intoxicated those who ate of them in excess. There, also, grew a wondrous vine, the upper parts of which were shaped like women; when his companions kissed these vegetable females, they immediately became drunk; when they embraced them, they were unable to detach themselves, "but became vines also".\textsuperscript{59} Soon after they had left this island, the ship was carried up into the air and the travellers entered the moon country where Endymion greeted them. The huge ants of Herodotus were now dwarfed by vultures with three heads and quills larger than shipmasts,\textsuperscript{60} by gigantic grasshoppers,\textsuperscript{61} by fleas each "as large as twenty elephants",\textsuperscript{62} by ants two hundred feet long,\textsuperscript{61} and by spiders "far larger than the Cyclades Islands".\textsuperscript{63} These beasts serve as mounts for an army which is drawn not only from the Moon, but from Ursa Major and the Dog Star as well. The troops include the millet-shooters,\textsuperscript{64} garlic-fighters,\textsuperscript{64} "sky-

\textsuperscript{58} I, 281.
\textsuperscript{59} I, 255 - 256.
\textsuperscript{60} I, 261.
\textsuperscript{61} I, 263.
\textsuperscript{62} I, 255.
\textsuperscript{63} I, 255 - 266.
\textsuperscript{64} I, 263.
dancers -- a sort of light infantry" who sling radishes, 65 volplaneurs "who rise into the air by inflating their tunics), 65 sky-mosquitoes, 66 cloud-centaurs (as large as the Colossus of Rhodes), 67 and also the stalk-mushrooms and the puppycorns. 67 This force was directed by the donkeys, who acted as trumpeters. 68 Its purpose was to assail the army of Phaeton who was disputing lunar colonization of the Day Star. "They all had the same equipment -- helmets of beans (their beans are large and tough); scale corselets of lupines (they sew the skins of lupines to make the corselets, and in that country the skin of the lupine is unbreakable, like horn)". 69

Other strange things beside the army are found in the Moon. No women exist there; up to the age of twenty-three each person is a wife, and after that a husband. 70 Children are carried not in the womb, but in the calf of the leg; they are born inanimate and quickened by being set in the wind with their mouths open. This is not the only race of Moon-people. The "arboreals" grow on trees which spring from the right genital gland planted in the ground. In general features, however, the two races do not differ; they take nourishment by snuffing up the smoke of flying frogs roasted on coals; they drink air; they are hairless, except for a beard above the knees; they have tails like cabbage leaves; they sweat milk; their noses run honey; their bellies are lined with hair, and since they can be

65. I, 265.
68. I, 269.
69. I, 265.
70. I, 275.
be opened and shut, afford a refuge to the young; their eyes are removable, and so may be lent or purchased as need be. The "arboreals" have ears of wood; the other ones of plane leaves. The garments of the rich are of malleable glass; those of the poor of bronze. Death comes by dissolution into smoke.

Departing from the moon, Lucian next made a brief halt at Lamptown, where all night the judge sits summoning lamps by name; failure to respond is punished by extinguishment. Here Lucian recognized his own lamp and talked with it of home. After the departure from Lamptown the crew saw "toward sunrise... a number of sea-monsters, whales". The largest, a one hundred and fifty foot beast, swallowed them, ship and all. "In the middle (of his stomach) there was land with hills on it, which was formed of the mud that he had swallowed". The coast line of this island was twenty-seven miles in length; abundant vegetation grew upon it, and kingfishers and gulls perched in the trees. On it lived a man and a boy swallowed twenty-seven years before. They shared the island with the eel-eyed, lobster-faced Broilers; the Margoats, men above and catfish below; the Godsheads; the Crabclaws; and the Clan-crawfish. Joining with the two men, the Greeks routed the others, their swords proving more effective weapons than fishbones. For some time the crew remained in this prison, bathing and catching fish in the whale's gills; but after several futile attempts an escape was

71. I, 275.
72. I, 277.
73. I, 281.
finally effected by shoring open the animal's jaws and killing him by firing the forest on the island.  

Before this escape was made, however, the Greeks witnessed an incredible sight. One day a great commotion was heard in the sea. Looking forth from the whale's mouth they saw in progress a sea-fight between some hundreds of floating islands manned by gigantic men. Each 'galley' was steered by a bronze tiller, and impelled forward by cypress trees used as oars. The fighting men stood at the bow. After the battle, which was much like a Greek naval combat, the victorious side anchored over night alongside the whale and departed in the morning.

After the crew escaped from the whale, adventures came thick and fast. They were frozen in the ice; they sailed through a sea of milk and landed on an island of cheese; they passed the cork-footed folk who walk on the sea; and finally they came to the Isle of the Blest where a sweet breeze "like the one that, on the word of Herodotus the historian, breathes perfume on Araby the blest". Later they saw on the Island of the Wicked the River of Fire in which swim two kinds of fish -- those like live coals and those like torches. They also visited the Isle of Dreams; escaped the Pumpkin Pirates, the Dolphin-riders, and the Ass-legs; collided with a
mammoth kingfisher's nest; saw the Bull-heads, a horned people with their hindlegs grown together: and crossed the floating forest. Here the account ends, with a promise of a continuation.

All this shows a powerful fancy and a keen sense for the ridiculous. But the humor is of a broad sort in order to give greater force to the satire which is directed entirely against those who produced the so-called true histories. A more significant satire from an historical point of view occurs in the narrative of the visit to the Island of the Blest. There Lucian engaged Homer in a conversation, and asked him: "Where do you come from? This point in particular is being investigated even yet at home". Homer replied that he was by birth a Babylonian, by name Tigranes, and that being sent into Greece as a hostage he took the name of Homer. He also claimed as his own the bracketed lines of the Iliad, and said that he began with Achilles' wrath because it came first into his mind. Whereupon Lucian remarks that "Zenodotus and Aristarchus are guilty of pedantry in the highest degree". Plato was not in the island; he was "living in his imaginary city under the constitution and laws he himself wrote". Neither were any of the Stoics there; "they were said to be still on the way up the steep hill of virtue". The Academicians, likewise, failed to

85. II, 345.
86. II, 351.
87. II, 347 - 349.
88. This, remarks a disgruntled Greek scribe, writing in the margin of the Ms., is the biggest lie of all. See Harmon's translation, pg. 357.
89. It is impossible in a study of this sort to point out every detail of Herodotus and his fellows which Lucian satirises. The notes to any good edition will suggest most of them.
90. II, 323 - 325.
arrive, being unable to reach a conclusion. In the Island of the Wicked "the severest punishment of all fell to those who told lies and those who had written what was not true among whom were Ctesias of Cnidos, Herodotus, and many others". And Lucian adds, with a malicious grin, "On seeing them, I had good hopes for the future, for I have never told a lie that I know of."

The work of Herodotus, as has been pointed out, lacked the primary characteristic and most of the other qualities which distinguish the voyage imaginaire from other types of prose fiction; Lucian, on the other hand, has all of them. In the former there was no imaginary voyage and no fictitious country; and the only element of the voyage imaginaire was the description of the marvellous. In the latter, however, there is the imaginary journey into obviously fictitious lands; there is fantastic adventure; and there is ulterior purpose. In fact, with Lucian begins the kind of voyage imaginaire which reached its fullest development in the satirical narratives of Cyrano de Bergerac, Swift, and Holberg. The story does, of course, lack all appearance of probability; but this is due in part to the satirical aim. Moreover, Lucian boldly proclaims at the start that he lies.

III.

A third type of classic literature which contributed to the development of the imaginary voyage is that of the ideal state as seen in Plato's Republic, Timaeus, and Critias, and

91. II, 321.
92. II, 327.
in Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus. These are not, of course, imaginary voyages. They, like all utopias, aim to describe perfect forms of government; but unlike the works of More, Campanella, and Bacon, they tell of no imaginary voyage to a supposed land. And the state, if it has any geographical location, is a real nation, as in Plutarch, not a fictitious one, as in More. But had Plato and Plutarch never written, the character of the voyage imaginaire literature would to-day be less rich and varied.

Plato's Republic is usually considered the earliest of these descriptions of ideal states; but a forerunner of the great philosopher in this field was Hippodamus of Miletus whose work is now lost, except as it is preserved in summary by Aristotle. His state consists of ten thousand souls who are divided into three classes: artisans, husbandmen, and soldiers. Each of these divisions has allotted to it a portion of land, that of the warriors being known as the public domain. The laws cover three offences: assault, trespass, and murder. All verdicts on legal disputes are rendered in writing by the citizens. Any one discovering anything of value to the state is suitably rewarded. The magistrates, who are chosen by popular vote, supervise the public lands, and have under their advisement the care of strangers and of those children whose parents have been slain in war, such orphans being reared at public expense. The book had seemingly little influence on later literature; for it was not known in the original, and Plato would, naturally, have

far overshadowed Hippodamus in importance.

In the Republic Socrates and his companions made an effort to define justice, in the course of which they diverged into an attempt to find out how justice might be obtained or attained. The result was the outlining of an ideal state. So well known is the dialog that no extended summary is necessary here. Suffice it, then, to say that the main provisions call for a strongly centralized government in which every individual interest is completely subordinated to that of the state, which, in turn, has absolute control over the amount and kind of work assigned to each member. There is community of goods. There is no marriage in the modern legal sense and no home life, except among the artisans. Food is served at common tables. Education is rigorously designed to ingrain into the citizens the virtues of endurance, bravery, truthfulness, and loyalty to the state and to its interests. The entire aim of Plato's republic is austere efficiency and nothing else.

In any consideration of the Republic one must, however, bear firmly in mind the fact that it differs essentially from later utopias, such as More's and Vairasse's. These latter have, or are imagined as having, a spacial and temporal existence. Plato's state has not. "The Platonic state", says Voigt, "is symbolic of the human soul". The Republic, as he further

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94. Voigt, Andreas, Soziale Utopien, pg. 34: 'Der Platonischer Staat ist ein Anbild der menschlichen Seele'. Mr. William Temple, Plato and Christianity, 1916, also confirms this view. He says, pg. 32: 'The true criterion of a Constitution is to be found by asking what training for eternity it affords'; on pg. 37: 'The ideal State is that which is at once the expression and the seed-plot of beautiful characters, and is, moreover, the best school for eternity'; on pg. 37-38: 'No doubt by the end of Book IX this has become a city in Heaven, which he despairs of realising completely upon earth.'
is based upon the assumption, common in Greek philosophy, that a wise man is a good man and a just man; and that unhesitating submission to such a one on the part of the less perfect will bring about ideal conditions. With Plato the regulation of the individual life, and hence of the individual soul, is the first requisite for right living. And so his Republic becomes not so much an effort to create a perfect state in a temporal sense as one to show the way to correct living. Its importance is not, however, to be minimized by this fact. Later utopists did turn to it for inspiration. More and Campanelli specifically mention Plato in their works; and individual details are continually borrowed by one or other of his successors, notably those of communism, education, and partition of labor. Finally, this same desire to depict a perfect state is the starting point of every later utopia, no matter how far it may depart in other respects from the original pattern.

The Timaeus and Critias, accepted as forming with the Republic a trilogy, are generally considered as Plato's attempt to depict his ideal state in operation; but unfortunately the second of these dialogs is unfinished. The subject of both is the fabled state of Atlantis which once lay beyond the Pillars of Hercules but which long ago was sunk by a cataclysm of nature into the depths of the Atlantic. Timeus tells of the origin of the universe, the rise of the physical features of the earth,

95. Voigt, Same, pg. 27.
96. The Timaeus is commonly regarded as being the most influential of the Platonic dialogs during the Middle Ages; but as has been pointed out, the Middle Ages did not give themselves up to utopian speculations, ch. I, pg. above.
97. See in this connection Ignatius Donnelly's interesting but often superficial and inaccurate book, Atlantis and the Antediluvian World, Harpers, 1882.
and the creation of living things. Next Critias describes the
state of Atlantis -- a powerful kingdom favored by Neptune
because his blood ran in the veins of its inhabitants, and a
fair land far advanced in the arts of civilization. But before
any intimate knowledge of its political organization is gained,
the fragment ends. The first of these dialogs is not really
concerned with the literature of the imaginary state except
as it stands between the Republic and the Critias in the Trilogy;
and there is no apparent trace of its influence on the voyage
imaginaire. The second comes closer to the type, but is so
brief as to be nothing more than suggestive of "a land flowing
with milk and honey".

Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus is more definite. It is a
minute and circumstantial account of the system of administration
and the habits of life in the Spartan state. The usual details
are there -- the commons, the severe simplicity, the Stoic self-
restraint; but there are also more intimate details, which are
missing from the Republic, such as the indulgences allowed to
eat in private, the manner of choosing wives, the provisions
for checking accumulation of wealth, and the patriotic pride
and confidence in the system. In general, however, the Life
of Lycurgus is more concerned with the practical details of
human life and less with purely philosophic speculation than is
the Republic. And the same trait is noticeable in many later
utopias. Whether it is a result of influence from Plutarch
or a spontaneous outgrowth cannot be determined; but certain
98. I am inclined to believe the latter. More, the Lord
Chancellor, writes more after the fashion of Plutarch than
does either Bacon, Campanella, or Andrea who are all,
especially the latter two, almost Platonic in their re-
 moteness from the practical.
it is that it did not come from Plato.

The voyage imaginaire, then, borrowed its basic characteristics from classic literature. From Herodotus it took a narrative which mentioned marvels, but which dealt primarily with customs, manners, and habits, although all of these were only means to a further end of history. From Lucian came items of greater import. By him the marvellous was employed for its own sake; it was not an external feature of the narrative, it was the very life of the story. Without it there was no tale to tell. Finally from another and an entirely different sort of literature the voyage drew the conception of the imaginary state, a center about which much of the voyage literature collects, and an end which frequently overshadows the voyage as such.

Before passing on to the medieval voyage imaginaire, it is here necessary to turn backward and glance briefly at a work which antedates even the earliest of the Greek works examined -- the holy state described in Ezekiel, XL - XLVIII. 99 The account opens with a long and very exact description of the details and dimensions of the city and temple. The state is to be called "the Lord shall be there". As this name implies its citizens are circumcised in heart and in flesh; they "sin only unawares". Consequently there is no punishment other than ecclesiastical penance, the priests being the only rulers. The inhabitants of this fair land are, of course, Hebrews; but those of other nations who bring forth children there shall also be accounted citizens. As Professor Baldwin points out100 this

99. Written in the 6th century B. C.
imaginary state shows, aside from the fact that one is religious and the other philosophic, a marked parallelism with Plato's Republic. Both authors believe in the growth of the citizens toward the god-like. Both lay out broad lines of progress. Both emphasize morality. Both aim at a knowledge of God through right understanding. "Each distrusted the efficacy of external law as a means of social betterment; and each substituted a moral principle to be written, ....................., in the fleshly tablets of the heart of each loyal citizen." Professor Baldwin also sees a marked direct influence of Ezekiel among the Puritans at the time of the Commonwealth; but there is little, if any, evidence to show that it had any particular effect upon the authors of utopias.

IV.

From A. D. 200, the approximate date of Lucian's Verae Historiae, to that of the next book 101 with which this study has to deal is a long period; but the intervening time seems not to have been productive of either type of the voyage imaginaire. The opinions of von Mohl and Voigt as to the non-appearance of utopias during the Middle Ages have already been cited.102 The same factors which were hostile to the utopia, were, doubtless, also instrumental in suppressing other varieties. For the barbarian invasions must have operated as strongly against literary and philosophic culture as against political; while the church in an effort to turn men's minds to God frowned

102. See ch. 1, pg. 11, this study.
fiercely upon all literature purely esthetic in character. It is true that Benjamin, a Jew of Tudela, described China in the twelfth century, and that Marco Polo, a Venetian, did likewise in the next; but these were actual travellers; and consequently although their books may contain many "marvellous and romantic" adventures, they fall outside the province of this study.

About 1198, however, there appeared in Spain the Hai Ebn Yokdhan written in Arabic by Abu Jaafar Ebn Tophail. The story tells that a proud and haughty Arabic prince ruled over an island near unto the equator. He had an only and very beautiful sister whom he guarded closely in a tower lest she should contract an alliance unworthy of her blood. She had, however, secretly married one of her suitors; and from this union was born a son, Hai Ebn Yokdhan. Fearing her brother's wrath, the lady conveyed the child by night to the sea-shore where she enclosed him in a chest, already prepared, and committed him to the mercy of the waves. Fate, however, had smiled upon his birth and so the waters bore him to a desert island where, the tide happening to rise higher than usual, the chest was safely deposited upon a grassy knoll. When the child awoke, his cries attracted a roe that had lost her fawn. She approached, broke open the casket, and adopted the child. This is the first

103. Even Mandeville had to secure, or pretend to secure, the Pope's approval of his book. See Mandeville, chp. 31. Cf. also, the appropriation of the Arthurian legend.
105. Called also Abu Bakr Ibn Tufail, and more commonly Ebn Tophail.
theory of the hero's birth.

A second maintains that Hai Ebn Yokdhan was not of human birth, but the product of spontaneous generation excited in the mud of the island by the fertilising rays of the tropical sun, and after this "birth" adopted by the roe.

From this point on the stories agree. When the boy reached an age to observe, i.e., about seven, he noted that he alone of all the animals on the island had no natural defences either against the weather or against his enemies. A branch stripped of its twigs remedied the latter defect. The former he at first supplied with leaves; but as they continually wore out, he sought a more permanent and more satisfactory solution to the problem. This he found in the skin and feathers of a dead eagle which he discovered by chance. The next mystery he was called upon to unravel was that of death. He had noted that all animals avoided the dead of their species, and concluded therefrom that the dead were different from the living. So when the roe, his foster-mother died, he sought the cause of her dying. His first decision was that death is an obstruction of the bodily functions, but after experiment he concluded that such obstruction did not lie in the channels of sense. Remembering, at this point, that when he fought with animals his breast was the part he defended most stoutly, he thought that the vital spark must reside there. To prove his theory, he cut open the body of the roe as best he could with sharp stones and splinters of wood. After examining various organs he pitched on the heart as being that one which he sought because it was further pro-
ected by the tough pericardium. The left ventricle he found full of blood; but from former observation of his own wounds he knew that this was not the spirit he hunted. The right ventricle contained nothing. He concluded, therefore, that it had been the seat of that which he wished to find, and that this thing had fled, and that its departure brought a resultant change of state in the body. In order to clinch his belief he caught a deer and vivisected it. In the right ventricle he found a warm "vapor". When he stuck his finger into the cavity, the vapor disappeared and the deer died. This, then, he accepted as being the life-giving spirit.

The hero's manner of life now became more civilized. He gained a knowledge of fire by seeing a blaze among the rushes where it had been kindled by some natural means; casting fish into it to try its consuming power, he discovered cookery. Later, also, he domesticated various animals, such as horses, goats, cattle, and fowls.

More important than those achievements, however, are his philosophic speculations. By observation of the physical world he realized that objects have extension, that body has substance and attributes, and that the heavens are a circle. In metaphysics he reached with time the conclusion that "there was a Being, which was not Body, nor join'd to Body, nor separated from it, nor within it, nor without it; because Conjunction and Separation, and being within anything, or without it, are all properties of Body, from which that Being is altogether abstracted".¹⁰⁶ Later he attained to the idea of the absolute

perfection of God, and the conclusion that animals and plants have no knowledge of Being while the heavenly bodies have. The animal spirit, he further decided, was a mean between earth and water, fire and air, and the more even the temperature of this spirit, the more perfect its life. Finally he realized "that he was an Animal, endu'd with a Spirit of equal temperature, as all the heavenly bodies are, and that he was of a distinct Species from the rest of the Animals, and that he was created for another end, and design'd for something greater than they were capable of". 107

His next step in the path of knowledge was the discovery that man's body relates him to the beasts, his mind to God. "It was plain to him, that there were three sorts of actions which he was obliged to, viz. 1, Either those by which he resembled the Irrational Animals. Or, 2. Those by which he resembled the Heavenly Bodies. Or, 3, Those by which he resembled the necessarily self-existent Being: and that he was oblig'd to the first, as having a gross body, consisting of several Parts, and different Faculties, and variety of Motions. To the second, as having an animal Spirit, which had its seat in the Heart, and was the beginning of the Body and all its Faculties. To the third, as he was what he was, viz. as he was that Being, by which he knew the necessarily self-existent Being". 108

He also began to imitate the Being by caring for animals and plants as far as it lay in his power.

The final effort in the evolution of this philosophical system was the contemplation of pure being. To this end he suppressed the physical demands of his nature, and gradually grew able to hold himself for longer and longer periods in a trance-like state; for he learned that the corporeal interests of animals efface the divine essence; whereas the divine essence does not depend upon the body for existence. In these moments of transport he learned this truth: "He that has knowledge of this Essence (of pure Being) has the Essence itself; but I have knowledge of this Essence. Ergo, I have the Essence itself. Now this Essence can be present nowhere but with itself, and its very Presence is Essence, and therefore he concluded that he was that very Essence." Each of the heavenly spheres he found by further mediation has an essence which reflects that of the sphere next higher, and the essence of the highest sphere reflects the essence of the one true Being. That of this world has seventy thousand faces, each face seventy thousand mouths, and each mouth seventy thousand tongues with which to hymn the one true Being's praise.

At this point the purely speculative portion of the story ends. The author having now completed the sketch of his philosophic system closes the book as he began it, with narrative. A Mahometan mystic, Asal by name, came to the island from a neighboring religious community in order that he might live in solitude and contemplate God. At first Hai Ebn Yokdhan

110. Same, pg. 126.
could not comprehend what manner of being this new animal was; but at last they understood each other, and Asal taught him to read and interpret the Alkoran. Thus they together discovered that Hai Ebn Yokdhan's mediations conformed to the teaching of the Prophet. The two then went back to Asal's companions to tell them of the new and wonderful revelation. But the men were hard of heart; they believed not. Discouraged, Hai Ebn Yokdhan returned to his island, having decided that men were not yet prepared to understand the clear pronouncements of the divine voice, but only to meditate confusedly on the vague phrases of the Prophet. Asal accompanied him, and there the two dwelt a long time, contemplating the holy truths of Allah.

What effect this book had in its own day cannot be told; for there appears to be no contemporary mention of it. Three things, however, probably raised a prejudice against it in western Europe; the author's nationality, the language in which it was written, and its non-Christian theology. The first discoverable translation is that into Latin by Pococke in 1671 under the title Philosophus Autodidactus. From this in 1676 Dr. Ashwell made an English version, and in 1684 the Quakers had

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111. Dunlop's comment, third edition, pg. 592, is probably the most just. 'In this work there are, of course, many errors in theology and philosophy, as the former is Mohometan, and the latter Aristotelian. The fundamental principles of the work are, that without the aids of instruction we may attain to a knowledge of all things necessary to salvation, and that in this world we may arrive, by contemplation, at an intuition of the Deity, a refined and abstract species of worship scarcely enjoyed in old times by the greatest favorities of heaven, and of which no promise has been vouchsafed either in the Mosaic or Christian dispensation.'
another made imagining "that there was something in it that favoured their Enthusiastic Notions".\footnote{112} Not until 1708 did Ockley's English translation from the original Arabic appear, and at that time interest in the book was philosophic rather than literary. There are, at least, no discoverable traces of its influence on the \textit{voyage imaginaire}. The book could not have suggested the type which deals in philosophic satire since it is obviously serious; besides Cyrano's \textit{Etat de la Lune} preceded the Latin version by fifteen years as did Fontaines' \textit{Relation du Pays de Janserie} by eleven, and both were translated into English before 1671. The \textit{Hai Ebn Yokdhan}, then, is of small importance in the history of the \textit{voyage imaginaire}; for it contains more elements of the Robinsonade than of the \textit{voyage}, and did, moreover, not appear in modern Europe until such time as other writers inspired by other sources had occupied the possible field of its influence.

A question may also be raised as to whether or not the \textit{Hai Ebn Yokdhan} is a \textit{voyage imaginaire}. Dunlop classifies it as such;\footnote{113} but its claim to be included in the genre is slight. The first part of the story does resemble that of \textit{Robinson Crusoe}, as Dunlop says; but \textit{Robinson Crusoe} is not a \textit{voyage}. The hero, moreover, can scarcely be said to have travelled even if the first theory of his birth is true; and if the second theory be the correct one, he made no journey at all.\footnote{114} Finally, the island is not imaginary in the sense that Utopia and Lilliput

\footnote{112}{Ockley, Preface to English translation of 1708.}
\footnote{113}{Dunlop, \textit{History of Prose Fiction}, third edition, pg. 391.}
\footnote{114}{Dunlop in his summary (pg. 391) includes only the first of these theories.}
are, for the book is neither the description of an ideal state nor a satire. It is, in truth, a philosophical treatise transparently disguised as narrative.

V.

Over one hundred years later appeared the *Voyage and Travails of Sir John Mandeville, Knight* (cir. 1350). Mandeville is now recognized to have been a fictitious character; and the real author, it is agreed, was Jean de Bourgoyne, a French physician who died at Liège in 1372. The book at once attained a lasting popularity. It "was translated in the fifteenth century into all languages of the continent, and published in the collection of Ramusio." Halliwell records nineteen Mss. before 1500 in Latin, French, and English, and adds that there are still others. He also lists ten Italian translations printed between 1480 and 1521. English imprints were made by Pynson, by Wynkyn de Worde in 1499, by T. Este in 1568, and another in 158_. Hakluyt also included it in his collection

115. Ockley, S., Preface to English translation, 1708: "The Design of the Author is to shew, how Human Capacity, unassisted by External Help, may by due Application, attain to the knowledge of Natural Things, and so by Degrees find out its Dependence upon a Superior Being, the Immortality of the Soul, and all things necessary to A Salvation."

116. This is the opinion of Col. Henry Yule and Mr. E. F. Nicholson in their joint article on Mandeville in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th ed, and of Mr. G. F. Warner in his article on Mandeville in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, where he says: "In any case, the presumption is that the Liege physicians true name was de Bourgoyne, and that he wrote the Travels under the pseudonym of Mandeville."


Between 1612 and 1727 a dozen reprints were issued; and in the nineteenth century three editions have been issued exclusive of that made by G. F. Warner for the Roxburghe Club Publications for 1889.

Mandeville's Travels, however, is not a real voyage imaginaire except in the sense that the author did not actually visit the lands he describes. Its purpose, as the author announced, was "to schewe... a partie of Custumes and Maneres, and dyverse Contrees"; in other words, he is writing a travel book. Moreover, as the author of the 1725 reprint pointed out, he took "Monsters out of Pliny, Miracles out of the Legends, and strange stories out of what will now be called Romances" and Mr. G. F. Warner has since indicated the specific indebtedness of Mandeville to various earlier descriptions of the Orient. The greatest influence of the book was probably upon the works of those men who in the sixteenth century narrated the discoveries of such explorers as Cabot, Raleigh, Frobisher, and Drake; but at the same time Mandeville exerted on the true voyage imaginaire an influence not dissimilar to that of Herodotus.

120. See Bibliography, below.
121. Voyage and Travaile of Sir John Maundeville, ch. 3. Quotations follow Cotton Ms.
123. Warner, G. F., Article on Mandeville, D.N.B., gives as sources: a description of Asia by Friar Odoric of Pordenone (cir. 1330); Hetoun, Historiae Orientis ( ); the works of John de Plano Carpini and Simon de Quentin, Papal envoys to the Tartars cir. 1250; and the Speculum of Vincent de Beauvais (d. cir. 1264).
Since Mandeville, like Herodotus, was dealing with lands but little known and is relating marvellous tales concerning them, he is forced to invoke testimony direct and indirect as to his truthfulness. And, like Herodotus, he is fond of saying "I saw". "I have seen of the Cannes with myn owme eyen", he assures the reader. The old trick of hearsay evidence is also employed. He writes: "Of Paradys ne can not I speken propurle: for I was not there. But as I have herd seye of wyse men beyond, I schalle telle zou with gode wille". The argument was in his mind settled beyond all doubt when he concluded the book with the story of his showing the work to the Pope and receiving the ecclesiastical approval for it. "Andoure holy Fadir, of his special grace, remytted my Boke to ben examyned and preved be the Avys of his seyd Conseille. Be the whiche, my Boke was preeved for trewe; in so moche that thei schewe me a Boke, that my Boke was examyned by, that comprehended fulle moche more, be an hundred part; be the which the Mappa Mundi was made after. And so my Boke (alle be it that many men ne list not to zeve credence to ne thing, but to that that thei seen with hire Eye, ne be the Auctor ne the persone never so trewe) is affirmed and preved beoure holy Fadir, in maner and forme as I have seyd." Mandeville also insists that he restrains himself, and does not make full use of his golden opportunities. "Troweth not", he says, "that I will telle zou alle the Townes and Cytees and Castelles, that men schulle go by; for than scholde I make

124. Ch. 18. Other examples may be found in ch. 2, 12, and 27.  
125. Ch. 30. Other examples may be found in ch. 2, 4, 5, 18, 20, and 22.  
126. Ch. 31.
to long a tale". Other testimony is also given to show that there is no paucity of material. "There ben manye other dyverse Contrees and many other Marveles beyonde", he writes, of which he cannot tell because he has not seen them; and likewise in realms where he been lie "many dyversities of many wondir fulle things", more than he makes mention of. Not only fears of "to long a tale", but altruistic motives also hold him silent. "For zif that I devysed alle that is bezonde the See, another man peraunter, that wolde paynen him to travaylle his Body for to go in to the Marches, for to ancerche the Contrees, myghten ben blamed be my Wordes, in rehercynge manye straunge thinges. For he mighte say nothing of newe, in the whiche the hereres myghten have other solace or desport or lust or lykynge in the herynge. For men seyn alle weys, that newe thinges and newe tydynges ben pleasant to here. Wherfore I wole holde me stille." Such self-repression on the author's part is new in fiction; Herodotus and Lucian told all they knew. So while Mandeville's assertion will not convert the sceptical reader to an acceptance of the truth of his book, it does mark a new departure in the effort to "force belief".

From a modern point of view Mandeville's narrative method is not beyond reproach. In the very beginning of the narrative his religious zeal led him into a long digression on the Cross, the materials of it, and the reason for their use. At times, also, association of names causes unwarranted violations of unity.

127. Ch. 1; other examples may be found in chps. 19, 27, and 29.
128. Ch. 30.
129. Ch. 2
For example, when he describes the four rivers of Paradise, "the thridde Ryvere, that is clep Tigris" calls to mind "a Best, that is cleped Tigris, that is fast rennyng"; the narrative then proceeds with the "fourthe Ryvere".130 Examples of incoherence are likewise numerous, for details are jotted down as they occur to him.131 The narrative, too, is often hard to follow because he does not make clear his itinerary, and because he seldom gives the exact location of the many countries and islands which he describes.

Of greater general interest, but of less historical importance, than his method are the various details which Mandeville recites for the delectation of his readers. Here again, just as in some of his efforts to gain verisimilitude,133 he recalls Herodotus. He presents the same sort of details in the same manner; and even if, as Mr. Warner maintains, he borrowed almost verbatim from other medieval travel books, the resemblance loses none of its historical importance. The fact that the narrative methods in travel literature had not changed essentially since classic times is thereby made only the more clear.

130. Ch. 30.
131. A typical example is the description of the Tartars, ch. 23.
132. In ch. 4 he is at Jerusalem; in ch. 5 he rushes from Babylon to Carthage to Mesopotamia to Egypt; and in ch. 7 he is again in Jerusalem. See also his description of the course of the Nile, ch. 5; and compare with it that of the Danube, ch. 1.
133. For similarity in detail between Mandeville and Herodotus see: Mandeville, ch. 30 and Herodotus, III, 102, the gold-mining ants of India; M., 26 and H., IV, 13, the gold-guarding griffins; M., 25 and H., IV, 25, the land of darkness; M., 13 and H., IV, 42, the shadows falling toward the right in Central Africa; M., 26 and H., III, 46 and 106, wool-bearing trees; M., 19 and H., III, 99, a people who eat raw fish; M., 19 and 30 and H., IV, 26, cannibalism; M., 15 and H., IV, 90, medicinal waters; M., 14 and H. IV, 181, a spring that is coolest at midday.
Social and religious customs, unless they were very strange, seem not to have attracted Mandeville's attention. Thus dress is seldom mentioned except when he finds a people who go either naked or scantily clad; and the only long description of it is in his account of the Tartars.\textsuperscript{134} The chief passages which tell of food are, likewise, those describing the nauseating practice of cannibalism.\textsuperscript{135} Marriage customs, also, receive scant treatment except when he tells of the "evyll" communism among the inhabitants of Lamary\textsuperscript{136} or the curious superstition of another folk who believe that every virgin harbors a serpent in her womb.\textsuperscript{137} Even the pure morals of Bragman hold his attention for but a single sentence.\textsuperscript{138} And religious rites are only once described at length, Mandeville being content usually to state that a people are or are not Christians.\textsuperscript{139}

These, however, are not the details by which the \textit{Voiage} and \textit{Travaile} of Sir John Maundeville attained and has kept favor. The element that piqued medieval and inspires modern interest in his narration of the wonderful. And Mandeville's pages are full of the marvellous. The content of a single chapter will illustrate the sort of men and animals he portrays.\textsuperscript{140} These are: giants twenty-eight to thirty feet high; still larger giants, forty-five to fifty feet in height, herding sheep as large as European oxen; women, with precious stones in

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{134} See ch. 6, 9, 14, 17, 18, 30.
\item \textsuperscript{135} See ch. 4, 6, 11, 17, 18, 23, 24, 29, 30.
\item \textsuperscript{136} Ch. 17. The land is also held in common. See also ch. 28.
\item \textsuperscript{137} Ch. 28.
\item \textsuperscript{138} Same.
\item \textsuperscript{139} Ch. 15. See also ch. 10, 15, 18, 19, 23.
\item \textsuperscript{140} Ch. 28. For other strange animals see ch. 5, 15, 18, 19. For other curious men see ch. 14, 15, 18, 19, 29. May the Gerflaunz be the giraffe?
\end{itemize}
their eyes, which kill by a glance; people who weep at a birth and laugh at a death; and a list of fauna more wonderful than any in Herodotus or Lucian -- the spotted Gerflaunz which has a neck twenty feet long, camels which change color as do chameleons, multi-colored snakes over one hundred and twenty feet long which "crawl with legs", the elephant-slaying Loeraunce which has a black head surmounted by three horns, yellow mice as large as ravens, hugh geese with red bodies and black necks, heads, and breasts, and a brute with the head of a boar, the body of a bear, and the tail of a lion, having two claws on each foot. And the tale is but begun.

The fauna of the Orient is, according to Mandeville, equally wonderful, although fewer examples of it are given by him. There are trees and herbs "whiche beren Frutes 7 tymes in the Zeer";\textsuperscript{141} clusters of grapes so large a man can scarce carry one;\textsuperscript{142} and apples two feet in length growing two hundred in a bunch;\textsuperscript{143} and a gourd-shaped fruit which contains within it a small animal perfectly formed, both the fruit and the animal being good to eat.\textsuperscript{144} Egypt enjoys the famous apples of paradise that have a cross in the center, and the strange apples of Adam on each of which is a mark as of a bite taken out.\textsuperscript{145} And the Isle of Pathen produces marvellous trees, some of which yield honey, others wine, and still others venom.\textsuperscript{146}

\textsuperscript{141} Ch. 5.
\textsuperscript{142} Ch. 26.
\textsuperscript{143} Ch. 26. Bananas?
\textsuperscript{144} Ch. 26.
\textsuperscript{145} Ch. 5.
\textsuperscript{146} Ch. 18. The cabbage palm does furnish a sort of "wine".
These, together with the balm trees of Egypt and pepper vines in the Land of the Lombe, are the only ones described at great length.

Other natural wonders are also to be found in his pages. There is the "Hille, that is clept Athos", which casts a shadow seventy-six miles long and is so high that no wind blows on its top. Precious stones cling to the roots of the bamboos, he claims. Diamonds, he tells, "grown togedre male and female", and if they be watered with dew, they will beget children "that multiplyen and grown alle the zeer". A bottomless lake is found in Pathan; while a sea of quicksand, unnavigable, but stocked with fish, ebbs and flows in the land of Prestre John. Some peculiarities of climate are also mentioned, such as the violent thunder storms which sweet over Tartary in the summer and kill many men and beasts. The intense tropical heat, however, interested Mandeville most. So terrific is it that the men in the islands adjacent to India must bind up their scrota or they swell and hang to their knees; while in Libya the sea "is evermore bollynge, for the grete hete" so that no fish may live in its waters.

147. Ch. 5.
148. Ch. 15.
149. Ch. 3.
150. Ch. 18.
151. Ch. 14.
152. Ch. 18.
153. Ch. 27. For similar details see also ch. 9, 11, 14 and 15.
154. Ch. 11.
155. Ch. 15.
156. Ch. 13. Other interesting wonders are the adamantine rocks, ch. 15; the fosse at Akoun, ch. 4; the king's palace in Java, ch. 18; The Egyptian incubators, ch. 5; and the giant's rib, ch. 4.
157. In this summary of the Travels descriptions of shrines and holy places have been omitted as have the stories borrowed.
To these writers the authors of the *voyage imaginaire* after Mandeville are indebted for practically all of their fundamental ideas. From Herodotus they may have gained the suggestion of including descriptions of manners, morals, customs, governments, and religions; and from him also they may have borrowed some of the marvels which they tell of in their works. But his greatest contribution to the development of prose fiction was the method of gaining verisimilitude by simple assertion on the author’s part or by the testimony of a third party. To Lucian later authors are indebted for giving to the *voyage imaginaire* a satirical character by the introduction of extravagant exaggeration. Plato’s influence is, perhaps, the greatest and most direct of all. His *Republic* furnished the conception of an ideal state, together with such details as communism, partition of labor, contempt of wealth, hatred of war, and universal education; and he originated the dialog form as used by Campanella and Hartlib. Plutarch’s *Lycurgus* exerted an influence not dissimilar to that of the *Republic*; but it may, in addition, have suggested giving to the ideal state a practical and local application. Mandeville displays no essential characteristics not found in Herodotus; but in attempting to gain verisimilitude he appended to his book a lengthy testimonial given by a reliable and historic person, which may have suggested to some of his successors the elaborate prefaces that they employ from the romances because they have no influence upon the development of the *voyage imaginaire*. They are mentioned chiefly in those chapters which deal with the Holy Land. See ch. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 16.
for the same purpose. To trace the specific indebtedness of later authors to these men and to point out each writer's innovations will be the aim of subsequent chapters.
Chapter III.

THE VOYAGE IMAGINAIRE FROM MORE TO GOTT (1516-1648)

While in the centuries previous to the sixteenth Lucian appears to be the only author who produced a real voyage imaginaire in prose, the genre came into its own in the sixteenth century. In 1516 the press at Louvain struck off the first edition of Sir Thomas More's Utopia, and so popular did the book at once become that four reprints were issued in as many years. About the middle of the century three other descriptions of imaginary states appeared; and near the close was written the first English voyage suggestive of the fantastically improbable as it was later developed by Cyrano de Bergerac, Swift, and Holberg. From that date to the end of the eighteenth century not a decade passed without some representative of the type being issued either in the original or in translation. The voyage imaginaire had now become an accepted type in the realm of fiction.

The first voyage of the new period is, as has been pointed out, the Utopia of Sir Thomas More. Its author was one of the

1. See More, Thomas, in Bibliography. Morley, Ideal Commonwealths, pg. 7, records a story from Erasmus to the effect that a Dutch burgomaster committed the Utopia to memory.
2. See chronological list in Bibliography.
3. See Note 2.
4. John Dunlop, in his History of Prose Fiction, third edition, pg. 319, raised the question whether this book is fiction, and decided that it is rather a political treatise than
Oxford Reformers and a follower after the new learning of the Renaissance. Educated at the Merchant Taylors’ School and in the household of Cardinal Morton, he went, about 1492, to Oxford, where, according to Harpsfield, he profited “wonderfully in Latin and Greek”, and also met Linacre; but his eminently practical father, disapproving of his humanistic studies, withdrew him from the university after a residence of two years, and sent him to London to read law. This change, however, did not entirely destroy More’s connection with the growing intellectual development of his age; for in a period of forced retirement following his failure to support the King’s grants in parliament he translated the works of Pico della Mirandola, the Italian humanist, and certain satirical dialogs from Lucian. In the meantime he had also met Erasmus, Grocyn, and Colet who had founded St. Paul’s School; and about this same period More delivered a series of lectures at St. Paul’s on St. Augustine’s *Dei Civitate*.

It is known, too, that he travelled on the continent, spending considerable time at Paris and at Louvain. His political fortunes do not seem to have been wholly wrecked; for after rising to the position of Under-sheriff of London, he was sent to the

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a novel. Though much can be said in favor of this view, especially since the description contains practically no adventure and absolutely no love element, and since the primary aim of the work was political satire, something may also be advanced on the other side of the argument. Certainly the *Utopia* lacks no more in these respects than does the *Hai Ebn Yokdhan* which Dunlop experiences no scruples in accepting as prose fiction. And assuredly it is less deficient in both than is Harrington’s *Oceana* (1656) which likewise is generally accepted as a political romance. In any case the *Utopia* since it tells of a supposed journey to a supposed land cannot be disregarded here.
Netherlands as a member of the Royal Embassy. It was upon this journey that More professed to have met at the house of Peter Giles in Antwerp Raphael Hythloday from whom he learned the story of Utopia.

The Utopia is divided into two books, the first of which tells of More's introduction to Hythloday and reports a conversation which supposedly took place at the table of Cardinal Morton in England, while the second describes the kingdom of Utopia, its laws and customs. Book I is an obvious attack upon the England of 1516. The conversation began with a lawyer's lamenting the prevalence of robbery in spite of the wholesale executions for that crime. Hythloday immediately seized the opportunity to assert that the laws of England were wholly responsible for the sad state of affairs. Hundreds of soldiers, maimed and crippled in the continental wars, unfit for physical labor, were turned back upon the country every year with no means of gaining an honest livelihood. Lords and abbots, furthermore, were permitted to enclose large areas of land for sheep-raising, thereby abolishing agricultural labor throughout entire districts and turning out whole families and villages to face the prospect of starvation. In addition, the price of wool had risen so that the small weaver could no longer practice his trade with profit. Furthermore, the cost of living was continually increasing. Men were, consequently, forced to steal; and since

5. Morley, Henry, Ideal Commonwealths, 1885, pp. 61. This volume gives a modern English text of the Utopia; and since it also includes Campanella's Civitas Solis and Facone's New Atlantis, affords a convenient opportunity for comparison. Churton Collins' edition of the Utopia, 1904, has an helpful Introduction and Notes; it gives the text of Ralph Robinson's English translation, 1551.
death was the penalty for theft as well as for murder, they not only robbed but killed their victims in order to remove all possible witnesses. To show a happy contrast with this degenerate condition Hythloday then explained the practice of the Polylerites in Asia, who set their criminals to work, first cutting off a portion of the ear and clothing them in a special convict's garb so that they may be easily detected if they escape. Restitution is, also, made not to the public treasury, but to the person robbed. The prisoners may, after being found guilty, receive gifts from their friends; but the possession of money is prohibited upon pain of death. Refusal to work is punished by whipping. To a suggestion made at this point that he ought to attach himself to the train of some great prince as an adviser, Hythloday answered that he would be an unwelcome guest in such a place; for the minds of kings were obsessed with the notions of unjust wars and of over-heavy taxation of their subjects. And he added: "To speak plainly my real sentiments, I must freely own, that as long as there is any property, and while money is the standard of all other things, I cannot think that a nation can be governed either justly or happily".

In Book II is given Hythloday's description of the kingdom of Utopia which he had discovered in the course of long wanderings after he had become separated from Amerigo Vespucci on the fourth voyage. Utopia is a crescent, or horse-shoe, shaped

8. Same, pg. 85.
9. Hythloday eventually reached Ceylon and got thence to Calicut (Morley, pg. 55). Utopia must, then, lie in the South Pacific.
island cut off from the mainland by a canal dug for protective purposes. It is inhabited by a race which in years gone by overran the land under their leader and legislator Utopus.

Agriculture is the chief interest and the supreme art in this nation, and all persons must learn something of it both in theory and in practice.\textsuperscript{10} Every rural family consists of at least two slaves and of forty free men and women. Twenty of the latter are permitted to return to the city at every two years' end, being replaced by an equal number transferred from the towns; thus none are forced against their wills to apply themselves indefinitely to farm labor, although "many among them take such pleasure in it, that they desire to continue in it for many years".\textsuperscript{11} Products are common, i. e., state, property; surplus is transferred, without barter or sale, to places where there is a shortage; and "when they want anything in the country which it does not produce, they fetch that from the town, without carrying anything in exchange for it".\textsuperscript{12}

Fifty-four towns grace this fair land. Of these Amaurote, situated on the Anider River, is the chief. The city, which is in the form of a square, is well fortified by a wall and a moat. Its buildings are uniform in construction and are either of stone, of brick, or of plaster. The streets are twenty feet wide, and are "well sheltered from the wind".\textsuperscript{13} Here, as in the country, is no private property; "every man may freely enter into any

\textsuperscript{10} Morley, pp. 91 and 96.
\textsuperscript{11} Same, pg. 91.
\textsuperscript{12} Same, pg. 92.
\textsuperscript{13} Morley, \textit{Ideal Commonwealths}, pg. 92.
house whatsoever", and "at every ten years and they shift their houses by lot".  

The national affairs of this communistic people are administered by a parliament composed of three representatives from each of the towns. The separate cities are ruled by Philarchs, in former times called Syphogrants, who are chosen each year. One of these officers is allowed for every thirty families, and over every ten families presides an Archphilarch, formerly named a Tranibor. The Prince, who appears to be a local magistrate, is elected by the Philarchs out of a list of four "named by the people of the four divisions of the city", and serves for life "unless he is removed upon suspicion of some design to enslave the people". Legislative work is carefully safeguarded against rashness; for no decision is handed down until after three days' debate, and no measure is discussed upon the day it is first proposed. Cabals and caucuses are also forbidden since any meeting to consult on affairs of state, "unless it be either in their ordinary council, or in the assembly of the whole body of the people", is punishable by death.  

Trades, other than that of farming, are hereditary in the family; but children who show especial aptitudes, are allowed to follow the bent of their genius. All, except the priests, are, however, required to engage in some form or other of productive labor; thus the working day is cut to six hours in length, the

14. Morley, Ideal Commonwealths, pg. 94.
15. Same, pg. 90.
16. Same, pg. 95.
17. Same, pg. 95.
18. Same, pg. 95.
19. Same, pg. 99. Exemption is also permitted to officials, but they seldom avail themselves of the privilege.
remainder of the time being spent in study and recreation. This minimum of labor is also made possible by the Spartan simplicity of life on the island; for the Utopians, while at work, wear a leather dress which ordinarily lasts for seven years, and their other garments offer no individual distinction beyond that made necessary by sex, or prescribed for the unmarried and the married. They have, furthermore, only contempt for gold and gems; so that avarice is unknown in that land.\(^{20}\)

Family life is built upon the patriarchal model. The eldest male in the family is the head, and is dispossessed of his perogative only when "age has weakened his understanding".\(^{21}\) In that case the next oldest assumes the position. These families are not broken up unless it becomes necessary to divide the city; for no town may have over 6,000 inhabitants. When the number grows beyond this mark, some of the people are sent either to the under-populated sections of Utopia, or to colonies on the mainland. Should the census of the island at any time fall below the specified mark, some are then recalled from the extra-territorial settlements. This patriarchal ideal also governs the domestic ordering of the family. "Wives serve their husbands, and children their parents, and always the younger serves the elder".\(^{22}\) Marriage, too, is strictly supervised. Men may not marry before the age of twenty-two, nor women before that of eighteen. Illicit connections before these ages are severely

\(^{20}\) Morley, Ideal Commonwealths, pg. 110-114. Communism, of course, obviates any need for money.

\(^{21}\) Same, pg. 102.

\(^{22}\) Same, pg. 103.
punished, as are also all forms of adultery. When two persons wish to marry, they are each in turn presented naked to the other in order that they may have full cognizance of each other's defects. Monogamy is strictly adhered to, and divorce is granted only in cases of infidelity.\(^23\)

Communism, as one would expect in a student of Plato, is an important provision in the Utopian state. Its application to property has already been explained;\(^24\) but it does not end there. Although private tables are permitted, all the people eat in the commons "since it is both ridiculous and foolish for any to give themselves the trouble to make ready an ill dinner at home, when there is a much more plentiful one made ready for him so near at hand".\(^25\) In the country, of course, "they eat at home" because of the great distance between the families. Neither do the sick nor those in the hospitals attend the commons, their portions being carried to them by the stewards. In the dining-halls the men sit next the wall, thus leaving the women freer egress in case of sudden illness. Children under five have their places among the nurses; from that age until "they are fit for marriage", they serve at table; or if they are not strong enough for such a task, they stand gravely by in decorous silence. Dinner and supper are preceded by moral discourses, and music sounds during the latter meal over which they linger long.\(^26\)

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23. This is one of the few crimes for which the penalty is fixed; in practically all cases it is left for the Senate to adjudicate the matter according to the circumstances. Morley, pg. 133.
24. See pg. \(\text{62}\).
Other practices of the country are upon an equally ideal plane. There being no need for business transactions the necessity for travel is not great; but one may journey outside the precinct of his own city if he obtains a passport from the prince. In such case the state provides him with a slave, and transportation if there are women in the party. Food and other accommodations are furnished free by the communities through which he passes. Should the traveller remain in any one place longer than over night, he must apply himself to his regular trade. A man may, however, visit within the territorial limits of his native city without such passports; but he must first obtain the consent of his father and his wife.\(^{27}\) Trade with foreign nations is allowed only after all domestic needs are supplied; but even then exportation is not conducted merely for gain since one-seventh of the cargo is always distributed to the poor, and the remainder is sold at "moderate rates."\(^{28}\) The profits arising from such commerce, which is, of course, state controlled, are converted into bonds and left on deposit with the debtor nation until such time as the Utopians may call them in. This action is taken only upon two conditions: in order to lend to a government more needy than the one which holds the securities, or in order to finance a war.

Considerations of physical well-being, however, have not overshadowed those for that of the mind. Moral discourses before meals have already been mentioned.\(^{29}\) Public lectures also are

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\(^{27}\) Morley, *Ideal Commonwealths*, pg. 108.

\(^{28}\) Same, pg. 108.

\(^{29}\) See pg. 108.
given before breakfast, but only those destined for the literary profession are forced to attend. Others, nevertheless, are often present; and all "are taught to spend those hours in which they are not obliged to work in reading". In fact, the intellectual life is so far developed that, while they are entirely ignorant of European culture, they have developed astronomy and philosophy in all its branches to a most notable extent. In philosophy they believe that the chief end of man is pleasure; but theirs is no grossly hedonistic doctrine. They recognize four sorts of pleasures: those arising from cultivation of the mind, those arising from supplying the natural wants of the body, those arising from relieving the body of surcharges, and those arising from bodily health. The greatest of these is the first; and "health is the greatest of bodily pleasures". Sports, hunting, and similar diversions they account "madness". Virtue with them "is a living according to Nature"; and "they believe that a man then follows the dictates of nature when he pursues or avoids things according to the direction of reason".

This following after "right reason" carries with it an observance of all laws "which either a good prince has published in due form, or to which a people, that is neither oppressed with tyranny nor

31. Same, pg. 114.
32. Same, pg. 114 - 115; see also pp. 127 -128 for their attitude toward medicine, and toward printing and Greek literature as shown to them by Hythloday and his companions.
33. Same, pg. 122.
34. Same, pg. 124.
35. Same, pg. 123.
36. Same, pg. 123. Note, also, that butchers are always slaves.
37. Same, pg. 116.
circumvented by fraud, has consented".\(^{38}\) It also arouses in one the desire "to dispense with his own advantage for the good of others".\(^{39}\)

The legal institutions of Utopia are simple. "They have but few laws, and such is their constitution that they need not many". Their punishments for adultery and treason have been noted, as well as their commercial regulations and their communism.\(^{40}\) Rebellious slaves are put to death if they will not return to work or submit to the persuasion of chains.\(^{41}\) Lawyers they have none because they think each man is his own best advocate, and that hired pleaders obstruct the channels of justice by their verbal artifices.\(^{42}\) All laws, furthermore, are interpreted according to "the plainest and most obvious of the words".\(^{43}\)

In More's eyes, probably the greatest interest of the Utopia centered in the pages which treat of religion. The creed he sets forth appears to embrace three principles: "that the soul of man is immortal, that God in his goodness has designed that it should be happy; and that He has therefore appointed rewards for good and virtuous actions and punishments for vice, to be distributed after this life".\(^{44}\) But while the "greater and wiser sort (of Utopians) adore one eternal, invisible, infinite,

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38. Morley, Ideal Commonwealths, pg. 118.
39. Same, pg. 118.
40. See pp. 9, 10, and 11, respectively, this ch.
41. Morley, pg. 133.
42. Same, pg. 135.
43. Same, pg. 135.
44. Same, pg. 116.
and incomprehensible Diety", others are free to worship what and as they choose.45 This open-mindedness is further shown by their eagerness to embrace Christianity as revealed to them by Hythloday and his party.46 Such gentle toleration is, nevertheless, sternly tempered by statute. Utopus, that ideal legislator, himself "made a law that every man might be of what religion he pleased, and might endeavor to draw others to it by force of argument, and by amicable and modest ways, but without bitterness against those of other opinions, but that he ought to use no other force but that of persuasion, and was neither to mix with it reproaches nor violence; and such as did otherwise were to be condemned to banishment and slavery".47 Another statute is directed "against such as should so far degenerate from the dignity of human nature as to think that our souls died with our bodies"; and all who hold this opinion are by common consent barred from all public confidence lest they betray it in the interest of their own immediate and material welfare.48 The general belief in immortality is doubtless the cause of the Utopians' attitude toward death. When one dies gladly and in peace, they rejoice. When one departs this life reluctantly, they are sad; for such fear signifies to them that the man is unfit to stand before the eternal judge, and so they bear him forth in sorrow, beseeching the all powerful to have mercy upon the sinful soul.49 The noble and good they

45. Morley, Ideal Commonwealths, pp. 148 - 149.
46. Same, pg. 150. Hythloday explains that this desire may have risen from a "secret inspiration of God" or from a perception that Christianity was "favorable to that community of goods". Communism of property was a doctrine of Wyclif and also of the Anabaptists.
47. Morley, Ideal Commonwealths, pg. 151.
48. Same, pg. 152.
49. Same, pg. 153.
honored, and believe them invisibly present on earth even after death.50

Their religious practice is simple. They do not believe in miracles. They have no images in their temples. They offer no sacrifice; but they do burn candles and incense. They pray during battle. "They think that the contemplating of God in His works, and the adoring Him for them, is a very acceptable piece of worship to Him." There are among them two sorts of "friars" who "upon a motive of religious neglect learning" and devote themselves to menial and charitable tasks without hire. Of these one sect is extremely ascetic, the other much less so. The later are judged the wiser by the laymen, the former the holier. The priests, who may be either men or women, and who are always eminently pious, are charged with the instruction of the youth as one part of their work; but their greatest duty is "to exhort and admonish the people." Further than this they may not go, however, for the power of punishment lies wholly in the civil administration; they can only exclude the "desperately wicked from joining in the worship".

This same idealistic practice is followed in their international relations. Since they see all about them nations violating solemn oaths and treaties, the Utopians refuse to enter into any alliance.51 They do, however, give aid to any of their neighbors who are seeking to throw off the yoke of tyranny or to repel an invasion. For themselves they never wage war but upon two provocations: to acquire for their surplus population un-

51. Hythloday adds with stinging satire that they would, no doubt, have other ideas if they lived in Europe where such violations of pledges are unknown.
occupied portions of another country, or to revenge physical injury to their merchants in a foreign port. Mere commercial fraud is answered by a trade boycott since profit is not the aim of their commerce and the nation itself is self-supporting.

In marked contrast to those noble practices, however, is the method of conducting hostilities. "The only design of the Utopians in war is to obtain that by force, which if it had been granted them in time would have prevented war; or if that cannot be done to take so severe a revenge on those that have injured them that they may be terrified from doing the like for the time to come". In gaining this end no tricks of strategy are too deceitful, no intrigues too base, no practices too low. Schrecklichkeit is their motto. Immediately upon the declaration of war they publish a schedule of rewards for the murder or capture of the enemy rulers, thus sowing distrust and suspicion among the foe. This practice they justify upon the equivocal ground that it is kind to the enemy as well as advantageous to themselves because it may prevent great bloodshed by bringing the war to an early close. Should this plan of assassination fail, attempts are made to instigate revolts and revolutions among the hostile troops. But if open hostilities be a necessity, the Utopians, although both their men and women are trained to arms, hire with their hoarded gold the Zapolets, a "rude, wild, and fierce nation". This employment of mercenaries they defend by saying that "as they seek out the best sort of men for their

52. Morley, Ideal Commonwealths, pg. 141. The italics are mine.
53. Morley, Ideal Commonwealths, pg. 143. These are probably meant for the Swiss who at that time hired out as mercenaries to the neighboring kings.
own use at home, so they make use of the worst sort of men for the consumption of war". 54 These Zapolets with the auxiliaries from other nations and such of their own people as volunteer make up the Utopian army. In the ordering of the battle line families are placed together so that mutual devotion and self-esteem may incite them to bravery, and it is seldom that if one falls in a hard fight any of the group survive. But usually the losses are not excessive; for they allow the brunt of the onslaught to be borne by the auxiliary troops, and, moreover, depend rather upon strategy than upon either aggression or stiff opposition. Yet however brutal may be their conduct of war in these respects, they have a fine sense of honor and never violate a truce once it is agreed to. Neither do they ravage an enemy country or inflict indignities upon the civil population. They do, on the other hand, sternly and uncompromisingly exact an indemnity great enough to defray the expenses of the campaign to the last farthing.

As one reads this extended political document, he naturally wonders upon what sources More drew for his materials. Churton Collins thinks that he borrowed from Plato, Plutarch, Tacitus, and St. Augustine. 56 Of the last source I confess to have doubts, although More must have known the Dei Civitate thoroughly since he delivered a series of lectures upon it. In support of his

54. Morley, Ideal Commonwealths, pg. 144.
55. "Slackers" are, however, in case of invasion put in the front rank where fear of public opinion holds them firm, or upon the walls of the city in case of siege, where the danger to their homes inspires them with a momentary bravery.
belief Mr. Collins cites Dr. Lupton, saying: He "discerns it (Augustinian influence) in the conception of a perfect order as it prevailed in the city of God: in the due subordination of every member of society, each being glad to do his own work and fall into his own place: in the community of goods, and in the limitation of bond service". If, however, the last phrase be omitted and Republic inserted for City of God, the quotation will apply excellently well to Plato. Moreover, Mr. Collins in his copious notes fails to indicate any parallels between the Utopia and the Dei Civitate; while he lists eleven with Plato and seven with Plutarch. In addition, as Mr. Collins points out, Augustine opposed the justifiability of suicide, and More defended it. These facts may not be conclusive; but they are significant.

The book which gave the immediate suggestion for the outward details of the Utopia was, doubtless, Amerigo Vespucci's Letter to Soderini written in 1504 and published in Latin at St. Die in 1507. From it More probably got the conception of locating his city in the new world, and of lending to his story a certain verisimilitude by making his traveller a companion of an historic explorer. Amerigo mentions, also a people who have no "private property, everything being in common". His Indians, too, have no regard for gold or pearls; but this characteristic

58. Collins, pg. 220, Note to 1, 9 on pg. 100 of text.
59. See pg. 77, for a discussion of verisimilitude in the Utopia. The excitement attendant upon the discoveries of Columbus and the Cabots undoubtedly exerted an influence.
arises from ignorance. Collins has, likewise, cited three parallels with Tacitus: the distinction between the garments of men and women and between those of the married and the unmarried, the suckling of infants by their mothers, and the disregard of precious metals. The last of these, however, he recognizes as common to both the Life of Lycurgus and the Republic. The second, he also admits, is found in Plato's Republic and in Plutarch's De liberis Educandis. This leaves one lone parallel with Tacitus.

The correspondence with Plutarch is, on the other hand, more exact and more extensive. In both Sparta and Utopia there is a contempt for ornament, but while More's communism obviated any necessity for money, Lycurgus had need of it in his state. He chose, however, to discourage avarice by making his coin of iron, and so too bulky for convenient hoarding. The marriage customs of the two countries are, likewise, not unsuggestive of each other. In Lacedaemon marriage is consummated "at maturity"; in Utopia "not before eighteen" for women and twenty-two for men. In the former the virgins dance naked before the eligible youths; in the latter the pair are exhibited to each other unclothed. In both countries the national assembly is elected by the towns. In both jesters are popular. In both the public tables are conducted in much the same manner, but liberty of eating in private is allowed by More. Lacedaemon was, however, more fortunate than Utopia in one respect. "Law-suits were banished" along with wealth;62 but while there are

61. See Note 91, this chp.
no lawyers in the latter, legal controversies still persist.
Both nations, too, curtail foreign travel. Both, moreover,
honor eminent ancestors, commemorate strategic victories by
erecting columns, and admit women to the mysteries of religion. 63
In conclusion, it should be noted that in each case the founder
of the nation was its great legislator.

The great influence upon the Utopia, however, is Plato's.
That the conception of an ideal state and the use of the dialog
form was owed to him, is obvious. But there is, also, a correspond-
ence in details between the work of More and Plato. Both have
common tables, communism of property, 64 contempt of precious
metals and gems, 65 absence of bars and bolts from houses, educa-
tion through music, lectures, and horseback-riding, nursing of
infants by mothers, equality of women, avoidance of war, and a
philosophy of pleasure and pain. Mr. Collins points out further
that the poetic passage in Division VI of Book II of the Utopia
is inspired by a similar one in the Republic. 66 The same
editor thinks, also, that Plato's description of Atlantis gave

63. Mr. Collins' Notes on these points are to be found in his edition of the Utopia, pp. 201 (note to pg. 71, 1.5); 203 (pg. 73, 1. 15); 222 (pg. 101, 1. 21); 225, (pg. 105, 1. 17); 230 (pg. 112, 1. 19); 240, (pg. 132, 1. 12). The other parallels are of my own notation.

64. Professor H. S. V. Jones of the University of Illinois has suggested to me that this idea may have come from the Anabaptists. I cannot, however, help but feel that the Lord Chancellor who wore a hair shirt and trod heretics under his feet "like ants", would have looked only with horror upon an heretical communism, especially the lewd, licenti-
ous, and immoral variety that had to be suppressed by armed
force. It is also interesting to note that the quotations
under the word "libertine" in the Oxford Dictionary class Anabaptists and libertines together at this period.

65. The same idea occurs in the Critias.

66. Morley, pg. 128 (top), and Republic, vii, 529 (Jowett's translation).
More the idea of Utopia; but while the fable of Atlantis may have suggested locating the ideal republic in the western ocean, the two countries remain markedly different in shape, and the Critias ends before anything definite is said. Plato's general theory of virtue being prized above luxury, as expressed in the Timaeus, may also have had its influence upon More. Another detail is the canal by which the Utopians cut their island off from the mainland; in the Timaeus there is one three hundred feet wide, one hundred feet deep, and fifty stadia long; Herodotus also records that the Cnidians dug a canal across the neck of their peninsula to protect themselves against attack from the mainland.

Extended as this indebtedness is it is far overshadowed by More's originality and by his contributions to the type. The minor details for which successors are indebted to More can best be pointed out when their works are under discussion. But there can be no question that More gave to Plato's abstract ideality "a local habitation and a name" which it has continued to keep in one form or another under one guise or another until the present day; for Utopia, Civitas Solis, New Atlantis, Christianopolis, Severambia, L'Isle Inconnue, Erehwon, and Altruria are sister states whatever their geographical position or whatever their governmental form. In addition, More introduced the practice, exceedingly popular with him, of locating the imaginary state in some part of the newly discovered continents -- America and Australia. Not until 1675, it is true, does the practice become fixed of giving an exact and definite location; but to More, nevertheless, must go the credit of having first conceived
the idea.

A second contribution on More's part to the development of the voyage imaginaire was an elaboration of the "effort to force belief". All previous writers in the genre had depended chiefly on the dogmatic statement "I saw"; Mandeville alone had introduced near the end of his book a direct testimonial to his truthfulness. More showed greater subtlety. He first created Hythloday and made him a companion of an historical explorer; then he had various persons testify to the uprightness of this fictitious person's character. But the chief evidence was offered in a set of letters prefixed to the first edition. One of these is from Peter Giles to Hierome Busleyden, and appears to have been sent along with a copy of the Utopia, for it mentions the addition to the manuscript of "a meter of iij verses written in the Utopian tongue" and "the Alphabete of the same nation", which were given to Giles by Hythloday after More's departure from Antwerp. The letter also declares that More's "memorie" of the conversation is "perfect and suer". It explains, moreover, why no clear information is given as to the geographical location of the island. Just at the moment Hythloday was explaining this point More's servant entered and whispered in his master's ear, thus distracting his attention; Giles, listening all the more intently on that very account, also failed to catch Hythloday's remarks because one of the company

67. The letters are usually omitted from modern editions of the Utopia. Collins reprints them as an Appendix to his volume. Dr. A. J. Tieje in Chapter III, The Consciously Expressed Theory of European Prose Fiction, discusses their bearing on the problem of verisimilitude.
"coughed out so loude, that he toke from my hearynge certen wordes". "But", Giles adds, "I will neuer stynte, nor rest, until I haue gotte the full and exacte knowledge thereof". Unfortunately, he hears only "very vncerten newes" of Hythloday, some saying that he had died, others that he had returned to his own country, and still others that he had gone back to Utopia. More's own letter to Peter Giles is in much the same vein. After apologising for his long delay in forwarding the manuscript, he requests that Giles see Hythloday and find out the actual length of the bridge over the Anider at Amaurote; for More himself understood it to be five hundred paces, but "John Clement my boy ...... sayeth that ii hundred of those paseis must be plucked away". More also asks that the exact position of Utopia be told to him, because a certain "godly man...... is excedynge desierous to go vnto Vtopia, ...... to the intent he maye further and increase our religion". And additional point is given to the whole by More's protestation: "For as I will take good hede that there be in my book nothynge false, so, if there be anythynge in doubte, I wyll rather tell a lye then make a lye; because I had be good then wise rather".

A third innovation introduced by More into the voyage imaginaire is of greater importance still because it is entirely original with him; for however great his indebtedness to Plato and Plutarch, the immediate source of his work must be sought in contemporary political and economic conditions. Book I emphasises this; for that portion of the narrative, which constitutes about a third of the entire book, is devoted to a conversation about robbery, enclosures, and farming in Henry VIII's
England. In Book II, also, More makes continued reference to the Europe of his day and constantly compares its practices with those of Utopia. The method by which he gains his effect is satire, or if not satire, at least a disguised discussion of sixteenth century problems -- a conception in part borne out by the nomenclature behind which More probably thought to hide himself in case the Utopia roused the royal wrath. "Utopia", as everybody knows, is a Greek compound meaning "nowhere".

Churton Collins points out that in addition practically every name in the story has a similarly hidden signification.68 "Amaurote" is a "phantom city"; "Anider", a "river in which is no water"; the "Anemolians", a "people of the wind"; the "Polylerites", "babblers of much nonsense"; the "Achorians", "those who have no place on earth"; and "Hythloday" means "skilled in babble". When, moreover, one reads that "no town desires to enlarge its bounds",69 or that wars of aggression are carried on only to relive over-population,70 or that treaties "are religiously observed in Europe",71 or that the Achorians had trouble in retaining conquered territory to which they had some ancient pretense of sovereignty,72 or that Hythloday disapproves of royal ambition and avarice,73 he cannot help but feel that More is making covert references to his own England. Similarly the description of Amaurote is generally accepted as being that of idealized London. Indeed, Stowe says: Amaurote "doth in every

68. Introduction, pg. xli.
69. Morley, Ideal Commonwealths, pg. 90.
70. Same, pg. 102.
71. Same, pg. 137.
72. Same, pg. 77.
73. Same, pg. 78 - 85.
particular thing so exactly square and correspond with our City of London that I make little doubt that the writer did thereby mean the same place"; and he thereupon proceeds to transcribe the passage from More as a description of London in the reign of Henry VIII. 74 But if the description was so intended by its author, the intent must have been satirical; for even in 1516 London was no longer (if it ever was) "small and white and clean" -- it was sprawling, drab, and dirty. To the passages already cited may be added those on laws, lawyers, and courts; 75 the removal of all cases from the civil jurisdiction; 76 the simplicity of religious worship; 77 and the adoption of the Lutheran confessional. 78 In this adoption of the imaginary state as a means for assailing specific contemporary abuses lies More's advance over his predecessor Plato. More's dialog is obviously political; Plato's philosophic. More has his eye upon the conditions of his day; Plato upon life in the abstract. Philosophic Speculation joined with Greek Statecraft and produced the Republic; Political Science cohabited with Poetic Imagination and begat the Utopia.

A caution must, however, be sounded here against a too eager acceptance of the Utopia, as an expression of More's own ideas, as well as against a practice, common even among scholars, of a superficial consideration of the details of the book. For

75. Morley, Ideal Commonwealths, pg. 136.
76. Same, pg. 156.
77. Same, pg. 158 ff.
78. Same, pg. 139.
while the remarks at the end of the book cannot, perhaps, be taken at their face value, they at least suggest that the author was expressing a theory and not a conviction, that the Utopia is a picture of a possibility rather than of a probability, and that the whole is a speculation not a demonstration. Scholarship has, also been grievously exercised at times to reconcile what it considered Utopian broadmindedness in religion with More's uncompromising persecution of heretics. This error arises from a partial examination of the Utopia; for a careful reading reveals, as has been pointed out, that beneath the apparent religious freedom is a stern repression directed especially against public disputation and abusive polemics -- the very things which More as an ardent son of Mother Church must have viewed with greatest alarm.

When, however, every indebtedness to predecessors has been admitted, and every allowance has been made for discrepancy between Utopian practice and More's own beliefs, the Utopia still stands forth as an important milestone in the progress of the voyage imaginaire. More found ready to his hand the abstract

79. Morley, Ideal Commonwealths, pg. 166: "When Raphael had thus made an end of speaking, though many things occurred to me, both concerning the manners and laws of that people, that seemed very absurd, as well as their way of making war, as their notion of religion and divine matters; together with several other particulars, but chiefly what seemed the foundation of all the rest, their living in common, without the use of money, by which all nobility, magnificence, splendor, and majesty, which, according to the common opinion, are the true ornaments of a nation, would be quite taken away". And on pg. 167: "I cannot perfectly agree to everything he has related; however, there are many things in the Commonwealth of Utopia that I rather wish, than hope, to see followed in our governments".
consideration of the ideal state and the wonderbook; these he combined into a form which other writers at once began, and have continued to copy. To the imaginary state, also, he first gave a definite location and a name. He, too, was the earliest to make the voyage imaginaire a vehicle for the criticism of contemporary political and economic conditions— a function which many of the descriptions of ideal states coming after his time serve; for after 1516 such works are no longer purely philosophic speculations—no matter how theoretical they may be, they have always a foundation in their own times. More also rendered a service to prose fiction as a whole. He is among the first to recognize the value of the "effort to force belief". His letters and his specimens of the Utopian tongue led directly to Vairasse's elaborate preface and lengthy dissertation on Severambian grammar; and other types of fiction did not fail to follow the suggestion. Thomas More, in short, is not only the father of the modern utopia, but of certain well established fictional practices as well.80

II

The texts of the next three imaginary states to appear in Europe have, unfortunately, not been available for the purpose of this study. I have, therefore, been forced to omit discussion

80. The omission of von Mohl and Voigt from this discussion may seem strange; but the general criticism which they give only bears out the ideas already expressed. Von Mohl (183) finds that More substituted plans of his own for those of Plato in regard to marriage, labor, and governmental organization, and sees only weakness in the equalization of agricultural labor, communism, and slavery. Voigt (62) defends More's use of the latter custom on the ground that his knowledge afforded him no other means of getting the menial labor performed.
of Camões' L'Isle Enchantée; and for my knowledge of Patricio's La Citta Felice (1553) and of Stiblin's Commentariolus de Eudaemonensium Republica (1555) I have had to rely upon the brief and unsatisfactory summaries appended by the Reverend Mr. Walter Begley to his edition of the Nova Solyma. The former he calls "a very uninteresting production". It sets forth a materialistic ideal -- "plenty to eat and to drink, good houses, good clothes, a well-managed, healthy town, good sanitary arrangements" seem to be the chief provisions. Seemingly Patrizi offers no suggestions which might not be found in More; but whether or not he is imitating him cannot be told from Mr. Begley's summary. Since, however, the book itself is only thirty-seven pages in length, amplification even on the author's part would seem to be precluded. From the summary it is, also, impossible to tell whether the book is a voyage imaginaire or merely a utopia.

Stiblin's Commentariolus de Eudaemonensium Republica, on the other hand, is unquestionably a voyage imaginaire; for the "writer and others" are shipwrecked upon the coast of Macaria, an island in the "Eastern Ocean". The chief city of this country, Eudaemon, is round in form, is well fortified with three walls and a moat, and has four gates facing the cardinal points of the compass. The walls are adorned with "moral notices in Greek and Latin", the former being taken chiefly from the Hecuba of Euripides. All classes must work together for the good of the state; but the lower classes do not participate in the govern-

81. The date of this work is uncertain. Camões was born in 1524 or 25 and died in 1580.
82. Vol. II, pp. 365 ff. This edition was published in 1902.
ment -- vulgaris pessimus rerum gerandum auctore est is the motto posted before the public eye. The sumptuary laws are very strict; drunkenness, for example, is punished with great severity, any official guilty of this offence being immediately deprived of his honors. Loss of the tongue is the penalty for blasphemy, and public disputants suffer banishment. Those who deserve well of the state are publicly rewarded. The religion is evangelical. The absence of communism stamps the book at once as not being an imitation of More or of Plato. Two details - the name and location of Stiblin's island - suggest an influence from the former; for More mentions the Macarians as living not far from the Utopians, and Utopia as lying between America and India, i.e. in the Pacific Ocean, which may probably be Stiblin's Eastern Sea. Both authors, moreover, assign the same doom to contentious arguers of religious questions. These parallels may be of no significance; but they are suggestive.

Toward the close of the sixteenth century Godwin wrote his Man in the Moone, which is a picaresque romance, a Robinsonade, and a voyage imaginaire in one. This combination is important since now for the first time the hero of the voyage is given a rounded character. Lucian appears only as a great liar; Mandeville as a pious, garrulous, and credulous traveller; Hythloday, in order to lend verisimilitude to the story, as an upright and learned man. But other than this their personalities

83. Morley, pg. 81.
84. See Note 27, this chapter.
85. For full title see Bibliography.
86. I offer no apology for the word; I am simply quoting Lucian when he says: "I shall at least be truthful in saying that I am a liar". Verae Historiae, pg. 253, Harmon's translation.
are vague and indistinct. With Godwin the hero first assumes those definite qualities which later authors regularly assigned to him, although his immediate successors -- Hall, Campanella, Andreae, and Bacon -- still clung to the vaguely portrayed hero.

The book does not appear to have been published before 1638, and the only authority for its having been written earlier is the author's own statement. No English reprints seem to have been made; but at the present time the text is readily accessible in the Harleian Miscellany, and in Anglia. The immediate popularity of the book on the continent appears, however, to have been greater than at home; the French translations were made in 1648, and again in 1654 and 1671, and German versions were published in 1659 and 1660.

According to the story, Domingo Gonzales, a Spaniard by birth, began his somewhat questionable career as a soldier of fortune in the Low Countries, whence he contrived to return with sufficient spoils to set himself respectably married. A short while after, however, he slew a kinsman in a duel, and was compelled to flee to Lisbon, where a relation of the dead man cozened him out of a large sum of blood-money. To repair his shattered fortunes Gonzales embarked on a commercial venture to the East Indies; but falling ill on the return voyage, he with a black servant was set ashore on St. Helena, where he found some large migratory geese, or swans, which had one claw shaped like that of an eagle, and the other like that of a swan. His

leisure time he spent in training certain of these to carry him in a kind of sling, but not long after this feat was accomplished, the Spanish ships arrived to carry him and the negro back to Europe. Off the Canary Islands, however, they were overhauled by some English vessels; and that on which Gonzales was sought to escape capture by running aground, but fearing the breakers, he made ready his birds for flight, and by this means gained the land. His good fortune, nevertheless, was short-lived; for the natives immediately attacked him, the birds again saving him for destruction, but giving him new cause for alarm since after alighting a moment on a mountain top, they soared into the middle regions of the universe. There Gonzales experienced neither hunger, nor heat, nor cold, nor was he sensible of any weight. As he passed through this region, a troop of spirits came around him, and offered him food and drink if he would promise to remain among them. He accepted the provisions, but refused to pledge his course of action -- a wise precaution since when he unwrapped their gifts in the Moon, he found them to be only trash of one sort or another.

The description of the Moon is very vague. Those parts which appear light to us are seas; those which appear dark are land. The lunar language consists, not of words, but of musical tones. The people propel themselves through the air with large feather fans. Virtue is indicated by a person's

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89. Bishop Wilkins in his Discovery of a World in the Moon (1640), ch. 8, upholds the contrary. Godwin's book may have influenced Wilkins. Indeed Godwin proclaims that the latter "calls it a pleasant and well contrived fancy"; but I do not find such a statement in Wilkins' Discovery.
height; and since vice is almost unknown among them, small people are very uncommon. Such persons are, if it is possible, sent to the Earth as changelings; otherwise they are condemned to menial labor at home. These individuals also sleep from the time of the full moon to the end of the last quarter, being unable to endure any brilliant illumination. The chief temporal magistrate, who is twenty feet high and upward, and is over five thousand years old, dwells in the island of Martini, which is carefully guarded from intruders. The spiritual prince is younger and smaller. When he was presented at court, Gonzales made a present of certain gems to the king, and received in return three jewels of magic properties. There he also learned of a lunar tradition that long ago a man came from the earth and founded the present dynasty; but this, he concludes, is a "false and romantick" idea since there is no similar story current on the Earth. Both the hero and his geese now became homesick and so he began his return journey, arriving on the Earth without accident. Happening to land in China, however, he was arrested as a sorcerer; but the local Mandarin favoring him, he was sent to "Pequin" whence by the hands of some Jesuit missionaries he forwarded his manuscript into Spain with good hopes of soon following it himself.

Such extravagant fancy had, naturally, to seek out some means of gaining a suspension of disbelief on the reader's part.

90. There is in the introductory passages a promise to tell of such things as the telephone, the telegraph, et cetera; but it is not fulfilled.
And to this end various means are employed. First of all, the story is not published separately, but is included in *A View of the Island of St. Helena*, the description of which serves no other apparent purpose than that of introducing the narrative. The testimony of the "ingenious Bishop Wilkins" has already been cited, and other authorities are also invoked. Further than this the author protests that "many of our English historians (have) published, for truth, what is almost as improbable as this, as Sir John Mandevil in his travels and others, and this (has) what they are utterly destitute of, that is, invention mixed with judgment." Other discoveries and theories, he also points out, have been sceptically received at first, only to be found true later, as those of Columbus and the existence of the Antipodes. Protest of this sort is altogether similar to that of Sir John Mandeville, behind whose skirts Godwin does not blush to hide; but it markes a decided artistic retrogression from the clever trickery of More's letters. Godwin did, however, introduce one noteworthy variation into the effort to force belief, although he himself does not appear to recognize its literary value. His book is supposedly printed from the manuscript sent home by Gonzales who remained conveniently behind in China so that no sceptical reader could seek to verify his existence; but while Godwin only mentions the manuscript, Vairasse and Poigny in this type of fiction and Prévost in another, seized

91. "I remember some years since, I read certain stories tending to confirm what is here related in these Lunars, and especially one chapter of Neubrigensis. Inigo Mondijar, in his description of Nova Garanta, also Joseph Defia de Carana, in his history of Mexico, if my memory fail not, recount what will make my report credible; but I value not testimonies." See Note 89, above.
upon the suggestion and built around it elaborate introductions designed to gain verisimilitude. Another important influence of the obscure Godwin was exercised upon such men as Cyrano de Bergerac, 92 l'Abbé Gabriel Daniel, and Brunt to whom he seems to have suggested the journey through interstellar space and the world in the Moon.

III

A more interesting and in some respects more important work is the Mundus Alter et Idem 93 of Bishop Joseph Hall, known in his own day as a trenchant satirist and a vigorous controversionalist. He calls himself, evidently not without a touch of egotism, the first English satirist, "which", Canon Perry says, "must be interpreted as the first formal writer of satires upon the Latin model"; 94 and Hall's claim is upheld by a number of pungent satires in Latin verse, that were published under the general title Virgidemiarum, Sixe Bookes. The first volume of these, appearing in 1597, contained the First Three Bookes of Toothlesse Satyrs; and the second in 1598, the Three Last Bookes of Exting Satyrs, these subtitles indicating that however classic might be his models, Hall possessed enough of the full-blooded Renaissance Englishman to appreciate the popularizing value of the picturesque phrase. He was also an ardent opponent of Romanism, but no Puritan as his clashes with Milton will testify. In him was, too, a certain love of adventure which in 1605 sent him to Spa in the guise of a layman where he startled the regular

92. Upham, A. H., French Influence in English Literature in the 16th and 17th Centuries, pg. 377.
93. For full title see Bibliography.
94. Perry, the Reverend Canon, article on Hall in the Dictionary of National Biography.
clergy and Jesuits alike by his knowledge of religious controversy and his ability in disputation. Adapted by nature to the creative work of imaginative literature, made acquainted by education with the satires of Lucian, and attracted by literary inclination to the work of Rabelais, Hall, even though a Bishop in the Anglican Church, was the man to pen the raciest of moral satires that fall within the bounds of the voyage imaginaire.

"The first edition .... was published without place or date", says the editor of Hall's Collected Works (1839). The second appeared at Hanover in 1607, and another undated one at Frankfort, probably that which Canon Perry in the Dictionary of National Biography assigns to 1605. In 1643 and again in 1680 the Mundus was printed and bound up with Bacon's New Atlantis and Campanella's Civitas Solis; while in 1669 appeared an imitation entitled Psittacorum Regio: The Land of Parrots, or the Sheelands. The original work was early translated into English; an undated version "by an English Mercury" seems to have been the first, and in 1608 J(ohn) H(ealey) made another.

95. See Bibliography, under anonymous.
96. " " Hall. There is prefixed an address of "J. H. the translator to J. H. the author" which reads as follows: "Sir, if the turning of your witty worke into our mother tongue do distaste you, blame not any but your selfe that wrote it. Language doth not alter the sense of any thing. I had as leave one would call me a knave in English as in Italian. Where I varye from your original, it is eyther to expresse your sense, or preserve your conceit. This I hope to hear you satisfied: for others, if any snarle, Ile bite as deepe as they, since Wrong and revenge infuse more fervent spirit, Then all the Muses can; in right of merit. Your gravity and place, Envie as well as I must reverencce. If you but rest unmoov'd, let any man else kick, Ile scorne him. Let the whole world of flaring Critiques traduce mee, or no, it skilles not whether: both I am arm'd for, one
When one considers this apparent popularity, he finds it strange that the editors of Dr. William King's works should have given out a translation of Book I, Chapters 1 to 6 found among his papers as "an original piece in the manner of Rabelais". Stranger still is the impudence of one "R. S." who in 1684 published a racy translation of Hall's work, and palmed it off as that of a Spanish manuscript redeemed by him "from the Teeth of Time and the very Paw of Destruction" and written by Don Q. whom he surmises to "be either Quevedo or Quixot".

The book is a satirical description of certain lands lying in the Ethiopian Ocean southward of Africa, and called by the generic name of Terra Australis Incognita, as reported by the author, an unnamed traveller. Crapulia, "a very fair and large territory" is the first province visited. It lies "in 74 degrees of longitude, and 60 degrees of latitude, and 11 degrees distant from the Cape of Good Hope". This country is divided into two provinces, Pamphagonia and Ivronia, but they are ruled

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97. Morley, pg. 8. King lived 1650 - 1729; his Works were published 1776.
98. I discovered independently that this was a translation; but I was pleased to find that Mr. Esdaile in his List of English Prose Tales and Prose Romances before 1740 confirmed my conclusion. R. S. has, however, used his original freely. His translation of the place names has made the satire more coarse, if more vigorous, and his diction is never refined. He has, moreover, left out and added at will, as, for example, he omits on pg. 117 the Portuguese whom Hall mentions on pg. 52; and in the last chapter of BK. IV, R. S. adds a long passage, pp. 191 - 194.
99. Hall writes, Works, vol. XII, pg. 9, ed. 1839, "Longitudine, vero, ad sexagesimum porrigitur. A Capitae Boni Spei 11 grad distat; totique fere Africae ex adverso Jacet".
by a single prince. The first, which is shaped like a Greek △, is a land of plenty. Birds coming into the country grow so fat they cannot fly away; and the fish fight to be hooked. No importations except of foodstuffs are permitted, and nothing eatable may be exported. In the district of Friviandy the altars of the god Gorbelly blaze day and night. Golosia abounds in fruits, and out of the Δuker Hills, which lie in this division, the inhabitants "draw something that is hard, white, and sparkling, but sweet". Artocreopolis, the chief town of Pamphagonia, is protected by a great moat filled with fish and by a high wall built of the bones of animals which the inhabitants have devoured. Because staircases are dangerous to drunken men the law prohibits their erection. The waist is the measure of all things; for one's rank in the social scale and his promotion in office is determined solely by his girth, and loss of weight brings with it a corresponding reduction in position.100 Feasting is sole occupation, diversion, and end of life. None may leave the city fasting under penalty of eating a double portion; all governmental deliberations are preceded by a feast; none may rise from the table before six hours have elapsed; gourmandising is taught in the schools; food is legal tender. The only foe of this fat country is Hungerland. Even the religion savors of the kitchen and the cellar. Time is their god, for he devours

100. Same, pg. 23, gives an epitaph of one of the dukes: "Omasius Fagoniae, Dux, Dominus, Victor, Princeps, Deus hic jaceo: nemo ne nominet famelicus, paretereat jejunus, salutet sobrius: haeres mihi esto qui potest, subditus qui vult, qui, audet hostis. Vivite ventres et valete". This R. S. translates (pg. 37) "I All-Paunch, Duke of Belly-All-Main, lye here entombed, dying a Lord, a Victor, a Prince, a Deity. Let none pass by me fasting, nor name me hungry, nor salute me sober: Be mine heir he that can, my subject he that will, mine enemy he that dare."
all things. Jove they hold in irreverence because his thunder
sours the wine and spoils the ripe fruit.

Ivronia is not essentially different from its sister province, except that liquor is substituted for food. A flagon must never be accepted unless it is full, and may never be returned unless it is empty; he who waters his wine is compelled to eat with the dogs. The only garment is a wreath of vine leaves about the middle, but all paint their bodies in strange designs after the manner of the Indians. Strangers coming into the country must before the expiration of three days sacrifice to Bacchus by drinking dry a large hollow statue of the god filled with wine. The Knights of the Golden Tun is their honorary order.

From this province the author wanders into that of Viraginia, called by the European geographers Psittacorum Terram. Its chief state is Linguadocia, the capital of which is Garrula. There the author was taken prisoner, and released only upon his promising never to do any ill to the female sex, never to interrupt a speaking woman, never to deny his wife any finery she might look at, and to let her rule the household. In Viraginia the men do the menial work and perform all the domestic duties; and there is no country where the households are better kept.

Moronia, or the Land of Fools, is peopled by a fat, fair, tall race with thick lips and ears. In winter they open their garments to allow the heat easier access to their bodies; while in summer they shut it out by means of thick wrappings. Their heads are shaven so that the heat of the brain may be allayed, and also that the mind may more easily aspire heavenward. A
similar folly appears in all their regulations and conduct of life.

The fourth and last country visited is Lavernia, or the Land of Thieves. It is a sterile land and naught grows there; but the inhabitants have plenty because they never surrender that which they get. Children are trained to steal from earliest infancy. Even before they are weaned, they must purloin pips from their mothers' hair; and detection in this theft brings an inevitable thrashing. Some of the inhabitants plunder ships, angling for them with loadstones. And all practice some form of robbery.

This brief summary can give no more than a vague idea suggestion of the satire; the book must be read to be appreciated, both as to wit and coarseness. The point lies, naturally, in the extreme exaggeration of the general as well as the specific detail, and the attack was meant, obviously, to strike at such customs as gluttony, debauchery, forwardness in women, and dishonesty. Its own century recognized this; for a "literary chronicler of the seventeenth century" says: "The Mundus Alter et Idem of a certain Englishman was not long since published: a satire against the corrupt manners of the present age; in which, while he assigns separate stations to the separate vices, and distinguishes the nations inhabiting them, and the places themselves, by names ingeniously compounded and feigned, suitable to the nature of everything, he, in my opinion, founds a Poneropolis (a City of the Wicked), which will no less divert the readers, than inflame their minds with a love of virtue".101

attacks on vice in general are, however, added several assaults upon specific persons or habits. The description of Ivronia appears to have been intended as a picture of Germany since all the names are in the language of that country. "Carousi-Kanikin is a name, I understand not farther than what light I have of it from the German tongue". 102 And other examples of this nomenclature may be found on almost every page. The French are the discoverers of Moronia Variana, which R. S. translates as Fooliana the Fickle. 103 The universities, Paracelsus, the habit of smoking, catholicism, the Welsh, and lawyers also feel the lash of Hall's wit.

The change in the voyage imaginaire as Hall wrote it is at once apparent. First of all he departs from the precedent set by More in his prefatory letters and in his "meter of iiiij verses" in the Utopian tongue; for in the Preface to the Mundus Alter et Idem he says that they who tell of real travels do a good work, but that they who create the lands they travel in do a better; so getting himself into the good ship Phantasy he sailed for two years until Crapulia was sighted in the offing. But a meticulous critic may find strangely at variance with this open discard of

102. The translation is R. S's., pg. 49. Hall's Latin, pg. 28, reads: "Zouffenberg, innoto mihi nomine, nisi quod sonum Germanicum". Other examples are "Burgomagistorum" (26), "F pro B, F pro V, more Germanico male pronunciato" (27), "Spruchwall" (28), "Gesundheits" (30), "Auffzeichner" (31), "Schlauchbergae" (35).

103. R. S., pg. 117; Hall, XII, pg. 52.
104. R. S., pp. 123 - 125; Hall, XII, pp. 55 - 57.
105. R. S., pg. 153; Hall, pg. 71.
106. R. S., pg. 162 ff; Hall, XII, pp. 75 - 77.
107. R. S., pg. 171; Hall, XII, pg. 82.
108. R. S., pg. 182; Hall, XII, pg. 86.
109. R. S., pg. ; Hall, XII.
all effort to gain verisimilitude that passage which gives the exact location of the Mundus Alter et Idem, 110 as well as the four maps 111 prefixed to each of the four books and depicting the geographical features of the four principal provinces. He may, too, be troubled by such passages as that concerning Moriana Varianel12 or that about Gynia Nova.113 But these latter two are a part of the satire; and the maps have no more intention of deceiving than did the Carte de Tendre of the French novelists; and the statement of latitude and longitude is merely a chance explanation in imitation of real travels. Hall makes no effort to force the reader's belief.

Hall's originality is, however, more strikingly manifested in another aspect of his work. At only one point does he appear actually to borrow material. "Prodigious men", he says, "inhabit the province of Codicia; swine-bodied beings, whom Munsterus 114 and Mandeville described".115 These people are to be a combination of those wild men of Mandeville who have no language but a grunt, and another who walk on all fours.116

110. Hall, Works, ed. 1839, pg. 11.
111. Reproduced in Hall, Works, ed. 1839, vol. XII.
112. Hall, vol. XII, pg. 52: "Quicquid arrogant sibi Portigallenses in regionem disquisitionibus as longinquis perigrinationibus; puto veteres Gallos meritissimo posse laudem hanc, ut sibi propriam, vendicare: nam certe istic plurima invenimus Gallorum vestigia; sive locorum nomina, sive legum reliquas, vel denique numismatum species monumenta."
113. Same, pg. 39: "Gynia Nova, quam alii corrupta voce Guinea appellant, ego vero Viraginiam, illic sita est, ubi geographi Europaei Psittacorum Terram depingunt."
115. Hall, Works, vol. XII, ed. 1839, "Codiciensum Provinciam prodigiosi homines incolunt; quos, porcina facie, Munsterus ac Mandevillanus depinxerunt."
Otherwise there appear to be no appropriations of matter from the Travels. Professor Upham\textsuperscript{117} thinks that Rabelais furnished Hall with certain materials; but the parallels which he cites are not very exact, and are sometimes even strained. A more reasonable suggestion on Professor Upham's part, however, is that Hall got his satirical tone from the great French author; but while it is true that the style and the manner of Hall's book often remind one of those of Rabelais', it must at the same time be remembered that the latter did not write a voyage imaginaire. Lucian would appear to be the most likely source from which Hall could have borrowed; but the Verae Historiae is a literary, not a moral, satire, and the adventures in the two books are in no cases similar. The contrast between the Mundus Alter et Idem and the Utopia is equally marked. More presented ideal conditions in contrast with the abuses of his time; Hall applied gross exaggeration to contemporary customs in order to show their folly. Basically, of course, their aims are the same -- the correction of evils, although More's satire is political and Hall's moral.\textsuperscript{118} It is the difference in method which is important. In 1607, for the first time, unless Camões in his L'Isle Enchantee employed the same device, the voyage imaginaire has been turned to the purposes of social satire; and it is worthy of note that when in the eighteenth century the type

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[117.] Upham, A. H., French Influence in English Literature, pp. 246 - 247.
\item[118.] Canon Perry says in his article on Hall in the Dictionary of National Biography: "This strange composition, sometimes erroneously described as a 'political romance', to which it bears no resemblance whatever, is a moral satire in prose, with a strong undertow of gibes at the Romish Church and its eccentricities".
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
reassumes this purpose, its method is not essentially different from that used by Hall in his Mundus Alter et Idem.

IV

An author far different from the full-fed English Bishop of the Mundus Alter et Idem is the Italian monk, Tommaso Campanella, whose character in some respects presents a strange contradiction. Reared and educated in the fold of the Roman Church, a member of a clerical order, he was, as one would suspect, an enthusiastic supporter of the Papal authority in temporal as well as in spiritual matters. To him the hierarchical government of the Vatican was an ideal; in contrast with it no other form had any advantage to offer. Yet curiously enough this orthodox Catholic appears as an equally ardent disciple of the new platonism of Renaissance Italy and as a vigorous opponent of the Aristotelianism which for centuries had held the minds of men in thrall. Campanella was, moreover, a firm believer in the virtues of experimental science, and gave every encouragement to the movement away from the barrenness of deductive philosophy. How he reconciled his religious orthodoxy and his intellectual heresy can, perhaps, never be known for he seems not to have waged an open warfare in favor of his position as a whole; perhaps, also, he recognized, as he suggested at the end of the Civitas Solis, that what he regarded as the true part needed to be purged of its abuses and contradictions. His heretical opinions were sufficient to cause his imprisonment at Naples where during his incarceration he gave expression to his views in the dialog known as the Civitas Solis.
Although the book was composed in 1614, it was not published until 1620. A new edition was issued in 1623; and in 1643 and again in 1680 it was reprinted and bound with Hall's Mundus Alter et Idem and Bacon's New Atlantis. Further than this the work does not seem to have been widely popular; additional reprints are hard to find, and no English translation was made previous to that of Halliday for Morley's Ideal Common-wealths (1885). The reasons for this neglect are not far to seek. The Civitas Solis is not an interesting story; it has none of the feigning which makes the Utopia, for instance, attractive. There is no introductory conversation such as More used to give an insight into Hythloday's character and to whet the reader's curiosity; the dialog instead plunges directly into the discussion and omits any and all narrative and descriptive detail which might give life and interest to the story. Furthermore, while the Civitas Solis, like Plato's Republic and More's Utopia, is in dialog form, the conversation is much less one-sided than it is in the latter and much less dramatic than it is in either. In fact, the Grand Master, who acts as interlocutor, seems to exist for no other purpose than to ask

119. The title of Biderman's Utopia (written 1602, published 1640) is misleading; for the book is not a description of an ideal state, but a handbook of eloquence, containing a series of moral tales, jocose fables, and adventures.
120. Prys says Andrae knew the Civitas Solis in manuscript before 1619. See Held, Felix, Andreae's Christianopolis, pg. 18.
121. Morley, Ideal Commonwealths, pg. 8.
122. The Civitas Solis begins: G.M. 'Prithee, now, tell me what to you happened during that voyage?' G. C. 'I have already told you how I wandered over the whole earth.'
123. It should be borne in mind that the conversation was supposedly heard in Antwerp and written down after More's return to England.
obviously leading questions; and the remarks of the Genoese Captain are always direct replies to these.\textsuperscript{124} The result is a stiff formality, much different from the intimate tone of Hythlodaeu's gossipy talk. Finally, general interest no longer attaches to the problem of the temporal power of the Vatican. Even by 1620 the doctrine had fallen upon evil and doubting times, especially in England where the hierachical government proposed by Campanella in his imaginary state worked, beyond doubt, against the popularity of the \textit{Civitas Solis}. 

The description of the \textit{Civitas Solis} is given to a Grand Master of the Knights Hospitallers by a Sea Captain, who says that, having reached Taprobane, he was compelled to go ashore. After he had landed and emerged from a wood, he was led up into the City of the Sun, a place inhabited by Hindus who fled from the persecution of the Magi. It is divided into seven concentric circles, each defended by a wall so built as to render the capture of the successive fortifications progressively difficult. These walls, however, serve also a useful purpose. Both faces of them are adorned with paintings of various natural and artificial objects, by means of which the youth of the City are instructed. On the exterior of the outer wall is a huge map of the world, with tablets inserted bearing descriptions of the various countries; the interior face is covered with geometric figures. The next has painted on its outward surface drawings of rivers, lakes, and seas, also representations of meteorological phenomena, and pictures of such products as oil

\textsuperscript{124}. See Note 122, this chapter.
and wine, samples of which stand in pots near by; the inner
has upon it paintings of precious stones. The third wall pre-
news respectively on its exterior and interior faces aquatic
and vegetable life, the latter being supplemented by growing
plants placed in tubs along the base of the wall. The fourth
has on one face pictures of insects, and on the other of
birds,\textsuperscript{125} life-size. Both surfaces of the fifth are given over
to representations of the fauna of the Earth. The sixth wall
has on its outer face diagrams of mechanical devices, and on
the inner protraits of "all the inventors in science, in warfare,
and in law". Each of the circles after the first is fitted up
with palaces richly adorned and well lighted in which the in-
habitants of the City live. There are no doors on the convex
faces of the ground floors, probably as a protective measure in
case of war; but along the inner faces arcades form agreeable
and protected walks.

The head ruler of Civitas Solis is Hoh (Metaphysic), who
is assisted by a triumvirate composed of Pon (Power), Sin
(Wisdom), and Mor (Love).\textsuperscript{126} Of these Pon has jurisdiction
over all things pertaining to war and peace; Sin over the arts
and sciences; and Mor over the regulation of eugenic marriages
which are arranged according to the strictest principles of
selective breeding. This latter officer is assisted by a large
corps of male and female magistrates.\textsuperscript{127} The basis of the

\textsuperscript{125} The irrelevant information is here given that the City
possesses the only living Phoenix (Morley, pg. 223), a
natural state of affairs if they had any Phoenix.
\textsuperscript{126} Morley, Ideal Commonwealths, pg. 221.
\textsuperscript{127} Same, pg. 236.
government is communism, all things being held in "such a manner that no one can appropriate anything to himself". This abolition of private ownership is, however, now given a new explanation. With More and Plato communism appears to have had no other object than the proper satisfaction of the material needs of all the citizens. With Campanella the purpose is the destruction of self-love so that only a love of the state will remain. A materialistic end now becomes a patriotic motive, but the devotion is to a hierarchical despotism in its sternest form. The communal lives which the inhabitants lead are, also, rather bestial, reminding one rather of the Republic than of the Utopia. The dining halls are managed much like those of More, except that "as in the refectories of monks, there is no noise". As with Plato and More, the citizens condemn gold and silver; mothers suckle their own children; and complete equality exists between the men and the women so that they engage in the same tasks, wear similar garments, and go into battle together. All work is honorable, although the cultivation of the arts and sciences is considered nobler than the execution of physical labor. Commerce is confined to slave trade with foreigners at the gates of the City, the slaves sold being those captives of war whom they themselves

128. Morley, Ideal Commonwealths, pp. 231 and 236 for details.
129. Same, pg. 232.
130. Same, pg. 235.
131. Same, pg. 234.
132. More distinguishes between the dress of the men and women. In both the Utopia and the Civitas Solis boys and girls under the marriageable age wait at table.
133. See Morley, pp. 231 - 232 for ordering of the arts. In general the lighter and sedentary tasks fall to the lot of the women; the heavier and more active labor to that of the men.
cannot use. Another and nobler traffic is that in goods of the mind, for they send many of their students abroad each year to become acquainted with the languages and culture of other countries. Their battle tactics remind one of those practiced by the Utopians; for they, too, pretend to flight, thus drawing the enemy into a disorderly pursuit so that he may more easily be routed. Unlike More's people, however, they have many foreign alliances, and have, also, developed destructive agencies to a marked degree. Other sciences have been likewise perfected; they can, for instance, renovate life after the seventieth year, and so commonly live to be one hundred and often two hundred years old.

Their moral theory and practice are idealistic. The crimes and vices common to European countries are not found among them; and they execute no prisoners unless these can be brought to a reasoned conviction of the justness of the sentence. In religion they believe in immortality, and "say the short prayer which Jesus Christ taught us". They worship God in Trinity, saying God is supreme Power, whence proceeds the highest Wisdom, which is the same with God, and from these comes Love, which is both Power and Wisdom; but they do not distinguish persons by name, as in our Christian law, which has not been revealed to them. In philosophy they assert two physical principles: "that the Sun is the father, and the Earth the mother". Men are

134. Morley, Ideal Commonwealths, pg. 250.
135. Same, pg. 249 - 250, gives other examples.
136. Same, pg. 251.
137. Same, pg. 263. How, then, do they come to know the Lord's prayer?
of God, and not of, but in the universe, as, to use Campanella's metaphor, "worms live within us". In metaphysics that Being is the source of all good, Non-Being of all evil and sin; and they "disbelieve in Aristotle, whom they consider a logician and not a philosopher". This philosophic religion presents a strange compound, which, as Campanella explains it, is not altogether clear; but perhaps as he says: "This religion, when its abuses have been removed, will be the future mistress of the world, as great theologians teach and hope".

In the composition of this work Campanella, like the other writers of utopias, made free use of those ideal states which had preceded his. More's Utopia was issued by the Junctine Press at Venice in 1519, and may very well have been known as is suggested by the several parallels pointed out above, although there are, on the other hand, equally marked differences, as for instance, the attitudes of the two nations toward sport and hunting. The Platonic element in the book is, however, open to no such doubt. As I have indicated, the dialog form is closely followed. There are, moreover, clear references to the Greek writer. Speaking of the allotment of wives, Campanella says: "Plato thinks this distribution ought to be made by lot". Again he writes: "They agree with Plato, in whom I have read these same things". And while the author of the Republic is not mentioned in the following passage, the source of the in-

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138. Morley, Ideal Commonwealths, pg. 262.
139. Same, pp. 262 - 263.
140. Same, pg. 261.
141. Same, pg. 263.
142. Same, pg. 236. Campanella then disagrees with Plato.
143. Same, pg. 239.
expiration is unmistakable: "No one can exercise the function of a poet who invents that which is not true". Campanella was, moreover, a follower of the new learning and a foe of scholastic Aristoteleanism. Finally one may ask if the arrangement of Stiblin's city may not possibly suggested that of Campanella's. However that may be it is safe to conclude that some of the details in the Civitas Solis Campanella borrowed directly from More and others from Plato.

Campanella should not, on the other hand, be considered entirely unoriginal. The Civitas Solis is, as von Mohl pointed out, the first description of an hierarchical utopia;¹⁴⁴ and as such it is an exposition of the author's personal views. For Campanella, despite his heterodox philosophy, was a strictly orthodox Catholic, a most ardent champion of the temporal power of the Pope, and a firm believer in the superiority of the ecclesiastical to the civil jurisdiction. For him religion was an inherent part of existence. In philosophy he held that the triune of Power, Will, and Knowledge constituted the content of consciousness; he also attacked Aristoteleanism, and supported the claims of experimental investigation in natural science. All these beliefs find expression in the Civitas Solis. The government of the City is a form of absolutism in which Hoh, the chief magistrate, represents the highest temporal and spiritual authority;¹⁴⁵ and his subordinate officers (Pon, Sin, and Mor), are not free agents, but his servants who only do his

¹⁴⁴. Von Mohl, Geschichte und Literatur der Staatswissenschaften, pg. 85; and Voigt, Soziale Utopien, pp. 65 - 74.
¹⁴⁵. Morley, Ideal Commonwealths, pg. 220 - 221.
will and never trespass upon each other's fields of authority. The religious affiliations of Campanella are also shown by the provision for silence at meals. The education of the youth by the observation of pictures on the wall and the marked advances made in science are, likewise, obvious reflections of Campanella's philosophical and scientific beliefs. The Civitas Solis, like More's Utopia, is, therefore, primarily a product of its author's own mind and is an evolution of his own inner convictions.

The year 1619 saw appear at Strassburg the Reipublicae Christianopolis Descriptio, commonly called the Christianopolis, by Johann Valentine Andreae, a Swabian schoolmaster and preacher. It tells the story of an unnamed hero, who discouraged by the evil in the world, launched himself upon the Academic Sea "and ascending the good ship Phantasy" sailed away in the desire to find knowledge. His voyage was calm until "adverse storms of envy and calumny stirred up the Ethiopian Sea". In the storm the ship was wrecked, very few surviving, the author "alone without a single companion (being) at length driven to a very minute islet, a mere piece of turf, as it seemed".

146. Morley, pg. 221, "Three princes of equal power............ assist him".

147. The question of whether or not the Civitas Solis was written as a constitution for Naples depends upon the connection of Campanella with the revolution of 1599. But with scholars this is "much vexed question", and no answer has ever been given. For the explanation of Campanella's philosophy see the articles on Campanella in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, eleventh edition, and A. Colenda, Fra Tommaso Campanella e la sua dottrina sociale e politica di fronte al socialismo moderno, 1895.


149. Held, pg. 143. Ch. II.
This place was called, as he afterward learned, Caphar Salama, and lay "in the Antarctic zone, 10\(^{0}\) of the south pole, 20\(^{0}\) of the equinoctial circle, and 12\(^{0}\) under the point of the bull". While he was drying his undershirt, he was discovered by an inhabitant of the place and led into the city, which was founded by Religion, an outcast. There the hero was examined as to his person, morals, and culture; and the obvious comparisons with European society are drawn, for no "beggars, quacks, stage-players who have too much leisure, busybodies who worry unnecessarily in the details of unusual affairs, fanatics who however have no feeling of piety, drug-mixers who ruin the science of chemistry, impostors who falsely call themselves brothers of the Rosicrucians, and other like blemishes of literature and true culture" may enter into the community.

With chapter VII begins the description of the city itself. In the center is a circular temple, and around this is a series of four buildings ranged in concentric squares. The whole is protected by a great wall and a wide moat well stocked with fish. Within these walls are carried on all the trades necessary for the maintenance of the population. The streets which separates the dwelling houses is twenty feet wide.

151. Ch. III.
152. Ch. IV, V, VI.
153. Ch. IV.
154. For detailed description of the temple see Ch. LXXXII.
155. Compare the general arrangement of the Christianopolis with that of the Civitas Solis and the Eudaemonensium Republica.
156. Ch. VII. Compare Amaurote and Artocreopolis.
157. Ch. XII. Compare the Utopia.
and is bordered by sheltered promenades.\textsuperscript{158}

The government of this model city is a rather vague and incomprehensible affair. The "central part of the city" is ruled by eight primary officials and eight subordinate ones, whose duty it is to admonish the citizens rather than punish them.\textsuperscript{159} In addition to these a triumvirate, each of whom is a wise and prudent man, governs the nation. Sometimes they consult together on questions of national safety, but usually each triumvir deliberates with his own senate. Lawsuits are settled by the tribunes; and thus the three officials can devote their whole time to "questions of the truth of the Christian religion, the cultivation of virtues, the methods of improving the mind; also the need of treaties, war, negotiations, buildings, and supplies".\textsuperscript{160} To these rulers are added twenty-four councilmen chosen for their piety, honesty, and experience, whose chief business seems to be a correction of the present by an observation of the past.\textsuperscript{161} Just how these three groups keep from conflicting in the exercise of their duties is not made clear, nor is it pointed out what machinery is provided for putting their decrees into execution. In this vagueness, it may here be remarked, lies the great weakness of the Christianopolis -- the author being interested in pious reflections on the evil of contemporary Europe, does not stick to his subject long enough for a clear development of it.

\textsuperscript{158}. Compare the Civitas Solis.
\textsuperscript{159}. Ch. XXI. Compare the duties of the Priests in Utopia.
\textsuperscript{160}. Ch. XXVII.
\textsuperscript{161}. Ch. XCVIII.
The pietistic character of the author's state is further illustrated by his code of laws:

"I. We strive with all our strength to submit ourselves in all reverence and adoration to God, the one Founder and Ruler of the human race, and to prefer nothing in heaven or on earth to Him; to refer our life and all our actions to His glory and to succeed with his aid.
II. We strive never to provoke the holy name of God with any form of blasphemy, never to alienate it by grumbling, dishonor it by frivolity, neglect it on account of laziness; and we strive to regard reverently the most holy mysteries of our salvation.
III. We strive to have leisure ever for our God, to rest from the confusions of the cravings of the flesh, to provide a quiet shrine for the Trinity, a pure dwelling place for our neighbor, breathing space for all creatures, to devote our time only to the Divine Word.
IV. We strive to preserve and practice love of parents, respect to our superiors, propriety to our equals, modesty toward those that have been trusted, labor for the republic, a good example to posterity, and to perform the duties of Christian love with mutual kindnesses.
V. We strive to bridle our wrath, to restrain our impatience, to value human blood, to forget revenge, to abhor jealousy, and carefully to imitate the very gentle heart of Jesus Christ.
VI. We strive to shield the innocence of youth, the virginity of maidens, the purity of matrimony, the unpolluted restraint of widowhood, and to overcome luxury and intoxication with the temperance and fasting of the flesh.
VII. We strive to enjoy the goods entrusted to us by God, as diligently as possible, peacefully, properly, and with giving of thanks; to exercise the duties of acquisition and distribution as justly as possible, of employment modestly and of conversation safely.
VIII. We strive to propagate the light of truth, the purity of conscience, the integrity of bearing testimony, freely and correctly, to reverence the presence of God at every time and every place, to protect the innocent and to convict the guilty.
IX. We strive to disturb nothing of another, nor to confound divine with human things, to submit to our lot, to inhabit our dwellings peacefully, and to despise the sojourning place of the whole world.
X. We strive so to establish our intercourse that each one's property be given and preserved to him, and that no one would rather covet the affairs of another man than to put his own in order and devote them to the glory of God and the public safety".

162. Ch. XXIX.
An analysis of these laws will reveal that they are in substance the Ten Commandments of Moses, with the exception that the second commandment is omitted as being unnecessary and Law VII is substituted.\(^{163}\)

Since Christianopolis is, of course, a communistic state, some provision had to be made for the execution of the necessary labor. To this end all male citizens are required to do some sort of necessary work;\(^{164}\) and all the paupers and beggars who enter the country must, if they are physically able, also apply themselves to whatever labor may be assigned to them. Foreigners who come to visit the country are, nevertheless, entertained at public expense; and exiles are graciously received; but all strangers must undergo, in addition to the examination mentioned previously, a sanitary inspection,\(^{165}\) which, however, is no hardship since even the citizens themselves exercise full precautions in this regard.\(^{166}\) In spite of this forced labor, life is not burdensome because, as in Utopia, the working hours are thereby reduced and an adequate leisure is afforded.\(^{167}\) Furthermore, excessive exertion would gain the individual no benefit since all the furniture and houses are state owned and a man must move if so directed.\(^{168}\) Food, also, is publicly distributed, an allowance of four dishes being made to a meal. Each family, however, eats at home; if there are guests they bring their own

\(^{163}\) This fact escaped Dr. Held's notice.
\(^{164}\) Ch. XXII. Compare More and Campanella.
\(^{165}\) Ch. XCVII.
\(^{166}\) Ch. X, LI, LI, XCV.
\(^{167}\) Ch. XI.
\(^{168}\) Ch. XXIII. Compare the Utopia.
portions with them. The aged and the sick are cared for at public expense, the nursing in most cases being done by married women or widows. Marriage, which is prohibited before twenty-four with men and eighteen with women, is permitted only after parental consent has been gained. Widows and widowers may re-marry after the lapse of a year; during this period a woman returns to her family, a man eats with the neighbors. Similar as it is to the preceding utopias in regard to most of these details, the Christianopolis is markedly unlike them in another. Plato, More, and Campanella all provided for the equality of women; Andreae with Teutonic and Christian contempt relegates them to the sphere of the home, and allows them no public occupation except that of school-teachers. Child-bearing is their crowning glory.

Education in Christianopolis is carried on in a college especially designed for this purpose. Outside its walls grow useful plants, while within the shrubs and flowers are planted so as to form different colored bands corresponding to the zones of heaven. Sex is an indifferent matter in the choice of teachers; dignity, energy, integrity, and generosity are the virtues sought; and instructors must, if they would retain their positions, show that they have imparted these qualities to the young. The students are divided into three vaguely defined classes: the

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169. Ch. XV.
170. Ch. XCVI and XCVIII: compare More's hospitals.
171. Ch. LXXXVIII.
172. Ch. LXXXIX.
173. Ch. XC.
174. Ch. XCIV.
children, the youths, and the mature minds. Three principles are the basis of all education -- worship, morality, wisdom. The instruction is carried on in part by pictures and in part by mechanical aids; but unfortunately Andreae does not describe these "short cuts in memorising". The college itself is divided into ten departments, each of which gives instruction in certain specified subjects. The first teaches grammar, including Hebrew, Greek, and Latin; oratory with emphasis on naturalness; and languages, ancient and modern, to the end that they may be spoken. The second gives instruction in logic as related to the truth; metaphysics as it is concerned with the true, the good, the beautiful, the unified, and the orderly; and theosophy, which begins where human knowledge fails. The third offers for consideration arithmetic, geometry, and mystic numbers. Music, as represented in the vocal, the instrumental, and the choral, is studied in the fourth department; astronomy and astrology in the fifth. In the sixth the student pursues natural science, true national history, and church history. The seventh offers a course in ethics as a guide to conduct, in government, and in Christian poverty. In the eighth theology

175. Ch. LIII. Pupils begin attending at the age of six.
176. Ch. LIV.
177. Ch. XLVIII; compare the Civitas Solis.
178. Ch. L.
179. Ch. LV - LVII.
180. Ch. LVIII - LX.
181. Ch. LXI - LXIII.
182. Ch. LXIV - LXVI.
183. Ch. LXVII - LXVIII.
184. Ch. LXX - LXXII.
185. Ch. LXXXIII - LXXV. Students of Christian poverty "prefer simplicity to intelligence, ignorance to knowledge, silence to eloquence, humility to dignity, credulity to shrewdness, want to abundance, studying to teaching, bearing to doing; and whatsoever things are considered lowly on earth, provided they are harmless, these they desire".
and theological practice are studied, as well as the methods of examining and testing prophecy.\textsuperscript{186} Secular branches are taught in the ninth and tenth departments, the first of which is devoted to the study of medicine,\textsuperscript{187} and the second to that of jurisprudence. The latter study, however, becomes merely a commentary on the Roman Code since there is no law in Christianopolis and the lawyers serve only as scribes.\textsuperscript{188}

The important part of the Christianopolis, however, is the description of the religious life of the community; for Andreae, despite Dr. Held's resentment of the term "pietist",\textsuperscript{189} was a very religious man, and his system of education is almost wholly designed for the inculcation of Christian morals. The very atmosphere of his city is charged with goodness. "All haughtiness and pride are banished from his place",\textsuperscript{190} he writes. "Gluttony and drunkenness are entirely unknown", he says elsewhere.\textsuperscript{191} But that no moral corruption may intrude into the lives of the people all associations between youths and mature persons are constantly watched, presumably that Sodomistic practices may not thrive.

Morality as represented by formal religion is founded upon a code similar to the one already cited as the basis for the civil law. It reads as follows:\textsuperscript{192}

"I. We believe with our whole heart in one Triune God, very good, very wise, great and everlasting: the Father,

\textsuperscript{186} Ch. LXXVI - LXXVIII. Theology is divided into five branches: study of Biblical language, imitation of it, apologetics, religious discourse, and method of adjusting religious differences.

\textsuperscript{187} Ch. LXXIX.
\textsuperscript{188} Ch. LXXX.
\textsuperscript{189} Held, Introduction, pg. 15.
\textsuperscript{190} Ch. VI.
\textsuperscript{191} Ch. IX.
\textsuperscript{192} Ch. XXVIII.
who created the world out of nothing, preserves, moves, and directs the same, whose ministers are good angels, against whom the condemned Satan is rebellious, whose delight is man, once the divine image and prince of the world, to whom sin is hateful, whose interpreter of all wisdom and summary of all uprightness is the scriptures, and whose love, through the giving of His Son, is most open and kind.

II. We believe with a whole heart in Jesus Christ, the Son of God and Mary, co-equal with the Father yet like us, our Redeemer, united as to personality in two natures and communicating in both, our Prophet, King, and Priest, whose law is grace, whose scepter is that of peace, whose sacrifice, that of the cross.

III. We believe in the same regeneration of the Spirit, the admission of sin, even the brotherhood of our flesh with Him and in Him, and the restoring to dignity, lost by the fall of Adam.

IV. We believe that by His life, suffering, and death He has given satisfaction to the justice of God, that mercy has been merited, the same has been brought to us through the Gospels, given over to our faith, intrusted to the purity of life, and that thence the dominion of sin was crucified, destroyed, and buried.

V. We believe that the kingdom of hell and the poison of death has been destroyed, and that in the victory of the resurrection, security has been restored to us under the care of God.

VI. We believe the kingdom of Christ is infinite and eternal, where He is present to His Church at the right hand of the Father Omnipotent, Omnipresent, and that He feeds, keeps, and quickens her spiritually with His Word, even as He does literally with flesh and blood.

VII. We believe His supreme judgment, which he shall pronounce upon men, good and evil, with highest majesty, and shall distinguish the just from the unjust most critically.

VIII. We believe with our whole heart in the Holy Spirit, our Comforter and Teacher, by whom we are sanctified, enlivened, and equipped, after we go to freedom to doing good, by whom we are made wise beyond nature, armed against nature, and put at peace with her; by whom we grow warm, are united and divided into languages; by whom we see and hear the past, present, and future properly correlated; by whom we look into the Word of God.
IX. We believe in a holy, universal church, purified in the water of baptism from infancy, and fed by the communion of the eucharist, thus guarded with the seals of the new covenant, taught in the ministry of the Word, disciplined with the cross, ready to serve in prayers, active in charity, generous in communion, powerful in excommunication, which though distributed over the earth, the unity of faith joins, the diversity of gifts strengthens, Christ, the Bridegroom and Head, renders invincible, and which the standing of the different classes and the purity of marriage embellish.

X. We believe in the free forgiveness of all sins through the ministry of the Word, and in the obligation of our gratitude and obedience on account of this.

XI. We believe in the general resurrection of the human flesh, so much desired by the faithful that on account of it they particularly love a natural death; so formidable to the wicked that on account of it they consider the natural life to be accursed.

XII. We believe in an eternal life by which we shall obtain perfect light, ability, quiet, plenty, knowledge, and joy; by which also the malice of Satan, the impurity of the world, the corruption of men shall be checked; by which it shall be well with the good, and evil with evil-doers, and the visible glory of the Holy Trinity shall be ours forever."

Religious meetings are held every Sunday at which the Presbyter explains some portion of the Scriptures, and every Wednesday when the Diaconus, or assistant, interprets the principles of religion. The services are simple, and unseemly conduct or sleeping during them is considered a sin. The Lutheran hymns are preferred, although any others may be used. In addition to these semi-weekly gatherings, public prayer is made thrice each day, attendance at which is compulsory upon all, even the babies, unless exceptional business demands interference. Leisure time, also, is not infrequently employed in

193. Ch. LXXXIV.
194. Ch. LXXXV.
195. Ch. XIV.
religious meditation, affliction of the flesh, or charitable visitation. Only two sacraments are celebrated -- communion and baptism; the latter of these is administered at birth unless the child is ill, but even if it dies unbaptized, the blood of Christ has power to atone for its guilt. Confession may be made to anyone of the devout. While the religion of the Christianopolis is protestant, an excommunication as terrible as that of the Catholic Church lights upon the wicked who thereupon "suffer the wrath of God, ban of the church, disgust of the state, and the abhorrence of every good man". Should the sinner persist in his evil ways, banishment is his doom. The good die firm in their faith in God, confiding their last wishes to a friend. The dead are clad in white robes and buried amid the joyous singing of psalms. There is no mourning; and no epitaph is graven on the iron cross which marks the resting place; but if a man has been especially worthy, his name is entered upon the state records; otherwise his only monument is in the memory of man.

For this book Dr. Felix Held claims complete originality and extended influence. The second of these can best be

196. Ch. XVII.  
197. Ch. LXXXVI. "The sacraments are administered as instituted by Christ and according to the rites of the early church; frequently, because of their value; reverently, on account of their high dignity; elaborately, because they are observed by the devout."  
198. Ch. XC.  
199. Ch. LXXXVII. cf. More's Utopia.  
200. Ch. LXXXVII. Compare the Utopia.  
201. Ch. XCIX. Since there is no private property, there are, of course, no wills.  
203. Held, Introduction, pg. 15: It is the purpose of this investigation to prove 1) That the Christianopolis is not a copy or direct imitation of earlier utopias, but an
discussed in connection with works to be considered later. Here it may, however, be pointed out that while More's *Utopia*, Campanella's *Civitas Solis*, Bacon's *New Atlantis*, and Hall's *Mundus Alter et Idem* were undergoing successive reprints, the *Christianopolis* appears not to have been reissued, and was, moreover, not translated into the author's native German until over one hundred years after its first edition. And no English version is known before Dr. Held's own in 1914. In further support of these facts I quote Dr. Held himself: "The immediate effect of the *Christianopolis* in Germany was not so great as might have been expected; it did not become the pattern for other works of a similar nature, nor was its publication received with startling enthusiasm". Yet we are asked to believe that to such a book by a man "with only local reputation" England owes Bacon's *New Atlantis*, Gott's *Nova Solyma*, and in a large measure the Royal Academy!

The distinctive originality of Andreae's work may also be seriously questioned. Dr. Held after examining the critical opinion on the subject concludes speciously: "It is hardly reasonable that the *Descriptio* should be an exact copy independent and original production. 2) That a close comparison of the *Christianopolis* with Bacon's *New Atlantis* shows some striking similarities in form and content; and that external circumstances, also, make a knowledge of the *Christianopolis* on the part of Bacon extremely probable. 3) That *Nova Solyma*, a utopia appearing anonymously in 1648, attributed (1902) by the Rev. Walter Begley to John Milton, but since shown to be the work of Samuel Gott, shows direct influence of the *Christianopolis*. And 4) that the principles of a college reformation in education and the plan of a "college" as outlined in the *Christianopolis* and other works of Andreae, were an important factor through J. A. Comenius, Samuel Hartlib, John Dury, and their associates, in the founding of the Royal Society of London".

of both More and Campanella, especially as the productions of these two differ in many respects from each other.\textsuperscript{205} This is a sweeping and unjustified statement, for the \textit{Utopia} and the \textit{Civitas Solis} do have basic points in common. Both More and Campanella aim, like Plato, to create ideal commonwealths having no actual existence; both, like Plato again, find the ideal in a strongly centralized government; both, like Plato still, make the end of that government the welfare of the individual citizen; and both, like Plato once more, see in communism of property and the just allotment of labor the means to the desired end. These, also, are elements in the \textit{Christianopolis}. Even Andreae's great variation from these of his predecessors is not dissimilar to the changes they themselves made when they borrowed. Plato, a philosopher, emphasized the soul-life; More, a politician, government; Campanella, an orthodox catholic, hierarchical government; and Andreae, a schoolmaster and preacher, education and religion. Seventy years before Andreae's birth an Englishman had recognized in the utopia a medium for expressing doctrinaire views; and five years before Andreae wrote his \textit{Christianopolis} an Italian had done the same. Basically Andreae's book is an imitation of More's and Campanella's, and through them the genealogy may be traced back to Plato, whom Dr. Held complacently ignores.\textsuperscript{206} For proof of More's failure to influence Andreae there are cited: the difference in the shape of the islands, in

\textsuperscript{205} Held, \textit{Introduction}, pg. 20.

\textsuperscript{206} Andreae certainly must have known Plato, for he makes provision for the teaching of Greek in the \textit{Christianopolis} (ch. LVII) and was interested in the humanistic movement (See Held, \textit{Introduction}, ch. I).
in the dimensions of them, in the number of cities, in the form of government, in the manner of eating, in the attitude toward slavery, in the disposal of the dead, and in the ethical standards.207 I have, on the other hand, pointed out in my notes, eight resemblances in detail between More and Andreae, and four between Campanella and Andreae. Moreover, in having only one city Andreae is imitating Campanella so that the number of independent details cited by Dr. Held is reduced to seven. And no great ingenuity is required to change dimensions. Furthermore, the shape of Andreae's island is not original with him; Hall says that "Pamphagonia is triangular in shape, like the letter delta". If Dr. Held had known, or not ignored the Mundus Alter et Idem, he would also have learned that both Hall and Andreae sailed in the "good ship Phantasy", that both went to the "Mare Ethopicum", and that Christianopolis and the Mundus are adjacent countries. If, furthermore, Dr. Held had examined Mr. Begley's edition of the Nova Solyma more carefully he would have found that Caspar Stiblin anticipated Andreae by just sixty-four years in the description of an ideal state with an evangelical religion and a strict code of morality.210 These citations may not prove

207. Held, Introduction, pg. 20. "The ethical standards throughout hardly admit of comparison". This is a superficial conclusion. Adultery does not exist in Utopia. But if the inhabitants of Christianopolis are so perfectly good, why are the associations of youths and maturer persons so carefully supervised, why is their provision for excommunication? Personally, I should much rather dwell in Utopia with all its adulterers than in Christianopolis with its psalm-singing Puritans.

208. Mundus Alter et Idem, Bk. I, Ch. 2. "Pamphagonia triquetra fare est, figura deltali".

209. He does not include it in the Bibliography, pp. 126 128.

Andreae a borrower; but they do establish a strong probability against that complete originality maintained for him by Dr. Held.

Dr. Held's further disagreements with accepted critical opinion are also open to doubt. His enthusiasm for things German has, first of all, led him into an over-estimate of Andreae's literary qualities\(^\text{211}\) which, when looked at in an impartial light, are seen to be nothing more than commonplace. Not only is the governmental form of Christianopolis, as I have pointed out,\(^\text{212}\) vaguely portrayed; but even the description of the educational system is so scant in its detail as to afford no clear, exact, or practical notion of its workings. This same lack of definiteness extends to almost all the details discussed so that after reading the book one is forced to agree with von Mohl when he says: Andreae's "imagination was not vivid enough to embody his conceptions in forms of living reality".\(^\text{213}\) In the second place Dr. Held disregards the plain facts when he insinuates that the Christianopolis is not in any way allegorical.\(^\text{214}\) How far the allegory might be traced can only be said after an elaborate and special study; but that it does exist none can deny. The hero is not an embodied traveller as were Hythloday and the Genoese Captain; he is a fugitive from sophistry, tyranny, and hypocrisy\(^\text{215}\) who finds refuge in a city built by Religion, herself an outcast.\(^\text{216}\) He sails in the ship Phantasy upon the

\(^{211}\) Held, Introduction, pg. 40.
\(^{212}\) See pg., this chapter.
\(^{213}\) Von Mohl, vol. I, pg. 188: "Seine Einbildungs Kraft war nicht bildkräftig genug, um seine Lehre in lebendiger Gestalte zu verkörpen".
\(^{214}\) Held, Introduction, pg. 25 ff.
\(^{215}\) Ch. I.
\(^{216}\) Ch. III.
Academic Sea, and is wrecked "by storms of envy and calumny" in the "Mare Aethiopicum", which Dr. Held inconsistently with his theory interprets as "the Sea of Ignorance".\textsuperscript{217} Within the city the triumvirate is allegorical. The Presbyter is married to Conscience; and the Judge, who is assisted by Measure, is wedded to Understanding; while the Director of Learning has Truth to wife. The decrees of this body are announced by a Chancellor who bears the suggestive name of Tongue, and who is married to a Puritanical lady called Moderation.\textsuperscript{218} Finally, Flattery is made the author of secular history.\textsuperscript{219} If this be not allegory, there is no meaning in the term.

With this data before us we must conclude either that Dr. Held has warped the evidence, or that he has ignored the facts. The Christianopolis is not, as he claims, an entirely original production. Its originality is of the kind exhibited by More and Campanella -- the adaption of an old form to a new purpose, and it may well be doubted whether Andreae was an innovator even in this respect since Stiblin's book appears to contain the germ of all the Christianopolis. For every variation in detail, moreover, a similarity seems to exist as a counterbalance. The voyage imaginaire had, also, been turned to satiric purposes other than political some years before 1619. Finally, the Christianopolis does bear incontrovertible marks of an allegorical nature. The sweeping conclusions of Dr. Held, based

\textsuperscript{217} Ch. I. This term, however, seems to have been in general use as designating the ocean about the Cape of Good Hope. Godwin and Hall so apply it.

\textsuperscript{218} Ch. XXX - XXXVIII inclusive.

\textsuperscript{219} Ch. XLI.
as they are upon an obviously insufficient examination of the case, must, then, be received with distrust, if not with suspicion.

Yet however unoriginal Andreae may appear when his Christianopolis is viewed as a step in the historical development of the voyage imaginaire, something must still be said in his favor. The book is clearly an expression of those ideals which lay nearest his heart. Dr. Held has traced, with accuracy I presume, the various activities in which at different times this forgotten author, preacher, and schoolmaster was concerned, and which, no doubt, are, in part at least, responsible for some of the provisions in his utopia. His own study in the field of language -- for he was an accomplished linguist, reading with facility Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German, Italian, Spanish, French, and English -- doubtless suggested the remarks which he makes on the teaching of those subjects. There can, furthermore, be no question that his work at Calw, where as Dekan and Superintendent he instituted educational reforms and founded a workingmen's mutual protective association which still exists, was also fruitful not only in specific suggestion but in inspiration as well when he came to write his Christianopolis. So while one cannot grant Dr. Held's over-enthusiastic claims for the originality of the book, one must agree that again the utopia is an outgrowth of the author's character and life, not mere theory divorced from personal feeling and experience.

VII

Far different from this idealistic German schoolmaster was an intensely practical, yet far-seeing, English contemporary
who also embodied his dreams of intellectual achievement in a description of an ideal state. Francis Bacon was as devoted to the cause of empiric philosophy as Andreae was to that of religious and educational reform; and although environment and education forced him during many years to give up his energies to politics so that not until public disgrace overtook him as it possible for him to find the leisure requisite for expressing his views in the New Atlantis, the record of this interest can be traced from the very beginning of his career. In the Conference of Pleasure (1592) he says: "Shall we not discern as well the riches of nature's warehouse as the beauties of her shop?"

The same idea occurs in the Devices (1592 - 1595). The Gesta Grayorum (1594) suggests a "definite plan of work": first, a general library to contain all ancient and modern philosophical treaties; second, a garden in which all sorts of plants shall be cultivated in all kinds of soils, and which shall be surrounded by a zoological pavilion and an aquarium housing all manner of beasts, birds, and fish; third, a museum of mechanical arts; and fourth, a chemical laboratory. His letter to Essex in 1595, furthermore, expresses a desire to give himself up to philosophical research rather than to legal study. And "the only piece of autobiography in which he ever indulged" gives in 1603 additional testimony to Bacon's interest in experimental science. To the evidence furnished by these scattered statements

220. The material and quotations used in this paragraph are taken from the Introduction to Mr. G. C. Moore Smith's edition of the New Atlantis, 1900, pp. xii - xvii. The date of composition is 1623; that of the first printed edition was 1626 or 1627.
must be added that of such monumental works as the Novum Organum and the De Instauratio. Throughout his life Bacon's chief intellectual desire was the establishment in actuality of just such a college as that which he portrays in the pages of the New Atlantis; and his powerful imagination in such a work as the Advancement of Learning in which he conceives all knowledge to have been mastered.

The New Atlantis (1626) is the first utopia to be written in English, More having used the Latin tongue. Its popularity was immediate. Before the end of the century thirteen reprints had been issued, and a French translation was made in 1636. As in the voyages imaginaires so far discussed the narration is in the first person, the tale being related by a traveller; but unlike More and Campanella Bacon has no suggestion of dialog. The manner of the telling is plain description as employed by Godwin, Hall, and Andreae. There is, also, some suggestion of later narrative method, especially in the opening passage which tells of the storm. Otherwise, the book is, as far as method is concerned, similar to other relations of imaginary states.

The story runs as follows. The ship, sailing from Peru to China, was hampered by a head-wind, but a sudden shift in the breeze carried it toward the north where the provisions began to fail, when land was descried, and the course immediately laid for it. With the dawn they entered the harbor on the shores of which stood the fair city of Bensalem; but no landing was permitted until it was ascertained that none of the crew had any

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221. More's Utopia and Bacon's New Atlantis both lie in the South Sea. See Morley, Ideal Commonwealths, pp. 55, 171-172, and 177. The Introduction to Mr. G. C. Moore Smith's edition of the New Atlantis, 1900, is valuable. The collection of Bacon's Works by Spedding, Ellis, and Heath, 7 vols., 1854-1859 is also useful.
infectious or contagious disease, that they were not pirates, and that they had shed no human blood within forty days. Even then they were kept in quarantine after coming on shore; for the well, however, this detention lasted only three days, but after the release they were not allowed to pass more than a mile and a half beyond the city walls without a special permit. While they were still under confinement, the priest (for the Atlanteans are Christians) visited them. From him they learned that the conversion of the island to the true faith was the result of a miracle. Some twenty years after Christ's ascension, according to the legend, there was borne to the shores of New Atlantis a chest which contained the canonical books of the Old and New Testaments together with a letter from St. Bartholomew. On the following day this same person told them how it happened that the country of New Atlantis was unknown to the rest of the world. It appears that in the ancient days "China also, and the great Atlantis (that you call America), which have now but junks and canoes, abounded then in tall ships". But the people of America having grown proud made two expeditions, one against the European settlements on the Mediterranean Sea as recorded in Plato and another toward the New Atlantis. No sure news ever came back concerning the fate of the first; but the second, having suffered defeat, was completely destroyed by a mighty storm on their return journey. Afterward all the lowlands of America were submerged under forty feet of water for many days until only a few inhabitants survived of the once numerous race. Since then the New World has been a sparsely populated and savage country. In Europe and Asia, also, there was, for some unexplained reason,
a decay in navigation at this very time. Thus few long voyages being taken, not many ships touched at New Atlantis; and the crews of those which did usually availed themselves of the opportunity to remain in a perfect society. Furthermore, the Atlanteans carry on no foreign commerce; but they gain a knowledge of the outside world by dispatching every year twelve ships on each of which travel three fellows from Solomon's House, whose duty it is to remain abroad until the next journey, acquainting themselves with all the culture and sciences of the countries they visit. This Solomon's House, which is named after King Solomon of the Bible, was founded by Salomona who ruled New Atlantis "about 1900 years ago". It is not a school or a college in the ordinary sense; it is rather an academy directing scientific research on an elaborate and magnificent scale.

After the release from quarantine two of the party were bidden to "a feast of the family", an honor accorded to any father who has thirty living children. In the meantime the author had fallen in with a Jew who voices some curious but inconsequential sentiments concerning the Christian religion, and who also praises the morals of the nation. "There is not", he says, "under heaven so chaste a nation as this".

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222. Only thirteen have refused to stay. Morley, pg. 189.
224. Morley, pg. 202 - 213 for a list of the experiments.
225. Same, pg. 192 - 196 for a description of the ceremony.
226. Same, pg. 187.
of that kind", he continues. Marriage is encouraged; and to prevent any deception both bride and groom are observed secretly by friends as they bathe in a pool provided for that purpose. 227 Wedlock may not be entered into until at least a month after the first meeting. 228 and if marriage is contracted without the consent of the parents, the children born of the union can inherit only one-third of their father's wealth. The book, which is unfinished, ends with a circumstantial account of the arrival in the town of a Father of the Solomon's House, and his description of the experiments carried on by the fraternity.

In his consideration of the New Atlantis Dr. Held again raises the banner of Andreae, this time to proclaim his influence. His first effort is directed toward establishing a connection between Andreae and Bacon through the medium of four men -- Casaubon, Wöckherlin, Sir Henry Wotton, and Sir Toby Matthew; but the only one of these whom he can get into a known contact with Andreae is Wöckherlin who was in the law school at Tübingen while Andreae was studying theology there, and who was secretary to a friend of Andréae. 229 But after all his search Dr. Held can create no more than a probable relation. He has no clean cut facts. The verdict must be "not proved". The second task was to find parallels between the Christianopolis and the New Atlantis. The first of these he discovers in the literary form, i. e., the casting aside of the dialog form; 230 but, as I have pointed out, 227. Morley, pg. 198. Compare More's Utopia.
228. Same, pp. 199 - 200.
230. Same, pg. 55.
Hall had already done this in 1607. And the Mundus Alter et Idem was popular. Besides More's Utopia is, as far as manner of narration goes, a more striking parallel to the New Atlantis than is the Christianopolis. A second similarity is the storm, but surely such a commonplace detail might have been appropriated from any of the numerous travel books printed at that time. There is, Dr. Held also claims, a strong resemblance in the religious life of the two communities, and especially in the introduction of Christianity. But Christianopolis was founded by Religion as a Christian state to be a refuge from religious persecution; New Atlantis was converted by a miracle, and not all the inhabitants of the New Atlantis are Christians. Andreae, furthermore, centered his work about the Christian life and strongly emphasised religious practices; Bacon did not, and what he might have done had he completed the fragment none can tell. There is, however, no evidence to show that he meditated giving religion the foremost position; while there is proof that he meant to append a code of civil laws. Nor can any paralleism be shown by the fact that the people in New Atlantis swear by Jesus Christ since any normal Christian might be expected to do so. Equally rash is Dr. Held's assumption that because there is a feast given to the father of thirty children all meals are eaten in private. As a matter of fact nothing is said on this point one way or the other. Sanita-

232. Hakluyt's Voyages appeared in 1598 - 1600.
233. Held, Introduction, pg. 56.
234. Same, pg. 58.
235. Same, pg. 60.
tion, moreover, appears in all utopias; it is not Andreae's exclusive property.\textsuperscript{236} And More suggested scientific agriculture over one hundred years before Andreae wrote. Dr. Held's greatest claim is that Bacon borrowed the idea of Salomon's House from his German contemporary.\textsuperscript{237} It is true that both Christianopolis and New Atlantis support elaborate academies; but in them is a fundamental difference. Andreae's purpose is the imparting of knowledge, especially religious and ethical knowledge; Bacon's is the discovery of scientific truth. Andreae includes both speculative and experimental studies with the emphasis on the former; Bacon has only the latter. The English philosopher, moreover, from his youth onward and in all his works, some of which appeared before any of Andreae's, supported the cause of empiricism. Why, then, shall we be asked to go afield in order to discover his sources in a book whose "immediate effect \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots in Germany was not so great as might have been expected", which "did not become a pattern for other works of a similar nature", whose publication was received with no "startling enthusiasm", and whose author was "not as yet known as a writer and had only a local reputation as a man of ability and knowledge of social and religious conditions"?\textsuperscript{238}

The author of the \textit{New Atlantis} should not, however, be exalted as entirely original. He had behind him the utopian heritage which could not but affect him. Both More and Plato are mentioned indirectly in the book, and the three day's en-

\textsuperscript{236} Held, Introduction, pg. 63.
\textsuperscript{237} Same, pp. 64 - 71.
\textsuperscript{238} Same, pg. 75. In his Bibliography there is listed only one work of Andreae's before the \textit{Christianopolis} and one after; the latter is an autobiography.
tertainment at the Strangers' House and the travelling fellows are strongly reminiscent of Campanella. Like each of these men, however, Bacon reshaped the form to suit his own ends; and hence in the New Atlantis we have an imaginary state drawn to exhibit an ideal of scientific research, although it appears that a set of laws was to be included. But one new element Bacon did introduce into the utopia. Heretofore there had been no attempt to keep the knowledge of the state from the world. The Utopians and the inhabitants of Civitas Solis carried on trade with foreign nations; the dwellers in Christianopolis invited the author to return with his friends. The Atlanteans, on the other hand, have no commercial intercourse with alien peoples; and even intellectual relations are established secretly and with no idea of reciprocal exchange. Those persons who by chance find out the country are bribed to remain. This may have been with Bacon merely a variation of More's trick to gain verisimilitude; but later, in such works as L'Histoire des Sverambes, peques Sodom, and L'Isle Inconnue, it developed into the motif of an asylum.

VII

In 1637 appeared the Eudemia of Janius Cicius Erythraeus. The book is a satire upon contemporary manners, based like Hall's

239. Bacon's devotion to empiric philosophy is too well known to need comment. As early as 1595 in a letter to Essex he "expressed a wish to retire from the practice of law and to devote himself to philosophy", says S. R. Gardiner in his article on Bacon in the Dictionary of National Biography; and the titles of many of his works are a sufficient indication of his interest in the field.

240. I have been unable to secure this book except in summary by Mr. Begley, Nova Solyma, vol. II, pp. 369-379. The author's real name was Giovanni Vittorio Rossi. The work is, of course, in Latin. Mr. Begley thinks it was influenced in style by Barclay's Argenis and Petronius' Satyricon. Naudé connects it with More's Utopia.
upon the discovery of a new country, but one which, unlike Hall's, is unknown to man. The island is found by two young Romans, who, having concerned themselves in the conspiracy of Sejanus, were forced to flee and were shipwrecked upon the coast of Eudemia, the largest island in the Mauritania group. Interwoven in the satire is a love episode. Olinda falling in love with Philotas disguised herself as a boy and followed him. Unfortunately she drew upon herself the affection of a wanton widow, and to escape from the dilemma committed suicide. This introduction of a love episode into the voyage imaginaire is important not only because it is the first, but also because it sets a fashion which was followed by later authors. Also worthy of note is the reappearance of the picaresque hero who had been suppressed since Godwin; but in the Eudenia the sequence between the crime and the shipwreck is closer, whereas in Godwin the putting to sea is a commercial venture and the hero is put on shore because of ill health.

Three years later a certain R. H. published a continuation of the New Atlantis. He did not, however, add much to the original, but rather developed the ideas suggested by it. His work was, nevertheless, deemed worthy of a reprint in 1660, but since then it has sunk into deserved oblivion.

Another unimportant utopia appeared the following year — Macaria by Samuel Hartlib. In the use of the dialog form, in the abrupt meeting of the two speakers (a Traveller and a Scholar), in the absence of any explanation as to how the former found Macaria or returned from it, and in the baldness of the

narrative the Macaria suggests the Civitas Solis. Certain of its details, on the other hand, recall the Utopia and the New Atlantis. The name Macaria is probably borrowed from More as are the ideas concerning war and the repression of religious fanatics. Hartlib's College of Experiments is doubtless the Salomon's House of Bacon renamed. The passages on agriculture, however, appear to be original with Hartlib; for he wrote other works on the subject. The purpose of the pamphlet, says the editor of the Harleian Miscellany, was "to intimate to a new model of government .........., as the properest means to reconcile the destructive breach, that was beginning to appear between the king and parliament".

A brief summary will illuminate the points of the preceding paragraph and also show that Hartlib really added nothing to the development of the voyage imaginaire. A Traveller and a Scholar meet on the "Change" and go into Moorfield for a chat. In a monotonous series of questions and answers we learn that the former has visited the kingdom of Macaria. The ruling power in this country is a Great Council which holds brief annual sessions to hear impeachments against ministers, judges, and other officers whom "they trounce soundly, if there be cause". There are under councils of husbandry, land trade, maritime trade, and colonial expansion, which also meet once a year. The laws governing real property are the most important. An "in-heritance" tax of five per cent is levied for the purpose of creating an internal improvement fund; and fines are assessed for failure to develop lands. In the manual arts the demand for

243. Bacon calls it also the College of the Six Days' Work.
and supply of labor are equalized by regulating the number of apprentices in any given trade. All commerce which enriches the nation is encouraged, and new plantations receive government subsidies until they become self-supporting. War is waged only in self-defense; but an attack always brings vengeance in the form of annexation. The College of Experiments supervises all medical practice, directing in this work the parish priests who are doctors of physic as well as of divinity. The infallible tenets of religion must be accepted by all Macarians, and the teaching of new beliefs is a crime. Government officials are so well paid that they suffer no temptation to be dishonest; and the king manages the royal demesne so well that he seldom has to request the levy of imposts, and thus he readily obtains them when he does ask.

VIII

As Hartlib's little dialog grew out of his interest in the political broil that was gradually involving King, parliament, and people, so Samuel Gott's Nova Solyma, issued anonymously in Latin, sprang from the author's dreamy hope that morality and art might be joined in the wedlock of fictional form. The book, however, fell stillborn from the press and so little was known of it or of its author that when in 1902 the Reverend Mr. Walter Begley issued an English translation of it, he sought to amass in an elaborate introduction and exhaustive footnotes evidence to prove that the unknown author was John Milton. After drawing numerous parallels between the Nova Solyma and Milton's known work, Mr. Begley clinched his argument with the silencing inquiry: "If not Milton, then who?" Unfortunately for this
pleasant thesis Mr. Stephen K. Jones while examining W. London's Catalogue of the most vendible Books in England (1658), discovered the Nova Solyma entered as the work of Samuel Gott, a gentleman then unknown. This forgotten author appears to have been born in 1613, and to have been the son of a London ironmonger. He attended the Merchant Taylors' School and St. Catherine's, Cambridge, taking his A. B. in 1632. Sometime in the forties he married a Miss Farnden and retired to his country estate. At one time he seems to have been connected with politics in London, but evidently he was not an important figure since no mention of him survives. The Nova Solyma was not his only production, nor even his first perhaps. The others are: Parabolae Evangelicae Latine Reddita (ante. 1650), An Essay on the True Happiness of Man (1650), and the Divine History of the Genesis of the World Explicated and Illustrated (1670). Mr. Jones concludes that even without the testimony of the Catalogue the dates of Gott's residence at Cambridge and the matter of his other publications seriously weaken Mr. Begley's case since the evidence produced by the latter will now apply to Gott as well as to Milton. The list of Gott's works and the details of his life have, however, another interest. They show the author to have been a thoroughly religious man, given to the leisurely contemplation of things divine and also one removed from the hurlyburly of active life, content to dream away his days outside the sphere of politics.

245. This is the only publication bearing Gott's name.
246. Entered as Gott's in the General Catalogue for 1680.
and wars. Into such a country he transports us in the Nova Solyma. There are "no wars or rumors of wars", no political factions perturb the state; all is peace and quiet meditation on things of the heart and soul. In the hustling days of revolutions, regicides, and commonwealths none but a mystic and a dreamer could have written such a book.

In form the Nova Solyma is more of a romance than an imaginary voyage or a utopia. In fact its opening passage suggests not a travel book or a sea story but a conventional novel beginning. In addition, the only imaginary thing about the land or city of Nova Solyma is that Jerusalem is supposedly restored to a Christianized Hebraic rule and the idealism of its customs and government. These points can, however, best be emphasised by a summary of the story.

Two Cambridge students, Eugenius and Politian, having heard of Nova Solyma, decide to go thither; but fearing parental opposition, the leave England secretly, and passing through Sicily on the way to Jerusalem meet a young Hebrew, Joseph son of Jacob, who while travelling with his tutor Appollos, was set upon by brigands and left destitute and alone among strangers. The half-brothers, for such Eugenius and Politian were, take the young fellow for their guide, and the three reach Nova Solyma safely, where Jacob welcomes his son and his benefactors, for the entertainment of strangers is a national duty.

247. The names of the characters are Arcadian, rather than Hebraic, English, or Italian: Eugenius and Politian have been mentioned, as has Appollos. Antonia is not Hebraic. Philander is a romance name.

At this point it is best to cease following a strictly chronological order of incidents and to discuss the subject matter of the book under the heads of government, education, religion, and love episodes. The first is vaguely treated, probably because Gott did not aim to write a political tract. There is a council of old men and another of young men, but their duties are not explained. The family organization is patriarchal, and the father is the unquestioned master of his children.\textsuperscript{249} The betrothal customs are Hebraic; but marriage is a civil, not a religious contract, the ceremony being performed by a university professor.\textsuperscript{250} Duels are forbidden, and ignoble punishments are inflicted upon all those guilty of such offences; but to settle all questions of honor a censor is appointed.\textsuperscript{252} Charity is organized; the system, however, is not explained. Dress is the only distinction of rank, laborers wearing short gowns, and officials long robes.\textsuperscript{254} A family inherits the honors of its ancestors in case it is deserving; otherwise the dignity lapses.\textsuperscript{255} An attempt is made at the impartial distribution of public honors, but most of them go to the soldiers.\textsuperscript{256} Trade is permitted; commercial treaties even being contracted with foreign countries, the chief articles of export being the

\textsuperscript{249}. Begley, Walter, \textit{Nova Solyma}, 1902, vol. I, pg. 100. "Be he a tyrant, a \textit{lunatic}, or a criminal even, a father is not to be despised, or jeered at, or malign’d, or ill-treated".

\textsuperscript{250}. Same, vol. II, pg. 228 and 209.

\textsuperscript{251}. Same, vol. II, pp. 112 - 116. If one participant is slain, the other is hanged heels upward; if neither is killed, both are branded.

\textsuperscript{252}. Same, vol. II, pg. 116.

\textsuperscript{253}. Same, vol. I, pg. 238.

\textsuperscript{254}. Same, vol. I, pg. 106.

\textsuperscript{255}. Same, vol. II, pg. 116 ff.

\textsuperscript{256}. Same, vol. II, pp. 116 ff.
showy and useless manufactures. 

Civil edicts are obeyed without question unless they conflict with the dictates of one's conscience; then the spiritual law becomes supreme, for the inhabitants of Nova Solyma vigorously oppose any temporal interference in things divine.

Education receives a more ordered and fuller treatment. Two great fundamental principles underlie it: that Nature is superior to art, and that truth and religion are the highest things. Instruction in childhood is by means of fairy tales. Real education begins in the college. Here only the best professors are hired at the highest salaries; and their teaching is guided by the principle of self-restraint which is the national ideal in both the physical and intellectual life; for they hold that while genius ought to be fostered, it should also be enjoined from waywardness. Effort is encouraged in two ways — first, by the practical means of scholarships for poor students, and second, by regulating the difficulty of the assigned tasks according to the capacity of the individual student. Emulation is also urged by offering prize pens for original compositions in "colloquial", declamatory, poetic, and historical writing.

The course offered in the college lays stress upon Greek, Latin, and Hebrew; but modern languages are also taught in order that

262. I have omitted in the summary of the passage on the college a description of the building as being unnecessary. In the courtyard stand statues of eminent men with their deeds inscribed on their bases. This is suggestive of both Bacon and Campanella. Admission to the college is obtained only after an examination by the Porter; of what sort this test is, is not told.
intercourse with other nations may be maintained. Sport for
sport's sake is encouraged; and military drill is compulsory
for all. Ethical and religious instruction are also given; the
latter is not, however, to be confused with theological study.
The undergraduate course continues throughout four years, and
is followed by three years of postgraduate work, which may be
in philosophy and jurisprudence, in law, in medicine, or in
theology. In addition to this formal instruction a university
extension course is maintained by means of educational lectures
in other towns, and public discourses on religion, ethics, and
family life.

The religion of Nova Solyma is Puritanic in its theology
and is based upon the assumption that the Bible is an infallible
revelation of the word of God and of his ways toward men. Its
nature is chiefly revealed in two long, dry college lectures --
one on the creation, the other on the well regulated life, the
latter, however, being more suggestive of Greek philosophy than
of the Bible. An enlivening incident in the religious dis-
cussion is the episode of Theophrastus and the devil, which is
not far different in its tone from such a Puritan document as
Bunyan's Grace Abounding, the devil, of course, getting the worst
of the contest, and the soul of Theophrastus being haled from
his body to a peaceful immortality.

The love stories, which are an intimate part of the frame-
work of the romance, are of two sorts. That of Joseph and
Phillipina is tragic. The former while in Italy had saved the
latter from death, and she had repaid his generosity by falling
in love with him; Joseph, however, did not return the compliment.
After he had gone home, she disguised herself as a boy, assumed the name of Philander, and followed him. To further hide her identity and excuse her wanderings, she invented a story to the effect that as she (i.e., Philander) lay asleep in a meadow a beautiful maiden had bent over her, but as she awoke the girl disappeared, her life having since been spent in a bootless search for the lost love. Arriving at Nova Solyma in the character of Philander she was by Joseph’s aid lodged in the house of Antonia, a widow, who soon fell in love with the supposed youth, but met only with repulses. Despairing at last after an especially severe rebuke, she resolved to kill both herself and Philander. Just at this moment, however, messengers arrived from Sicily and revealed the true character and name of the supposed boy. Joseph directed them to Antonia’s house; but before the party could reach it, the blow had fallen. The widow had taken poison; and Phillipina, having heard of the arrival of the Sicilians, had stabbed herself. Joseph on learning the truth was greatly afflicted in conscience, but recovering promised to be more careful in the future. Meanwhile Eugenius and Politian had fallen in love with Joseph’s sister Anna, and quarreling had arranged a meeting to settle the question of honor. Joseph, however, discovered the situation, and scolded them severely. The half-brothers, after having undergone a regenerating religious experience, and having obtained their host’s forgiveness, were then introduced to Joanna, another sister, who cannot be distinguished from Anna. The episode and the book ends with the arrival of the English father, the betrothal of the four lovers, and the elevation of Jacob and Joseph to the
leadership of the senior and junior councils respectively.

In the *Nova Solyma* Dr. Held again sees, with some greater show of reason this time perhaps, the influence of Andreae at work. Yet even here he shows a marked tendency to generalize on what seem insufficient and hasty hypotheses. Since Gott was at Cambridge with Milton, Dr. Held presumes a natural connection between the former and the latter's friends -- Dury and Hartlib. This may have been the case; but, as in the case of Bacon, we have no proof. Dr. Held also seems to have taken seriously the author's statement in the *Autocriticon* appended to the edition of 1649 that the work "was written in the heat of youthful ardour"; it may have been, but fiction writers lied famously in their prefaces at that time. The *Nova Solyma* is, moreover, a romance turned to outspoken didactic purposes, and is not primarily a description of an ideal state. In addition, not all of Dr. Held's parallels are as convincing as he would have them seem. The moral tone in which he finds his first similarity is not characteristic of Andreae and Gott alone, but of practically every author of European prose fiction from More to Defoe. Another resemblance which he discovers is the high moral character of the teachers; but the priests, who taught the youth in Utopia, were "men of eminent piety". Parental consent to marriages was required in New Atlantis as well as in Christianopolis. And finally the parallel passage

266. Morley, pg. 156; Held, pg. 94.
is no parallel passage at all.\footnote{267} Gott writes, describing the suburban villas of Nova Solyma: "Here too were set about many beautiful trees, springing from the fertile soil, and so shutting out the view of the city that you seemed to be in the very heart of the country, and all was open to the air, and sunshine, green and fertile. Here and there were beds of flowers of varied hues scattered about the grassy slopes, and their bright borders looked like garlands thrown on the ground". Andreae says of the gardens surrounding the College at Christianopolis: "They are not permitted to confuse the order of the distribution of plants, which by the skill of the gardener are made to conform to the various zones of the sky, a wonderful and clever combination of colors, representing as it were a painted plate". Of these two passages Dr. Held concludes: "The description of the gardens and the various hues and the color of the flowers therein is almost identical". Comment is needless. It is this tendency in Dr. Held to make unfounded claims which causes me to doubt even those which I should otherwise be inclined to grant. Anyway influence upon a book which ten years after its first issue was waste paper on the bookseller's shelves is an empty honor indeed.\footnote{268}

The development of the \textit{voyage imaginaire} in this period shows many interesting changes in its subject-matter, aim, and form. In 1516 it was a wonderbook, but More grafted upon it the branch of the utopia which flourished and bore fruit. Almost

\footnote{267} Nova Solyma, vol. I, pg. 162; Christianopolis, ch. XCIV;\footnote{268} Held, pg. 89.

Dr. Held has failed to point out the greatest resemblance between the Christianopolis and the Nova Solyma; both were forgotten as soon as published, and not revived for many years.
one hundred years later Hall developed another off-shoot — social satire —, which, while it did not at once mature, later waxed and grew strong. The voyage has, in other words, now become purposive literature, and such it is to remain until 1750. The literary form too has changed. The dialog which was borrowed from Plato along with the conception of an ideal state, did not thrive. Only Campanella and Hartlib preserve it intact; More made the narrative a sort of lecture; and Hall, Andreae, and Gott emphasize the story form until with the latter it becomes a full-fledged romance. After 1641 no voyages imaginaires were written in the dialog form. The effort to gain verisimilitude, however, did not develop. More was the only one who made an extended effort to "force belief", but his seed fell upon barren ground; the labor of evolving the elaborate preface was left to Vairasse and his followers. But from the Utopia onward all except a few authors felt called upon to give a more or less exact location to their imaginary states. Characterization, too, has made little headway; and only in the Nova Solyma do we find more than faint suggestions of it, and these not many.
Chapter IV.

THE VOYAGE IMAGINAIRE FROM MONTPENSIER TO TYSSOT (1652-1720).

Thus far in its history the *voyage imaginaire* has been confined chiefly to utopias, such productions as Godwin's *Man in the Moone* and Hall's *Mundus Alter et Idem* being infrequent. After 1650, however, both its character and method became more varied. Descriptions of ideal states are, of course, still to be found; but added to these are narratives of supposed lands allegorical in nature, the customs and manners of whose inhabitants are intended as a satire upon those of contemporary Europe. Sometimes this satire is extended further and made to include not only social customs but political, philosophical, religious, and educational ideas as well. In this period, too, was developed to its fullest extent the effort to gain verisimilitude by means of the preface and the pretended manuscript; and the Robinsonade element became an almost permanent feature of all those *voyages* which dealt with the sea.

In 1652 appeared the *Relation de L'Isle Imaginaire* by Anna Montpensier. It together with Abbé Hédelin d'Aubignac's *Relation du Royaume de Coqueterie* (1654), Charles Sorel's *L'Isle de Portraiture* (1659), and Tallement's *Voyage de l'Isle de l'Amour* (1663) represents one of the new departures. Under an allegorical guise these works aim to satirise some fad,
foolly, passion, or other extravagant practice of the beau monde or of literature. Unfortunately I have not been able to secure them either in text or in summary; and so the bare statement of their aim must here suffice. They were, moreover, the least influential of the satirical voyages and are now all but forgotten, for while Cyrano de Bergerac, Swift, and Holberg assaulted fundamental vices of mankind, these authors confined themselves to attacks upon petty failings and transient faults.

The new tendency, however, quickly manifested itself in a more important and more popular volume. Cyrano de Bergerac's *Voyage dans la Lune* was published in 1656; and six years later a new and enlarged version was issued under the title *Les Voyages de Cyrano de Bergerac dans les Etats et les Empires de la Lune et du Soliel*, to which was appended *L'Histoire des Oiseaux*. The first and shorter book was translated into English in 1659, three years after its appearance in France; and the complete edition was englished in 1687.

Cyrano de Bergerac tells that returning to Paris one night with some tipsy companions, he was inspired by their random remarks to attempt a journey to the Moon. His first trail was made by attaching to his belt a number of bottles filled with morning dew upon which the Sun exercised an attraction powerful enough to raise him. Unfortunately, however, the Moon appeared to recede rather than to approach; so he dropped several of his phials. Immediately he, too, fell earthward; but instead of finding himself in familiar surroundings, he

saw about him a land entirely strange, which on inquiry he found to be Canada. Thereupon he concluded that the Earth must revolve on an axis since he had ascended and descended in the same line. Not discouraged by his failure, Cyrano made a second trial in a machine of his own invention; but this attempt also met with unsuccess, the engine falling and he himself being badly bruised. Having returned home he anointed himself with ox marrow and set out to find his machine. The populace had meanwhile discovered it, and conceiving it to be an infernal invention, were about to burn it when he arrived on the scene. In order to rescue it from destruction, he sprang into it and began a second flight. But once more the machine fell; Cyrano, however, continued to rise, buoyed up by the attraction exerted by the Moon upon the marrow with which he had salved his wounds. As he approached this other world, his feet turned toward it, and he began to descend more rapidly; but his fall was luckily broken by a tree.

Setting out at once in search of food, he found under a tree a man with whom he entered into conversation, but after a few exchanges this person disappeared in a cloud. At that moment two large ape-like beings came up and took him prisoner, carrying him home and exhibiting him about the country as a sort of mountebank's monkey. In the meantime news of this strange creature reached the court; and the Queen commanded that he be fetched as a companion for her "little animal", who

2. Cf. Gulliver's treatment in Brobdignag.
turned out to be a Spaniard kept by the queen as a monkey because on his discovery he was dressed in the Spanish mode which among the Lunars is reserved for simians as being the most ridiculous known. At the royal palace Cyrano also met with a "genius" who had formerly been on earth as the daemon of Socrates but who had retired hence because virtue was no longer to be found there.

By this time the hero had learned the court language, which consisted of musical tones so that two people could converse by playing on instruments. Such a sign of intelligence caused a dispute among the philosophers as to his nature, some maintaining his rationality, others denying it, so that he was brought to trial; but after much argument the savants concluded that he was only a bird without feathers, and remanded him to prison. During his incarceration Cyrano mastered the vulgar tongue which consisted of movements of the body, such as wiggling the ears or blinking the eye-lids. This new manifestation of reason caused the scholars to hold a new examination, at which it was concluded that he was an ostrich since he walked on two legs, held up his head, and was filled with an inordinate pride.

An incautious statement on his part that the earth was an inhabited world now brought on a third trial; but in spite of the daemon's effort to show that a recantation would not alter the truth or the falsity of the statement nor the holder's

3. Godwin, author of the Man in the Moone. Cyrano says, Voyage Imaginaires, vol. XIII, p. 167, "Ce petit homme me conta qu'il etoit European, natif de veille Castille; qu'il avoit trouve moyen avec des oiseaux, de se faire porter jusqu'au monde de la lune ou nous etions alors."
opinion on the matter, retraction was the penalty inflicted. Cyrano, having confessed that the Moon is world and the Earth is a moon, was then allowed to accompany the daemon at whose house he heard numerous philosophical discussions upon such topics as the subservience of parents to their children, the intelligence of vegetables, the identity of shame and false modesty, and the soundness of Democritus' theory of emanations.

Meanwhile one of the young ladies-in-waiting had begun to pay assiduous court to him, suggesting that they flee together during the excitement attendant upon a war which was about to break out. The lunar method of conducting hostilities is to have a referee to select a battleground, and to arrange the time and manner of the conflict. To this place the armies, each having an equal number of men with equal equipment, repair. After the contest in the field the philosophers, savants, and scholars meet in a battle of wits. The leader of that party which is awarded the victory by the referee, is then chosen king of the vanquished.

Other strange customs are also described. The moon-people feed upon the odors of food. The sign of nobility among them is not a sword as in France, but a bronze figure of the male genital organ; for, say they, it is ridiculous to exalt an instrument of destruction over one of procreation. All whose noses are less than a proscribed bigness are castrated because the lunars believe that a large nose is the sign of virtue.

6. Cf. Lucian, who says that they snuff up the smoke of broiling frogs.
intelligence, and similar desirable qualities in its owner. Their gunpowder is most miraculous, for it not only slays the game but dresses and cooks it as well.

Cyrano made his escape from the Moon by the aid of the daemon, who carried him across interstellar space and deposited him in Italy, whence he returned to France without further adventure except that the dogs continually bayed him because he smelled of the Moon.

These adventures Cyrano related to a friend who persuaded him to publish them; but the appearance of the book aroused a severe persecution against him, which ended in his imprisonment on the charge of sorcery. During his confinement Cyrano, now called Dyrcano (anagram for Cyrano d''), amused himself with various experiments, finally creating an engine composed of a box with holes bored in the bottom. Through the lid he inserted a bottle, open, it appears, at both ends, upon which mirrors reflected the rays of the sun, causing the air in it to become heated and so to rise; a partial vacuum thus being formed, the air rushed in through the holes in the bottom of the box, creating a "breeze" which carried the machine upward.

His first landing in this new journey was upon a small world near the Sun, where he learned the scientific principle of the engendering of life. The heat of the Sun acting upon the ooze of the earth, causes blisters to arise, from which, if they open after the first swelling, vegetable life results; if after the second, animal life; if after the third, rational, or

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7. The hugeness of Cyrano's nose is well known. See Edmond Rostand, *Cyrano de Bergerac*, 1897, Act I, sc. 4. Cyrano is reputed to have fought more than a hundred duels on account of his prominent nose.
human, life.

Resuming his travels Cyrano passed through a region of opaque blackness, from which as he neared the Sun he emerged into another where he experienced the phenomenon of having himself and all about him transparent. Now also he felt no need of food since the heat of the Sun overcame the cold humors of his body. Soon after, he landed upon the Sun; and being wearied, he lay down to sleep upon a barren plain; but on his awaking he found himself lying under a gorgeous tree of gold and gems on which sat a nightingale singing her sweetest songs. Suddenly one of the gem-fruits fell from the tree, and as it touched the ground assumed the shape of a diminutive man; whereupon the entire tree dissolved into a race of pigmies who after performing an intricate dance took the shape of a man, the most active among them forming the head, the less the trunk, and the least the limbs. Into the mouth of this creature entered the dwarf who had first appeared to Cyrano. The being now explained to Cyrano the power of the will (volanté) over matter and its ability to effect any desired change of form. It also told that they were a people who journeyed over the Sun visiting all of its parts, assuming during these travels the shapes of eagles, with the exception of the prince who took that of a nightingale. On one such journey they had met the nightingale which Cyrano had seen sitting on the tree; she had immediately fallen in love with their prince, thinking that the eagles were kidnapping him, and since that time she had followed them, so that they had to change into a tree each night to afford her a

resting place. After this narration, the body changed once more into individual beings who assumed the shapes of eagles and flew off.

Proceeding on his way, Cyrano entered the Land of Birds where he was taken prisoner and dragged into court on the charge of being a man. On the advice of a pie which had once been a captive among men, he pleaded that he was a monkey; but a commission appointed to examine the evidence reported adversely on the contention because when they capered in front of him, he did not imitate them. A motion was then made that he be sentenced to the triste morte, i.e., death by hearing the birds sing sad songs until his heart should burst; but the king commuted the penalty to death by being devoured by insects. A black ostrich carried him to the place of execution, where the herons tied him securely; but just as the swarms of insects were about to assail him, there arrived a reprieve gained because he had once shown kindness to his cousin's parrot who was now in the Sun. The terms of the pardon, however, required that he should leave the Land of the Birds at once.

A white ostrich now carried him into a forest where, wearied with the excitement of the trial, he fell sound asleep. Some hours later he was awakened by voices speaking in the Greek tongue, but no persons could be seen. Suddenly one of the voices announced that the odor of a man could be detected, and Cyrano, fearing new ill-luck, asked who the speaker might be. He now learned that he was in a grove of Dodona oaks, the seed of which had been brought to the Sun in the claw of an eagle. The oak further explained that trees and the earth
stand to one another in the relation of father and mother, the seed of the former being the semen, the ground of the latter being the womb, and the shedding of the leaves representing the careful wrapping of the female in a cloak against the weather. Another now related the story of the lover trees, sprung in ancient times from the bodies of Orestes and Pilades, the fruit of which inspires in those who eat of it an intense reciprocal passion. By this means all the abnormal loves of antiquity, such as that of Pasiphae for the bull and Narcissus for himself, are accounted for, as well as the attraction between iron and loadstone which were created by the juice of the fruit falling on the cinders when the incensed people burned the trees to rid the world of their menace. The story also explains that since the poles are the exits for the souls departing from this earth, iron and loadstone separately turn from, but united turn toward them, as not desiring to leave the world except in consort one with another. From these tree-folk Cyrano also learned that the trees feel; for it is noticed that when one is struck with an axe, the first blow cuts much deeper than the succeeding ones since that always takes the tree by surprise whereas being prepared for those that follow, it can stiffen its fibers to resist.

Passing from this wood Cyrano met Campanella with whom he witnessed a combat between a Salamander and a Remore, i. e., between the principles of heat and cold, in which the latter was victorious. The two then proceeded rapidly toward the City of Philosophers because Campanella was anxious to meet the newly arrived Descartes. On the way, however, they visited a
lake which feeds the five rivers of the senses and whence flow
the streams of Memory, Imagination, and Judgment, an allegorical
description of each being given. Passing on the two travellers
met a woman from the Land of Lovers who was dragging her husband
to the City of Philosophers to obtain his condemnation for having
slain her child twice in one night, once by having refused to
hold intercourse with her and again by having an emission in
his dreams. This lady described the Land of Lovers where all
children are reared in a school of love from which the girls
are graduated at the age of thirteen, the boys at eighteen, each
youth being assigned at that time as many women as he is able
to satisfy sexually. Each night, also, a doctor goes the rounds
of the houses in his district assigning to each husband and wife
the number of connections allowable for them during that period.
The last incident in the book is a meeting between this group
of characters and Descartes as Campanella and Cyrano are accompany-
ing the husband and wife back to the Land of Love.

Just what Cyrano aimed to satirize in each instance is
difficult to tell. It is clear at once, however, that he meant
to assail mankind as a whole, at least that notion of it which
assumed mankind to be infinitely superior to all other created
things; otherwise there is no point either in the judgment of the
lunar savants on his nature, or to the decision of the birds as
to his rationality. 9 Evidently, too, he sought fun at the

9. Histoire des Oiseaux, Voyages Imaginaires, vol. XIII, pp. 359 -
360: Les oiseaux allèguent que cela serait bien ridicule
de croire qu'un animal tout nu, que la nature même en
mettent au jour ne s'étoit pas souciée de fournir de choses
nécessaire à le conserver, fût comme eux capable de raisonner.
Encore, ajoutent ils, si c'étoit un animal qui approchât
un peu davantage de notre figure; mais justement le plus
expense of the young bloods in his passage on swords, and to
get a sly thrust at his enemies when he made big noses a lunar
test of virtue. Doubtless, also, there is satire in the pas-
sages which tell of the philosophical doctrines of the Moonites
and in the descriptions of the Rivers of Memory, Imagination,
and Judgment; and Cyrano evidently wished to ridicule intel-
lectual bigotry when he told how incensed were the Lunars at
his assertion that the world was inhabited, and when he penned
the very readable narrative at the opening of the second part,
telling of the mob and its prejudices. Beyond doubt he also
meant to turn the laugh on the Spaniards in saying the inhabi-
tants of the Moon dressed their monkeys in the Spanish fashion
as being the most ridiculous. Perhaps the Land of Love with
its school of passion and regulation of sexual intercourse is,
likewise, to be taken as a satire upon utopics. But in all
cases except the first the satire is too vague to have had much
point, and Cyrano appears clearly to lack the power of such a
writer as Swift or the imagination of such an author as Holberg.

dissemble, et le plus affreux; enfin un bête chauve, un
oiseau plumé, une chimère amassée de toutes sortes de
natures, et qui fait peur à toutes: l'homme, dis-je, si tot
et si vain, qu'il se persuade que nous n'avons été fait
que pour lui: l'homme qui, avec son âme si clairvoyant, ne
saurait distinguer le sucre d'avec le arsenic, et qui
avalera de la cigué que son beau jugement lui aura fait
prendre pour de persil: l'homme qui soutient qu'on ne
raisonne que par le rapport des sens les plus faibles,
les plus tardifs, et le plus faux d'entre toutes les créatures:
l'homme enfin que la nature, pour fait de tout, a créé
comme les monstres, mais en qui pourtant elle a infusé
l'ambition de commander à tous les animaux, à l'exterminer.

"Voilà ce que disoient les plus sages. Pour la
commune, elle croit que que cela eût horrible, de
croire qu'une bête qui n'avait pas les visage fait comme
eux, eût de la raison. Hé quoi, murmuroient-ils l'un à
l'autre, il n'a ni bec, ni plumes, ni griffes, et son âme
seroit spirituelle? O dieux; quelle impertinence."
The satire, however, is not what makes the work of Cyrano important in the history of the voyage imaginaire; the importance results from the new elements which it contains. In it for the first time since Lucian a story has been told with narrative interest. More, Hall, Bacon, Campanella, Andrea, and Bacon were concerned merely with describing the practices of the lands which they purported to have visited; Erythraeus and Gott left their love stories as mere episodes inserted in the descriptions of their states; and Godwin, who had tried to tell a story, had succeeded only in giving bare details. In Cyrano's work, on the other hand, there is at times real adventure and real narrative suspense, although the best of the story is the account of his adventures in France. But the step is noteworthy. The voyage imaginaire is becoming less a propagandist's document and more a tale. The scope of the voyage too has now widened. Formerly it has been confined largely to utopian literature, and only on rare occasions had it diverged into other fields; but now it has definitely turned to satire, although of a new kind, ridiculing not a literary practice as did Lucian, nor vice as did Hall, but philosophical belief. Still another change worthy of special remark has been made. As long as the journey was confined to the earth, the problem of transportation offered no difficulty; but when the traveller passed through interstellar space obstacles arose. Lucian had depended on the simple expedient of a whirlwind to elevate him to the Moon; Godwin upon the crude plan of being carried thither by birds; Cyrano made the first attempt to give a scientific vraisemblance to his method, and although his means may appear ridiculous
to-day, they are still important because the later and more probable explanations are basically the same as his -- the invention of some ingenious device.

These are significant contributions and are not to be minimized even by the author's fairly extensive borrowings. There can be no doubt that in writing a satirical voyage he was imitating Lucian's *Verae Historiae*; nor can there be any question that his odor-devouring Lunars are only a slight variation of Lucian's smoke-snuffing ones, nor that his daemon of Socrates was suggested by Lucian's *Endymion*.\(^\text{10}\) That he appropriated details from Godwin is self-evident. Both experience no hunger in passing through the middle regions, and in both the lunar language consists of musical tones. His meeting with Godwin shows, furthermore, that he knew the English book, a French version of which was issued first in 1648 and again in 1654. It may be, also, that Cyrano knew Bishop Wilkins' *World in the Moon* although there appears to have been no French version, and no traces of borrowing can be found. These, however, are minor details; the framework of the story is the author's own.

Yet in spite of his creative power in this field of literary endeavor Cyrano de Bergerac lives in the minds of men chiefly as a notorious duellist who called out, tradition says, over one hundred men because they looked with surprise upon his huge and ugly nose. This is only one aspect of the many-sided life which he lived, and which contributed to develop the spirit that made possible such a work as his satires. In his youth he was a roistering and gaming soldier who had, however, an infinity

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of reckless courage as his adventure singlehanded against a hundred of the enemy will testify. Undoubtedly this madcap life set its mark upon him. The spirit that impelled him to dare and do upon the field of battle was the same which, early fostered, loosed the bonds of a fervid imagination when, after being wounded at the siege of Arras, he gave himself up to the pursuit of philosophy and literature. His literary effort is of two types. That represented in his Lettres and his dramas is purely conventional, revelling in all the bombast and fantastic conceit so popular in the seventeenth century. Only Le Pedant Joué gives any suggestion of the original satiric power displayed at its full in his Histoire Comique. In these satires there is a liveliness and a freshness because his heart was in his work. In them he was once more a soldier, not upon the battlefield, but as a member of that glorious band which ever has the courage to rise in the assault upon pedantry and prejudice.

II

While this volume of Cyrano's was appearing under Lebret's hand, John Sadler published his Olbia (1650). The hero of the book, which is autobiographical, is at one and the same time a London town-clerk and a Master of Magdalen College, Cambridge, who his fortune being impaired by the plague and family disasters, put to sea to recuperate his finances but was shipwrecked on the coast of Olbia where he was succored by a hermit who not only taught him peace of mind, but also described to him the "religion, laws, customs, language, and characters of that new land". This description was to follow in the second book, which, however, appears never to have been written, so that
the Olbia as it survives is merely the tale of a shipwreck. Not being able to secure the book, I have relied upon Mr. Begley’s summary and am again unable to furnish critical comment, but it would seem from the quotations given by Mr. Begley that the work is piously religious in character.11

In the same year Louys Fontaines (Père Zachèrie) issued at Paris his Relation du Pays de Janserie, which, according to the title page, treats "of the singularities which are to be found, of the customs, manners, and religion of the inhabitants".12 To the translation into English by P. B. in 1668 a map of the country was added. Here again neither text nor summary has been available.

In that year also Henry Neville published a new kind of voyage imaginaire, the Isle of Pines, a slight volume numbering thirty-one carefully written pages.13 The story tells that a Dutch ship, driven far out of its course in the South Seas, discovered "a fourth island, near Terra Australis Incognita", upon which lived an English-speaking white race whose ruler was William Pine. According to the manuscript written by George Pine, William’s grandfather, and given by the grandson to Cornelius van Sloetten, the captain of the Dutch ship, the colony began with five souls saved from a shipwreck — George Pine, his master’s daughter, two white maid-servants, and a negro woman, with whom Pine lived in harmonious communism and by whom he had thirty-seven children. This numerous posterity intermarried.

12. See Bibliothèque.
but in the third generation four clans were formed, each including the descendants of one of the four wives, and brothers and sisters were prohibited from marrying each other. A further legal code was also established with provisions for capital and similar punishments. By the time George Pine was sixty years old the little nation numbered five hundred and sixty-five inhabitants, and by the time of his death twenty years later, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine. When the Dutch arrived something like a civil war was raging; but European firearms soon restored peace, and van Sloetken sailed away, leaving the islanders once more united.

Professor Saintsbury says that only one abridgement of this book and one reprint were made in England, but that the work was popular abroad. He also thinks that the codification suggests the "Bacon-Harrington tradition", and that Defoe may have gained from it the idea for his Robinson Crusoe. However that may be, the book has other signification in the history of the voyage imaginaire. In the first place, the story is "supported by letters from Amsterdam", a trick which Vairasse writing less than ten years later popularized. Moreover, Neville's island is near Terra Australis Incognita; and Vairasse's state is in that same continent. Neville, furthermore, takes his narrative from a manuscript written by the founder of the colony; Vairasse also pretended to have an autobiographical manuscript. It may therefore not be rash to assume that the author of one of the greatest utopias owes some of his important details to this comparatively insignificant English work. The Isle of Pines, in addition, is one of the first descriptions
of imaginary states which depicts the commonwealth as growing; and as such it may be the ancestor of Grivel's much longer and more elaborate L'Isle Inconnue (1783 - 1787).

The following year appeared the anonymous imitation of Hall's Mundus Alter et Ideon, known as Psittacorum Recio. In general the author appears to follow Hall, adding and leaving out at will, and at the same time debasing the rough wit of the original by a coarseness most disgusting. 14

In 1675 was published Gerania, a new discovery of a little sort of people, written by Joshua Barnes. 15 It is a poor production displaying little ingenuity and less imagination, and is chiefly interesting as having possibly suggested to Swift the idea of the Lilliputians, 16 and for its Preface. The first is purely conjectural since the only similarity in the two works is the smallness of the people. And the Preface cannot claim to say much that is new. Like Godwin before him, Barnes merely protests that since there are strange things in heaven and earth, and since there have been "many Pumilio's and Tom Thumb's", the truth of his work ought to be apparent "enough to the Judicious, who indeed may better persuade themselves by more important reasons, which their own consideration may suggest unto them".

The story opens abruptly. The ship is sailing up the Ganges River when a sudden storm drives it into a lake. Then follows a highly ornate description of a dawn, after which appear

15. I have been unable to obtain either a text or a summary of the Hairy Giants (1671).
16. A former owner of the copy now in the University of Illinois Library has written the following note in pencil on the fly leaf: "A feeble performance but which nevertheless might have suggested the idea of Lilliput to Dean Swift".

small men who have only round holes for mouths and suck up their food through tubes. Lacking provisions, the major part of the crew disembarks and penetrates into the heart of the country where upon the sight of more pigmies driving goats out to pasture they are thrown into a panic of superstition, and are held to their purpose only by an oration from one of the party. Soon other dwarfs three feet high, mounted on rams, meet them, and escort them to the city where they are hospitably received. There the Europeans learn that many years ago a Greek named Homer came among this people and taught them how to war upon their inveterate enemies the cranes, instituted a legal order, and prophesied the advent of Christianity. He also discovered to them the virtues of the wood Geranophon which causes whatever part of the crane it touches to fall off at once, of the herb Cynocephalea which mixed with wine is a charm against poison and witchcraft, and of the berry Anthypuum which makes sleep unnecessary. After performing these great works, Homer returned to his native land. The government is a benevolent monarchy; taxes are voluntary and not levied contributions; there is no prostitution; marriage is an honored state; the wedding portion is made up by free-will gifts from the friends of the couple. The religious men are of two kinds: the Dramaeescoes who study all learning, and the Talcommuni who pursue only Hindu, logic, mathematics, music, and ethics. The story ends with the return of the sailors to the ship.

Joshua Barnes the man seems to be as little known as his book, so that biographical detail is not at present available.

He appears to have written nothing beside his Geraniu; as far as I am able to discover it is the only offspring of his fancy. His acquaintance with the conventional practice of seventeenth century romance is attested by the ornate description of dawn and by the verses scattered here and there throughout the volume. His pigmies indicate a certain fertility of imagination on his part and an appreciation of the quaint; but he lacked the genius to breathe into his creation the spirit of life. His "little sort of people" are uninteresting. It remained for Dean Swift's greater power to galvanize them into life.

The bibliographical history of the next voyage imaginaire presents a complex problem. In 1675 appeared an English version of L'Histoire des Severambes, which purported to be a translation from a French book by Dennis Vairasse d'Allais en Languedoc; but no French edition seems to have been issued until 1677. One year later a second part was published in French. This was translated into English the year following, and in 1738 another English version seems to have been made; while in 1727 the work was appended to Gulliver's Travels as Part III. To add to the complications the versions in the two languages differ to a considerable extent. According to Mr. Begley, "Mr. James Crossley, the Manchester bibliophile, believed it to be the work of Isaac Vossius, who was in England from 1670 to 1689", and that he wrote the first part in English and the second in French and then translated them. The differences in the texts would, however, seem to refute this theory at the very beginning. Moreover,

the argument is further weakened by the obvious anagrams -- Sevarias for Vairasse, and Siden for Denis. The logical assumption would then seem to be that of Mr. Begley that we follow the title page, and interpret the signature D. V. D. E. L. as Denis Vairasse d'Allais en Languedoc. But such a decision will not explain why an English translation should have appeared before a French imprint; and Mr. Begley's suggestion that the author lent or sold his manuscript to some Englishman is, while ingenious, not entirely convincing. The probability is that the puzzle will never be solved.

The accepted author, Denis Vairasse d'Allais, is so little known that Prosper Marchand in his article on him in the Dictionnaire Historique occupied ten pages with an explanation of the fact. Vairasse does not appear to have been the swashbuckling duellist Cyrano was, nor do his surviving works, with the exception of the Severambes, indicate any literary propensities. He wrote a Grammaire méthodique ...... de la langue francoise (1681) which is full of "vicious ornamentation", and an abridgment of the same work in 1683. Perhaps his interest in grammar may signify an interest in education, and an interest in education may presume one in state organization. If so, Vairasse's great production, L'Histoire des Severambes, can be accounted for; otherwise, until further biographical data are unearthed, the work must stand apart from the known activities of its author's career.

The opening pages of the Severambes tell that the hero, Captain Siden, having wandered through many countries and taken part in various wars, became wearied of life in Europe, and
finding an opportunity open to accompany his friend, van de Nuits, to Batavia, embarked for that port on the *Golden Dragon*. When, after severe storms, the ship grounded off the coast of Australia, Siden with the rest of the ship's company was safely landed. After a pinnace had been constructed from the wreckage, a portion of the crew under the command of the skipper was sent to Batavia to bring succor. The remainder of the party formed *ad interim* a military government in order that they might live peacefully until help should arrive from the Dutch settlements, Siden informing the reader, with becoming modesty, that in spite of his protestations, he was chosen head of the newly formed community. With circumstantiality he also gives in considerable detail the laws established for the regulation of this body politic. The spot at which they had landed was, however, devoid of a natural or even a potable water supply; so explorations were conducted in all directions in the hope of discovering a location more suitable for the establishment of the little colony. Such a one having been found after a most careful search in all directions, the party settled not far from the coast on the banks of a creek where it prospered greatly, being confronted with only one problem of administration -- that of the regulation of sexual intercourse since the group consisted of three hundred men and but sixty-four women. It was finally arranged to allot each superior officer one woman as a wife, to permit each subordinate officer to cohabit with a woman once in two days, each man of higher rank once a week, and each laborer once in ten days. With careful consideration for detail Vairasse explains that under this arrangement it was only the "wives"
of the officers who became pregnant.

In the meantime a sailor named Maurice, who had charge of the boats and who had conducted some explorations along the coast, caused great consternation among the visitors by remaining away much longer than was his custom. This disquietude was increased when one day a fleet of boats much larger than that which Maurice commanded was seen to appear from the direction in which he had sailed. Nor was the surprise lessened when, the ships approaching the shore, a group of strangers advanced, their leader saying: "May the eternal God bless thee, and his holy Minister, the Sun, our King, make his face to shine upon thee; and may this our fatherland be pleasant and joyful in thine eyes". After further exchanges of courtesies on both sides, Maurice explained that his squadron had late in the day penetrated far into a lake, and the sun setting, had hove to for the night. At break of day they were surprised to find themselves surrounded by another and more powerful fleet, so yielding to necessity they had surrendered themselves, and were conducted to Sporounde, the capital of the border province. There, Maurice further related, they were entertained with pleasing hospitality, being furnished each night, after the manner of the country, with concubines, but undergoing first a rigid examination to prevent the communication of any disease. Their captors, having learned that some more of the party still remained upon the sea-coast, had, he explained, come to extend them an invitation to enter and to settle in the country. The Europeans, reasoning that the boat sent to Batavia had been lost and attracted by Maurice's favorable description of the country, decided to cast in their lot with this new people.

Having gathered together their movables, the villagers now proceeded inland under the protection of their hosts, resting at Sporoulde until the royal sanction for their journey inland to Sevarinde, the national capital, could be received.

In the interval the officials of the town took great interest in conversing with Captain Siden and his chief men, telling them not only about the practices of this new country, but also asking many questions about Europe. Siden and his staff were further entertained by being taken upon fishing and hunting parties, the device serving to give the author opportunity for describing the fauna of Australia. The party was, also, permitted to witness a wedding ceremony, and by chance saw the punishment of an adulterous woman. The journey inland, which was begun soon after, was a sort of a pleasure jaunt enlivened by diversions of all sorts, made agreeable by the excellent entertainment furnished free to all the villages through which they passed, and rendered instructive by the constant comment and explanation of the guide. No untoward incident marred the whole until the guide made an ill-timed jest about reaching heaven by the way through hell -- a bit of pleasantry which threw the women into a panic from which they were scarcely recovered even by the explanation that the way of hell was a tunnel driven through the mountain in order to avoid a strenuous and perilous crossing of the range. This interesting narrative portion ends with the arrival of the new citizens in Sevarinde, and the remainder of the volume is devoted to an expository description of the government and customs of the new land.
This folk, Captain Siden learned from their records, derived the name of Severambians, which they bore, from that of their first great law-giver, Sevarias, a Parsee, who having been long persecuted in his own country for religion's sake, fled into other nations of Europe and Asia. Learning at last from some storm-tossed travellers of a nation of fire-worshippers in central Australia, he, together with some companions of the faith, set out to find them. Arriving in that continent, he discovered that the Prestarambes, a gentle race of fire-worshiping savages, were being harassed by the heretical Stroukarambes, or followers of the false prophet Stroukaras. The Parsees joined the former party, and by means of their firearms gained a glorious victory.

Sevarias now sought to establish an ideal state. As a Parsee, he ordained, of course, a religion of sun-worship; but the sun is accepted as being merely the visible minister of an invisible, infinite, incomprehensible deity. Over the altar in the temple hangs a black cloth emblematic of this god, while to the right is a luminous globe of crystal representing the sun, and to the left a figure with several breasts representing the motherland. Worship is conducted by sacrifice of perfumes, by chants, and by prayers — two of which, the oraison made by Sevarias in honor of the sun and that for the feast of the invisible god, are highly poetic. The latter feast is celebrated every seven years; while the Erimbasion, or sun-fête is held annually at the time of the winter solstice. The Erimbasion is a renewal of fire, all flames being extinguished at that time, and a new blaze being kindled from the sun's rays.
A third national holiday of a semi-religious nature is ordained in honor of Sevarias' arrival in the country.

The government is holiocratic, the Prince and the High-priest being one and the same. Election is by lot, the chance supposedly alighting on that one favored by the sun. The duty of this official is to plan public improvements and to institute new principles of government; a long list of both occurs in the histories of the various reigns as summarized for us in Captain Siden's account. Assisting the Prince is a council of Sevarobastes, while special commissioners supervise such national activities as building, agriculture, and education. The unit of the state is the osmasic, a building housing one thousand people, which is presided over by an officer called an Osmasionte; over each four of these houses is a Brosmasionte; and over every two brosmasies is a Dermasionte.

Although war is forbidden except against an aggressor, land necessary for an increasing population being acquired by purchase, army service is required of both males and females between the ages of fourteen and forty-nine. This force is divided into twelve equal groups, each of which serves in turn for a period of three months either as a field force guarding the frontiers or as a body perfecting itself in manoeuvres and drills. During these periods each division of the army is arranged in three corps -- the married persons, the unmarried women, the unmarried men; and to prevent illicit intercourse as far as possible the first group is camped between the other two, but this precaution, it may here be noted, does not work perfectly.
Ownership is communistic, all things belonging to the state. No distinction of birth obtains because children are assigned to tasks and occupations according to their abilities. This abolition of classes is furthered by the law which prescribes that all persons of a given age shall wear the same style and color of garment. Food is served at common tables in each osmasio, but the evening meal may be eaten in private. The day is divided into three equal parts -- devoted respectively to labor, recreation, and sleep. All over twenty-one work; and although those past sixty are exempt, they seldom avail themselves of the privilege. Pregnant women are also excused.

Their general marriage practice is polygamous. The viceroy, or prince, is allowed twelve wives, the Brosmasiontes five, the Osmasiontes three, the inferior officers two, the commonality one each. The viceroy has the further right to take to himself upon his exaltation to the throne the most beautiful woman in the realm; the first whom he marries after his election is known as the "vice-queen", and must be of the blood of Sevarias. Any man may keep female slaves as concubines; and women are furnished free to all strangers and travellers, but a rigid examination of each such man is made so that there shall be no likelihood of disease being communicated. The marriage tie is indissoluble.

20. Persons from one year of age to seven wear white; from eight to fourteen, yellow; from fifteen to twenty-one green (married girls under twenty-one have a green stripe on their blue gowns, the color for all married women under twenty-eight); twenty-two to twenty-eight, blue; twenty-nine to thirty-five, light red; thirty-six to forty-two, dark red; forty-three to forty-nine, light gray; fifty to fifty-six, dark gray; fifty-seven to sixty-three soot color; sixty-four onward, black. Slaves and strangers wear mixed stuffs. Magistrates wear purple, silver, or gold according to their rank. Married women go veiled. The form of the coiffure is also indicative of a woman's age.
but men of the same rank may exchange wives if the women consent; and barren wives may after five years be exchanged for widows. This, we learn, is a common practice: Boys marry at the age of twenty-one and girls at the age of eighteen. Some years before reaching this age the two sexes, properly chaperoned, are allowed to mingle at fêtes; and a year or so before they become of age, they may declare their choices. Every three months the marriage ceremony is held in the temple at which the girl proposes to the boy, who may, however, refuse. Should a girl be rejected three different times, a senator who has not yet his full quota of women may marry her. Sexual intercourse from the time of marriage to the age of twenty-eight is regulated by statute. Adulterers are whipped. Child-bearing is the chief glory of women, and for each child reaching the age of seven the mother is entitled to wear a purple stripe on her garment.

Formal education is begun at the age of seven, when, with appropriate ceremonies, the child is removed from its parent and adopted by the state, boys and girls being segregated except for the meetings described above. The courses which they pursue are, however, the same. Until the age of eleven the pupils study reading, writing, the exercise of arms, and dancing; the next three years are devoted to work in agriculture; from fourteen to the age of marriage they are instructed in grammar and in some trade or profession. Only those who manifest an especial genius in some particular art or science escape the rigid prescriptions of this curriculum, such persons being allowed to exert their efforts in whatever direction their particular talent may suggest. Mature students are also sent
abroad to observe foreign customs and culture; but no overseas trade in commercial wares is carried on, every precaution being taken to keep the knowledge of this country secret from the rest of the world. The chief end of this system of education is the teaching of self-control.

In philosophy the Severambians believe that new worlds arise from the destruction of the old, that there are no voids, that the universe is infinite, and that all nature is regulated by universal law. Free discussion is permitted, but conformity to the practices of sun-worship is insisted upon, the chief religious duties being inward and outward adoration, and love of country. Pride, avarice, and idleness are their deadly sins. Intemperance is strictly forbidden, the prohibitory measures restraining unmarried folk from the use of intoxicants, and barring the use of liquor at meals.

The purely descriptive and narrative elements are, as in all utopias, slight; but there are detailed and rather extended descriptions of the great tunnel under the mountain; a fountain of water in the gardens at the national capital, Sevarinde; the walls of the city; the palace of the viceroy; the temple; and the irrigation canals. Three histories of lovers are also related as illustrative of customs -- one is that of a seduction; the second that of true love and religious persecution; and the third that of a girl and her two lovers, and of her choice between them. Examples of the Severambian language are also given, and there is a section of literary criticism in favor of quantitative meter and blank verse.

The closing pages of the L'Histoire des Severambes again become personal, Siden telling that after the establishment of
osnasio for the party, he was elevated to the rank of Osnasionte, and that all the Europeans except the Hollanders, who hoped for a return to Europe and would not forsake their Christian religion, even in outward semblance, setted down as citizens of Severambia. The only difficulty arising from this arrangement was the reluctance of the government to adopt the children of the party since it was feared that they might be weak physically and morally; but it was finally agreed that the wholesome climate and laws of the country might well overcome these congenital defects, and the children were accepted by the state. Misfortune, however, entered into the Captain's life after a while; his wives died, and van Nuits while out hunting was slain by a bear. Siden had meanwhile formed an intimate friendship with Calsimas, a Sevarobaste, and in the hope of dispelling his melancholy sought through his friend to gain permission for travelling abroad, but he gained it only upon a strict promise not to tell any Europeans about the country and to return at the appointed time. It was upon this journey that he met his death as related in the Preface.

From even such a brief summary it is clear at once that L'Historie des Severambes is the most fully described utopia which had appeared up to 1675. In it customs are much more fully described than in any previous book of the type, and there is a greater diversity of matter; for whereas More devoted most of his space to government, Campanella to hierarchical organization, Andrea to religion and education, and Bacon to scientific research, Vairasse gives a comprehensive view of all except the latter. Many of his details are, of course, borrowed. From
Plato and his successors he got communism and many of its attendant practices. From More and his followers, perhaps most directly from Neville, he took the location of his commonwealth. Bacon, doubtless, contributed the asylum motif as it appears in the severance of connections with the outside world. But Campanella appears to have exerted the chief influence upon Vairasse. The citizens of Civitas Solis were Hindus who fled from the persecution of the Magi; the founders of Severambia were fugitives from the religious oppression of the Persians. Both the states are hierarchical; and in both there is the same lack of idealism in regard to sexual relations, although Vairasse, in appearance at least, has a nobler conception of it than has Campanella. It may be, moreover, that the title Civitas Solis exercised some power of suggestion in the choice of a religion for Severambia. And the hospitable entertainment of strangers may be traced historically through Bacon and Andreae to Campanella.

There is, likewise, a possibility that in his regulations concerning sexual intercourse after marriage Vairasse is employing in earnest what Cyrano de Bergerac wrote in jest.

In spite of these borrowings, however, Vairasse holds an important place in the history of the voyage imaginaire because of his originality. First of all, he popularized the practice of relating in the voyage imaginaire "histories" of lovers, which became a frequent habit in later representatives of the type, and especially in those stories which, while not voyages imaginaires, border on the genre, such as Les Adventures d'un Jeune Anglais and the Adventures of Captain Robert Boyle, although Erythraeus and Gott had used the device before him. Moreover,
the woof of Vairasse's adventure cannot be separated from warp of utopian description without serious injury to the fabric of the narrative. Much of the information given is in a descriptive-narrative of the journey from Sporunde on the border to Sevarindec in the center of the country. Siden, also, together with his companions, becomes a citizen of the country, and rises to the rank of Osmasionte, acquiring three wives by the way; and his return to Europe is a direct result of their deaths and his consequent homesickness. To remove the autobiography is to destroy the book as an artistic production. In former utopias the author was merely a reporter; now he has become an actor. And although Andreac and Neville preceded Vairasse in the introduction of the shipwreck into the imaginary voyage, the latter is the first to develop to any great extent the Robinsonade idea. Andreac merely mentions the storm and its consequences; Neville simply uses it as a means to get his people into the required situation; Vairasse employs it for the further purpose of gaining verisimilitude.

An additional effort of Vairasse in this direction of forcing belief is probably that author's greatest contribution to the development of prose fiction, for his Preface appears to be the original of all similar attempts made by later writers. In it Vairasse tells that Captain Siden on his return from Severambia to Europe was wounded to the death during a naval engagement in the English Channel. With his dying breath he bequeathed to a physician with whom he had become acquainted during the voyage, all his private papers. Among these the gentlemen found various notes written "on stray leaves and in
diverse languages"²¹ -- Latin, Italian, French, and Provençal --
which appeared to conceal a story; but being unable to read all
the "diverse languages", and not having the time requisite to
bring the notes into order, he turned them over to an English-
man, the present editor, to translate and arrange for publica-
tion. This man assures the reader that he has personally visited
M. van Dam, lawyer of the Dutch East India Company, and also a
Dutch commissioner, both of whom confirmed in detail the story
of the loss of the Dragon d'Or, an East India Company ship which
had sailed from Batavia and not been heard from since. Additional
testimony is offered in a letter written by Thomas Skinner who
says that while he was in Batavia, a sailor named Prince had
told him of the wreck of a ship, the Green or Golden Dragon, he
has forgotten which, off the coast of Australia, and of sub-
sequent but unsuccessful attempts to find the survivors who,
after having landed, sent eight of their number, including
Prince, to Batavia for help. By a curious "coincidence" eight
is the number in the party sent out according to Siden's story
and Prince is the only one of the sailors whose name he remembered
when he made his notes.²² The reader is also assured in the
first paragraph of the Introduction that "the Republic of Plato,
the Utopia of Thomas More, and the New Atlantis of Chancellor
Bacon are only ingenuous imaginations"; but he is warned that
too great caution of belief is as senseless as too great cred-

²¹ Voyages Imaginaires, vol. V, pg. xviii, "sur des feuilles
détachées, et en diverses langues".
²² Same, pg. vi.
The author, moreover, asks, after reporting the last speech of Captain Siden, if one will question the word of a dying man. 24

Such trickery is familiar to-day. It no longer deceives. In 1675, however, the public had not yet been hoaxed by prefaces of this sort, although More had done something like it and Dr. A. J. Tieje has recorded the continued progress of the effort to force belief. 25 Vairasse, in any case, was skillful. His authorities appear unimpeachable; and a public used to tales of strange discoveries was not likely to be hypercritical. Aside from its ingenuousness, the idea is also noteworthy; for, as Dr. A. J. Tieje has pointed out, the Preface and pretended manuscript of Vairasse have a numerous progeny. In the voyage imaginaire Foigny, Berington, and many nineteenth century authors must trace their parentage to him; while among other forms of the novel "the real force of the movement" is seen in the works of Defoe, Prevost, and Narivaux. 26

23. Voyages Imaginaires, vol. V, pg. xi: "Ceaux qui ont lu las république de Platon, l'Eutpoie de Thomas Morus, ou la nouvelle Atlantis du chancelier Bacon, qui ne sont que des imaginations ingénieuses de ces auteurs, croiront, peut-être, que les relations des pays nouvelle découverts, où l'on trouve quelque choses de merveilleux, sont de ce genre. Il ne faut point condamner la sage précaution de ceux qui ne croient pas aisément toutes choses, pourvu que la moderation la borne; mais ce serait une aussi grande obstination de rejeter, sans examen, ce qui paroit extraordinaire, qu'un manque de jugement, de recevoir pour véritable, tous les contes que l'on fait souvent des pays éloignés".


26. Same, pg. 46.
In the year between the appearance of the English version of *L'Historic des Severambes* and that of the French two other utopias were issued. In England Joseph Glanvil in *Essay VII* of *Antifanatical Religion and Free Philosophy* continued the *New Atlantis* of Francis Bacon. This essay is chiefly an explanation of the Atlantean religious system, which appears to be nothing more than an latitudinarian Anglicanism, purged of all sectarianism with its attendant abuses and prejudices. This church has also rejected slavish adherence to the Aristotelean philosophy and especially to the Moorish perversions of it, and in its place has adopted Descartes' mechanical system of physiology as an ingenious explanation, needing, however, the complement of Plato's vitalising principles. Later "their principles of logic, metaphysics, moral philosophy, mathematics, etc., are discussed".

It appears, nevertheless, that this was not the only such continuation which Glanvil wrote; for Mr. Crossley in his *Diary and Correspondence of Dr. Worthington* says that he possessed a manuscript by Glanvil entitled: *Bensalem; being a Description of a Catholic and Free Spirit both in Religion and Learning; in a Continuation of the Story of Lord Bacon's "New Atlantis"*. The manuscript concludes with a series of characters of contemporary divines so that it cannot be the same as the Essay. The piece, Crossley says, is superior to the continuation in the Anti-fanatical Religion.

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27. Glanvil was an ardent adherent of the Established Church.
28. This summary is based upon that of Mr. Begley, *Nova Solyma*, vol. II, pp. 374 - 376. The information which follows is from the same source.
In France at the same time Gabriel Poigny issued at Geneva *Les Avantures de Jacques Sadeur*; while in the same year the same book was published at Vannes under a different title and with Nicholas Sadeur as the author. The first of these was reissued at Paris in 1692, and translated into English the year after.

Poigny's efforts to gain verisimilitude, as well as the date of his book, mark him as a near relative of Vairasse. Jacques Sadeur is preceded by a Preface, the aim of which, like that of *L'Histoire des Severambes*, is to gain credence on the part of the reader, although it is by no means so elaborate an invention. The chief reliance is upon citations of authorities who have given testimony which will corroborate the narrative. Poigny also uses the manuscript trick, assuring that the story has been unknown up to the present because it was in the possession of a cabinet minister, and has been available for publication only since his death. Other and more original means of gaining verisimilitude are also employed. After telling of the marvellous sheep and fish which he saw on a trip up the River Zair in Africa, Sadeur says: "I took care to inform myself concerning the crocodiles which historians say exist in great numbers throughout this region, but nobody could understand what I meant; whereupon I concluded that the tales of those

30. See Bibliography under Poigny. Mr. Begley, *Nov. Solyma*, vol. II, pg. 363, takes them to be separate works, giving 1692 as the date of Jacques Sadeur.

animals are only pleasant inventions". This statement is followed by a long tirade against authors who do not travel but stay at home and write arm-chair descriptions of strange countries. A device with a similar purpose is his explanation as to why Australia has never become known to the rest of the world. The seas about it are, with the exception of a few channels, so shallow that no ships can approach it; moreover, the inhabitants are very ferocious and slay all who land on their coasts -- Sadeur himself being spared only because of his prodigious bravery and his hermaphroditic nature.

Another element in the Jacques Sadeur, important because it tends to emphasize the autobiographical character of the voyage imaginaire, is the preliminary narrative. This part of the story tells that Jacques Sadeur was born at sea, that his parents were drowned in a shipwreck off the coast of Portugal, that he was adopted by a Portuguese family, that his godfather sought to kidnap him, that he was again shipwrecked, that the Count de Villafranca adopted him into his household after he had been reared by the Jesuits, that he was carried off by pirates, and that he was rescued by the captain of the ship which afterward went down in the Indian Ocean. It proceeds with Sadeur's discoveries in Africa and with his voyage around the Cape of Good Hope into the South Sea where occurred the storm

32. Foigny, Gabriel, Les Avantures de Jacques Sadeur, 1692, p. 47: "Je m'informai avec beaucoup de soin où étoient les crocodilles que les historiens mettent en grande quantité en ces quartiers; mais on ne put pas même deviner ce que je voulois dire, ce que me fit croire que ce ne sont que des contes faits à plaisir".

33. Same, Preface and pp. 62 ff. of narrative.
which cast him upon the coast of Australia. Here, as in the
Man in the Moone and L'Histoire des Severambes, we have biographic
detail, but in neither of the other two is there anything ap-
proaching the completeness of Poigny's narrative. This practice
is of further importance since in the later voyages it became
the custom to give a more or less full history of the hero's
life before his real adventure began. The reason for this is
probably two-fold. Authors doubtless felt that such circum-
stantiality gave the hero a more tangible personality and so
rendered belief in the story more likely; and they probably
realized, also, that it gave to the narrative a rounded complete-
ness which there could not be as long as the opening remained
abrupt as in the Civitas Solis and the New Atlantis.

After the wreck mentioned in the preceding paragraph
Sadeur, clinging to a plank, was cast upon the shore of an island,
but was quickly driven thence by ferocious beasts which even
pursued him into the water. Still supporting himself by means
of his board, he took refuge upon another and smaller island,
which immediately moved off through the sea; but a new danger
now threatened in the vicious attacks of some huge carnivorous
birds, one of which by chance clawed the island, whereupon it
sank, being in reality a whale. Sadeur, now driven to despera-
tion, his plank gone, managed to wound one of the birds with
his knife, and relieved of his enemies, succeeded in reaching
the nearby coast of Australia, where some tall and fair men.

34. More tells comparatively little about Hythloday. Campanella
and Bacon give no account of their travellers whatsoever. 
Andreae and Hall simply say that they went on a journey.
who had been interested spectators of the combat, immediately took him prisoner. At first they wished to kill him, but observing him to be an hermaphrodite like themselves and having seen an exhibition of his courage, they spared him.

Australia, he learned, was a country containing about 9,375,000 square miles. It is divided into fifteen thousand sezains, each of which is in turn subdivided into sixteen quartiers, twenty-five houses contributing a quartier, and four persons occupying a house. Property is common, but the details of the practice are not described. Government in the accepted sense there is none; for the Australians look upon all such institutions as a perversion of the natural order. Education is carried on at the Haab, or college, to which children are presented at birth, and which conducts their education from the time they are weaned at the age of two until they reach their thirty-fifth year. The first year the child studies language and the elements of philosophy; by the tenth year he can read, and by fourteen he has completed his linguistic studies. From that age until twenty he occupies himself with serious philosophic study. For the five following years astronomy demands his attention, while the years from twenty-eight to thirty are given over to the consideration of history. From the age of thirty to that of thirty-five the young persons may discuss any subject except religion, for the Australians think that it is folly to seek a knowledge of the incomprehensible and the infinite. After completing this course the student is made a "lieutenant" at

35. The actual area of Australia is 2,946,358 square miles.
36. The book does not appear to have been meant as a satire, but there are here as elsewhere throughout it comparisons with Europe.
the Haab; and if by the time he is sixty, a vacancy occurs through a master's death, the novitiate is promoted. In order that there shall be no decrease in population the law demands that each person present at least one child to the Haab.

Death the Australians believe to be a happy release from life; and they think that after it the soul, which is a universal spirit (Genie), enters into another being, but the order of ascension in the transmigration is not made clear. Being hermaphrodites, they believe that such persons alone are made in the divine image, and that they are the descendants of three men whom the supreme being created at one breath; they think, also, that all unisexual beings are the offspring of twins born to Eve after her intercourse with the serpent. Love, other than purest friendship, between two individuals they do not themselves know, and sexual attraction as Sadeur explains it to them they cannot understand. Their views are explained in a lecture delivered to the hero by a master of the Haab. "Our love", he says in part, "is neither carnal nor bestial -- each of us suffices wholly for himself; in our state there is nothing needed for our happiness or contentment". 37 This absence of animal passion makes also, according to their theory, for more healthy children; and their freedom from physical ills is further attributed to their temperance in the matter of food and drink.

37. Jacques Sadeur, 1692, pg. 124: "Notre amour n'a rien de charnel, ni de brutal, nous nous suffisons pleinement a nousmêmes, et nous n'avons besoin de rien pour être heureux, et vivre contents, comme nous faisons".
The Australian language used for conversation consists of signs, although there is an articulate speech which is employed in reading aloud. The language itself is very simple. All verbs follow one conjugation; there are no declensions and no articles. The five vowels represent the five simple nouns from which all others are built up: A = fire, E = air, I = water, O = salt, U = earth. Their thirty-six consonants represent adjectives, and these are combined with the nouns to express complex ideas.

The fauna of the country is marvellous but not abundant. A pig-like beast which roots up the ground in straight line, Sadeur suggests, might be imported into Europe to replace plows; and another animal with a head like a horse and the body of a camel might, he says, be useful at home because of its ability to carry burdens. There is, also, a sort of ape which is very fond of the Australians, and dies of nostalgia if it is removed far from them. The chief species of birds are two in number. One is the large ferocious kind which attacked Sadeur while he was in the sea, and the other is a small kind which warns men of the others approach.

The Australians themselves are fierce and merciless in battle, exterminating their enemies to the last man, and ever ready to accept the gage of battle and to give it. This cruelty

38. Cf. Cyrano de Bergerac's vulgär moon language.
39. The following is the conjugation of the verb as (to love):
   la  lla    lga llga    lda lllda
   pa  ppa    pga ppga    pda ppda
   ma  mma    mga mmga    nda nmda
is, in part, the cause of Sadeur's disfavor among them; for having joined them in an assault upon a neighboring island, he showed mercy to several women. In addition to this crime he had also at one time proposed sexual intercourse to an Australian. For these perversions in his nature he was condemned to eat an olive-like fruit which causes death if taken in sufficient quantities, this painless execution being the only sort practiced by them. Fearing just such an issue Sadeur had caught, tamed, and trained one of the large birds; upon its back he now fled, reaching Madagascar after a toilsome journey, and returning home from that place.

In general Foigny's book resembles that of Vairasse; in fact the resemblance is so great at times as to be suspicious. Both locate their ideal states in la terre Australe. Both give ingenious explanations as to why their nations are unknown to the rest of the world although Vairasse follows the traditional conception of Bacon, while Foigny furnishes a new one in the ferocity and sexual prejudice of his people, and the shallowness of the sea around the island. Both authors have a pretended manuscript which they claim to have edited. Both have Prefaces which are designed to gain verisimilitude, but in this respect Vairasse's invention is superior to Foigny's. Both, also, present similar features of government and state regulation although Vairasse is more circumstantial in this respect, and Foigny more original. Both discuss the language of their nations, in this elaborating for the first time upon the hint dropped by More when he created a Utopian alphabet and "iiij meters" in that tongue. Both have, furthermore, turned the
voyage imaginaire into a story whereas formerly it had been, except with Cyrano, an impersonal exposition of an ideal held by the author.

Foigny, however, was not entirely unoriginal. He makes much more of the preliminary narrative than did Vairasse. His government is the most purely anarchistic known in any utopia. His people, too, are in their nature an entirely new sort in the voyage imaginaire, and the love element is far more important with him than with any of his predecessors; it is, in fact, much more decisively than with Vairasse or Cyrano de Bergerac the direct cause of the hero's return to Europe. Why Foigny should have introduced so many salacious details and have written at length in defence of a sexual peculiarity cannot be said with certainty. He himself was, beyond doubt, the victim of a morbid sexual obsession; for the chief biographical detail known concerning him is that he was expelled from the Geneva ministry because of his relations with a loose woman whom he afterward married. 41 But whatever may be the peculiarity of his work, Foigny must share with Vairasse the honor of having made the voyage imaginaire which aims to depict an ideal state, a story as well as a political, religious, or educational tract.

IV

The subject matter of R. S.'s. Travels of Quevedo (1684) has already been noted in the discussion of Hall's Mundus Alter et Idem. 42 But the Preface deserves attention here because it

42. See. ch. III.
continues the tradition begun by Vairasse and Poigny about a decade before. The chief means by which the author seeks to gain the reader's belief is the pretence of a discovered manuscript. He tells that arriving at Bilboa he found the document in question in a chandler's shop where it was being used for wrapping paper; and as it was about to take "post" for "Land of Oblivion", he redeemed it "from the Teeth of time, and very Paw of Destruction". Much of it had already been destroyed, especially those parts which might have indicated the date and author of the book, "except in one place where was so Remaining thus much of the Mouse-eaten Author, Don Q." This "Don Q." the author concludes must be either Quevedo or Quixot; and he decides in favor of the former because Quevedo had travelled through the interior of the earth in his dreams and so might be allowed to journey on its surface in his waking hours, and because "the Spanish was excellently Smooth and Eloquent in which our Elaborate Don was the Nonsuch". Besides, he tells that the manuscript bears unmistakable signs of having been "Written with a Cloven Hoof", a proof that the author of these travels has "such intimacy with the Infernals" as was permitted only to Quevedo. More important than this hoax, however, is a statement, new in the history of the voyage imaginaire, but old in that of prose fiction. "Preambles and Allegories, have been used in Sacred Writ; yet not censured as Romantick; and though this Peregrination is represented in the Nature of a Romance; it is only an intently Delightful Vanity, to Please and Convince at the same

43. Quevedo, Francisco, Visions (1607 - 1627) and Voyages Recreatifs.
time, *Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci*, profitable things intermixed with delightful are captivating. For the first time the *voyage imaginaire* is apologizing for mingling pleasure with profit. Before 1684 there had been little need for that; the works of More, Campanella, Andreae, and Bacon were obviously serious, and even those of Vairasse and Foigny had, in spite of their entertaining narrative, much solid matter. Hall, too, had professed a moral aim, and Cyrano had in him more than met the eye. Godwin alone seems to have had no "ulterior purpose". Now, however, the amalgamation of the *voyage imaginaire* with other forms of prose fiction seems to be complete. It has become a story; and, like the novel, it professes to aim at a combination of pleasure and instruction.

V

In 1692 appeared at London an English version of Gabriel Daniel's *Voyage du Monde de Descartes* (1690), and two years later T. Taylor brought out another translation with the title *Voyage to the World of the Cartesians*. The author of the French original was Jesuit priest whose main duty to his order seems to have been the writing of polemic and philosophical works, among which, apart from that under consideration here, his *Entretiens de Cleandre et d'Eudoxe sur les Lettres Provinciales* (1694) is the most important. Daniel's philosophical studies are attested by his mammoth collection *Recueil des ouvrages philosophiques, theologiques, apologetiques et critiques* (1724). No wonder, then, that this Jesuit with sharp polemic tongue and extended knowledge of metaphysics should have been the man to
sound the charge against the aetheistic Cartesians and the rallying cry of Aquinasian Aristoteleanism.

According to the author's statement, his design is "to shew that commonly what (Descartes) writes of particular matters, is inconsistent with the whole" -- an aim presumably not far different from that of Fontaines' Relation du pays des Jansenie (1660) which I have not seen. The idea is an important one in the history of the voyage imaginaire, for it marks a new departure of the type into philosophic criticism. Heretofore the voyage had been bent to the purposes of satire -- literary, moral, or philosophic; but it had not as yet been used to make palatable a serious attack upon a serious theory. Taylor says in his dedicatory epistle to James Ludfort that herein "Philosophy is divested of the Stiffness and Moroseness of the Schools, and has assum'd the Carb and Air of a more ingenuous Education than ordinary. Here is something, Sir, that will entertain your Philosophical Minutes, and something that will quicken those design'd for your Diversion; and all so mixt and temper'd, that the Author seems still to have kept his Eye on those two main ends, Pleasing and Instructing". It is true that this is only an elaboration of the idea expressed by R. S. in his Preface to Quevedo's Travels; but R. S. was dealing with moral satire, Taylor with philosophic criticism. The voyage, like other forms of fiction, has taken to defending its esthetic qualities by proclaiming its serious intent.

The book, as has been said, is philosophic satire; but in the following summary no attempt will be made to consider the metaphysical argument; merely the story is presented since the
method and not the matter is of interest here. The author, an opponent of Cartesian philosophy, happens to meet an old gentleman who is a believer in it. This person assures the writer that Descartes is not dead, but that being possessed of a secret power whereby the soul could be liberated from the body for desired periods, he frequently made such extra-corporeal excursions until one time the soul on its return found the body in a state unfit for its reception, and so flew off to interstellar space where it has ever since resided. So enthusiastic was he to prove this that he offered to take the author for a visit to the learned philosopher. The invitation having been accepted, the powder was administered, a dwarf left to care for the body until the writer's return, and the journey begun in company with the gentleman and Father Mersennus. Their first halt was on the top of a tower where they held a discussion of Descartes theory of motion and force. Having soared thence into space, the party met Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, the last of whom plunged at once into a long harangue against the Cartesian principles, but at the close he rushed off before Father Mersennus could reply. They next entered the Moon which is represented as divided among the various philosophers who formerly lived on this earth, the author seizing the opportunity to take a fling at Cyrano de Bergerac by explaining that the latter's account of that planet is untrue because the disembodied spirits which inhabit it had conspired together to deceive him during his visit there. In the Moon the party saw the walls of Plato's republic, but were not allowed to enter; Aristotle's state, however, they found to be very magnificent. On their going thence, they were ac-
accompanied by an embassy which was to seek an alliance with the Cartesians. Resuming the way, they met a Chinese Mandarin to whom Mersennus had formerly given a copy of Descartes' *Demonstration of the Existence of God*. The oriental now confessed that he had been converted to Christianity through the instrumentality of the book; but he hastened to add, greatly to the chagrin of Father Mersennus, that the cause of the conversion was hearing Descartes' contentions refuted by a disciple of Thomas Aquinas. After this confession, the Mandarin, like Aristotle hurried away before answer could be made. Soon afterward they reached the dwelling place of Descartes, and the Peripetetic ambassadors presented their terms of alliance which were summarily rejected by the Frenchman. A long discussion of contemporary philosophic criticism was then started by Descartes' inquiry as to his reception in the world. To explain the theory of vortices he created a world for his visitors. The return journey to the Earth was made without mishap; but on entering his body again the author's soul found that the dwarf had so disarranged his ideas that he had become an ardent disciple of Cartesianism. His friends, however, soon won him back to orthodoxy, and at the end of the book he was so far recovered from his heresy as to address a letter to Descartes containing some pertinent inquiries regarding the system.

Daniel added little, if anything, to the actual practice of the *voyage imaginaire*, except to give it a more serious tone and to proclaim the virtue of uniting pleasure and profit. Cyrano de Bergerac preceded him in making the narrative a vehicle for philosophic satire; and the satirical voyage, which
is as old as Lucian, whom Daniel mentions in his General View of the Whole Work, had been revived in Daniel's own century by Hall and his imitators, as well as by Cyrano whom Daniel introduces into his book. Lucian, Godwin, and Cyrano had, also, told of journeys to the moon; and although Daniel's explanation of the manner of the journey is more plausible than those of his predecessors, even it is not convincingly probable. R. S., too, had said in his Preface briefly all that Daniel says more at length about mingling amusement with instruction; and the doctrine was so common among writers of prose fiction that it cannot be considered original even in R. S. Daniel's book is, however, the first in which the really serious element overshadows the more frivolous. Hall and his imitators and translators made their work too racy to be really effective as moral purgatives; Cyrano was too vague and too flippant to have had any corrective effect on the minds of men; Daniel, on the other hand, is primarily interested in demonstrating the fallacies of the Cartesian system. But later writers, because of the inadaptibility of the voyage to Daniel's purposes, chose to follow after Lucian, Hall, and Cyrano; and Daniel's influence, consequently, is practically nil.

VI

This same period produced other and lesser voyages imaginaires, which, since they have not been available for the purposes of this study, can here be afforded only a brief mention. In 1666 Margaret Duchess of Newcastle published the Blazing World, which seems to have been popular enough to be reprinted in 1688. The story tells that a young lady, while gathering shells along
the sea-shore, was carried off by an amorous merchant; but the vessel upon which the escape was made, was driven toward the North Pole, and thence attracted toward the Pole of another and nearby world. The cold, which was doubled by the proximity of the two poles, caused the deaths of all except the lady, who was rescued by kindly bear-men and escorted to the palace of the emperor, a wonderful house built of gold and diamonds. The emperor, of course, married the lady, and then sent for Margaret of Newcastle, "a plain and rational writer" to be her tutor. The book then diverges into a philosophical discussion. 44 Eleven years after the reprint of this work Der Wohlgerichtete Staat Ophir was printed anonymously at Leipzig, which according to Mr. Begley's summary is a utopia and not a voyage imaginaire. 45 Daniel Defoe in 1705 "found time to compose and publish his dull political allegory The Consolidator". 46 During the same year this work was continued in A Journey to the Moon, A Second and More Strange Journey to the Moon, and A Letter from the Man in the Moon to the Author of the "True Born Englishman". Tyssot's Voyage et Aventures de Jacques Massé (1710) I have not seen, but Desfontaine's casual reference to it 47 would seem to indicate that it belongs in the same class with Foigny's Jacques Sadeur. Montesquieu's Histoire des Troglodites, published in the Lettres Persanes is included in Garnier's collection of Voyages Imaginaires 48 but
it is simply the description of an imaginary state -- there is no journey. Tyssot de Patot's *La Vie, les Avantures, et le Voyage de Groenland du Reverend Pere Cordelier Pierre de Mesonge* (1720) I suspect to be historical. Chetwood's *Voyages of Richard Palinger* (1720) is very likely not dissimilar to his Adventures of Captain Robert Boyle or else to Defoe's *Captain Singleton*; but I should suppose more likely to the former.

A backward glance over the period will at once reveal that not all men in it are equally important or equally influential. Montpensier, d'Aubignac, and Tallement had descendants in the following century, but the posterity, like the parents, have remained obscure and neglected. Glanvil's religious interest did not carry him beyond his day; and while the original of the *New Atlantis* survives, the continuation is all but unknown. Barnes, likewise, contributed little to the type; his dwarfs may have suggested those of Swift, but pigmies in one form or another were known in fiction long before 1675; and his attempt to gain verisimilitude was not only old fashioned in his day, but was overshadowed by the more successful efforts of more talented men. Cyrano de Bergerac, the first great figure of the period, did, however, have a real influence. To him later authors owe suggestions for making the *voyage imaginaire* satiric of philosophical ideas and of man's conception of himself; and to him also is owing a revival of interest in carrying the traveller into places not of this earth. Individual writers, moreover, borrowed from him individual details; but these can best be discussed in the next chapter. Vairasse made a still more original contribution to the development not only of the
voyage imaginaire, but to that of prose fiction as a whole. His utopian ideas are not essentially different from those of his predecessors, but he first made the Robinsonade element an integral part of those voyages imaginaires which dealt with the sea. His Preface, moreover, is the first to present an elaborate and carefully worked out scheme for the purpose of creating verisimilitude. Foigny's influence was along similar lines, although his Preface is not so pretentious as Vairasse's, and is built after the more conventional pattern of Barnes and Godwin. He does, however, introduce into the body of the narrative many details which are designed to force the reader's belief -- a practice not frequent before him but common after him. All three of these men helped, furthermore, to make the voyage more of a story, and to give the hero something of a personality although he is still not drawn in detail. They also introduce into the story for the first time love episodes which have a more or less vital connection with the main thread of the narrative -- a custom probably borrowed from other types of prose fiction. In each case, also, the love element has some influence in causing the hero to depart for his native land. Daniel at the end of the period added nothing new, except to turn the voyage imaginaire to more serious purposes than had his predecessors; but later authors chose to keep serious philosophical discussion within the bounds of imaginative restraint.

49. Cyrano flees from the Moon because of the persistent courting of the lady-in-waiting; Siden gets homesick after his wives' deaths; and Sadeur is sentenced to death for evincing carnal desires.
In general, then, it is clear that the *voyage imaginaire* has established itself as a medium not only for the presentation of utopian ideas, but for those of any other kind as well; that it has become true fiction with something of character portrayal, love interest, and narrative suspense; and that authors of the type have seen the necessity for a careful effort to force belief, and have supplied it.
Chapter V.

THE VOYAGE IMAGINAIRE FROM SWIFT TO WALKER
(1726 - 1799)

When the second quarter of the eighteenth century opened, the voyage imaginaire had already become a story, and this character is maintained throughout the whole of the new period. Pure story forms appeared although as yet they did not become numerous; for the "ulterior purpose" which the narrative had always had, was still retained -- the famous voyages of the century, Swift's, Desfontaine's, and Holberg's, being satires. The utopias, however, were less numerous and often less serious. The Robinsonade element, too, now became yet more important than it had in the previous half-century, practically every voyage making use of this device, because of the tremendous and widespread popularity of Defoe's Robinson Crusoe (1719).

Two of these developments are illustrated in the first voyage imaginaire of the new period; for the anonymous Relation d'un Voyage du Pole Arctique au Pole Antarctique par le Centre du Monde (1723) is a pure story form of the voyage containing Robinsonade characteristics. As are all other books of the type it is autobiographic, the author-hero representing himself as a traveller of wide experience who has, for the sake of new adventure, shipped from Amsterdam on a Greenland whaler. The ship was caught in a current and carried rapidly toward the North Pole
where it plunged into an abyss and finally emerged at the opposite extremity of the earth. The rest of the story is occupied with a description of wonderful sights, such as the fish with golden tails that swim head downward in the whirlpool at the North Pole, vari-colored meteors, ice mountains, cold springs, caverns breathing forth hot air, huge sandbanks, boiling seas, and curious spots of hot and cold earth. Great toads with pale blue crests, black snails with green shells, and eagles both green and brown furnish the travellers further thrills. No people were discovered although ruined walls and a curious temple suggested traces of a lost race. The ship in time reached the Cape of Good Hope whence it cleared for Amsterdam where it arrived safely.

This voyage is obviously unimportant in the history of the type. There is in it no human interest, and the marvels are too perfunctorily described to excite the reader's imagination. If Paltock knew it, as there is no record that he did, it may have suggested to him the idea of locating his nation of winged folk at the South Pole, and the current which rushes toward the end of the earth; but other than that it could have had no influence upon him, for the two books are utterly unlike in all other respects. The Relation appears not to have been reissued, and is preserved, it seems, only in Garnier's Voyages Imaginaires.1

The year 1726, however, saw the publication of the most considerable English voyage imaginaire ever produced -- Swift's

Gulliver's Travels, or as the original title page reads Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World, in Four Parts, by Captain Lemuel Gulliver. The work at once gained popularity. Six re-issues took place before the close of 1727, and by 1747 a fifth edition had been printed. L'Abbe Desfontaine translated the work into French almost immediately upon its appearance; but treated it so freely and in his Preface made such derogatory remarks about the author that he roused Swift's ire and had to make a retraction.\(^2\) An anonymous French version printed at The Hague receded that of Desfontaine and a Dutch translation also appeared at that city in 1727. In England the literary public was taken by storm.\(^3\) The joint letter from Pope and Gay to Swift tells of enthusiastic reception given the book even by the politicians; and another from the Earl of Peterborough "confirms the fact that the language of Gulliver had captivated the imagination of the public." Even when Lady Mary Wortley Montagu wrote in detraction of the volume, she could do no less than say: "Here is a book come out, that all our people of taste run mad about."

Gulliver's Travels is a direct outgrowth of its author's misanthropic nature. In 1720 or thereabout when he began the composition of the work the disappointment at his repeated failures to gain political and church preferment sat heavy upon him. Queen Anne having taken offence at the satirical gibes in the Tale of the Tub, Swift had to remain content with a Deanery when he had hoped for a Bishopric. At Temple's death the King con-

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3. Same, pp. xvii - xx. The following quotations are taken from this source.
veniently forgot the promises he had made to look out for Swift's promotion, and again the brilliantly capable young man had to sit by while others of lesser ability were elevated above him. Not all his genius seemed able to outweigh the mere talent of his competitors. In addition to bearing this load of disappointment, Swift suffered greatly from a disease, painful even though intermittent as yet, but prophesying darkly for the future. A keen and bitter wit lighted up the pages of the first parts of Gulliver; a somber madness stains those of the last. Nature and misfortune seem to have combined in Swift to make him pen at once the keenest satire on the human race and the blackest libel ever charged against mankind.

The contents of the work are too well known to require a summary here; but it may be pointed out that Swift in each of the four books makes use of the Robinsonade method, or some variation of it, to get Gulliver into a strange land. In Book I the captain is shipwrecked off the coast of Lilliput, and reaches shore only after efforts similar to those exerted by Robinson Crusoe. A storm carries the ship into unknown seas in Book II, and Gulliver is abandoned by his frightened comrades on the shores of Brobdingnag. In Book III he is cast adrift; and in Book IV a conspiracy among his crew causes him to be set ashore in the land of the Houyhnhnms. Such detail suggests that Swift was influenced by Defoe's Robinson Crusoe which appeared just before the composition of the Travels during Swift's "exile" in Ireland during the years 1720 to 1726. They would seem to indicate, also, that he knew the works of Vairasse and

Poigny; and it is not unlikely that he had some acquaintance with
the contemporary literature of the sea which was full of just
such adventures. 5

To trace in detail all of Swift's borrowings would, of
course, be a task in itself; and most of them have already been
pointed out by his editors and commentators. The satire had its
inception in the project of the Scriblerus Club which proposed to
write the Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus, a wrongheaded pedant
who persisted in dabbling into all sorts of sciences even when
he was most ignorant of them. 6 In the concluding chapter of
this work is contained the outline of Gulliver. According to it
"in his first voyage (Scriblerus) was carried by a prosperous
storm to a discovery of the remnants of the ancient pygmy em-
pire"; "in his second, he was happily shipwrecked on the land of
Giants, now the most humane people in the world"; "in his third
voyage, he discovered the whole nation of philosophers, who
govern by mathematics"; and "in his fourth voyage, he discovers
a vein of melancholy proceeding almost to a disgust of the
species". 7 It is pretty certain, also, that the Lilliputians
were suggested to Swift by Philostratus, 8 although he may also
have known Barnes' Gerania; and that the giants of Brobdingnag
were borrowed from Cyrano de Bergerac's huge beings in L'Etat

6. Published 1741.
   See also G. R. Dennis, Prose Works of Johnathan Swift, Intro-
   duction, pg. 1; and Max Poll, Sources of Gulliver's Travels, 
   pg. 2.
8. Scott, Walter, Works of Johnathan Swift, second edition, 1824, 
   vol. XI, pg. 7. See also Max Poll, Sources of Gulliver's 
   Travels, pg. 6.
de la Lune. Other materials borrowed from Cyrano de Bergerac are the general contempt shown for mankind in the Frenchman's L'Etat de la Lune and L'Histoire des Oiseaux. This latter work, beyond doubt, also is, I believe, the pattern for his fierce satire in the last voyage of Gulliver, although Poll thinks that Swift there borrowed from Godwin's Man in the Moone. Another suggestion made by Poll is that the idea for this journey may have been taken from Diodorus' summary of Iambulos; but he confesses the lack of evidence. The mountebank performance, the love incident, the discussion of the hero's rationality, and the conclusion that he is some sort of an animal, or at best an abortion are common, likewise, to the first part of Cyrano de Bergerac's work and the second part of Swift's. Poll thinks, furthermore, that the method by which Gulliver extinguished the fire in Lilliput is taken from Rabelais.

Yet however much incident the famous Dean of St. Patrick's may have borrowed, he still holds by his originality a high place in the development of the voyage imaginaire. Before him imaginary states had been described for their excellence; before him satirical voyages had been written narrating the hero's experiences in strange lands; but he, for the first time, combined the two in the voyage to Brobdingnag. Likewise he was the first author of the voyage imaginaire to describe allegorically the state of contemporary society as it is reflected in Lilliput, although Hall had done something similar in those portions of the Mundus Alter et Idem which ridicule Germany. The Dean, however, is much more

11. Same, pp. 22 - 23.  
12. Same, pg. 8.
exact and specific in his satire than is the Bishop, it being possible to identify almost every incident in Gulliver's first adventure with one at the court of Queen Anne. Such a practice rendered great service to the satirical type of the voyage imaginaire; for whereas in Hall the attack was of a general nature and in Cyrano de Bergerac so vague as to lose much of its force, in Swift it is direct and trenchant. The object upon which his wrath falls can never be mistaken. We know that in Parts I and II European politics are being dissected; we know that in Part III pedantry of a clearly defined sort is being ridiculed; we know that in Part IV all of Swift's misanthropy and hatred of mankind are on display. The effect of this new development upon the imaginary voyage is seen in Swift's immediate descendants — Desfontaine, Brunt, Holberg, Bethune, and Roumier.

Of equal importance are Swift's innovations in the art of gaining verisimilitude. His preface is, of course, done according to the tradition of Vairasse; for in spite of his insinuation that he had not "so far degenerated as to defeat his veracity", the Letter from Captain Gulliver to his Cousin Symson as well as the address of the publisher to the reader have no other aim than establishing the truth of the narrative. In the latter we are assured that Captain Gulliver "now lives retired, yet in good esteem among his neighbors", that "in the churchyard at Banbury several tombs and monuments of the Gullivers" may be observed, and that "the author was so distinguished for his veracity, that it became a sort of proverb among his neighbors at Redriff, to

say it was as true as if Mr. Gulliver had spoke it". And to warn off nautical critics the publisher announces that he alone is responsible for any errors in "sea-affairs" since he "made bold to strike out innumerable passages" dealing with such matters. The letter voices a series of complaints against cousin Sympson for altering the meaning of many parts, and against the printer for being "so careless as to confound the times, and mistake the dates of of my several voyages and returns; neither assigning the true year, or the true month, or day of the month". And correction is prevented because "the original manuscript is all destroyed, since the publication of my book". Similar testimony had been offered long before 1727; Swift is here doing only what his predecessors did.

The task of gaining verisimilitude could not, however, stop with a preface in the case of Gulliver. As long as the author had to create belief in the existence only of an imaginary state peopled with beings not essentially different from the men and women of Europe, the efforts of More and Vairasse were sufficient. When, however, the inhabitants as well as the country were fundamentally unlike those familiar to Europeans, the task of gaining the reader's credence became more difficult. The mind that accepted the Utopians or the Severambians as real was likely to reject pigmies and giants and rational horses as fantastic. Swift was, of course, not the first to enter this realm of the imagination; but, as we have seen, neither Godwin nor Cyrano de Bergerac made any extended effort to force belief.

15. Dennis, G. R., Prose Works, vol. VIII, pg. 3. 
16. Same, pg. 4. 
17. Same, pg. 7. 
18. Same, pg. 7.
this end in view did incorporate some details into his narrative, such as the shallowness of the waters around Australia and the vindictive cruelty of his hermaphrodites toward all uni-sexual persons; yet even his people differ in no essential regard except that of sex from those of other nations. And Barnes who first treats of a little people relies solely upon the citation of authority. Swift, on the other hand, gains verisimilitude by careful exactness of detail. His Lilliputians do not differ from Europeans except in height; but when he shortens the stature of the people, he decreases the size of all other things in Lilliput; in Brobdingnag all things are enlarged in proportion to the height of the inhabitants; and in the land of the Houyhnhnms food and shelter are such as horses everywhere are supplied with. Furthermore, the autobiographical element, which in the earlier utopias, such as More's Campanella's, Andreae's, and Bacon's, had been largely, if not entirely, ignored, and which in the works of Vairasse and Foigny was chiefly used as introductory material, became in Swift not only a large but even an integral part of the story. Even more than with L'Histoire des Severambes it cannot be removed without destroying the whole work; and the result is, to quote Mr. Moriarty, that "the adventures of Captain Gulliver ....... have formed the delight of countless children". 19 Personal adventure also has, in the effort to make the work seem true, now come to play an even larger part in the imaginary voyage than it had in the productions of Cyrano de Bergerac and Vairasse with the natural consequence that the narrative interest has also been heightened.

19. Moriarty, G. P., Dean Swift and His Writings, 1892, pg. 230.
Not yet was the time ripe for a voyage imaginaire to be written for amusement alone; but even as all prose fiction was tending more or less to acquire, in addition to its obviously didactic tone, an artistic quality so was the imaginary voyage. The drug of ulterior purpose was being more and more neutralized by the sugar-coating of the story.

II

One of the immediate literary results of Gulliver's Travels was to inspire in France l'Abbe Desfontaine to write his Nouveau Gulliver (1728), in which Jean, the eldest son of Captain Lemuel Gulliver, becoming disgusted with his university studies, ran off to sea, sailing in a ship bound for China. Having arrived in eastern waters, the captain of the vessel was informed that trade in the Chinese ports was poor, and so he sailed to the northward; but a pirate ship soon afterward captured them and carried them into a port of Babilary, a land ruled by women, who some time before had seized the political power and subjugated all men to the position held by women in Europe. This inversion of the accepted order furnished the author with abundant opportunities for satire, none of which he neglected to seize. Of greatest interest in this country is a huge illustrated universal dictionary, each page of which is given over to a word; at the top is a picture depicting its meaning, while below the word itself is printed in the Babilary tongue and in all other languages which the people of that nation know. Gulliver and his companions escaped by the machinations of Mejax, a naval captain, who seduced the hero while he was in the royal seraglio awaiting
the consummation of his nuptials with the Queen. The Babilarians, of course, pursued them; but in the naval battle which followed the Europeans were victorious although Mejax was slain.

Not long after this escape the ship was wrecked in the Indian Ocean, and Gulliver, separated from the rest of the crew, was cast upon the island of Tillibet where the inhabitants begin to speak at the age of a few hours and die at that of twenty years. A dramatic conversation between Gulliver, his host, and a servant voices a sharp satire upon the European waste of time.

Having got out of this land upon a Portuguese ship which put in for water, the hero met his next adventure on the isle of Manouham, where the ship's company landed in hopes of finding the means to repair their vessel. There he and some others of the crew were captured by savages after a running fight, and were about to be put to death when their companions rescued them. But while the shore party was making preparations for plugging the leaks in the ship, those of crew still on board raised anchor and abandoned them. The castaways finally fell in with a tribe of friendly Indians among whom they lived in peace and amity, helping them subdue and convert to a noble humanitarianism their hostile neighbors. In the meantime Gulliver held many conversations with one of the tribe in which the "noble savage" appeared to marked advantage beside his civilized companion.

The Europeans were, not long after, rescued by a Dutch ship, Gulliver once more experiencing the tragedy of "disprized love"; for an Indian maiden deeply enamoured of him, cast herself into the sea as the vessel weighed anchor, and was drowned. On board Gulliver found his first captain who told him of his own
sojourn among a humpbacked people. The descriptions of weddings and of court visits, and the efforts of these people to increase the size of their humps are obvious satires upon court customs and external appearances. In a short time the ship put into L'Isle d'Estats of the Terra del Fuego group, where Gulliver heard various stories of the islands roundabout — those of the poets, doctors, philosophers, and gourmards.

Sailing from this place, he again met adventure upon an island off the coast of Chile where he and one shipmate were abandoned by accident as the rest of the party beat a precipitate retreat before a family of huge bears. In this place they found a people who when they reached the age of seventy began to grow young again. This nation had strict sumptuary laws governing the amount of air one might breathe, the amount of exercise and sleep to be taken, and the sort of food to be eaten. The flesh of animals, for instance, is absolutely forbidden as an article of diet because all animate beings are supposed to be brothers of mankind since they all possess souls. The sailors, however, soon grew tired of vegetarianism; and after long argument persuading their host that while fish might have souls, they could in no way be considered brothers to men, the Europeans gained permission to obtain such food supplies. Having rowed off shore for this purpose, the two men were picked up by a passing French ship on which they returned home. This last division of the book also contains the history of two lovers who were cruelly divided by parental objection, but were finally united after being cast separately upon the coast of Chile by storms. Their adventures serve primarily as a means for satirising civilized
society by pointing out its artificiality and lack of sympathetic contact.

As a part of his effort to force belief Desfontaine tells in the last chapter that the book was composed during the return voyage so that Gulliver on landing might sell the manuscript in order to recoup his shattered finances. He accounts for the French version and its appearance before the English edition by telling that a young Frenchman on the boat whiled away his leisure time making a translation which, by Gulliver's leave, he published immediately upon his return to France. Otherwise Desfontaine made no particular attempt to gain verisimilitude, relying evidently in a large measure directly upon the name of his hero, and so indirectly upon Swift's Preface. The likelihood of the narrative is further increased by the probability of the wrecks and misadventures which throw young Gulliver upon strange coasts, and by the general natures of the peoples found, both the Babilarians and the savages presenting no very extraordinary features. On the whole, the effort put forth appears rather futile when it is compared with the pretentious introduction of Vairasse or with the clever deception, as well as the artistic merit of Swift's practice.

Desfontaine protests vigorously in his Preface that he did not copy from Swift, and that the only thing he borrowed from the illustrious Englishman was the name of his hero. As far as material goes this is true. There is no external resemblance between the lands seen by the son and those visited by the father. Fundamentally, however, there is imitation. Both Swift and Desfontaine sought to satirize the various aspects of society.
The former with his greater genius and his fiercer hate produced a crushing denunciation of all mankind; the latter with his lesser brilliancy and in his more hurried execution wrote a satire pointed, but after all comparatively mild. No matter how new his peoples, his countries, and his incidents, no amount of protest will expunge the fact that in his *Nouveau Gulliver* Desfontaine followed carefully in the footsteps of the man whose work he translated.

Nothing really new was added to the practice of the *voyage imaginaire* by Desfontaine. His journey was over the beaten track—the seas about China, the Indian Ocean, and Terra del Fuego; his shipwrecks are a reproduction of a hundred others. Again following Swift’s lead he did make his satire a story, but here, too, his genius is inferior to that of the Englishman; and the narrative detail often seems forced into the tale rather than to be an intrinsic part of it. And even in the effort to gain verisimilitude Desfontaine had recurrence to the time worn practice of citing doubtful authorities to show that strange things do exist in the world. His work is important only in-as-much as it illustrates the growth of the new tradition in the history of the *voyage imaginaire*.

The sterility of Desfontaine’s invention and his choice of method were largely determined by the character of his regular work. A Jesuit priest, attached to the staff of the *Journal des Savants*, his duties in this connection occupied much of his time. He was, moreover, perpetually involved in controversy, that with Voltaire bringing him most publicity, if not most honor, and he

had as part of his duty the continued writing of polemic criticism. Weighed down under the burden of this enforced literary production Desfontaine had to seize upon any and all tools which came ready to his hand. Originality had no time to mature in him. Imitation was his only salvation. There was no time for polish in style, nor for consideration in judgment. Carelessness and precipitancy mar his work, and the *Nouveau Gulliver* suffers no more in these respects than do his other publications. Still it is a bold attempt, full of latent possibilities which augur great things for it had its author not been forced to let it come before its time into this breathing world "scarce half made-up".

III

A more interesting volume is a *Voyage to Cacklogallinia*, sometimes ascribed, on what grounds I cannot discover, to Dean Swift, but bearing on its title page the name of Captain Samuel Brunt, whoever he may have been. It appeared in 1727, but does not seem to have been re-issued or to have been widely popular; at least a certain "D. M." who inserted a leaf in what is now the University of Illinois copy says that he "never saw above three copies of it", and reprints are not discoverable. The story is that of an Englishman who landing with some companions on the coast of Jamaica to make their way to Kingston, the winds being adverse to a passage by sea, was carried off by a band of runaway slaves. His fellows were immediately slain; but he was preserved by the intervention of a negro to whom, on a previous visit to the island, he had shown compassion, and was carried to one of their villages.

21. The British Museum catalog says Brunt is a pseudonym.
in the mountains. Shortly afterward the negroes were attacked
by the whites; and being driven from their strongholds, some of
them, still carrying Brunt with them, got after considerable dif-
culty to the coast, and stealing a canoe, put to sea. The
party was shortly picked up by a pirate ship; and after various
adventures such as witnessing a mutiny and participating in a
fight against a superior force, the hero was cast, following the
wreck of the vessel, upon the shores of an unknown country.

Having proceeded inland and slept under a tree for the
night, he was surprised at dawn by being taken prisoner by a race
of huge chickens which inhabited this land. These took him for
a monstrosity, and so named him Probusomo, which in their language
signifies a strange and uncouth animal. Later his captor took
him to court and presented him as a gift to the Prime Minister
for whom Brunt served as a spy after learning the Cacklogallinian
language. His discoverer, being rewarded the title equivalent to
Esquire for his present, at once increased nine inches in height
and a proportionate amount in girth as is the manner of folk in
that country whenever they are promoted. Following his introdunc-
tion at court, Brunt conversed with Brusqualo, the Minister, de-
scribing England in the most laudatory terms and comparing it
with Cacklogallinia, which in word and deed is an intensely vile
country. An example of Brunt's method is found in his description
of their religion. In the temple hung a globe of gold, formerly
very large, which each sect as it gained the predominating in-
fluence in the state had melted down and recast until at the time
of the story it had decreased to a negligible size. That this
precious metal might again be brought into the realm an upstart
politician suggested that the "spirit of the world", which was
the all creator, might be fetched from the Moon in order to transmute base metals into rare. Brunt, in spite of his opposition to the scheme, was sent, carried in a chariot supported by servants, to get this "spirit". He passed safely through the middle regions of the universe, experiencing neither heat, nor cold, nor hunger, nor other inconvenience on the way. On the Moon he found a race of disembodied spirits -- the souls of men who had died and were there awaiting a further purging away of the soul "body" so that they might arise to heaven. By the courtesy of these people he also saw the souls of those earth-dwellers who dreamt by night; for when men dream their souls mount upward to the Moon where the spirit undergoes all the sufferings which its owner experiences in his visions. The hero failed, however, to obtain the object of his journey since the inhabitants of the Moon know nothing at all about gold. Fearing to return with a report of unsucccess, he secured from these men directions for steering so that he should reach Jamaica; and after landing there, he instructed his bearers how to return into their own nation while he took ship for England where he arrived after a satisfactory voyage.

No summary can, however, indicate how biting is the satire which pervades every page of this entertaining story; and a complete analysis of it would extend beyond the bounds here allowable. In general method the satire is similar to that of Swift's Lilliput; here as there political figures of contemporary England masquerade under fictitious titles. Brunt's Cormorants are the Dutch; his Magpies, the French; his Owls, the Spaniards; his Cuckoos, the Italians. The war waged by the Owls against the Magpies is that of the Spanish Succession. Brusquallo, the King's
Minister, is probably Horace Walpole; and Grinelly sounds is Louis of France. The window tax is satirised as one on sunlight; and that on beer as an excise upon spring water. The South Sea Bubble is ridiculed in the scheme to bring gold from the Moon. And corrupt electorates, ministers, clergy, physicians, lawyers, poets, ladies-in-waiting, courtiers and their wives, law, poverty, pride, army preferments and punishments, official integrity, English character, football, horseracing, and Italian opera all have scorn heaped upon them. But Brunt also employs along with this method a reverse of that used by Swift in his description of Brobdingnag. The latter made his Giants benevolant, his English vile; the former painted his Englishmen as perfect, his Cacklogallinians as the corruptest of the corrupt.

In these respects of method the author of Cacklogallinia no doubt borrowed from that of Gulliver; but he must also have had some native ability, for many of his conceptions are most ingenious, as for instance that of a man's increasing in height as he rises in rank. I do not know that I should agree with the aforementioned "D. M." when he says: "The stile is more pure than that of Defoe"; but I should go beyond him in his estimate "that the story is as interesting as Peter Wilkins". Nor can I agree after a careful reading of both authors that Brunt is "without any of the grossness of Swift"; for there are many passages which even the Dean of St. Patrick's was, I feel, likely to have stricken out had the Voyage to Cacklogallinia been his work. In general, however, Brunt has succeeded with his illustrious predecessor in producing a satire as pointed as vigorous, and a story as entertaining as ingenious.
Considered historically as a *voyage imaginaire* the *Voyage to Cacklogallinia* had perhaps no very great influence. Swift was more popular in his own time, and is better known today. Brunt, moreover, did nothing but continue the Gulliver tradition, without adding to the practice of fiction whether of this type or of any other. His only innovation, in fact, was the substitution of birds for men -- a suggestion which he may have got from Swift's *Houyhnhnms*, but which, I suspect, he took from Cyrano de Bergerac, and which, furthermore, does not appear to have been borrowed by later writers. The influence of Cyrano and Godwin may also be seen in the record of the trip to the Moon. Yet it must be admitted that were *Cacklogallinia* more readily accessible to the public, the story might be read with as much avidity and delight as are Gulliver's *Travels*.

IV

The year 1737 saw appear a *voyage imaginaire* as readable as Gulliver yet very different in character -- *The Adventures of Gaudentio di Lucca*, which Dunlop believes to have been the work of Bishop Berkeley on the ground that Plato was the bishop's favorite author, and that the *Republic* and the *Adventures* both describe ideal patriarchal governments. The philosopher-bishop may have composed the volume; but certainly Dunlop's argument is most inconclusive, and neither Leslie Stephen, A. C. Fraser, nor Dr. Benjamin Rand include the book in their lists of Berkeley's writings. And nothing in either the *Proposal for the Founding* 22. Dunlop, J., *History of Prose Fiction*, third edition, pg. 420. 23. Stephen, Leslie, article on Berkeley in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Fraser, A. C., *Life in vol. IV of Works*, 1871. Rand, Benjamin, *Berkeley and Perceval*, 1914.
of a College in the Bermuda Island (1725) nor in his Essay towards Preventing the Ruin of Great Britain (1721) suggests anything contained in the voyage. Furthermore, as will be seen from the summary, there is no essential resemblance between the Republic and the Adventures of Gaudentio di Lucca. The assumed author is Simon Berington of whom nothing appears to be known unless he is the author of a copy of verses entitled To His Excellent Majesty James III, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, published at Douai (?) in 1700, and preserved in the British Museum. Why Berington should be suspected of the authorship I am not able to learn; his name does not appear on the title page, the work being supposedly translated "from the Italian by E. T., Gent". The Berin^tons were good catholics and royalists, if the titles of their works may be admitted as evidence, and the Adventures are markedly catholic in tone. But whoever the author may have been, he had an ingenious imagination and a thorough knowledge of Vairasse's L'Histoire des Severambes.

The story is a record of the testimony given by Gaudentio di Lucca, a physician, before the Inquisition at Bologna. He tells that in his youth he was a student at Paris, but that he and his brother, being left orphans and bankrupt at the same time, had embarked upon a commercial venture to the orient. Falling in with Turkish pirates whom they had resisted, the crew was exterminated with the exception of Gaudentio, whose life was spared only at the intercession of the lady that the pirate chieftain was seeking to marry. His captors carried him to Alexandria where he was sold to a foreign merchant who treated him very kindly; but unfortunately the Grand Bassa's daughter cast her
eyes upon him, and the scandal having become known, although Gaudentio was innocent of any wrong, his party was forced to flee Egypt. Angered over the rejection of her love, the young lady pursued them; but just as she overtook the cavalcade, her horse shied, precipitating her into the river whence Gaudentio had the good luck to rescue her, saving at once his head and her honor; for the accident made the young lady at once so sensible of her indiscretion and of his nobility that she became quite cured of her profligate affection, and gave her savior a ring as a token of forgiveness.

Gaudentio and his companions then continued for many days across the desert, finally reaching the land of Mezarania which in the time of the Hyksos kings was settled by the ancient Egyptian refugees from their persecution. The government of this fair land is patriarchal in form, the nation being divided in five Nomes, or tribes, the members of each of which wear garments of a different color, those of the men being spangled with golden suns, those of the women with silver moons in token of their inconstant natures and lesser importance. The chief of the first Nome is the head of the nation; and complicated laws of succession are established to obviate any civil strife in case there is no direct heir. Over each tribe is a Pophar (father), and the male parent is the head of the individual family. The law is based on pure equity, but stringent measures are taken against perjury, murder, fornication, and adultery. Although no mention is made of communism, there is abundance and plenty for all in the land since property rights are sacred and each couple is presented at marriage with a certain portion of land. Some art or trade is
pursued by every citizen, the order of esteem being (1) liberal arts, (2) agriculture, (3) useful arts, (4) fine arts. The inventor of a new art is honored by having his statue erected in a public place, Gaudentio attaining this distinction by introducing the art of portrait painting among them. A puritanical moral education is instilled into the youth by a combined staff of parents, nurses, and governors. War is forbidden because the shedding of human blood is considered an unpardonable sin, but sports of all sorts are encouraged. The religion of Mezarania is sun-worship, that star being considered the material cause of all things; but over and beyond him is El, the great first cause. Parents are considered as the immediate cause of their children's being. Passion and desire are caused in men by the souls of animals entering into their bodies and driving out the human spirit; but a steady contemplation of the divine light is sufficient to repulse these assaults. After death the human soul approaches nearer and nearer to the El.

Men and women mingle freely under the supervision of their elders; and freedom of choice is allowed in marriage, but obstacles are continually raised in order to prove the constancy of lovers, and stories of heroic devotion are assigned to the betrothed for reading. The progress of the engagement is indicated by the presentation and acceptance of flowers, first in bud, then half-blown, and finally in full bloom; and the contract is consummated in a public ceremony at which the Pophar slips a steel hoop over the couple as they embrace tightly in token of the indissolubility of the bond that they are contracting.
Gaudentio, having been discovered, by means of a medal given him by his mother, to be of the blood of this nation, was adopted among them, rising in time to a distinguished rank and even marrying the regent's daughter. After he had been among these people many years a hunting party discovered in a cave near the borders an English castaway whom, in compassion, they brought home with them; but he soon requited their kindness by attempting to subvert the moral and political order. Sentence of banishment was at once passed against him; and he was returned into Egypt as member of the party to which Gaudentio, whose wife and children had now died, and the Pophar, who desired to visit Europe, were attached. In Alexandria the Englishman sought to gain their arrest; but the ring given by the Grand Bassa's daughter to Gaudentio secured their release, and the Englishman, having been condemned to the galleys, committed suicide. After further adventures, such as rescuing his former benefactress from her pirate husband, being offered the highest post in the realm by the Grand Bassa's daughter who was now Sultana Regent of Turkey, and converting the Grand Pophar to Catholicism, Gaudentio reached Venice where he persuaded the courtesan Favilla to enter a nunnery, but so captivated the imagination of a young lady that she followed him to Bologna, where he was dwelling when the Inquisition seized him as a man of questionable practices.

Dunlop, as the summary shows, had evidently forgotten when he made his comparison between the Republic and Gaudentio di Lucca that new elements had been added to utopian tradition between the fourth century B. C. and A. D. 1727. Plato and Berington, if Berington it was, had each a separate heritage.
The Greek knew only political practice and philosophic speculation as he had seen it on the shores of the Mediterranean; the Englishman had behind him the practice of More, Campanella, Bacon, and Vairasse. It is in the work of the last of these, however, that the germ of Gaudentio di Lucca is to be found. In each case the nation was founded by refugees from persecution; in each the people are sun-worshippers but recognize an incomprehensible, omniscient spirit beyond the visible; in each moral instruction is the aim of education; in each equity is the basis of adjudication; in each war is abhorred but sports encouraged; in each classes are distinguished by the color of their dress, although Vairasse divides his people according to age and Berington according to tribes; in each betrothal, which follows carefully chaperoned meetings, is a public ceremony; in each agriculture ranks high as an activity; in each scholars are sent abroad to study, but strangers are not willingly admitted to the land, although Berington might have borrowed this detail from Bacon; and in each the author, after rising to a high rank among the new people and marrying a native woman, becomes homesick after her death and returns to his native country. Such similarity in detail cannot, surely, be the result of chance; and accident is rendered still more improbable by the widespread popularity of the Severambes both in France and in England.

The conviction of Berington's indebtedness to Vairasse grows still more certain when one examines his Preface. It takes the form of a letter written by Alisio de St. Ivoria, Secretary of the Inquisition at Bologna, to M. Rhedi, librarian of St. Mark's at Venice, in which the former directs the recipient to
confirm certain details of the testimony rehearsed therein. This
document also explains how Gaudentio was taken by the inquisition
and under what circumstances, also certain details of the trial,
and contains in addition a summary of the Memoirs. As a partial
return for a gift of some value made by the librarian to the
secretary a copy of the confession is also enclosed. All this
is stated in great detail. We learn what were the hero's habits
of life, what estimate the citizens of the town placed upon his
private and professional character, and what Gaudentio looked
like. Prefixed to the whole is the usual eighteenth century
address of the Publisher to the Reader. In this we are told that
the publisher, having during his sojourn in Venice "contracted
a particular friendship with M. Rhedi", who was "not so bigoted
to his religion or profession, as to shun the company of the
heretical Tramontani", and who was furthermore softened by the
"present of a gold repeating watch, with some other of our Eng-
lish curiosities", was allowed to copy the manuscript. M. Rhedi
also gives convenient testimony, through the publisher of course,
as to the truth of the narrative; and an "N. B." calls the read-
er's attention to his learned footnotes "particularly, when he
comes to the origin and antiquity of the people the author speaks
of" -- a trick learned probably from Vairasse and Desfontaine.
Here it is also explained that careless customs officials at
Marseilles are responsible for the loss of several sheets from
the manuscript, so causing an hiatus in the middle of the account.
This machinery is as elaborate as Vairasse's and somewhat more
convincing, but the author of Gaudentio di Lucca had the probable
advantage over his French predecessor of having read Defoe's
Apparition of Mrs. Veal (1706). In any case the prefatory material has now become a first chapter in a truer sense than were the letters of More and Peter Giles which were prefixed to the Utopia, and which Dr. A. J. Tieje so designates.  

As an additional means of gaining verisimilitude Berington inserted the questions and the comments of the Inquisitors; so that one has from time to time further testimony as to the convincing character of the narration. This aim is also served by the Inquisition's apparent acceptance of the existence of Mezarania and their sending out missionaries to convert its inhabitants. These various means form the most full and complex attempt to force belief which has appeared in the voyage imaginaire up to this time, although it must also be admitted that only in the last two practices has the author of Gaudentio di Lucca shown any essential originality.

More important than these devices, however, are the appearance in the Introduction of two details until now little developed and seldom even mentioned. The appearance and character of Gaudentio are carefully described; a full length portrait of the man appears, whereas heretofore character has been only implied from the hero's actions, and personal appearance has been introduced but once. Berington is, too, the first author of the imaginary voyage to speak of the "law of nature", a phrase used by practically all later writers of utopias and one that

dominated thought in certain branches of philosophy for many years.

This work Dunlop ranks with Gulliver's Travels and Robinson Crusoe, claiming that no other nation "has produced three performances of equal merit" in the field of the voyage imaginaire. The estimate is, perhaps, over-enthusiastic; but at the same time one cannot but admit that Gaudentio di Lucca is the most readable of the utopias. The expository description which burdened this type of fiction has throughout become leavened with a narrative strain; and the personal interest introduced by Vairasse and Foigny has come now to have an equal importance with the instructional matter. The voyage imaginaire which aims to picture an ideal state is now developing as did the satirical voyage -- it is slowly becoming more and more of a story.

V

During these years between 1723 and 1737 other voyages imaginaires were being published, but I have not been able to obtain many of them. Some, like Legrand's Les Aventures du Voyageur Arien (1724), Murtagh McDermot's Trip to the Moon (1728), or the anonymous Travels of an Adventurous Knight in the Kingdom of Wonder appear to comprise the marvellous, and may in the case of the second be satirical. Bennet's Memoirs of the Court of Lilliput (1727) is a thing obviously done in the manner Swift, as is Arbuthnot's Account of the State of Learning in

29. This is a pseudonym; the author's real name is unknown.
Lilliput (1728). The first I have not seen; the second is merely the narrative of an incident which might have occurred to Gulliver during his stay in that island, but it otherwise contains no features of the voyage imaginaire. Bougeant's Prince Fanféré-din (1735), if Dunlop is to be relied upon, continues the tradition of d'Aubignac, Montpensier, and Sorel. An entirely different sort of a work is the Lamekis (1735) of that most productive author Charles Fieux Chevalier de Mouhy. The voyage imaginaire element in it is very slight and serves merely as a thread upon which to string narratives of the cult of Serapis in Egypt, of adventures in caverns, and of the Isle of Sylphides.

In Denmark Baron Ludvig Holberg produced in 1741 his famous Iter Subterraneum -- a racy story of the adventures befalling a young doctor, Nicholas Klimius, after his return from the university to his home in Bergen. Deciding to investigate a mysterious cavern near the town, he fell into it, and after some time found himself floating as a satellite to an underground sun; but being attacked by a griffin which he killed with his spear, he was dragged from his exalted estate to the surface of an underground earth inhabited by a tree-people who honor women on an equality with men, and esteem slowness of comprehension as the sign of the highest intellectual power. These people at first took him for a monkey, but were finally convinced that he was not of that species. His quick wit, however, brought him into disfavor with this nation, but his long legs earned him a court position as the king's chief messenger. In this capacity

31. I have seen only the first volume of this work as it is printed in Garnier's *Voyages Imaginaires*, vol. XX.
he was sent to visit all the nations of this world below ground, and to bring back a report upon their condition. Each of these new countries he found to be inhabited by a people representative of some human activity, as philosophy, medicine, law, and so forth. All are described with keen satire, but with such an abundance of questionable detail that even the French translator was forced to soften the tone of the narrative. Klimius on his return sought to gain promotion by suggesting governmental reforms; but these failing of approval, he was, as the law provided, condemned to be sent out of the world along with the other criminals. Attached to the neck of a migratory bird he began his journey, and soon landed in the world of monkeys, where his wits being considered too tardy, he was employed by a minister as a chairman. Taking advantage, however, of the insane desire for novelty which these people evinced, he soon rose by his inventive genius to a high position. But his protector's wife now became enamored of him; and angered by the rejection of her importunate advances, she obtained his banishment. As a galley slave, he now visited lands peopled by all sorts of beast-folk, until a storm cast him upon a shore inhabited by men sunk in the grossest ignorance. These people believing him to be a god, Klimius gained a great ascendancy over them; and in time having risen to the regency, he sought to found a fifth monarchy. His cruel tyranny, however, raised up a rebellion against him; and crawling into a cave, after the surrender of his army, he suddenly found himself again in Bergen where he was taken for the Wandering Jew. But a friend came to his rescue and secured for him, after a time, a rectorship which he held for many years. Appended to
the work is a testimonial to the character of Nicholas Klimius.

This work, written originally in Latin, and translated into Danish, French, and English (1747), had a great vogue. The general consensus of critical opinion has been to attribute the author's inspiration to Swift; but there are good reasons for objecting to this view since upon examination the similarity of the works is seen to lie in their satirical purpose. Holberg, furthermore, had travelled widely in Germany, Holland, France, and England, and so was likely to have come into contact with the whole literary tradition of the voyage imaginaire, a form which must have appealed to his semi-vagabond nature, and which was rather adaptable to his genius. If specific indebtedness must be sought, the work is clearly done in the tradition of Cyrano de Bergerac from whom Holberg probably borrowed his experience as an astral body, his tree-people, the conception of himself as a monkey, and the contempt shown by animals for men. Desfontaine and the Montpensier-d'Aubignac-Bougeant school probably furnished the idea of a people ruled by a single passion. The cave incident at the end also reminds one of a similar episode in Lamekis, and the birds which carry off the criminals in the Iter Subterraneum are the posterity of Godwin's geese. The underground world itself was probably suggested by Quevedo's Visions. Holberg has, nevertheless, kneaded these diverse elements into an interesting story highly seasoned with the interest which arises from personal adventure; but this type of voyage which deals with the interior of the earth and uses the extremely improbable as a means of satire does not seem to have been highly popular, and in the second half of the eighteenth century it was
not imitated.

VI

A work entirely unlike any of these is the Automathes of John Kirkby, published in 1745 and now preserved, it seems, only in Weber's Popular Romances. The author's chief bid to fame is that he was the tutor of Edward Gibbon, the historian, and it is to the pupil that we owe the only notice of the teacher. According to Gibbon's account Kirkby's remarks on his own indigence in the opening pages of the Automathes are true, and the remainder of the brief account would indicate that misfortune continued to pursue him throughout life. Constant brooding upon these vicissitudes of earthly existence probably turned Kirkby's imagination to the story he told, there to find relief from present annoyance and worry in the dream of a better state. But this is speculation.

The book begins with an account of the finding of the manuscript. As the author sat one day "upon the declivity of the beach" meditating on the "wretched condition of (his) family", he was diverted from his pensive mood "by the sight, ......., of a small cylindrical trunk, about a foot long, rolling along with the tide, ......., with a key tied to the handle". Rescuing this package, he found it to contain a manuscript partly obliterated by the action of the salt water, but still legible in a large part, from which he learned that the writer of the account was an English priest of the Benedictine order whose ship had in the year 1614 foundered in latitude 39° 15" north, longitude 176° west from London, off an unknown coast which the crew managed
to reach with the aid of rafts.

There they found a colony of Chinese, speaking purest Attic Greek and professing a primitive type of Christianity. The ancestors of this folk, they learned in a conversation with some of the priests, had been converted to the faith in their home province of "Xantung which lies in the south-west part of Corea"; but by a royal mandate they had been banished as dangerous to the safety of the state. Settling in this desert island, these fugitives had built up a prosperous nation in which the spiritual and temporal powers were entirely divorced, the clergy retaining control of education but being removed from all worldly temptation by an insistence upon the utmost simplicity in the clerical life. Criminals are transported to a desert island not far distant where they must dwell forever; but any children they may have are promptly returned to the colony in order that they may be free from a corrupting environment and have the advantage of a moral education. This portion of the book is further given over to caustic remarks on Romanism and its practices, which are interrupted by the arrival of Automathes who invited them to go next day on a visit to his father's country seat.

On this journey Automathes related to the Europeans the story of his life. While he was yet a babe in arms, his father, Eugenius, was banished as a conspirator against the throne, his enemies having gained the king's ear and whispered grave calumnies against the favorite minister; but on the voyage to the isle of convicts, the vessel was wrecked off an unknown coast, and Eugenius, his wife, and infant son were cast upon a desert island. There the father erected a shelter for them, and they lived
happily until the mother died, when to supply the wants of his son Eugenius caught a roe which thereafter acted as the nurse of Automathes. Shortly afterward Eugenius discovered not far distant another island, which, hoping it would be inhabited, he visited in a ship's boat saved from the wreck; a storm, however, carried off the boat while he was on the new isle, and so father and son were separated.

The boy now learned various things by observation -- what fruits are good to eat, that the moon derives its light from the sun, that the revolutions of the heavenly bodies are the causes of eclipses, what death is, that bathing is good for the body, that he was not original in this place since, unlike the other animals, he was the only one of his kind in the island, that echoes were not human voices, and many things of a similar nature. From a painted fan found in the hut he gained his ideas of men, sex, gardens, and cities; and from various metal objects also discovered there he conceived the principles of malleability and ductility. He learned further what fire was by striking two pieces of steel together. Animals, he found, too, were rational because when during his swimming his legs became entangled in the branches of a submerged tree, the beavers, attracted by his cries, came and gnawed him loose. The favor was returned now long after; for he showed them how to put out a fire which had seized upon their quarters, the animals immediately imitating him in splashing water over the blazing parts. With the aid of some diagrams in mathematical books, also found in the hut, Automathes discovered many geometrical principles and even succeeded in erecting a sundial. His knowledge of the
supernatural was imparted in dreams presided over by the spirit of his dead mother.

About this time a ship from the country, driven out of its course by adverse winds, discovered his father, and upon urgent solicitation the captain agreed to visit the island upon which the son had been left. Returning with them to civilization Automathes quickly assimilated all learning, but his savage virtues had never been weakened and his abhorrence of all cruelty and of animal food had never been overcome.

The day following that on which they heard this narration the party visited a wonderful natural amphitheater among the mountains. On their return journey as they were passing through a thick wood, the sharp cries of a woman in distress alarmed them. Hastening forward they discovered in a cottage a woman bound tight upon a couch. She was Dorothea, betrothed of Automathes, a member of the party. On being questioned how she came there, she could say only that on the previous evening, her mother being away from home, she had, on her nurse's advice, lain down for a brief rest in the summer house of the garden, and that she awakened in her present situation. Arriving at Dorothea's home, the party found all in confusion because of the loss of the young lady, and because the nurse who was asleep in the summer house, could not be wakened. The excitement was further increased when news came that Phlecon, a rival suitor for Dorothea's hand, had been found dead in the river. At this same time the nurse showed signs of awaking, but having sighed heavily once or twice, she died without speaking or even opening her eyes. This succession of catastrophic events scared one
of the male servants into a confession by which it was learned that Phlegon had bribed him and the nurse to drug Dorothea and carry her to the cottage in the wood, and that on returning the nurse, to avoid suspicion, had also taken a dose of the sleeping potion. Having finished his story, the poor man, conscious of his overwhelming guilt, begged that he be punished to the utmost rigor of the law; but the judges, feeling that he had already suffered enough, remitted all judgment against him.

"Thus far, and no farther", says Kirkby, "could I make any sense of what was contained in this manuscript; here therefore I am forced to conclude, without being able to give any other account of it, than what you have already heard concerning the strange means by which it fell into my hands. If the publication of so much as I could pick out, may be of any service to the cause of religion and virtue, as I am not without hopes in some measure it may, I am satisfied".

The first division of this hybrid work is written after the manner of the utopias. Kirkby is there describing an ideal state as a means of voicing his own sentiments upon religion. The second part, or the History of Automathes, is a weak imitation of the Hai Ebn Yokdhan which the author must have known either in Pocock's Latin version (1676) or Ockley's English translation (1708); but Kirkby has, under the influence of Defoe,

32. When I wrote in Chapter II that the Hai Ebn Yokdhan had no lineal descendants, the copy of Weber's Popular Romances had not come to hand, and Kirkby's work was unknown to me. At the time I received the book, Chapter II had already been typewritten and so the change could not be made.
added a Robinsonade element. The rational beavers of Automathes are, also, suspiciously similar to the monkeys in Dorrington's *English Hermit* (1727), who request Quarles to referee their disputes; and Dorrington also makes use of dreams as a means to inform his hero of coming events. The love story at the end of the work is in the style of the romances. This mixture of diverse elements is unfortunate. In any case it was likely to destroy unity of purpose and of tone; but in the hands of an inexperienced and unskillful artist like Kirkby, dire confusion resulted, and the book, being neither a utopia, philosophic fiction, or romance, impresses one as having the same purposelessness and lack of direction which seems to have characterized its author's life.

VII

Different in nature and different in aim from the *Automathes* is the *Peter Wilkins* (1750) of Robert Paltock, an author of whom as little is known as of Kirkby, but whose book is vastly more important historically since it was the first *voyage imaginaire* written simply to amuse. Paltock appears to have been a Cornishman, to have been a bencher at Clement's Inn, and to have written *Peter Wilkins*. The first two are no rare distinction. The latter, however, is. No common man could have done it. The task required a gentle as well as a boldly fantastic imagination, a poetic as well as a practical mind. Perhaps the work is, as a critic in the *Monthly Review* says, "the illegitimate offspring of no very natural conjunction, like

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33. See A. H. Bullen, *Preface* to his edition of *Peter Wilkins*, 1884.
Gulliver's Travels and Robinson Crusoe," but Paltock may take comfort in the remembrance that Swift would have spoiled the book by dragging in satire, and that winged creatures were beyond Defoe's power. Peter Wilkins is a creation of a dreamer's mind, of a mind not bothered by worldly affairs, of a man whose days pass quietly and evenly and are never too full for lazy meditation. Just such a man was this feeless, briefless barrister of Clement's Inn whom Leigh Hunt pictures "with 'Robinson Crusoe' on one side of him and 'Gaudentio di Lucca' on the other, hearing the pen go over his paper in one of the quiet rooms in Clement's Inn that look out of its old-fashioned buildings into the little garden with the dial in it held by the negro".

Peter Wilkins, the hero of the story, was born near Bristol where he enjoyed a reasonably happy childhood; but his father having been slain in the Stuart rebellions and his mother having married a neighboring gentleman, Peter was put to school where he profited somewhat by his studies but advanced wonderfully in the art of seduction, secretly acquiring two children and a wife before he was twenty. Misfortune, however, soon overtook him; for his mother dying left all her property to her second husband, and Peter, now left penniless and loaded with family responsibilities which it was necessary to keep secret, ran away to sea, shipping as captain's steward in a vessel bound for the Indies. Shortly after they had left port, a French privateer overhauled them; and since food was running short, Wilkins and twenty other prisoners were set adrift in an open boat. After suffering terrible hardships the survivors were

34. See A. H. Bullen, Preface to his edition of Peter Wilkins, 1884.
picked up by a Portuguese ship and carried to Africa, where on a slaving expedition inland Wilkins was captured and set to work repairing a fortress. In company with a negro Glanlepze, he soon made his escape; and the two after various adventures with lions, crocodiles, and enemies, reached Glanlepze's home. There Peter remained for two years; but at the end of that time he escaped to sea with some Englishmen in a stolen ship. Not knowing whither to sail, the party drifted aimlessly for some time until putting into a small island for water and wood, they were overtaken by a terrific storm which carried the vessel, containing only Peter and a companion named Adams, away toward the south. Even after the wind had fallen and the sea subsided the ship continued to drive rapidly in the same direction, drawn, Wilkins afterwards found, by the magnetic attraction of the loadstone cliffs at the Pole upon some iron bars in the hold of the boat. As they approached the rugged cliffs, Adams jumped for the shore, but missing his footing fell into the sea, never to be seen again.

Peter now attempted to make his solitary life more livable by raiding the ship's stores, catching fish, and in general leading a sort of Robinson Crusoe life. On one of his many exploring trips along the base of the cliff, his boat was suddenly sucked into a swift current which carried him into an underground passage from which after many hours of unutterable mental agony he emerged into a peaceful "lake" surrounded by fertile shores, the whole, however, cut off from all communication with the outside world by a high and insurmountable wall of rock. In this terrestrial paradise Wilkins established himself in a grotto, built a room
at its mouth, and made himself as comfortable as possible. For a considerable space the story now reminds one of Crusoe's efforts to supply the lack of food and tools. Peter, for instance, contrived a cart and a fish net; he found a twining plant which furnished him a substitute for rope; he discovered an abundance of fish in the "lake", as well as a marine beast which supplied him with flesh, pelt, and oil; and he caught wild fowl which he domesticated.

When the long, dark winter came on, he longed for companionship, the absence of which he had not felt up to this time, owing to the pressure of supplying his immediate physical needs. He was, too, disturbed by strange noises which at times seemed to be in the air directly over his head, and at others to come from the "lake". At last he decided that they were made by the marine beasts which he caught from time to time; but looking out from his hut one night, he was amazed to find that the cries came from little "canoes" which fairly dotted the surface of the water. To his further amazement, these "boats" suddenly rose into the air and trooped off over the summit of the rocky wall. His fancied security thus invaded, Peter lived in mortal terror, not being able to discover who or what these strange beings were nor what he might expect from them. One night his fear was increased by the sound as of a human body falling outside his home, and on investigation he found that a female of these strange beings was lying unconscious outside the door of his cave. He carried her in; and her injuries proving slight, she soon recovered. During the first months of their dwelling together he learned, both having acquired some knowledge of the other's
language, that she belonged to a race of winged mortals who dwelt beyond the wall, the youth of which came to sport in this valley in the dark nights of winter since these people cannot endure the light of day. Being warned in a dream that his English wife was dead, Peter now took Youwarkee, for such was the name of this winged woman, in marriage. She bore him in due time eight children, some of whom had the graundee as the wings were called. By flying over the mountain range to the wreck, she also brought him many useful articles, either carrying them on her back, or casting them into the current which eventually bore them into the "lake" whence Peter fished them out. That she might better face the long, and to him pleasant, daylight of summer, he made her a pair of spectacles, and to give her a more human appearance he showed her how to make clothes for herself and the children according to the European fashion.

In time, however, homesickness overcame her; so with her husband's consent she departed for a visit to her father, taking along two of the older children who had the graundee. Not long after she returned with a great throng of Glums (males) and Gawries (females), her father, who was a dignitary at home, bringing with him an large retinue. Warned by messengers of the approach of this multitude, Wilkins and the remaining six children prepared a great entertainment for them. Fishing and hunting parties amazed the guests for in their homeland they ate nothing but fruits, which, however, had the taste of various sorts of flesh. Cooking, too, and clothes were new to them, Peter and his wife causing much astonishment by changing their habiliments, for the only garments these people knew were their graundees,
which, when not extended, enveloped them like a close-fitting suit. The firearms also caused great consternation among them. This magnificent fête, described in detail and not without touches of humor, ended, the visitors departed; and the Wilkins family settled down once more to a quiet domestic felicity.

Soon, however, a royal embassy appeared, demanding that Peter go at once to the land of the winged folk. In spite of his protest that he could not fly, they insisted upon his making the journey since an ancient prophecy had declared that in time of a great danger the nation was to be saved by a man with hair about his face, capable of flying and swimming without the grandee, and "killing by unknown fire and smoke". After some experimenting, Wilkins rigged up a sort of chariot, consisting of a platform on to which a chair was securely fastened, the whole to be carried by servants who supported it by cords attached to the corners. In this machine he departed to the new land, his family accompanying him, either on the wing or in the chariot. Arrived in the new country, he at once began his reforms. The religion of the great god Collwar was purified of its idolatrous practices; a secret conspiracy in the king's privy council was exposed; an open rebellion was put down; rich mining territories were added to the nation's possessions; and a diplomatic marriage between a neighboring king and princess was arranged. In short, ably seconded by certain of the king's ministers, Wilkins raised the people from a nation subsisting by slave labor upon the natural fruits of the forest to the prototype of free and monarchical England. His old age was devoted to the furthering of Christianity by translating the more
of the Bible

important passages into the native tongue of the country. When, however, his wife died and he became too old to take an active part in politics, nostalgia came upon him, and in a new chariot he set out for the coast of South America; but the long overseas flight so wearied his bearers that they allowed him to fall into the sea, from which not long after he was rescued, as the Introduction explains, by an English ship.

The indebtedness of Paltock to his predecessors is evident. Defoe inspired the earlier portions of the narrative and is responsible for the Robinsonade elements in general. Dorrington's English Hermit may, also, have given Paltock the suggestion for making Wilkins desire a mate and for the dream which warned him of his wife's death. From Godwin or Brunt he must, too, have borrowed the plan by which he was transported through the air. Bullen sees Swift's influence in the latter part of the story; but Wilkins takes a much more active part in the affairs of the government than did Gulliver, or any other previous voyage imaginaire hero. Paltock's Introduction is, also, a plain imitation of those which went before. It tells that Wilkins was found upon a raft of poles in latitude 75° or 76° south, that the captain of the ship refused to carry him to Bristol except for a cash passage, and that the "author" in compassion supplied the deficiency of Peter's purse. In gratitude for his kindness Wilkins dictated to his benefactor the account of his adventures, which the latter wrote down as they are here published. On the arrival of the ship at Bristol, Wilkins died, and again the kind and opulent author paid the

35. Bullen, A. H., Preface, pp. XVI - XVII.
burial bill. As a recompense for these outlays he kept the manuscript which he intended not to print, and which he gave to the public only at the urgent insistence of his friends. This is merely a variation of the trick begun by More, popularized by Vairasse, and perpetuated by Defoe, Swift, and Desfontaine.

This lack of originality, nevertheless, cannot take away the whole charm of Paltock's work. The fancy of it is ingenious; the imagination, quaint; and the human touches are most attractive. The story may not deserve all the extravagant praise which Coleridge, Lamb, and Hunt gave it; but neither does it merit all the abuse which the critic in the Monthly Review heaped upon it when he wrote: "Here is a very strange performance indeed. It seems to be the illegitimate offspring of no very natural conjunction, like 'Gulliver's Travels' and 'Robinson Crusoe'; but much inferior to the manner of these two performances as to entertainment or utility. It has all that is impossible in the one or impossible in the other, without the wit and spirit of the first, or the just strokes of nature and useful lessons of morality in the second. However, if the invention of wings for mankind to fly with is sufficient amends for the dullness and unmeaning extravagance of the author, we are willing to allow that this book hath some merit, and that he deserves some encouragement at least as an able mechanic, if not as a good author". Yet even were this condemnation just, Paltock's Peter Wilkins would mark an epoch in the history of the voyage imaginaire since it is the first book of the type

37. Same, pp. x - xi.
written primarily to amuse. Before 1750 the narrative element, which had been a growing one in the *voyage imaginaire*, had, nevertheless, been subordinated to a more serious purpose of instruction or reform. Now the story could be written for its own sake. This type of fiction, as were all others, was being emancipated from the slavery of "ulterior purpose".  

The offshoot did not at once bear fruit, but in the nineteenth century Jules Verne, Poe, and de Mille are the lineal descendants of this almost forgotten bencher of Clement's Inn, Robert Paltock, author of *Peter Wilkins*.

VIII

While this genial and human novel was being written in England, the Chevalier de Bethune in France was producing an allegorical tale known as *Le Monde de Mercure*. Although Carnier included it in his *Voyages Imaginaires*, that editor appears to recognize the questionableness of the classification.  

No mention of a *voyage* is made; but the author does at one place make a comparison between this world and that in Mercury, and at another tells that he once witnessed a war in that planet.

The work is an allegorical satire on manners and customs, and as such shows at times an ingenious and clever imagination on

39. Vol. XVI.
40. *Voyages Imaginaires*, vol. XVI, pg. xi, Editor's Preface: "comme il s'agit d'un peuple nouveau dont on decrit les moeurs et le gouvernement; comme l'on y donne le tableau de la terre qu'il habite, et des differentes productions qu'elle renferme dans son sein, cet ouvrage nous a paru se rapprocher plus pres de voyages imaginaire que de tout autre".
41. Same, pg. 300.
42. Same, pg. 252.
the author's part, for example, he makes physical perfections
inheritable at the owner's death, and traces in detail the ef-
tsents of the disease _rengorgement_ which attacks ministers of
state. The descriptions of the salamanders, the power of meta-
morphosis enjoyed by the king of Mercury, and the description of
the circulation of the blood suggest the cabalistic romances.

A work of a similar nature, but an undoubted _voyage imagi-
naire_, is Roumier's _Voyage de Milord Céton dans les Sept
Planets_, which tells of the journey made into interstellar
space during the troubled times of the Civil War and the Common-
wealth by a royalist Englishman and his sister, Monime, under
the guidance of Zachiel, the family genius. To the people of
each planet is assigned some one human characteristic which by
exaggeration is made the object of praise or satire. The in-
habitants of the Moon are inconstant; those of Mercury, uneven in
temperament; those of Venus, devoted to sensual pleasures; those
of Mars, "formed for treason, stratagems, and spoils"; those of
the Sun, devoted by education to the pursuit of honesty, wisdom,
and truth; those of Jupiter, filled with pride and actuated by
an extortionate cruelty and selfishness; and those of Saturn,
dedicated to modesty and virtue. Intermingled with the disserta-
tion on the inhabitants are descriptions of the various coun-
tries, meant, no doubt, to apply, as the case might be, to France
as she was or, under proper conditions, might be, and the whole
is enlivened by many "histories" of lovers and by the various
love adventures of Monime, the sister, who finally marries the
King of Saturn. But not even such episodes, nor the rides on

43. Date uncertain; probably before 1771.
comets, nor the metamorphoses into flies which the brother and sister undergo can suffice to animate a thousand pages of clumsy satire. Even the author appears to grow weary of his task, for each succeeding book is shorter than the preceding.

The evil days upon which the voyage imaginaire had fallen are still further illustrated by the Voyage d'Alcimédon of Martigny (1759) and Clairfon's Les Isles Fortunées (1771). The first is a description of a land where women love men only for their virtue and true worth; and the second is a bit of pastoral narrative in which the marriage of a shepherd and a shepherdess furnishes the chief incident. The inadaptability of the voyage to these purposes is readily seen by any who reads the books. Such works have their roots deep in the pastoral tradition of Sidney and his school; their aim is entirely divorced from those which have found in the voyage imaginaire a useful means of expression -- the description of ideal states and satire. The bliss of Clairfons shepherds is, of course, idyllic, but it is so only because they are shepherds: their being removed from the world has, seemingly, nothing to do with it. Moreover, in previous works of the genre the voyage was an absolute necessity in order to transport the hero to the new land and in order to furnish an opportunity for adventure. But neither of these authors had any need for the former motif; and Martigny had not wit enough to seize, nor Clairfons genius enough to manage the opportunities offered by the second possibility. Fortunately, later writers did not seek to imitate this variety of the voyage imaginaire.
The last half of the eighteenth century was, however, rescued from the charge of utter sterility in this type of fiction by the appearance of Guillame Grivel's *L'Isle Inconnue* (1783 - 1787). It is a long narrative, containing some thirteen hundred pages, of mingled Robinsonade and utopian elements, embellished with long "histories" of the Chevalier Gastines and Eleanor d'Aliban, the hero and heroine, before their shipwreck off the coast of the island on which they afterward make their home. Following the landing, they set up housekeeping, but out of respect for Eleanor's father, whose body they found drowned upon the shore, they deferred their nuptials for a year. Twenty-three children, of whom all but one survived to maturity, blessed this union. These are evenly divided between the two sexes, and intermarry after having received an exemplary education by both precept and example -- being never coddled, never indulged, and never witnessing any display of passion on the part of the parents. At first this large family lived under one roof; but as more and more of them married, separate establishments were set up. With this growth of the state, a new system of education had to be adopted. A scheme was thereupon devised, based on the assumption that the aim of education is to create a man "sensible, robuste, social", while that of instruction is to form a citizen "juste, expérimenter", and instructed in the principles of social rights and duties and in the nature of the reciprocal bonds which unite the executive and the social group. The first part of this

44. I have not seen *The Praise of Hell: or, a View of the Infernal Regions* (1760), *L'Histoire d'un Nouveau Peuple* (1756), *A Voyage through Hell* (1770), or *The Pope's Journey to the Other World* (1791), all anonymous as far as I can find.
training is given in the home. The latter portion in the school. When six years of age, the youths from a district comprising twenty houses are assembled under the kindest, wisest, and most patient master procurable, who instructs them in reading, writing, arithmetic, geometry, and ethics. When pupils reach the age of ten, they are put into a second class which consists of the children drawn from a district embracing fifty houses. Here they study history. Children from thirteen to fifteen are drawn together out of groups of two hundred homes, and instructed in grammar, philosophy, and rhetoric. The fourth and last class, composed of those between fifteen and twenty, pursue higher ethics, political science, and jurisprudence. Having passed through this "school", each male resident must pass an examination based upon a catechism of political science; otherwise he is barred from exercising the perogatives of citizenship.

The form of government established was that of a monarchy, which the Chevalier Gastines claimed was an outgrowth of the patriarchal, in its own turn, the natural form since the father by right has the control over his offspring. It is, moreover, better fitted, according to his claims for an agricultural state such as this one. To fix the practice of the state, the Chevalier created a constitution divided into two parts -- fundamental laws and positive laws -- which may be summarised as follows:

The Fundamental Laws.

1. The right of nature is the right to existence and to happiness; these include the peaceful possession of all real and personal property acquired without injury to another.

2. Since liberty is essentially a natural right, property of any sort may be enjoyed in any way whatsoever as long as such
enjoyment does not in any way injure any other member of the social group.

3. Justice is the fundamental law of society which insures the enjoyment of property.

4. All laws must aim at the assurance of the possession of property.

5. The succession to the throne is fixed in the eldest male branch.

6. Refusal to bear arms either against an enemy without or within the state, or to join in the apprehension and punishment of any who conspire against property or law, shall deprive the one so refusing of all political and civil rights.

7. Military service shall be required of all males capable of bearing arms.

8. Land shall be taxed according to its income.

9. The most fertile fields shall pay a sixth of their income in taxes; the less fertile, a tenth.

10. A permanent court of justice shall be established to hear cases and render decisions.

11. Capital punishment shall not be inflicted for any crime.

12. An instructed citizenship being necessary to the intelligent conduct of the state, public instruction shall be provided for all.

Positive Laws.

1. Public properties, such as seas, rivers, roads, and canals, shall be free to all, and no restriction shall be placed upon their use.

2. As long as land shall be available, each new household shall be given a tract equal in extent to that already given each family.

3. A father may will his property to any one of his sons; but in default of specifications, it shall fall to the eldest.

4. As long as government lands are not exhausted, no father may divide his property.

5. Daughters may not inherit; they shall at marriage receive a dowry of household utensils as specified by the state.

45. See page
6. When the public lands shall have been exhausted, one fourth of a father's property may be willed to whichever of his children he sees fit, and the remainder shall be equally divided among the other children of both sexes.

7. Whenever a new household is set up, the twelve nearest neighbors shall assist in the erection of the house and the barns.

8. When a couple marries, the parents of the man shall furnish them with farm implements, animals, seeds, and food to last until the harvest; and the bride's parents shall supply the household furniture, kitchen utensils, and linen. No other dowry shall be given.

9. Wills may be made by entering the items in one's diary, or by declaration before four witnesses drawn from one's nearest kin.

10. That one of the sons who is declared the heir, shall be the head of the family; and all unmarried brothers and sisters shall obey him as such.

11. An accused person shall be tried before a jury of twelve peers, who shall take the testimony and pass the sentence; but the sentence shall not be executed until it is approved by the sovereign.

12. Quarrels may be adjusted by arbiters; if arbitration fails, the tribunal of justice shall pass upon the case.

13. An accused shall not be considered guilty until so proved. He shall not be confined before his trial unless such action is necessary to insure his presence at court, but in any case he shall not be confined in an unhealthy spot.

14. The odium of crimes shall not extend beyond the criminal's person. Fines shall be paid in labor.

15. Injuries to property shall be expiated by labor for the injured party; murder by labor on public works.

16. There shall be the following bureaus: (1) of public and private education, (2) of agriculture, navigation, and commerce, (3) of public works, (4) of public collections and disbursements, (5) of military and public defence, (6) of justice, (7) of state, the last having the power of reviewing and revising the orders of the other tribunals or bureaus.

17. Demonstrated ability shall be the sole criterion on which to choose men for these tribunals. No monetary reward shall be attached to any public office, over and above that which the state shall deem sufficient for the support of the officer's family.
18. The chief shall be both temporal and spiritual head of the state; he shall conduct himself as a model and a father should.

19. He shall proclaim and celebrate feasts and ceremonies proper for honoring agriculture as the first of all arts.

20. All fetes shall be both religious and lay in character.

To these in due time were added laws providing for the support of widows, and various supplements allowing more stringent punishments for criminals, such as the death penalty, branding, hard labor, and exposure to public censure. Penalties for lesser infractions of the law were also graduated so as to obtain a more perfect justice. 46

The colony prospered under these wise and just institutions until, in the third generation, a grandson of the second brother of the second generation sought to establish a republican form of government. He was actuated by motives of revenue against the heir-apparent, and seconded by a man named Wilson, an Englishman whom the islanders had once rescued from the savages of a neighboring island. By a clever stratagem the conspirators were forced to declare themselves at a public assembly. They argued that monarchy was natural only as long as the first father lived, that at his death all the sons had an equal right to the succession, than an hereditary succession may give a nation a king unfit to govern, that it submits the state to the passions of a single man, and that republican governments are safer because of the system of checks and balances they afford. The answer given was that nature gives the normal animal only

46. I have purposely omitted in this summary all of the Robinson element in order to keep the treatment within reasonable bounds.
one head, that republican government only increases the dangers present in an individual sovereign by increasing the number of administrators, that, as history shows, monarchies have endured longer than republics, and that monarchy has worked in the island. The monarchy was, naturally, triumphant in the vote; and peace was restored once more.

Grivel wrote, naturally, in the utopian tradition. His regulations, his educational system, his property allotment, his prosperity are not fundamentally different in kind or in aim from those of any other author who wrote describing an ideal state; and the Robinsonade part of the story savors too much of Defoe and his imitators to claim any originality. One noteworthy change in the treatment of the subject Grivel did make. Heretofore authors of utopias, like the Greek philosophers, conceived of states as being made, cut from whole cloth upon a pattern previously designed and selected. Grivel's nation, on the other hand, grows; it evolves; and in its development meets new problems which must be solved. In this the influence of the new political philosophy is apparent. Rousseau, humanitarianism, and the social contract stare at one from every page of the six volumes. Its length and doctrinaire character impair the literary value of _L'Isle Inconnu_ just as the story element detracts from the propagandist purpose. But Grivel was neither a novelist nor an artist. _L'Isle Inconnu_ is the only piece of fiction he ever wrote; and in it he could not be expected to forget that he was the author of a _Théorie de l'Education_ (1776) or that he was interested in the administration of the
As the eighteenth century drew to its close a now almost forgotten English novelist, George Walker, stung into a frenzy of fear by the revolutionary doctrines of the Godwin-Wollstonecraft-Holerollstonecraft-Hume school of pseudo-political philosophers, combined the utopia and the satiric voyage in volume II, chapters 7 and 8, of his Vagabonds, (1799) a novel intended to exhibit a complete refutation of the principles laid down in Godwin's Political Justice. In the section mentioned above Walker depicts the sorry condition into which a state founded upon Godwinian tenets, had fallen. The nation, settled by Hebrews, lies somewhere in the Mississippi valley. As the vagabonds enter it they meet a naked man walking in profound meditation, who, they learn upon inquiry, meditates upon the good of the state. Going farther, they see a man hammering a tree with his fist in order to drive "this idea" from his path. No labor, they find, is ever completed in this country because, although each citizen is required to spend but one-half hour each day at productive work, the people either cannot make up their minds what task to perform, or their time is up before the job can be got under way. Thus art, building, food production, clothing manufactures, everything is at a standstill. A naked people is slowly starving to death under an ideal system of government. Communism of women, the visitors also discover, was instituted

47. He also wrote Principe de politique, de finance, d'agriculture, de legislation, et autres branches d'administration, 2 vols., 1789, and Entretiens d'un jeune Prince avec son Gouverneur. He was on the editorial staff of the Nouvelle École du Monde in 1764, and he wrote articles on political science for encyclopedias.
at the founding of the republic, but was soon superseded by a marriage regulation since inside of two weeks there was not "a virgin above fourteen" in the country. Criminals are not punished because since a man's nature is always changing, it is impossible to discipline a man for a past crime; consequently lawlessness is rife. This state, founded in an effort to realize the enormous possibilities of man's boundless perfectibility, is in a bad way.

Walker's ability as a novelist, satirist, and propagandist is not great. He views innovations with too much alarm; he is too nervous; he is in a state of perpetual panic. But his criticism is not without some foundation. The starving dwellers in this once ideal state are, it is to be feared, more nearly true to type than are the sleek inhabitants of Utopia and Severambia. Nineteenth century authors, however, did not know Walker's gloomy picture, or, if they did, chose to turn their eyes upon brighter canvases where were only snakeless shadows. And so Walker's hysterical effort to stem the utopian tide came all to naught.

In spite of this inauspicious close the eighteenth century saw great developments in the voyage imaginaire. Swift, at the opening of the second quarter, seized upon the satirical voyage of Hall and Cyrano de Bergerac, and recognizing the vast possibilities which it contained, gave it through the medium of his genius and his vigor far more narrative interest than it had before possessed, and added to its satire a definiteness and point which previously it had altogether lacked. In his footsteps trod Brunt, Desfontaine, Holberg, Bethune, and Roumier,
each doing in his lesser way what the great master of satire had marked out. Berington, or whoever wrote Gaudentio di Lucca, made the utopia more readable; and even though he made no essential innovation in the utopian elements or in the effort to force belief, he must be remembered as the author who brought to perfection the art of blending personal adventure and the description of an ideal state. Later still, Robert Faltock, dreaming away his inactive days in a quiet corner of London, instituted a new type of voyage imaginaire -- that written primarily to amuse; and the gentle imagination which he loosed in Peter Wilkins has been, beyond doubt, the inspiration of that prolific author Jules Verne. Grivel in France and Walker in England also introduced new types of utopias, which, however, appear to have died without issue and are now well nigh forgotten even by scholars. But one fact must stand out in all the century. The spirit which presides over the inspiration of voyages imaginaires had again returned to England where was its modern home. In 1516 Thomas More had fathered at once the utopia and the voyage imaginaire, and in the years between that date and 1650 the names of all the great writers of the type, with one exception, are English -- Godwin, Hall, and Bacon. The succeeding period was predominantly French, contributing the names of Cyrano de Bergerac, Vairasse, and Poigny. But in the eighteenth swift, Berington, and Faltock are, without dispute, the central figures. The nineteenth century lies outside the bounds of this study; but in 1800 the development of the voyage imaginaire was complete. Its authors had learned how to make it a story and how to lend it verisimilitude. The had adapted it to the portrayal of
utopian conditions and to the purposes of moral, political, and philosophic satire. All its possibilities had been developed. Later authors could but continue the tradition of the imaginary state and add to the effort of Robert Paltock the element of a more probable, but still fanciful science.
With the close of the eighteenth century the development of the voyage imaginaire, as has been pointed out, was practically complete, and the only task remaining for its authors was to bring to full fruition the last off-shoot, that whose aim was primarily to amuse. The change from the type as written in 1516 to that as written in 1799 was great. L'Isle Inconnue, to disregard the fragment in Walker's Vagabonds, is as different from the Utopia as More's England was from Grivel's France. Not only had the political situation changed throughout Europe; there had also been great developments in prose fiction as a whole which had a marked effect upon that branch known here as the voyage imaginaire. War had been waged upon this fictional practice and that. Attack and defence had been made with equal vigor. Standing usually upon the borderline between fiction, and some other field of intellectual endeavor — politics, education, philosophy, or social criticism — the voyage imaginaire was naturally affected by these practices and theories; but being more often the product of men who were not professional romancers or novelists, it, as naturally, expresses in itself but little of fictional theory. To call the roll of the writers of great voyages imaginaires — More, Campanella, Bacon, Vairasse, Poigny,
Swift, Desfontaine, Berinoton, and Paltoek -- is to mention many names seldom included in histories of the novel. Sidney, Aleman, Cervantes, Sorel, Camus, Scudéry, Calprenède, Defoe, and Marivaux are not there. No survey of the type would, however, be complete were a consideration of fictional theory and its effect upon the voyage imaginaire to be omitted.

At its modern beginning in 1516 the voyage imaginaire, as has been shown, was purposive literature, and purposive literature it was to remain until 1750 and after. An "ulterior purpose, moral or political" enveloped it. In this the type followed the fictional fashion prevalent in its own day. Dr. A. J. Tieje finds that before 1740 prose fiction had five aims: ¹ amusement, edification, instruction, representation of life, arousing sympathetic emotion; but he also finds that the last two are rarely proclaimed. The first, moreover, was on the defensive, Boccaccio and Bandello, for instance, staunchly defending the right of the author to entertain his reader; but the tendency was against them, and their translators, Painter and Fenton, did not hesitate to insert passages, often lascivious and licentious to a surprising degree, in an effort to point the pathway to morality. Even picaresque literature had to profess a purity of aim by announcing the intention of bringing the hero to a bad end; Guzman d'Alfarche was to pass his last days in the gallies, and the English rogue was to be swept off by the plague. ² As late as Defoe death or reformation were the only courses open to a villain. And Garnier in his prefaces constantly assures

1. The Expressed Critical Theory of European Prose Fiction before 1740, pp. 3 - 4.
2. Aleman, M., Guzman d'Alfarche (1599); Head, R. and Kirkman F., English Rogue (1665 - 1680).
the reader that instruction as well as amusement awaits him in the pages which follow. So, as did all other types of fiction, the voyage imaginaire had to content itself with edifying or instructing its readers.

This is did in full measure. Ideal peoples pass before us in the pages of More, Campanella, and Vairasse; perfect educational systems are exhibited by Andreae, Bacon, and Grivel; the high moral qualities of Poigny's hermaphrodites and Swift's Brobdingnags inspire us: and Cyrano de Bergerac, Swift, and Desfontaine tell us what contemptible beings we mortals are. Even Kirkby as late as 1745 aimed at "service to the cause of religion and virtue"; and Paltock, writing evidently to amuse, expresses the hope that his volumes may be "perhaps useful".

This moral aim also affected other portions of theory as applied to the voyage imaginaire. In the utopias, for instance, character could not receive attention. Interest being centered in the nature of the state and its practice, men, except en bloc, were of little interest; and seldom do we learn anything of individuals, national character alone being portrayed. Perhaps it was a realization of this lack, perhaps it was, as I am inclined to think, the desire for variety, which led authors such as Nicius and Vairasse to include "histories" of lovers in their works. But always as in the satirical voyages, such as Milord Céton, these digressions seek to shed light upon the practice of the nation under discussion or to add point to the satire. Sometimes they relate antecedent events of importance to the story, as in Grivel's L'Isle Inconnue. They are never mere digression for digression's sake or even
for that of art. They have a real justification for being. Characterization of the traveller himself is slight in the early voyages. His veracity and probity are amply attested, but that is all; and Campanella and Bacon dispense even with this ceremony. Only in Gaudentio di Lucca is he described at length, and that in the Introduction. The picaresque heroes of the more adventurous type of voyage imaginaire are better drawn, but not even in these is there any real character sketching, the embryonic rascale of Gonzales, Desfontaine, and Paltock never getting beyond the possibility of evil.

Character sketching was, furthermore, hindered by the autobiographical form of the voyage, for a man cannot be expected to describe himself. Modesty forbids it. And the voyage imaginaire has never in its pure types been weaned away from the first person in its narrative. The long discussions over the relative values of first and third person never affected it. The suspense which the latter point of view gives was not a matter of concern with this type of fiction. The omniscience which comes with the former was absolutely necessary both as a means of explaining how the author came by his knowledge and as a means of gaining verisimilitude. Even the introductions and prefaces which tell of the manuscripts cannot deviate into descriptions of the hero; for not infrequently the editor has never seen the "author". Siden's manuscript was come by secondhanded, and Kirkby found his in a "trunk". Thus the author being unwilling to tell about himself, and the editor unable to do so, the hero's character must be inferred from such incidental sources as the narrative affords; and the descriptive nature of the
of the *voyage imaginaire* and its frequent lack of personal adventure give few such opportunities.

Purpose had, too, a deterrent effect upon the introduction of the love element into the *voyage imaginaire*. From the early utopias love is conspicuously absent, but Erythraeus grafted a love episode on to this *Eudemia* (1637). Vairasse, however, was the first to connect the hero with such an emotion when he made Captain Siden marry three wives and return to Europe after their deaths because he was lonely. Berington followed his lead in *Gaudentio di Lucca*; and Poigny made misplaced sensual affection the reason for Sadeur's leaving Australia. Desfontaine, however, had the honor of first formulating a theory on this point: "They (the opponents of *Gulliver*) complain of not having been interested by intrigues and by emotional scenes; they wished a fiction according to rules, and they have found only a succession of allegorical voyages, without any amorous adventure ...... One has had a certain regard for their taste in this work. Nevertheless, one has only moderately committed himself to this, for fear of departing from the genre". Yet while love does play an important part in the *voyage imaginaire* after 1730, and in *Milord Céton* and *Peter Wilkins* leads to marriage, it never became, before 1800 at least, an intimate part of the narrative fabric; and as late as *L'Isle Inconnué* the love episodes, as in all other utopias, remained apart from the purposive sections of the story.

The political or moral aim of the *voyage imaginaire* also determined the descriptive elements which entered into it.

Whereas description was early recognized by theorists of fiction as being one of the things which might be pared away to the consequent unification of the narrative, it always retained its place in the utopia since in some form or other description was a necessary adjunct of that form of fiction. Without it ideal cities, prosperous and well-managed republics could not be presented; without it manners and customs could not be praised or satirized. Description was the very breath of life in the *voyage imaginaire*. Only once, however, does description appear for its own sake in this type of narrative; Barnes in his *Gerania* indulged himself in a highly ornate description of dawn. Everywhere else the effort is always expended on a subject germane to the central theme: Amaurote in the *Utopia*, the walls in the *Civitas Solis*, the college in the *New Atlantis*, and the temple in *L'Histoire des severambes*. Thus while description was decried by all the theorists of fiction except Mlle. Scudery, in the *voyage imaginaire* it found not only a refuge but a legitimate use.

In the modern sense of accurate setting, however, description was unknown to authors of the *voyage imaginaire* as it appears, as far as I know, to have been unknown to writers of other types of fiction. The cause is not far to seek; for whatever demands in this direction may have been made upon the authors of pastoral, heroic, and other types of romances or novels, and whatever may have been their efforts to supply them, the writers of the *voyage imaginaire* were perfectly free in this respect. As they created their peoples, so they created the countries in which those peoples lived. Since no European except Siden
had ever visited Severambia and returned, who was to question the truth of his setting? This freedom of imagination was almost the peculiar property of those who produced this type of fiction since they alone were exempted from the limits naturally imposed upon those who dealt with the known world; and so in a time when imagination had to justify its existence, the voyage imaginaire did yeoman service in keeping this inspiring force alive.

This very advantage, nevertheless, placed a heavy burden upon the authors of the voyage imaginaire. Dealing with lands not charted upon the maps, with peoples strange either because of their perfection, depravity, or size, these writers had to make an especial effort to secure belief on the reader's part. The bald assertion of having seen a thing, which had served Herodotus and Mandeville, was no longer sufficient. Nor was the author's proclamation of his own veracity as it is illustrated in Mandeville's fiction of the Pope's approval for his book. The most natural method after these for forcing belief was to bolster up one's assertion by the citation of authorities; and from the time of Godwin onward this practice was common among authors of the voyage imaginaire, Poigny, Barnes, Daniel, and Desfontaine all using it. But to it was added a further habit of protesting that incredulity was folly. Godwin so asserted, and others after him, even Vairasse with his elaborate Preface deigning to employ this trick. The greatest tool of the voyage imaginaire for gaining credence was the pretended manuscript. Godwin, who first made a claim to such a document, failed to recognize the hidden possibilities of such a device; but Vairasse did, and "at once upon the publication of the exceedingly popular Severambians,
the highly developed preface became a constant feature of the voyage imaginaire, while "the historical novels, the chronique scandaleuse, the frame-work conte des fées, and, in especial, the picaresque tales and the novel of manners by such important authors as Defoe, Prévost, and Marivaux speedily adopted the device." 4

Complete originality in these inventions cannot, however, be claimed for the authors of the voyage imaginaire. Protestations as to the truth of the narrative are common even before 1579. Bandello before that date and the unknown author of the Serpent of Horsham (1614) after it vehemently proclaim the truth of their narratives; while "after 1614", says Dr. A. J. Tieje, "assertions of veracity can be gathered at random from every type of fiction save the frame-work conte des fées, the pastoral, allegorical, and satirical romances." 5 Citation of authority, too, is universal in prose fiction, and is not at all confined to the voyage imaginaire, Defoe, Prévost, and Marivaux, according to Dr. A. J. Tieje, best showing the force of the movement. 6 Cervantes, moreover, had, or claimed to have had, a manuscript from which he transcribed Don Quixote (1605 - 1616); and so common was the ruse that when Hlle. Scudery wrote her Alamène in 1649, she could say to those who doubted the truth of the narrative that they could "imagine" she had found a manuscript in the Vatican. To this elaborate manuscript device all fiction writers who use it added the practice of attesting the editor's or the author's veracity or probity. Although this has been in

5. Same, pg. 41.
6. Same, pg. 43.
part discussed under characterization,\(^7\) it may again be considered here. Even as Peter Giles witnessed More's fidelity in relating the conversation with Hythloday or as Gulliver was a "proverb" among the "neighbors at Redriff", so Cid Benengeli "appears whenever Cervantes wishes to strike back at his ill-wishers".\(^8\) The device of Sadeur's crocodiles has already been cited,\(^9\) and Desfontaine hides behind a rescued Hollander when he describes the lands about Terra del Fuego. This practice is not unlike Defoe's in *Mrs. Veal* (1706), nor that of Sandras in *Guy Joli* (168-), and Vairasse's supplementary witnesses -- M. van Dam, Thomas Skinner, and the Dutch commissioner -- have a numerous progeny in the pages of eighteenth century fiction.

Further effort to force belief centers around accuracy of detail and directness of style. The exactness with which certain authors pointed out the geographical locations of their lands has been pointed out, and the addition of maps which began with Hall is found as late as the publication of *Gulliver's Travels*. Foigny and Vairasse were the first, however, to exploit geographical accuracy; and the efforts of Defoe, Desfontaine, and Berington in this respect are merely imitations of these two. The first, for instance, boasts that failure awaits "all the endeavor of envious people who reproach (*Robinson Crusoe*) with being a romance, to search it for errors in geography". In this respect the *voyage imaginaire* was more realistic than other forms of fiction, since the authors of the heroico-historical, allegorical, and

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8. Same, pg. 46.
9. See pg.
pastoral romances felt no especial call to force belief in this
fashion; but pleased themselves rather with vague countries ly-
ing nowhere in particular, or with a strangely falsified geogr-
raphy. 10

Such a craze for accuracy had also an effect upon style in the voyage imaginaire. These works had perforce to be autobiographical, or be edited from manuscripts which were so, since otherwise their veracity would have been open to doubt; conse-
quently they were for the most part supposed to have been written by seamen or by men with little education. This accounts for the simplicity of style in Peter Wilkins. In L'Histoire des Severambes
the "unornamented" language of the manuscript is indicated as a sure proof of its genuineness. This practice is equally character-
istic of other forms of fiction. Jackson's Recantation (1674)
"apologizes thus for its 'plainness of style'"; the Memoirs of an
English Officer is not "embellished with rhetorical flourishes";
Prévost in Doyen of Killerine (1735) says that the wish to be truthful has made him "sincere" if not graceful in style; and
Marivaux's Marianne asks: "Shall I write as I write letters?" 11
Yet "ornateness of style is as likely in the early eighteenth
century to be connected with the desire for belief as is plainness
of tone". 12 The voyage imaginaire, however, was saved from becom-
ing rhetorical by its very purpose. It did not aim at arousing
sympathetic emotion; its desire was to instruct. This end it
found best served by directness. Description was for a useful

10. The hero of Palmerin of England (1540) enters, not long after
leaving London, an enchanted valley.
Fiction before 1740, p. 54.
12. Same.
tool; and so, except in rare instances, such as those in Les Isles Fortunées or the Voyage d'Alcimèdon, it was expository rather than impressionistic, simple rather than ornate.

The problem of the unities that exercised Calprenede did not, it appears, affect the voyage imaginaire, for the unity of place which he employed to bind his numerous plots together was impossible in a travel book. Furthermore, the very nature of this sort of fiction made necessary the inclusion of a great variety of materials -- descriptions of governments, religions, home-life, dress, manners, customs, morals, landscapes, and so forth, which in themselves destroyed all possibility of a unified plot except such as came from centering the story about a single country or a single hero. Often, too, as in the Utopia and L'Histoire des Severambes, there is no order in the presentation of the details, a single one occurring and re-occurring throughout the narrative. Like other forms of fiction early began to include the "histories" of lovers; and these form the greatest violations of unity within the type, although, as with Vairasse and Berington, some attempt is made to attach them to the main thread of the story by using them as illustrative material. Still they remained apart from the main theme until the time of Paltock when the voyage tended to become a story pure and simple.

Other theorizing about style did not seriously affect the voyage imaginaire. The general practice of the heroico-historical romance of beginning in medias res was that of More, Campanella, and Bacon; but such abrupt openings, since the purpose of the voyage imaginaire precluded a graceful recurrence to former events which was possible in other forms of fiction, left the story
incomplete or awkwardly arranged. More alone managed to perform the feat with some degree of skill, but he could only mention Hythloday's wanderings; the prior experiences of the Genoese captain and Bacon's crew are unknown to the reader. With Vairasse began the rise of the autobiographical beginning, although Godwin had used it to some extent, and Cyrano also; and after him, probably under the encouragement of the picaresque tale, it continued to be the regular practice. So popular was it, in fact, that in 1727 Brunt wrote with the appearance of asperity: "Nothing is more common than a Traveller's beginning the Account of his Voyages with one of his Family; in which, if he can't boast Antiquity, he is sure to make it up with the Probity of his Ancestors. As it can in no way interest my Reader, I shall decline following a Method, which I can't but think ridiculous, as unnecessary. I shall only say, that by the Death of my Father and Mother, which happened while I was an Infant, I fell to the Care of my Grandfather by my Mother, who was a Citizen of some Note in Bristol, and at the Age of Thirteen sent me to Sea Prentice to a Master of a Merchant-man". His attack had, however, little effect; for Peter Wilkins imitates Jacques Sadeur in recounting all of his adventures; and if, as did Mouhy and Grivel, authors begin with a raging storm, they soon find space to halt the narrative and tell of the hero's earlier days. But general practice in the voyage imaginaire has approved the genealogical beginning.

Thus far it is clear that in the development of fictional theory the voyage imaginaire has followed as often as it has led, reflected as often as it has been reflected. Only in the effort
to force belief has this type contributed much to general practice. But in spite of its apparent imitation in theory, the voyage imaginaire had made an important contribution to prose fiction. Without it the most interesting utopias would never have come to be, a most interesting form of satire would remain unwritten, and a highly exciting type of adventure story would be absent from our shelves.

If these authors had not transported their heroes or themselves into far off lands, the description of the ideal state must have remained forever the abstract philosophical treatise of Plato. By the addition of the personal element, by the direct and concrete presentation of a supposed actuality, made possible only by a supposed eye-witness' narration of his own experiences, the voyage imaginaire added to the philosophic speculation and gave the ideal state a reality it otherwise could not have had. The utopia thus became a living force. Its reality, and consequently its practicability, was less open to question. By its probability it emphatically answered the charge of being visionary. Plato could be charged with dreaming; he admitted his Republic to be a soul state unrealizable on earth. Not so More, Vairasse, and Berington. Utopia, Severambia, Mezarania challenge our disbelief. In saner moments, of course, we deny their existence; but under the magic spell of their authors they rise in vivid detail. For the moment we long to stroll down the well-sheltered streets of Amaurote, or present a half-blown rose to some dusky, moon-spangled lady in central Africa. The ideal becomes the real. The utopian times are here as no political or philosophic tract can conjure them into being.
To satire also the voyage imaginaire lent a power not otherwise inherent in that sort of writing. Without the right to describe imaginary lands, satirists would have found themselves limited in scope; and without the additional privilege of transporting a hero into those lands, satire, like the utopia, would have found even the imaginary country of no great advantage, for the concreteness necessary to effective composition would have been denied. The exaggeration permitted by the first of these licenses is a requisite of satire. A glutton in England affords only limited opportunities for gibes; transferred into Crapulia, he is a victim of the author's unfettered imagination. Vraisemblance may be cast to the winds. Fancy can sport at will. Walls of bones, schools of gluttony, magistrates chosen by waist measure are not impossible there. Rocks, soft as velvet, melted by a lover's sighs, may exist in the Arcadia of Bougeant's Prince Fanfèrèadin, but not in any known country of this terrestrial globe. So satire gains when it takes the form of the voyage imaginaire. The possibility which the voyage imaginaire further allows of identifying the reader with the hero also makes the satire more keen. Cyrano's humiliation before the court of birds is our own. Gulliver's disgust at the Yahoos is ours. Human sympathy pulses in the pages of such satire.

Finally, the voyage imaginaire has made the story of extravagant adventure possible. As long as such fiction had to confine itself within the bounds of the known world so long did it run the danger of becoming ridiculous. Enchanted forests, magic castles, and marvellous beasts are out of place near home. The frame-work conte des fées made magic possible in fiction by
the introduction of an oriental setting; but the voyage established another branch of the surprising. Exotic plants, strange beasts, unknown lands and peoples march through its pages. Winged folk and hairy marine monsters are not improbable in Peter Wilkin's rock-walled valley; but the creatures of Paltock's imagination show tawdry in the white light of day. They need the soft and transforming magic of the glow which is given off only by the voyage imaginaire. In this theater of the imaginary voyage a veritable wonder house is displayed. Imagination is once more free, and the incredible becomes the real.

This was the contribution of the voyage imaginaire to prose fiction --- in the days when imagination was decried, it kept alive the flame which must for ever inspire all creative art. Even when the shibboleth of "ulterior purpose" ruled its destiny, when utilitarian aims were its final goal, its authors, perhaps unknowingly, sounded the call, and around the standard rallied men who, dreaming, saw beyond the present into the misty distance of the future. To-day many of Bacon's imaginings have been realized; science has given us the Maxim gun, the aeroplane, and the telegraph. May not Amaurote some day rise from the ashes a rejuvenated London? Or Severambian humanitarianism rule the world? Idealism lives within the pages of these books. May it not some day walk abroad? And when it does, shall we not turn to these forgotten, or half-forgotten authors and give them their proper meed of praise? For better than all the tales ever penned by the romancers and the novelists, better than all the theories of fiction ever formulated, they have given to the world a noble heritage of unfettered, free imagination.
BIBLIOGRAPHY.

For the sake of convenience this bibliography is divided into three divisions: I, a chronological list of *voyages imaginaires* and kindred works; II, a list of *voyages imaginaires* and kindred works arranged alphabetically of under the names of authors; and III, a list of historical and critical works dealing with prose fiction arranged alphabetically under the names of authors.

1.

**CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF VOYAGES IMAGINAIRE**S AND KINDRED WORKS.

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1516
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1553
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1599 (cir.)
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1619
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1620
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1626
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<th>Year</th>
<th>Author</th>
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<td>1637</td>
<td>Bisel, J.</td>
<td>Icaria</td>
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<td>1638</td>
<td>Godwin, Francis</td>
<td>The Man in the Moone (published)</td>
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<td>1641</td>
<td>Hartlib, Samuel</td>
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<td>1648</td>
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<td>1652</td>
<td>Montpensier, Anna</td>
<td>Relation de l'Isle Imaginaire</td>
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<td>1656</td>
<td>Bergerac, Cyrano de</td>
<td>Voyage dans la Lune (see 1659 and 1662)</td>
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<td><strong>English translation of Denis d'Allais Vairasse's L'Histoire des Severambes, Part I</strong> (see 1677), anon.</td>
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<td>1676</td>
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