IDEOLOGY AND STRUCTURE IN ROBINSON CRUSOE:
DEFOE'S RESOLUTION OF THE TRADE-MORALITY CONFLICT

by

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ABSTRACT

It has been said that Defoe's writings embody an unresolvable split between a Puritan morality and an essentially capitalist economic interest. Defoe is either a Puritan, in some cases, writing works with heavy moral and religious overtones; or he is a capitalist, disregarding the virtues of a Puritan morality in the pursuit of economic gain. This split between trade and religion becomes a central critical issue in his first novel, Robinson Crusoe. There are sections of the novel in which Crusoe meditates upon religion, virtue, God's providence, his own place in the divine scheme, or in which he reflects on his past life of sin and adventure. There are other sections in the book in which the excitement of the narrative is generated through a focus on an action-economics pattern. Thus, the reader becomes involved in Crusoe's various survival projects, his explorations of the island wilderness, even in his early trading ventures. The latter, of course, are antithetical to the religious point of view maintained throughout the novel.

The split in Crusoe's character, and the concomitant split in the structure of his "autobiography," can be resolved by looking at Defoe's ideological background as it relates to the themes and structure of Robinson Crusoe. Defoe's religion is a form of Puritanism; he comes from a Presbyterian household. Therefore, his ideas on economics tend to be moralistic and conservative; he is a mercantilist, not a capitalist. In Crusoe, the main character's "capitalistic"
schemes for getting quickly ahead in the world are justly punished by Providence. Providence, in this sense, is the hand of God operating as a force for moral and economic order in human affairs.

Through a careful structuring of his narrative, Defoe indicates his own moral and thematic intentions. There is a religious pattern in Robinson Crusoe which manifests itself through spiritual emblemism (i.e., events can be read for their spiritual significance), traces of allegory, the actions of Providence in Crusoe's life, Crusoe's own series of moral reflections, and a structure based on the conventional patterns of the seventeenth century spiritual autobiography. In the latter, the conversion scene is always the central dramatic event, and in Crusoe, the conversion stands squarely at the center of the novel; it is the scene central to Crusoe's own development as he evolves from a "capitalist" to a moral and religious man. In all, the religious pattern gives the reader a perspective on Crusoe's economics; rather than being a capitalist and disrupting the status quo, Crusoe learns to create order and stability on his island through an application of the principles of reason and faith. Thus, the religious and economic patterns work together throughout the novel; they are not antithetical.

One other basic pattern in Robinson Crusoe is that of Crusoe's growth to moral wisdom and rational knowledge. Crusoe evolves through three stages, from an early "brute" stage (Crusoe as capitalist), through reason, and finally to faith. Again, Defoe's intention is to show that reason and faith should operate to control impulsive behavior and action. Thus, this pattern blends with the religious pattern in the book, but it also indicates Defoe's knowledge of the seventeenth-century natural law philosophers. Basing himself firmly on philosophical
definitions of man and nature (as found in Grotius, Hobbes, and especially Locke), Defoe structures his text in order to show Crusoe's growth into faith and rationality. The result is, of course, that Crusoe becomes an example of the "good" eighteenth-century Englishman, able to control his actions through reason and morality, and thus he becomes a force for moral order and social stability throughout the last part of the book.

Robinson Crusoe, then, can be seen as a text structured to indicate a resolution of the conflict between trade and morality. Defoe reduces and simplifies a complex ideology--made up of elements of Puritanism, conservative economic theory, natural law philosophy--for purposes of fictional presentation. It is this model, reduced and simplified, that the reader must understand in order to fully comprehend Defoe's moral and economic intentions in Robinson Crusoe and, finally, to see the book as it resolves the trade-morality conflict.
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CHAPTER I

Introduction

Daniel Defoe's first novel, Robinson Crusoe, was published in April, 1719, and attained an immediate and widespread popularity. The book went through seven editions before its author's death in 1731, and has gone through perhaps two hundred more editions since then. Defoe himself wrote two sequels to The Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe which appeared several months after the first volume, and in 1720, Serious Reflections during the Life and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe. Neither of these sequels, however, achieved the popularity of the first book, and they have since gone largely unnoticed apart from the occasional critic who will find examples in them to bolster his interpretation of the still popular Adventures of Robinson Crusoe.

The differences between the two later books, however, provide an interesting departure for our own interpretation of Robinson Crusoe (Part I), since they indicate a schizophrenic split in Crusoe's character that will lead us into one of the central critical issues in Defoe studies. In the second volume of Crusoe's adventures, narrative emphasis is placed on an economic and adventure pattern; Crusoe leaves a secure position in England to travel throughout the world, trading and observing the general state of mankind. The third volume presents,
as the title indicates, a pattern of meditation and reflection; after a long life of adventure and travel, Crusoe presents his findings and theories on man, morality, and religion. Thus, there would appear to be a split in Crusoe's character; one Crusoe is the active participant in an economic world, the other is a passive meditator who is characterized by tranquil and oftentimes "melancholy" thoughts. Although this difference between the two characterizations may not at first seem drastic—may in fact appear to be negligible—the implications it carries for the rest of Defoe's fiction, and for his writing in general, are far-reaching indeed.

Throughout the canon of Defoe's work there appears to be a continual shifting of interest between trade and religious morality. Certain writings of Defoe's are fraught with an almost Puritan morality, from articles in his Review condemning the English stage and players as lewd and immoral to his larger moralizing pieces such as Religious Courtship and The Family Instructor. At the same time, Defoe can note in the closing pages of his Review that "Writing on Trade was the Whore I really doated upon."¹ The problem is that certain trading interests are bound to conflict with a moral vision, and this two-fold interest of Defoe's in trade and morality leads, as some critics have pointed out, to certain paradoxes in his writings. In fact, this "paradox school" of Defoe critics sees what amounts to a diametric opposition in Defoe's own mind between economics and religion. Thus, Rudolf Stamm, one critic of this school, argues that Defoe's entire life is a compromise between trade and religion, and finds him to be a pseudo-Puritan; that is, Defoe, in both his
actions and his writings, attempts to fool himself into believing he is Puritan. Thus Defoe's novels are more interesting for their secular themes, since the moral viewpoint is merely a put-on.\textsuperscript{2} Hans Anderson, in "The Paradox of Trade and Morality in Defoe," argues that Defoe is able to resolve the conflict between public virtue and private vice by compartmentalizing his trading concerns in one part of his mind and isolating that from the more Puritan, moral compartment. Defoe is able to hold to firm Christian moral commitments while he can argue, apparently immorally, for certain trading projects which his Puritan nature should naturally condemn. Anderson notes that Defoe, in certain writings, could condone slavery as economically beneficial, yet in other pieces react to it from a humanitarian and moral point of view, precisely because of this compartmentalizing process which characterized his thought.\textsuperscript{3}

Both these theories—of Defoe as compromiser and Defoe as schizophrenic—have been refuted by Maximillian Novak in his two major critical works on Defoe: \textit{Defoe and the Nature of Man} and \textit{Economics and the Fiction of Daniel Defoe}. Briefly, Novak argues that a doctrine of necessity is central to Defoe's economic thought. Defoe could condemn the economic vice, but in many instances, the vices themselves were necessary for human survival. In speaking of Defoe's fictional characters, for example, Novak states:

\begin{quote}
None of them fall into necessity through vice; therefore they cannot be charged with guilt for their early crimes. But these acts shade into innumerable social sins. It is usually of these later and more flagrant breaches of morality that Defoe allowed his characters to be punished, not for crimes committed in accordance with the laws of nature.\textsuperscript{4}
\end{quote}
Necessity breeds the vice, and Novak suggests that this doctrine is subsumed under the law of nature presented in seventeenth century philosophy. In *Economics and the Fiction of Daniel Defoe*, Novak argues that Defoe is not a bourgeois capitalist—not therefore a person sunk in economic vice—but rather he is a Puritan and a conservative (i.e., mercantilist) in matters of trade. Thus Defoe is enough of a realist to understand that man is driven by necessity or self-preservation into vice, but he is also perhaps idealistic enough to believe that man can eventually come to control his vices, perhaps even to eradicate them. Defoe, then, is not a pseudo-Puritan, as Stamm believes, nor is he a schizophrenic, as Anderson postulates.

One question in this critical dialectic has only been touched upon, however, and that is the problem of resolving the trade-morality paradox with direct reference to Defoe's fiction, and more precisely to *Robinson Crusoe*. Crusoe's possible trade-morality schizophrenia presents a peculiar problem, since if there is such a paradox operative throughout the novel, then this book—along with its main character—is split irrevocably and irrecoverably down the middle. Defoe's novel—which we will assume contains some sort of aesthetic or structural pattern—is fragmented, the pattern destroyed, as the trade theme effectively cancels out the moral vision and the morality blankets the trade. Perhaps I am overstating the case, but the point is an important one. It is important because, in the last twenty years or so, several theories have been advanced which attempt to justify or explain the structure and meaning of *Robinson*
Crusoe. Maximillian Novak, for example, sees Defoe's book as a tract supporting mercantilism and illustrating certain theories of economics and labor. To Ian Watt, in his *The Rise of the Novel*, Crusoe embodies the new economic individualist—a man sprung forth from the womb of the Calvinist church and taught a doctrine of ethical and economic individualism. Arnold Kettle claims *Robinson Crusoe* as proof of his theory of the novel's inception during the bourgeois revolution at the end of the seventeenth century.

The problem is: these economic interpretations contradict one another. To Novak, Defoe is a conservative—a mercantilist—and thus there is an economic moral to *Robinson Crusoe*; don't be a capitalist. To Watt and Kettle, Defoe is bourgeois and a capitalist, and Crusoe is therefore a *laissez-faire* individualist. In this case, there is really no moral to the story, rather it simply illustrates the economic temper of the times. If these contradictions aren't enough, there is another group of critics who argue that *Crusoe* is a novel only marginally about economics. To George Starr, J. Paul Hunter, and Edwin Benjamin, *Robinson Crusoe* is really a book about Puritanism, embodying an essentially religious vision of life. Thus, Starr argues that the structure and meaning of Defoe's novel parallel the conventional patterns and themes of the seventeenth century spiritual autobiographies, while Hunter and Benjamin attempt to prove that *Robinson Crusoe* is really a religious allegory, patterned after works like Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. If, therefore, one reads all of these critics on *Robinson Crusoe* and considers their opinions to be all of equal validity, then there would seem to be a split in
the structure and theme of the novel; it is a tract on economics or it is a book which embodies a religious and moral vision. Our problem here is how to put these two views of the novel together; to see the book, in other words, as a single, significantly structured unit which incorporates both the religious theme and the economic.

One major weakness in the majority of these various interpretations of Robinson Crusoe is that each of them tends to under-cut or ignore one theme while advancing the other to a position of ultimate and absolute importance—a position which will usually not be supported through a close examination of all of the elements of the text. The objective of this paper will be to show that Defoe is writing a novel which in fact integrates the two themes of religion and economics—morality and trade—into a pattern which then illustrates a cohesion of moral vision and material gain. Rather than seeing the book as exhibiting a split between a fundamentally secular, economic theme, and a moral, religious one, the two themes work together throughout the text. The thesis, then, is simply this: there is no paradox between religion and economics in Robinson Crusoe and a close reading of the whole of Part I of Crusoe's Adventures should prove this statement. In thus attempting to put the novel back together—to show the fusion of trade and morality—our method must be roundabout; that is, working from the general to the particular. In this case, we must first define the climate of opinion in which Defoe worked. The construction of this "ideological model" will lead to a close reading of Robinson Crusoe, keeping in mind all the while that Defoe is
simplifying and reducing the major ideas in this model for the purposes of fictional presentation. Our focus will first be on religion and economics in eighteenth-century England, and then on the philosophy of the period, and in each case, our purpose will be to see how these ideas are exemplified and illustrated in the novel itself. We can then focus, in turn, on the religious, economic, and philosophical patterns in Robinson Crusoe, and thus we can see how these patterns work together to structure and create meaning in the book.

Before we analyze the novel itself, we should perhaps look at the general historical and political background in England during the latter half of the seventeenth century, since Defoe himself is very much a product of this age, and the events which took place during the Restoration period undoubtedly had a great influence on his life, philosophy, and writings. Defoe, it is thought, was born in 1660. This is, of course, the year in which Charles II was restored to the English throne, and the year which consequently marked the end of Puritan rule in that country. The Puritans had maintained political control in England for eleven years after the Civil War, and with the death of Oliver Cromwell, officially "Lord Protector" of the Commonwealth, they discovered that they lacked the political cohesiveness so important to the smooth functioning of a government. As varied in political opinions as they were in religious beliefs, the Puritans came to realize that power and solidarity were maintained through the strong personality of Cromwell himself, and through the existence of a Puritan army loyal to the Lord Protector. When Cromwell died the Puritans could no longer maintain their government, and for political reasons—besides a general weariness among influential elements of the
population with Puritan rule—Charles II was called back to assume the kingship.

With the political failure and subsequent loss of power by the Puritans, a new phase in the persecution of these dissenting religious groups began. A series of reactionary parliamentary acts, known collectively as the Clarendon Code, began with the passing of the Corporation Act of December, 1661. This first law, directed against what political and religious power the Puritans still retained, excluded from municipal bodies all people refusing to renounce the Covenant, to take the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England, or to swear nonresistance to the monarchy. In 1662, another bill, the Act of Uniformity, required all preachers who did not conduct their services according to the new and revised Book of Common Prayer to quit their pulpits. The direct result of this act was to force nearly two thousand ministers to reject the Church of England and to become either itinerant preachers, sermonizing wherever they could collect a crowd, or to find new livelihoods. Dissenting congregations had to go underground also, and as a contemporary, Oliver Heywood, remarked, "The Act of Uniformity struck all nonconformists dead on St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24, 1662." And G.R. Cragg, in his *Puritanism in the Period of the Great Persecution*, points out:

For the most part the ejected ministers were thrown upon the world without means of support. They could not continue the work for which they had been trained, and the alternatives to which educated men would naturally turn were closed to them by the ingenuity with which the Act of Uniformity had been framed. Many were the expedients to which they were driven. A few had private means. Some possessed skills for which the community was glad to remunerate them. Many turned to secular callings until they could find some opportunity of exercising their ministry once more.
Many of these ejected ministers did return to preaching nonconformist doctrines. Others, however, took up more secular callings.

The persecution of dissenting ministers spread gradually to a persecution of their congregations as well, and thus the Clarendon Code forced all nonconformists to do one of two things: they could either join the Anglican Church and again take part in an active and open political life, or they could quit their political concerns and survive in society as best they could. There seems, then, to be a general movement among Puritans of this time to more economic concerns, and as Maurice Ashley notes, "One reason for the extraordinary success of the Nonconformists...in business was that they were thus diverted from the ordinary duties and pleasures of citizenship."\(^\text{14}\) This movement into business resulted, as we shall later see, in slight shifts of emphasis in Puritan doctrine, especially regarding the place of trade and morality in the nonconformist view of human life. These concepts are thus fundamental to our understanding of what Defoe is doing in *Robinson Crusoe*.

Though many of the events of Defoe's early life, and in fact a great deal of his later life, are largely a matter of conjecture, one thing is certain; his way of life was influenced by the Clarendon Code and the persecution of dissenting groups. His parents, for example, had long been members of the congregation of Dr. Samuel Annesley. When the Act of Uniformity was passed, they followed Dr. Annesley into the Presbyterian Church. Thus, we assume that Defoe's background is nonconformist, and that he was taught basic Puritan doctrine as a child. There is, however, only scattered evidence of this
background in his own writing. He does number the members of local dissenting groups in his *Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain*; there are moral passages, very Puritan in tone, in his *Review*; also, his most notorious piece of work, *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*, is an ironic attack on the conservative High-Church clergy, and consequently, a kind of defense of the dissenters. But in this case, biographical evidence is more helpful than literary corroborations. For example, Defoe was sent to the Reverend Charles Morton's dissenting academy at Newington Green in order to prepare himself for the Presbyterian ministry. Bonamy Dobrée comments on his education, both under Annesley and under Morton:

> From Samuel Annesley, his first pastor—on whose death he wrote one of his most tedious poems—he derived not only a Calvinistic denial of grace, but a dislike of dogmatic insistence, of fierce politico-religious strife, which the later Defoe would at any rate find contrary to the interests of trade. But Charles Morton, later first Vice-President of Harvard, Master of Stoke Newington Academy where Defoe got his schooling, was a disciple of Wilkins, famous in the Royal Society, and he inculcated a firm belief in Baconian progress, making, it would seem, no distinction between the two philosophies, divine and natural. He taught, nevertheless, that there existed an operative providence always at hand to help those strenuous to help themselves. From both, probably, Defoe derived that deep apprehension of the manifestations of supernatural evil seldom absent from the puritanical consciousness.15

Thus, puritanical and religious as his education was, Defoe was also taught the more practical disciplines of science, logic, and natural philosophy. John Moore conjectures that Defoe described his education in this passage from *The Compleat English Gentleman*: "He run through the whole course of philosophy, he perfectly compassed the study of geography, the use of maps and globes; he read all that Sir
Isaac Newton, Mr. Whitson, Mr. Halley had said in English upon the
nicest subjects in astronomy and the secrets of nature...."16 It
should also be mentioned that the Puritan education stressed not only
theology, but practicality, especially if the student was considering
the ministry as a vocation. William Haller, in his Rise of Puritanism,
points to the long tradition of both religious and secular education
in the nonconformist schools:

Students were enveloped in an intensely religious
atmosphere, they were instructed in rhetoric and oratory,
in the Bible and the Greek and Latin classics, in moral
and natural philosophy. In the course of time, history,
the modern languages and literatures, mathematics and
experimental science, finally the social sciences, all
found acceptance within this curriculum as the vestiges
of scholasticism, followed by evangelism, faded away.17

And as Richard Bernard explains, in The Faithfull Shepheard, a broad
education must be given a man preparing for the dissenting ministry:
"What Art or Science is there, which a Divine shall not stand in need
of...?" And "Grammar, Rhetorick, Logick, Physicks, Mathematicks,
Metaphysicks, Ethicks, Politicks, Oeconomicks, History, and Military
Discipline," are some of the specific courses he names.18

The importance of this education to our understanding of Defoe
cannot be underestimated. Morton definitely fostered the pragmatic
and practical approach to experience and life and grounded his students,
as James Sutherland indicates, in science, inquiry, and reasoning.19
Consequently, it is safe to assume that Defoe was knowledgeable both
in Puritan writings and in the secular natural philosophies. As
Novak points out, the author of Robinson Crusoe was apparently
familiar with the works of Dalby, Thomas, Sir William Petty, John Asgill,
and Nicholas Barbon, at least by the time he wrote his first important work on economics, *Essay upon Projects*. Defoe mentions Aristotle and Machiavelli in *Considerations on the Present State of Affairs in Great Britain*, he quotes Hobbes in *The Storm*, and he refers to Bacon in *A General History of Discoveries and Improvements, in Useful Arts* and to Locke and Pufendorf in *Jure Divino*. Though perhaps one can doubt that Defoe read all of the works of these men, still it is safe to assume that he was at least familiar with their ideas. Consequently, one expects to find their influence in his writings. One assumption we will make later is that the natural law philosophers—primarily Hobbes and Locke—form a part of that ideological model which influenced Defoe's outlook and that their ideas influenced both the theme and structure of *Robinson Crusoe*.

Finally, Defoe himself re-enacted what had become a standard pattern in the lives of many Puritans; he turned from a ministerial vocation to go into business. Sutherland states that Defoe's father, James Foe, "must have realized that he [Daniel] was an adventurer: a respectable adventurer, no doubt, dealing for the most part with rather large ideas." And he saw his son become "a promoter, a speculator, a man of many affairs." In turning to the world of economics and trade, Defoe was following the trend of his age; i.e., the nonconformist entered into the vocation of tradesman or merchant. Defoe, at any rate, seems to have entered the merchant profession wholeheartedly, for in the years that followed, he was a wholesale hosier, he imported wine, insured ships, dealt in real estate, owned a brickworks, and carried on trade in wool, oysters, cheese, and salt.
In fact, by the time legally-sanctioned persecution of the nonconformists began fading out with the ascension of William and Mary to the English throne, Defoe had become a fairly successful businessman and political pamphleteer. However, in 1692 he was declared bankrupt for £17,000, and though he might have had some business success along the way, he was never entirely free of his creditors until his death.

In specifically relating Robinson Crusoe to this rather sketchy historical and biographical background, one thing becomes apparent. Perhaps Defoe's turning from an intended career in the ministry to secular business pursuits is directly related to Crusoe's leaving his father's home, and the law profession he was being trained for, and taking to the sea. At least this would explain Crusoe's reference to his story as being both "allegorical" and "historical" in the "Preface" to the later Serious Reflections. Defoe, as some critics would point out, is perhaps writing loosely of his own life in the Crusoe trilogy; that is, perhaps some of the episodes could be taken as allegoric renderings of certain events in Defoe's own life. This would be fine, but it does not really tell us anything about the structures and themes to be found in the text as a whole. It is certainly one of the most useless points to pursue in Robinson Crusoe. Another implication is that the book is structured according to the strict principles of religious allegory. Thus, Crusoe defends the value of allegory, and incidently the value of his own Adventures, in drawing a contrast between the useful allegory and the useless romance. Crusoe states, again in the Serious Reflections, that "the telling or
writing a Parable, or an allusive allegoric history is quite a
different Case, and is always Distinguishing from the other Jestings with
Truth; that it is design'd and effectually turn'd for instructive
and upright ends, and has its Moral justly apply'd: Such as the
historical Parables in the holy Scripture, such is the Pilgrims
Progress, and such, in a Word the Adventures of your fugitive Friend,
Robinson Crusoe."^{22} Defoe, in defending his book's reputation as
truth (either literal or figurative), builds his case for allegory.
In putting forward this case, however, Defoe confuses his literary
terms. A parable—"historical" or otherwise—is usually a shorter
piece, a story, illustrating some moral lesson. A parable can be
allegorical, though every element of the story does not necessarily
have to conform to a definite and precise system of meaning.

It will be my contention, throughout this essay, that Defoe
is not writing a strict allegory, that in fact the structure of
Crusoe is looser and perhaps more suggestive than that of an
allegory. A looser form would also allow Defoe to weave into his
work more of the thoughts of those writers who perhaps influenced him,
making the work a far richer source of ideas and themes than if
he had attempted to produce a straight religious and Puritan
allegory. In all, Defoe would have been more accurate in calling his
first novel a parable rather than an allegory. A parable retains the
moral thrust of allegory, but does not embody the strict structure
of referents and meaning contained in the more rigid form. It also
need not be an entirely religious work; it can include a more secular
wisdom as well as a religious vision. In this sense, Robinson Crusoe
could perhaps be called a parable, whether it is a parable of
economic man or of religious man or of both at once.

In a larger view, nearly all of Defoe's fictional narratives,
if we are to believe the statements made in his prefaces, are parables,
but nearly all fall considerably short of being allegorical. First,
Defoe's stories are parables largely through their professed moral
purpose. Defoe, masquerading as Crusoe in the "Preface" to the Serious
Reflections, defines his aesthetic credo: "...the design of everything
is said to be first in intention, and last in execution." (III, ix).
Consequently, Defoe pays little attention to a tight overall patterning
of his fiction, yet he is always ready to point out the moral (i.e.,
intention). Thus, the "Preface" to Part I of Robinson Crusoe reads
in part, "The story is told with modesty, with seriousness, and with
a religious application of events to the uses to which wise men always
apply them (viz.) to the instruction of others by this example, and to
justify and honor the wisdom of Providence in all variety of our
circumstances, let them happen how they will" (I,ii). One must
finally agree with Maximillian Novak that Defoe oftentimes
writes hastily, lets things "happen how they will," and shows better
ability at constructing scenes, paragraphs, and sections, than a
well-integrated, structurally flawless narrative. "If he occasionally
forgot what he said twenty pages back," concludes Novak, "he was fully
aware of individual words and paragraphs."

On the other hand, if Defoe does stress intention over execution
(moral over technique or structure), there are still specific patterns
which work throughout Robinson Crusoe—patterns which indicate a rather
complex structure of ideas in the novel. The purpose of this essay will be to uncover this structure through, first, a look at the novel's ideological background, and second, by realizing Defoe's thematic intentions in *Robinson Crusoe* as these are indicated in the structure of the book. The primary objective is to indicate, through a close reading of the text as it relates to a background of ideas and beliefs, that there is no real paradox between economics and trade and Crusoe's essentially nonconformist morality. Rather, these two elements work together in the novel to indicate a more complete pattern of meaning in the book, and this pattern is only realized when the reader comprehends the integration of religious (Puritan) and secular (economics, natural philosophy) modes of thought into the pattern of Crusoe's adventures. We will begin by looking specifically at the religious and economic themes in *Robinson Crusoe*, indicating how they work together throughout the novel, and then go on to relate the pattern of Crusoe's growth into moral and intellectual knowledge to the philosophy of the period and indicate that this pattern of growth also works to resolve the trade-morality paradox.
CHAPTER II

Religion and Economics in Robinson Crusoe

1. Introduction

In spite of the critical volumes and articles written on Defoe, all of which expose and explain critical problems and dilemmas within the canon of his works, there is a general problem that has not yet received the attention it merits. Suppose, as many critics have, that one can read *Robinson Crusoe* as a Puritan allegory. Besides interpretative difficulties with the text itself, there would be serious problem in defining what exactly Puritanism is. In fact, any precision is sadly lacking in defining what a Puritan believed as opposed to what, say, an Anglican did. The reasons for this difficulty are basically two: one religious, the other political.

Originally, the sixteenth century "Puritan" had it from John Calvin that all people were predestined to either suffer the torments of hell or live in eternal bliss in heaven. According to Calvin's doctrine of hard determinism, man had little or no choice in his fate: everything had already been decided. From birth all human beings were depraved, living, as a result of Adam's original sin, in an essentially evil world and, consequently, subject to the many temptations of that world. This concept of original sin was a universal Christian doctrine, the concept
of pre-destination was primarily Puritan. And the Puritans also
dissented from Anglican doctrine, supposedly, in their doctrine of
the elect. If one were a member of the elect—that is, a member in good
standing of the Puritan Church—then one stood a good chance of being
"saved". These two doctrines, it could be said, served to define
Puritan religious ideology up until the time of the Puritan
Revolution. Then, as the original and central groups of the Puritan
Church began to splinter and form opposing factions within their
own ranks, the core doctrines of predestination and the elect began
to fade, in some groups, into a more "benevolistic" ideology. If,
 according to Puritan pamphleteers such as John Goodwin and Henry Parker,
the seeds of grace resided in each individual, then it was possible
for anyone to achieve the state of grace even here in this sinful
world. And, if they were saved, the new converts certainly needn't
burn in hell for an eternity. The conception of a fallen world remained,
but predestination began to fade as a doctrine strongly advocated by
the Puritan divines. Thus, at least one defining and fundamental
doctrine of the early Puritan Church, could no longer specifically
apply to the post-revolution Puritan churches. As for the doctrine
of the elect, most religious disciplines in Europe—Roman Catholic
or Anglican, Orthodox or Protestant—stressed the idea that members
of their particular group, or sect, were saved while everyone else
was damned.

Also, Puritanism existed originally as a political movement
within a larger political structure. The Dissenters existed from the
sixteenth century as a splinter group within the Anglican Church, and
were attempting to politically "purify" or reform it. This conflict was largely one over church government, though during the Puritan Revolution it became a matter of national government also. The Dissenters were opposed specifically to church government by prelates, but even here, the various sects within the so-called Puritan Church were in conflict with one another. Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, Quakers, Brownists, Separatists, Muggletonians and so forth, all had their own ideas on the various political structures which should constitute the ruling system of the Anglican Church. Defoe's particular sect, the Presbyterians, did stress the doctrine of predestination but politically were to the "right," closer to the central doctrines of the Anglican Church (though still dissenting from it) than any of the other Puritan sects. In fact, the Presbyterians weren't officially excluded from the Anglican Church until the Act of Uniformity passed in Parliament in 1662. Consequently, trying to formulate a series of precise statements on the political doctrines of Puritanism would be as difficult as trying to formulate a similar collection of statements on religious doctrine.

In approaching Defoe's writings, then, this problem in definition becomes more than simply a biographical quandary. Defoe never actually reveals his "true" religion in his published writings, and if we did not know that he came from a Presbyterian family, we would have some difficulty in labelling him according to religious belief. Even in such autobiographical pieces as "An Appeal to Honour and Justice" (1715), or in such moralizing works as Religious Courtship
(1722) and *The Family Instructor* (1715, 1718), Defoe always assumes a broader and more generalized religious view. Consequently, in reading Defoe's fiction, one never finds clear statements of basic Puritan doctrine; rather, one finds broader, perhaps more "universal," religious themes (at least in the Protestant sense). George Starr summarizes this critical problem with Defoe and his religion in *Defoe and Casuistry*, where he points out that in researching the writings of both Anglicans and Puritans in the seventeenth century, "Not only does agreement greatly outweigh disagreement..., but disagreement does not necessarily follow sectarian lines. One object in citing Anglican as well as Nonconformist divines is to suggest that Defoe's Puritanism (and for that matter post-Restoration Puritanism itself) is a complex problem which calls for further exploration, not a settled historical fact on which interpretations of his life and works can profitably be based."² Further, Starr remarks in his *Defoe and Spiritual Autobiography*, "it becomes clear that the leading religious ideas in Defoe's fiction were in fact commonplaces of the English Protestant tradition, not merely crotchets of his much-discussed Dissenting milieu."³

This brief sketch of the difficulties inherent in generating accurate definitions of Puritanism and Defoe's own religious ideology indicates the level on which Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* should be approached. Rather than looking for parts of the text which might specifically point to something called a "Puritan theme," one should approach the novel from a point of generalization: that is, from a broad view of the English Protestant ideology to a particular application
of the ideology to Robinson Crusoe. The argument, then, must be from the general to the particular—defining the ideology, then applying it in a close critical analysis of Robinson Crusoe in order to show that what at first might seem a paradox between moral theory and economic fact is subsumed in a coherent philosophy held by the author. The primary objective of this chapter is to define a structural pattern in Robinson Crusoe which incorporates both the religious and economic themes into a pattern of interaction and development. The reason for this approach is simply that with this structural view of the novel at hand—an interpretation which indicates a balanced structure and an integration of themes—one can then move on to the larger ideological and thematic framework which this formalistic pattern indicates: that of the growing importance of the concept of individualism in the religious, social, and political thought of the day. Robinson Crusoe, then, will be analysed not as a book isolated from its historical period, but as it was most likely read and appreciated by the literate, educated person who purchased a copy of the first edition in 1719. In this manner, the contemporary reader is made aware of the ideological background of the novel, for only in this way can one gain a broader critical understanding of Robinson Crusoe in particular, and of Defoe's work in general.

II. The Religious Theme

Basic to both Anglican and Puritan religious belief is a core of interrelated concepts which can be discussed under three general
categories: the importance of the individual as indicated in a form of "sub-" or "pre-literature" and a concomitant emblematic way of viewing reality, Providence, and the doctrine of the calling.

First, as is indicated by both Puritan and Anglican writings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the individual soul was the place wherein the divine light of grace could be cherished, and this soul consequently became the battlefield between Satan and God. Perhaps, with the usual reservations, one can assume that this doctrine is more Puritan than Anglican in nature, for it at least is a fundamental theme in Puritan literature, both imaginative and factual. John Bunyan, for example, stresses both this popular conception of the human soul and the importance of the individual looking inward into his soul in the scene at the Interpreter's House in Pilgrim's Progress. This scene resolves itself into an allegorical depiction of the battle between good and evil within the human heart: in the individual's heart burns the fire of grace onto which Satan, standing at one side, casts water, and Christ, standing on the other side, pours the "Oyl of his Grace." The individual person, Bunyan implies, should be vitally concerned with his own soul, should watch it carefully, and should keep the divine fire well-fed. This basic idea of a religious introspection, here exemplified in Bunyan's allegory, becomes the impetus behind the writing of most of the spiritual autobiographies of the time, including, of course, Bunyan's own Grace Abounding.

The intensely individualistic concern over the spiritual welfare of the soul leads naturally, as William Haller would have it in his Rise of Puritanism, to a form of literature termed spiritual autobiography.
Each properly religious man observes this spiritual warfare in his heart, and, as a consequence of his observations, writes a daily journal, usually beginning with his spiritual rebirth (since this event marks the beginning of his observations and reflections), and consisting almost entirely of his spiritual and metaphysical ruminations and struggles for that particular day. Because of the dynamic tendencies and missionary zeal of the early Puritans, these records were usually published (and especially if the author is also an influential preacher) in order to instruct others in the workings of grace and in ways to overcome Satan's forces. Closely following these autobiographies, in both form and content, are "instruction" or "guide" books, which teach interested readers how to look into their souls and cure what diseased parts they find. Thus, in the seventeenth century, an entire literature of spiritual instruction is born, consisting of books written by such Puritan divines as William Perkins, William Ames, and Richard Baxter, and spilling over into the works of Anglican bishops such as Hall, Sanderson, and Barlow. And the titles of these works indicate their most fundamental themes: Christian Warfare, Doctrine of the Beginnings of Christ, Discourse about the State of True Happiness, The New Birth, The Whole Armor of God, Seven Treatises, Containing Such Directions as is gathered out of the Holie Scriptures, leading and guiding to true happiness, both in this life, and in the life to come, and may be called the practise of Christianitie. Profitable for all such as heartily desire the same: in which, more particularly true Christians may learn how to leade a godly and comfortable life everyday (known popularly as Seven Treatises).
These biographies, autobiographies, and guide-books, born and bred of the conversion experience and the doctrine of ideas inherited with that experience, influenced the religiously-based literature that followed in both form and content. In a formalistic sense, the narrative structure of this literature, because of an "emblematic" view of the world, tends to dissolve into a series of scenes and events, each of which could be interpreted for its spiritual significance. George Starr points out that this led naturally to the religious man seeing his life as a series of religiously significant episodes.\textsuperscript{7}

Thus, in the summary of the spiritual tribulations of the day, the autobiographer or diarist looks particularly for signs of God's favor or disfavor. In other words, to the Puritan (and, of course, to the Anglican), second causes are without a doubt merely results of a First Cause, for every outward occurrence is a sign--an emblem--containing certain, innate spiritual significance. This emblematic way of perceiving the world lays stress on the representational aspects of situations and objects in that world. An invisible hand of God--Providence--is always at work in this world, and the individual person is duty-bound to delve below mere appearance in order to read the spiritual realities manifested underneath. The anonymous author of Christian Conversation, in Six Dialogues, for example, states that "'tis obvious to every man in the least conversant with the Scriptures, that everywhere heavenly things are set forth by earthly representations; and that in great mercy and condescension to our capacities and understandings, and as helps to our faith."\textsuperscript{8} And John Livingstone observes among Scottish Presbyterians in Ireland in the 1620s that
"some of them had attained such a dexterity of expressing religious purposes by the resemblance of worldly things, that being at feasts in common inns, where were ignorant profane persons, they would, among themselves, intertain spirituall discourse for ane long time; and the other professed, that although they spake good English, they could not understand what they said." The purposes to which an author could apply this interesting gift of spiritual sight are either in an explanatory, autobiographical manner as is implied in the title of James Janeway's work, *Invisibles, Realities, Demonstrated in the Holy Life and Triumphant Death of Mr. John Janeway*, or in a more reflective manner as in Ralph Austen's *The Spirituall use of an Orchard, or Garden of Fruit Trees.*

In actual fact, though, the unifying formal structure of the spiritual autobiography is to be found elsewhere, in the conversion process of the human soul which gave rise to this emblematic vision, and in the various metaphors which were used and reused continually by the Puritan and Anglican authors. This standard pattern is an account of the writer's early, depraved life—usually, the more lurid in detail the better—a provocation to repentance followed by a series of reflections, the conversion experience itself, and a subsequent account of a life filled with religious reflections, backslidings, and so on, with a standard death-bed victory over the forces of evil. Once again, George Starr points out—this time with specific reference to *Robinson Crusoe*—that "Conversion is clearly the pivotal phase in the sequence:...each stage not only precedes or follows conversion in point of time, but takes on significance wholly as a preparation or
obstacle to it beforehand, or as a result or retrogression from it once achieved." 10

The emblematic vision of the Protestant divines led naturally into a metaphorical view of life. Specifically, the standard metaphors which ordered the religious world vision of the seventeenth-century Protestant were the view of life as a journey or pilgrimage, geographical wandering as spiritual alienation from God, the wilderness and "lost soul" metaphor, and in fact, that overriding view of all objects and situations in the world as being vehicles for the conveyance of a spiritual meaning. This view of reality results, of course, in the allegorical interpretation of the life of man in the world and naturally influenced an author like John Bunyan in the construction of works such as Pilgrim's Progress and The Life and Death of Mr. Badman. The same metaphorical vision works throughout Robinson Crusoe, but a more complete understanding of that mechanism of God's responsible for controlling events and situations in this world is necessary before we turn specifically to Defoe's novel.

The prevailing use of emblems and metaphors in the seventeenth and eighteenth century spiritual autobiographies, diaries, and sermons indicates a strong belief in the workings of Providence in this fallen world. Crusoe himself defines Providence in his Serious Reflections, the third and final work of Defoe's dealing with this "mariner of York." In a chapter entitled "Of Listening to the Voice of Providence," Crusoe states that this spiritual manifestation consists of "that operation of the power, wisdom, justice, and goodness of God by which He influences, governs, and directs not only the means, but the events
of all things which concern us in this world" (III, 178). To Crusoe, the definite existence of a Providence actively causing events to take place in this world indicates that God exists, and in a rather circular piece of logic, this proof of God's existence leads to two further assumptions:

1. That this eternal God guides by His providence the whole world, which He has created by His power.
2. That this Providence manifests a particular care over and concern in the governing and directing [of] man, the best and last created creature on earth. (III, 178)

That Providence which is responsible for the correct mechanical operation of the universe is also responsible for guiding the affairs of men in general. And, in particular, Providence plays a major role in the affairs of individual persons. Thus, the polemical purpose of Crusoe's chapter and the impetus behind the writing of spiritual autobiographies, exempla, and guide books are one and the same: "By listening to the voice of Providence, I mean to study its meaning in every circumstance of life, in every event; to learn to understand the end and design of Providence in everything that happens, what is the design of Providence in it respecting ourselves, and what our duty to do upon the particular occasion that offers" (III, 181-182).

Providence, therefore, guides and directs those who pay heed to its voice—who, in fact, can discern the workings of a First Cause behind second causes. Many of Defoe's writings, from The Storm (1704) to The Journal of the Plague Year (1722), illustrate the working of this spiritual force behind the mask of events, for both the storm and the plague were sent as warnings to the English nation.
to cease its wicked ways, and thus represent a call to repentance. As Crusoe himself states in his *Farther Adventures*, "If we do not allow a visible Curse to pursue visible Crimes, how shall we reconcile the Events of Things with the Divine Justice?" (II, 181). Or, this at least is one function of Providence; it is God's visible warning to unrepentant sinners. And Crusoe, in this case, follows standard religious doctrine in assuming that the reason for the punishment can be read in the punishment itself.

On the other hand, Providence maintains a "guide and direction" status by indicating what "calling" one should pursue. This indication occurs on two levels—one spiritual and one mundane—which correspond to what sermonizers term a general calling and a particular calling. The general calling, as Robert Sanderson defines it in *XXXVI Sermons* (1689), "is that wherewith God calleth us...to the faith and obedience of the Gospel, and to the embracing of the Covenant of Grace." The particular calling "is that wherewith God enableth us, and directeth us...on to some special course and condition of life, wherein to employ ourselves, and to exercise the gifts he hath bestowed upon us." Thus Charles and Catherine George, in their book on *The Protestant Mind of the English Reformation*, point out that "A man's proper calling is determined by the providence of God and is matched by the possession of natural gifts appropriate to the tasks involved." Providence, then, acts to call men first to the proper religion (in this case, Protestant Christianity) and second to a particular station in life. The emphasis in the latter is social and economic in nature: a person employs his own capacities and abilities as these have been given him by Providence in his occupation and consequently in the maintenance of
social and economic order. Or as William Perkins, a noted Puritan divine, asserts, "A vocation of calling is a certaine kind of life, ordained and imposed on man by God, for the common good." Perkins goes on to point out:

Now all societies of men, are bodies...the common wealth also, and in these bodies there be several members, which are men walking in several callings and offices, the execution whereof, must tend to the happy and good estate of the rest; yea of all men every where, as much as possible is.... Here then we must in generall know, that he abuseth his calling whosoever he be that against the end thereof, imploies it for himselfe, seeking wholly his owne and not the common good. And that common saying, Every man for himselfe, and God for us all, is wicked, and is directed against the end of every calling, or honest kind of life.13

To refuse to accept one's particular calling, then, is both a sin against society and a sin against God. In fact, religious treatises throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are filled with examples of Adam's, Jonah's, Balaam's, and prodigal sons who, through pride in some cases and fear in others, sin against the social and religious order, sin against Providence, and therefore sin against God. And, working well with these favorite religious themes, Defoe sets out immediately in Robinson Crusoe to give the reader this moral perspective on his main character.

The first pages of Robinson Crusoe set the moral and religious theme. Crusoe, born the son of a retired middle-class merchant who had made his modest fortune "by merchandise," finds his head "filled very early with rambling thoughts," and terms this wanderlust a "fatal... propension of nature tending directly to the life of misery which was to befall me" (I, 4). Thus, the reader is immediately presented with a built-in moral outlook, for physical and emotional states, and
events themselves, are described and interpreted through the moral viewpoint of an older and wiser Crusoe. In fact, this narrative device—indicated through the consistent use of the past tense, a technique of foreshadowing, and continual didactic and moralizing intrusions—gives the text itself a "double perspective:" an event, for example, occurs both on a level of "realistic" adventure and on a possible moral and religious level. This double perspective is important as it allows us to posit a shaping vision at work in *Robinson Crusoe*, selecting, modifying, and interpreting events, and thus indicating the possibility of a definite structure in a book considered by some to be a rather haphazard compendium of second-hand travel books and adventure stories. The pattern emerges almost immediately, brought into focus by a train of religious allusions and metaphors and by Crusoe's own method of describing and moralizing.

The young Crusoe dreams of going to sea and making his own fortune. He is not content with the "middle station of life" so assiduously recommended by his father, who warns his son that if he does take "this foolish step" God would not bless him, and he "would have leisure hereafter to reflect upon having neglected his counsel when there might be none to assist me in my recovery" (I, 16). Crusoe calls his father's words "truly prophetic," and indeed they are. He ships out three different times, and on his first voyage he nearly drowns. He is successful on his second venture, realizing a considerable profit, but even in this case he only appears to be a successful trader-adventurer. His success is, in one sense, merely a temptation—essentially an evil one at that—to further voyages, and on his third
venture he is captured by Moorish pirates. He manages to escape from the Moorish city, Salee, and through the aid of a Portuguese captain who eventually rescues him, finds both new life and new wealth as a plantation owner in Brazil. But, his "fatal propension" drives him on to undertake a slaving expedition which ends in a shipwreck and his isolation on an island. He has, then, twenty-eight years to reflect on his father's warning. In fact, throughout these early adventures we are constantly reminded of Crusoe's father's warning, and his statement impresses itself on Crusoe's mind with an almost god-like profundity. This would indicate, if we follow the seventeenth century doctrine of religious correspondences, that for "father" we can substitute "God." The old merchant is described as "a wise and grave man" who gives his son "his testimony to this [the middle station of life] as the just standard of true felicity" (I, 4). "Felicity," in the eighteenth century religious context, defines the state of the unfallen Adam, and Crusoe's father uses the word to refer to a kind of edenic middle-class existence. Perhaps, then, felicity means both, for the old man's description of that middle states comes very close to not only a description of the virtuous life of a Puritan, but also to an earthly paradise, emblematic of the original Eden. In this felicitous middle station, one finds "temperance, moderation, quietness, health, society, all agreeable diversions, and all desireable pleasures" (I, 3). The middle station is the middle way, and by resting content in that proper place, one is not tempted to the sin of hybris. Crusoe is so tempted, however, for he leaves his home "without God's blessing, or my father's," and he goes "against
the will, nay the commands" of his father (I, 8). The meaning implicit in this recounting of a fall from grace is made explicit later when, after spending several years in isolation on a desert isle, Crusoe calls his departure from home his "original sin:")

I have been in all my circumstances a memento to those who are touched with the general plague of mankind, whence, for ought I know, one half of their miseries flow; I mean, that of not being satisfied with the station wherein God and Nature had placed them; for, not to look back upon my primitive condition and the excellent advice of my father, the opposition to which was, as I may call it, my original sin, my subsequent mistakes of the same kind had been the means of my coming into this miserable condition; for had that Providence, which so happily had seated me at the Brazils as a planter, blessed me with confined desires, and I could have been contented to have gone on gradually, I might have been by this time, I mean in the time of my being in this island, one of the most considerable planters in the Brazils.... (I, 215)

Crusoe's explicit reference to disobedience and original sin, heralded by the phrase "the general plague of mankind," indicates that paternal disobedience means the same thing as disobedience of God. His life is, as he terms it, a "memento": a reenactment of the almost archetypal pattern of the life of a Protestant divine. Thus Crusoe himself becomes an everyman--a prodigal son--who lives a life according to the pattern of sin, repentance, and grace.

If we consider Crusoe's early disobedience as his original sin, then his fall from the "middle station" makes him an "old Adam" whose travels represent a spiritual exile from the edenic social existence propounded by his father. Quite simply, the "old Adam" is, in one sense, the original Adam who inhabited the original paradise and who fell through the sin of pride. After his fall, the "old Adam" grew wild, or as Henry Parker, a Puritan pamphleteer, writes in his Observations upon some of his Majesties Late Answers and Expresses (1642),
man "grew so untame and uncivill a creature that the Law of God written in his breast was not sufficient to restrayne him from mischiefe...." Defoe himself writes, in *The Family Instructor*, that "The effect of [Adam's] sin is a corrupt Taint which we all bring into the world with us, and which we find upon our Nature, by which we find a Natural Propensity in us to do Evil, and no natural Inclination to do Good...." This "mischiefe" or "corrupt Taint" which resides in every human being makes everyone an "old Adam," and every human life, then, is a reenactment of the story of the wayfaring prodigal son.

Crusoe's own story is no exception to this rule. For example, during the first storm, in which he nearly drowns, Crusoe resolves to return home: "Now I saw plainly the goodness of his [Crusoe's father] observations about the middle station of life, how easy, how comfortably he had lived all his days, and never had been exposed to tempests at sea or troubles on shore; and I resolved that I would, like a true repenting prodigal, go home to my father" (I, 9). Of course, this reference to the prodigal son is ironic in intention, for as soon as the storm abates, so does Crusoe's resolution. But the prodigal son is mentioned several more times during Crusoe's narration of his early life, buttressing that moralistic and religious perspective through which we view that life and indicating both a formal pattern and a pattern of religious psychology which will suffuse Defoe's novel.

The life pattern of the prodigal son is simply a reenactment of the disobedience, fall, and eventual redemption of the old Adam, and this can be seen as the pattern of Crusoe's own life. Crusoe, then, exemplifies the typical psychology of the prodigal son and the old
Adam. At one point in his story, just after young Crusoe has been counting the profits from his several years as a plantation owner in Brazil, the older Crusoe intrudes once again with a didactic comment:

Had I continued in the station I was in, I had room for all the happy things to have yet befallen me, for which my father so earnestly recommended a quiet, retired life, and of which he had so sensibly described the middle of life to be full of; but other things attended me, and I was still to be the wilful agent of all my own miseries; and particularly to increase my fault and double the reflections upon myself, which in my future sorrows I should have leisure to make; all these miscarriages were procured by my apparent obstinate adhering to my foolish inclination, in contradiction to the clearest views of doing myself good in a fair and plain pursuit of those prospects and those measures of life which Nature and Providence concurred to present me with and to make my duty.

As I had once done in my breaking away from my parents, so I would not be content now but I must go and leave the happy view I had of being a rich and thriving man in my new plantation only to pursue a rash and immoderate desire of rising faster than the nature of the thing admitted; and thus I cast myself down again into the deepest gulf of human misery that ever man fell into, or perhaps would be consistent with my life and a state of health in the world. (I, 41-42)

The reference here is to the slaving expedition Crusoe will undertake which will end in a shipwreck and his own isolation on the island.

But Crusoe also articulates the basic theme of the book, a theme explained with reference to the psychology of the prodigal son as found in numbers of seventeenth century religious works: "a rash and immoderate desire of rising faster than the nature of the thing admitted" is exactly the sinful frame of mind of the prodigal son which results in his wild and irrational pursuits. Just as Adam is evicted from Eden and forced to wander the earth, so the prodigal son, according to John Goodman in The Penitent Pardon'd (1694), "grows Male-content with his condition; and finding himself restrained, the proud waves of
his passion rage and swell against all that bounds and checks them.... He finds his condition not to his mind, and...he is tempted to run upon adventures...."17 Thus, through his wilful and prideful dis-obedience of his father--his original sin--Crusoe comes to represent both the fallen Adam and the prodigal son, and his geographical isolation and wandering becomes a metaphoric representation of spiritual isolation and erring. This latter theme goes back to Pilgrim's Progress at least, and further if we were to trace the life-as-pilgrimage and wilderness metaphors in older Protestant literature. The adventure pattern in Robinson Crusoe—the pattern of geographical travels—becomes what amounts to a controlling religious metaphor through at least the early part of the book. And George Starr, in fact, finds it a unifying pattern in all of Defoe's fiction:

I have argued...that Robinson Crusoe uses wandering, fleeing, straying, and other images of anxious motion to indicate the hero's alienation from 'the true center of his being.' Through a kind of allusive shorthand, Defoe associates geographical remoteness with spiritual malaise (Adam unparadised, the Prodigal 'in a far country,' etc.). Crusoe is 'errant' at first in both body and soul; eventually, returning home and coming to rest indicate his achievement (however precarious or temporary) of spiritual soundness. The careers of all of Defoe's heroes and heroines can be charted spatially in the same way; centrifugal motion sooner or later gives way to centripetal motion, which culminates in motifs of return, reunion, and repose.18

Therefore, in Robinson Crusoe, the author's early references to the prodigal son (I; 9, 15) and to young Crusoe as another Jonah (I; 10, 16) flesh out the bare adventure pattern, giving the book a deeper spiritual significance that has also been indicated through the steady rhythm of moral comment delivered by the older Crusoe and through continual reference to the workings of Providence in Crusoe's life.
Crusoe's world, then, is an emblematic one, for many of the events described are seen through the "moral" frame as a direct result of the workings of Providence. And, this correlation between event and some kind of spiritual significance allows the reader to see a pattern of experience emerging in the book, for experience itself is closely tied to Crusoe's own spiritual development even though the pattern of experience (i.e., wandering and adventure) seems, at first, merely counterpointed to the older Crusoe's knowledge of that experience.

Crusoe's world is one in which Providence actively intervenes in the lives of individual men, and a world in which the individual must learn to read his own spiritual state in his perceptions of Providentially guided events. It is just this emblematic vision which Crusoe must be made aware of.

First, Crusoe's wrong choice—his leaving home to set off on adventures—brings an immediate warning from heaven. A storm rises while Crusoe is on board ship. He fears death and, in his desperate state, believes that perhaps his repentance will cause the storm to abate. Filled, consequently, with "wise and sober thoughts," he vows to go home, and the storm does abate. However, he falls in with bad companions and, "in that one night's wickedness," he "drowns" (negates) his repentance, reflections, and resolutions (I, 10). Crusoe belabors his sinfulness for another page, and the storm strikes again, this time sinking the ship. The crew is saved, and afterwards, on shore, the vessel's captain exhorts Crusoe to return to his father and not tempt Providence. Crusoe, according to the captain, "might see a visible hand of Heaven" against him: "You see what a taste Heaven has given you of what you are to expect if you persist; perhaps this is all
befallen us on your account, like Jonah in the ships of Tarshish" (I, 17).

This emblematic way of interpreting events becomes a basic narrative pattern in *Robinson Crusoe*, consolidating the religious theme and the actual narrative structure of the book, and working in close conjunction with the metaphoric adventure pattern. On the simplest level of narration an event or sequence of events is narrated, then a religious signification is given to that event. This pattern is, of course, part of that rhythm of moral comment, but takes on even greater structural significance when one realizes that it does in fact suffuse the entire book. The perception of a First Cause behind second causes becomes, gradually, a part of the pattern of Crusoe's thought, and consequently a part of the pattern of the book, forming a religious superstructure of both form and content. For example, when Crusoe has been alone on his island for only a short while, the famous "miracle" of the corn occurs:

It was a little before the great rains, just now mentioned, that I threw this stuff [i.e., the corn] taking no notice of anything and not so much as remembering that I had thrown anything there, when about a month after or thereabout I saw some few stalks of something green shooting out of the ground, which I fancied might be some plant I had not seen; but I was surprised and perfectly astonished when after a littler longer time I saw about ten or twelve ears come out which were perfect green barley of the same kind as our European, nay, as our English barley.

It is impossible to express the astonishment and confusion of my thoughts on this occasion; I had hitherto acted upon no religious foundation at all; indeed I had very few notions of religion in my head or had entertained any sense of anything that had befallen me otherwise than as a chance, or, as we lightly say, what pleases God; without so much as inquiring into the end of Providence in these things or His order in
governing events in the world. But after I saw barley grow there, in a climate which I know was not proper for corn, and especially that I knew not how it came there, it startled me strangely and I began to suggest that God had miraculously caused this grain to grow without any help of seed sown and that it was so directed purely for my sustenance on that wild miserable place. (I, 86-87)

The narrative pattern here is that of a described event, then an explication of that event with a view to its spiritual significance. The corn grows, and at first we might be tempted to say purely by accident. But, in the fictional world of this novel, it is Providence which causes the corn to grow. And so Crusoe tells us.

Again, even the most mundane happening achieves a spiritual significance through that moral and religious framework which Crusoe the narrator is so concerned in emphasizing. This outlook, fundamental to an understanding of Robinson Crusoe, is that same vision which guided the Puritan and Anglican divines in their pilgrimage through life. J. Paul Hunter, in The Reluctant Pilgrim, discusses this way of perceiving reality with specific reference to Puritan ideology, and points to a correlation between event or object, and idea as being central to the Puritan vision: "Contemporary events thus became emblems of concepts, and the contemporary world itself became emblematic of the spiritual or conceptual world which was the ultimate referent for all creation, the ultimate reality." However, man is not simply born with this ability to read accurately the spiritual meanings in second causes, rather it is a vision acquired slowly through learning and experience. Thus, although the older Crusoe goes to great lengths to articulate the emblematic structure of reality throughout his
book (such events as the rescue of Friday, Crusoe's rescue by an English ship, and even his own repentance are signalled by Providentially-sent "dream-visions"), the young Crusoe must learn slowly, and painfully at times, to read spiritual significance into events. The novel then, in one sense, traces Crusoe's spiritual education, and the episode of the grain becomes central to his religious development in that it leads directly into his conversion experience, which, in turn, allows him to see the full spiritual significance of the events of his life.

Crusoe's early repentances are superficial: he is blind to Providence, or at least prefers to ignore its warnings, and he is continually guilty of the sin of pride. The importance of the grain episode in the development of the religious theme through *Robinson Crusoe* is that for the first time young Crusoe begins thinking seriously on Providence. And, it is soon after this episode that he begins praying to God. To be sure, Crusoe still blunders on irreligiously while building his fortifications and storehouse. For example, he does set up a cross on his island, but then uses it only as a calendar and even neglects to keep his Sundays, "for, omitting my mark from them on my post, I forgot which was which" (I, 80). Yet, at the same time, the eighteenth-century reader would be aware that Crusoe is approaching some kind of important religious experience, for events begin building slowly toward his conversion. He begins thinking of Providence when the grain sprouts, but he still does not turn to God. In fact, he merely blesses himself: he is proud that Providence is taking a hand in his life, but he is not properly thankful.
From this point, nature begins acting up, indicating, again through a doctrine of correspondences, that Crusoe has further spiritual tribulations to endure. Earlier storms were interpreted as "God's visible warnings," and the earthquake and hurricane that Crusoe suffers through on his island are also linked to things divine in the terrifying dream-vision that Crusoe has a short time later:

I thought that I was sitting on the ground, on the outside of my wall, where I sat when the storm blew after the earthquake, and that I saw a man descend from a great black cloud, in a bright flame of fire, and light upon the ground. He was all over as bright as a flame, so that I could but just bear to look towards him; his countenance was most inexpressibly dreadful, impossible for words to describe; when he stepped upon the ground with his feet, I thought the earth trembled, just as it had done before in the earthquake, and all the air looked, to my apprehension, as if it had been filled with flashes of fire.

He was no sooner landed upon the earth but he moved forward towards me, with a long spear or weapon in his hand, to kill me; and when he came to a rising ground, at some distance, or I heard a voice so terrible, that it is impossible to express the terror of it; all that I can say I understood was this: 'Seeing these things have not brought thee to repentance, now thou shalt die.' At which words, I thought he lifted up the spear that was in his hand, to kill me. (I, 97)

This vision, with its interesting inclusion of the previous concrete experience of a very real storm and earthquake, influences Crusoe to a final and permanent repentance. He laments, upon waking, that he has been the most "hardened" and "wicked" of men, and that he has never properly feared and venerated God. At this point he realizes the pattern of his life has been that of a sinner who has ignored all the signs of Providence: he sees that his life has been a progression of one sin after another, beginning with his "rebellious behavior" against his father, and culminating in a punishment-through-
exile on this "Island of Despair." With new insight into his condition, Crusoe has reached the center of his story, the pivotal point in his experience, and can now discern the pattern of his life and the active intercession of Providence in the events of his life.

Crusoe's conversion leads to several pages of expostulations to God--much more convincing religious acts than the brief prayers he mumbles during various storms or his landing on the island--and, most important with reference to Crusoe's new vision, a recapitulation of the major events of his life now interpreted as if Providence were playing an active part:

The growing up of the corn, as is hinted in my journal, had at first some little influence upon me, and began to affect me with seriousness, as long as I thought it had something miraculous in it; but as soon as ever that part of the thought was removed, all the impression which was raised from it wore off also, as I have noted already.

Even the earthquake, though nothing would be more terrible in its nature or more immediately directing to the invisible Power which alone directs such things, yet no sooner was the first fright over but impression it had made went off also. I had no more sense of God or His judgments, much less of the present affliction of my circumstances begin from His hand, then if I had been in the most prosperous condition of life.

This awareness of a First Cause behind the events of his life and the realization that these events were, in large part, efforts to get him to repent, helps to awaken Crusoe's conscience, and he begins seriously plumbing the depths of his own consciousness, reflecting on things divine. He reasons from postulates as basic as the existence of God, and he reconstructs, partially from memory and partially from experience, the spiritual cosmos of the Protestant religion:
Then, if followed most naturally, It is God that has made it all. Well, but then, it came on strangely, if God has made all these things, He guides and governs them all and all things that concern them; for the Power that could make all things must certainly have power to guide and direct them.

If so, nothing can happen in the great circuit of His works either without His knowledge or appointment.

(I, 102)

From this point on Crusoe notes that events happen Providentially. If his physical illness (he is quite ill at the time of his vision) is emblematic of his spiritual malaise, for he has reached his lowest physical and spiritual state, then when he goes to his chest for tobacco to cure his fever, he also finds a Bible—"a cure both for soul and body." He is Providentially directed to open his Bible to appropriate verses. His thoughts on Providence quiet his fears of savages on the island. Providence, it will be pointed out, is responsible for his acquisition of Friday, since through a dream he knows he will succeed in obtaining a companion. And finally, Crusoe tells us that Providence "had delivered me from so many unseen dangers and had kept me from those mischiefs which I could no way have been the agent in delivering myself from, because I had not the least notion of any such thing depending, or the least supposition of it being possible" (I, 193).

Finally, we are tempted to see the repentance scene as not only central to the development of a religious pattern, but also a scene from which different patterns resonate throughout the novel. On the level of characterization, for example, Crusoe's post-repentance religious reflections establish a certain consistency in his personality. Such a consistency has been with us since the
beginning of the book, but only in the moral frame imposed by the older
Crusoe who is narrating. After the repentance, the moral and
religious reflections become those of the younger Crusoe. In fact,
Crusoe never ceases reflecting on God and Providence, so that not only
is his character given consistency, but a unifying thematic concern
(i.e., to point out the workings of Providence and thus to point
didactically to a moral) becomes manifest throughout the book.
Crusoe states at one point, "These thoughts took me up many hours,
days, nay, I may say, weeks and months" (I, 174). And at another time,
"I had terrible reflections upon my mind for many months" (I, 146). Crusoe,
then, is granted an interiority by virtue of his repentance which he
did not manifest through the earlier portions of the novel.

On a level of action, Crusoe's repentance leads directly to
a further and wider exploration of the island. Before, Crusoe
was concerned primarily with isolating himself from his environment.
He built a fort to protect himself from any beasts or savages he might
encounter. He never wandered past his immediate part of the island.
Now, however, the fully repentant Crusoe comes out of his protective
physical isolation to explore the island systematically. Faith
has conquered fear, and again, the religious theme works to give an
emblematic significance to the adventure story. When Crusoe explores
his island, he discovers what amounts to an earthly paradise:

At the end of this march I came to an opening,
where the country seemed to descend to the west, and
a little spring of fresh water, which issued out of the
side of the hill by me, run the other way, that is, due
east; and the country appeared so fresh, so green, so
flourishing, everything being in a constant verdure,
or flourish of spring, that it looked like a planted
garden.
I descended a little on the side of that delicious vale, surveying it with a secret kind of pleasure (though mixed with my other afflicting thoughts), to think that this was all my own, that I was king and lord of all this country indefeasibly and had a right of possession.... I saw here abundance of cocoa trees, orange and lemon and citron trees.... (I, 110-111)

This delightful picture of *natura naturata* leads Crusoe to thank God for his deliverance onto the island, and he wishes heartily he could stay for the rest of his life. At this point, he catches himself and calls himself a hypocrite for thinking this when he would much rather be back in English society. But, on the other hand, this view of his island, and this train of thought, are a far cry from the "island of Despair" of Crusoe's first months of isolation.

Of course, the island itself has significance in the pattern of Crusoe's spiritual development. If Crusoe's original sin is in part his abandonment of the "middle station of life" in disobedience of his father, and his period of spiritual erring is emblemized in his wanderings and misfortunes, then his physical isolation on the island reflects his spiritual isolation from God. The meaning implicit here, of course, is that Crusoe being an everyman, a prodigal son, then his spiritual condition is the same as that of every other human being. Only our mariner of York is doubly afflicted: his spiritual sin results in spiritual isolation while his sin against the social order (the middle station) results in physical isolation. But, if the island is a place of isolation, then it is also a place of purgation. The island occupies the center of Crusoe's narrative just as it occupies the center of his spiritual life: the years he spends on the island are those years in which he develops his religious belief.
and his spiritual being. Just as the structural and thematic center of the Protestant spiritual autobiography is that repentance scene which leads to the spiritual development of the writer, so it is in Crusoe's narrative. And, pushing our correspondences a bit further, if the island is a place of spiritual purgation, then it can also be emblematic of the wilderness of the fallen world. As archetype, the island is a place of repose, the garden of innocence, and its praises are sung throughout literature from Pindar's description of the land of the Hyperboreans in his second Olympian to Andrew Marvell's eulogy on the Bermudas. Crusoe's own "Happy Isle" comes close at times to this garden-island, but his paradise also contains its snakes. The "garden" he discovers on his exploratory journey inland is favored by nature, yet it also contains lurking dangers. Crusoe dares not eat the grapes he finds there, for he might contract "the flux." They must be dried into raisins, but when he sets out one batch they are trampled in the night by what he assumes are "wild creatures" (I, 111-112). Finally, this edenic part of the isle is near the side where the cannibals—or "natural men"—land and hold their "savage feasts." Thus, although Crusoe calls the place a "natural garden," it is not as pleasant as it first appears, and again we are tempted to say that this part of the island represents a mere earthly Eden—illusory and full of snares for the repentant and unrepentant sinner alike.

Because of the part played by Providence in the novel, because of Defoe's apparent care in working on both a level of adventure and a religious level, and because of the obvious structural and thematic basis of Robinson Crusoe in an earlier Protestant "subliterature,"
we must agree with Nigel Dennis that "there was never a book in which God's hand was busier." Providence is present as a part of the moral frame at the beginning of the novel, it is active during Crusoe's early adventures, it intervenes all the time on the island, and it is finally present when Crusoe is delivered from his isolation:

Then I took my turn and embraced him [the captain of an English ship that has anchored at the island] as my deliverer, and we rejoiced together. I told him I looked upon him as a man sent from Heaven to deliver me, and that the whole transaction seemed to be a chain of wonders; that such things as these were the testimonies we had of a secret hand of Providence governing the world, and an evidence that the eyes of an infinite Power could search into the remotest corner of the world, and send help to the miserable whenever He pleased.

I forgot not to lift up my heart in thankfulness to Heaven; and what heart could forbear to bless Him, who had not only in a miraculous manner provided for one in such a wilderness and in such a desolate condition, but from whom every deliverance must always be acknowledged to proceed. (I, 302-03)

Providence, an entity everpresent throughout this novel, helps link parts into a whole, and allows the reader to place emblematic meanings on several of Crusoe's adventures. Also, the structural pattern of original sin and the fall, followed by exile, isolation, a conversion and repentance, and a final deliverance from sin—that pattern of the spiritual autobiography and "lives" of the Puritan saints—helps to organize the narrative into a significantly structured unit. But, at the same time, this unit lacks the precision of concrete reference which defines the allegory of the type written by John Bunyan or Edmund Spenser.
Some critics have argued that *Robinson Crusoe* is very much a spiritual allegory worthy of comparison with *The Pilgrim's Progress* (though not, perhaps, *The Faerie Queen*). Edwin B. Benjamin, for example, states that Defoe found spiritual allegory to be the form most suited to his subject:

Allegory seems to have been always congenial to the Puritan mind as a legitimate province in which the imagination might exercise itself; and although at times in the eighteenth century it came to be looked down upon as a rather crude vehicle of literary expression, it continued longer as a vital tradition in the dissenting milieu in which Defoe's mind was molded than in more advanced intellectual and literary circles. Defoe can hardly have been unaffected by the forces that shaped Bunyan and that accounted for the popularity of his allegories.21

In Benjamin's reading all of the fundamental allegorical elements of Crusoe's story are covered: Crusoe's father is God, and Crusoe's original sin is disobedience; Crusoe is expelled from Eden ("the middle station") and becomes a prodigal son, an exiled wanderer; in the allegorical wilderness of the island, he repents and duly notes his conversion in a Journal which he began originally for practical purposes but which now becomes a "Puritan" diary; and finally, Crusoe, fully repentent, is delivered from his isolation and reenters society as a member of the "middle class." Benjamin's description is general, but both he and J. Paul Hunter, another defender of the allegorical approach to *Robinson Crusoe*, can be more specific. Benjamin points to a cluster of minor symbols surrounding the repentance scene, showing that the sprouting grain is "clearly...the seeds of grace stirring in [Crusoe's] heart and sending forth their first tender sprouts." Crusoe, soon after, fashions his first earthenware pot, and Bejamin terms this pot the reborn Crusoe, stating that "dissenting circles were accustomed
to think and to express themselves in terms of 'chosen vessels' and seeds of grace or doctrine."  

However, "dissenting circles" were not the only religious groups to think and perceive in an emblematic way. Catholics, as well as Protestants, were accustomed, as Lynn White points out, to see nature "as a symbolic system through which God speaks to men: the ant is a sermon to sluggards; rising flames are the symbols of the soul's aspiration." And White goes on to remark that "This view of nature was essentially artistic rather than scientific." In Defoe's day, seeds of a metaphysical insecurity had begun to sprout, as science and materialism began to share the center stage with older religious modes of perception. Even Hunter, in arguing his allegorical interpretation of Defoe's first novel, is forced to admit that in the early eighteenth century "contemporary events and the contemporary world... operated only suggestively on man's perception, for the old precise system of analogies was gone, but even this small guide toward certitude gladdened the hearts of men bewildered by the rapidity of changes in their world."  

Just as there can be a difference between one's original intention to produce an allegory and the fact that the product ends up to be not quite what he had in mind, there can be a difference between allegory as a literary form and an emblematic way of perceiving reality. What we have been discussing in Robinson Crusoe is the presence of a general ideological orientation to the world which controls, for the most part, both the form and the content of the novel. Even assuming, with Benjamin, that certain events and objects—the sprouting grain and the pot—are granted an allegorical significance, a large portion of the
narrative is still substantially "outside" of any kind of spiritual, emblematic interpretation. And much of the delight countless readers have received from the novel since its first appearance in 1719 would remain unexplained. Defoe perhaps uses an existing literary form in a general way to unify and pattern his book, but an even more pervading formal unity can be apprehended by incorporating that other, economic, theme and pattern into our reading of Robinson Crusoe. Mr. Benjamin is led to remark that "side by side with Crusoe's physical conquest of nature is his struggle to conquer himself and to find God."25 "Side by side" does not necessarily mean "in one and the same thing" or "at one and the same time". The truth is that the focus of Crusoe's narrative begins shifting back and forth between two poles--one religious and one economic--and the larger pattern of the novel can, in part, be described as the rhythm of this shifting and interacting of themes. Thus, the more purely "economic" schemes and projects which Crusoe undertakes are generally, though in some places perhaps definitely, connected with the religious theme and form of Defoe's novel.

III. The Economic Theme

When Crusoe is washed ashore on the desert island, the fairly pervasive allegorical pattern through which previous events can be interpreted becomes generalized and diffused: the reader is never allowed to forget that Providence is actively at work in this novel, and that Crusoe is a prodigal son being punished for moral transgressions,
but the strongly felt spiritual theme with which the book begins is gradually counterpointed more and more to the practical and economic themes of the book. In other words, the assumption is this: at the beginning of the novel there exist two thematic patterns fused together—the secular and economic and the religious and allegorical. As the novel develops beyond the point where Crusoe is washed ashore, and particularly beyond the repentance scene, these two themes are counterpointed with one another; the two are still generally connected, and one does reflect on the other, but the possibility of reading the novel as a Protestant allegory falls away as Defoe focuses the reader's attention on other aspects of island existence—i.e., more practical considerations generated by the basic problem of physical survival on a desert island.

However, setting out the economic theme of Robinson Crusoe leads to several problems. Certainly, most "economic" critics of the book would hold that Defoe focuses his reader's attention on Crusoe's practicality and his struggle for survival in order to illustrate a way of perceiving the world practically and economically. Perhaps most would even go so far as to admit that Providence does manifest itself through Nature, but that is not important. Most of these critics would stress the ultimate importance in Robinson Crusoe of the idea that Nature exists only to be exploited to the fullest extent possible. Religion and beauty are not important, economics are. Thus, as Ian Watt remarks, in The Rise of the Novel, "Wherever Crusoe looks his acres cry out so loud for improvement that he has no leisure to observe that they also compose a landscape." Watt is correct, for
other of Defoe's writings support this view. In *Caledonia: A Poem in Honour of Scotland and the Scots Nation*, Defoe exhorts the Scots to improve on their native resources through application and industry:

'Tis Blasphemy to say the Climat's curst,
Nature will ne're be fruitful till she's forc't;

... Nature's a Virgin very Chast and Coy,
To court her's nonsense: If you will enjoy
She must be ravisht; when she's forc't she's free,
A perfect Prostitute to Industry.

And:

For Beauty's best described by Usefulness.

To ravish Nature is to exploit it, at least to Defoe. This leads logically back to Watt who asserts that "Crusoe's island gives him the complete *laissez-faire* which economic man needs to realise his aims." Thus, in Watt's interpretation, Crusoe lives completely the utilitarian and practical life of the economic individualist. He is the rudimentary capitalist, eternally transforming the *status quo*, and, as Watt points out, religion takes a back seat to materialism.

The problem in defining the economic theme comes when we turn to other critics' interpretations of this theme in *Robinson Crusoe*. Maximillian Novak, for example, agrees with Watt in his contention that Defoe's novel is primarily a work on economics, and that Crusoe himself is an "economic animal." In Novak's estimation, the novel is a vehicle which allows Defoe to illustrate three economic theories: "(1) a theory of invention, (2) a theory of value, and (3) an economic theory of society." But, Novak is diametrically opposed, in his economic interpretation, to Watt in that "everything in *Robinson*
Crusoe related to the calling constitutes an attack upon economic individualism." Was Defoe economically liberal (a *laissez-faire* capitalist) or conservative (a mercantilist)? How in fact did the Puritans view economics, and did Defoe view them in the same way? More fundamentally, one could ask under what economic doctrine—liberal or conservative—did Defoe tackle the problem of reconciling trade and religious morality. More pertinent to this present essay would be the question of Crusoe's own economics. What kind of perspective does Defoe give us on Crusoe and his economic practices? This again leads us back to the economic viewpoint of Defoe himself. It is far beyond the scope of this essay to even attempt complete answers to many of these questions, but, through a close look at *Robinson Crusoe* itself, we can at least approach solutions to these problems. Novak does gives us a clue when he mentions the doctrine of the calling, for it is this part of the Protestant ideology that allows us a perspective on Crusoe's early adventures while it forms a bridge between secular and spiritual concerns. Thus, in order to see how, first, the economic and religious themes work in conjunction with one another throughout the novel, we must begin with a discussion of the calling as it applies to the first part of *Robinson Crusoe*.

Crusoe's sin, as we have already seen, is his disobedience of his father and his setting out in quest of adventure and economic advancement. In so doing, young Crusoe also commits a sin in a social sense, for by leaving his specific social and economic station, he transgresses against the social order. If we go back for a moment to Crusoe's conversation with the ship's captain—occurring just after
they have been pulled from the stormy sea—we find a clear statement of this theme: "'Young man,' says he, 'you ought never to go to sea any more; you ought to take this for a plain and visible token that you are not to be a seafaring man.' 'Why sir,' said I, 'will you go to sea no more?' 'That is another case,' said he, 'it is my calling and therefore my duty....'" (I, 16). The captain goes on to advise Crusoe to return to his father's house, since they can both plainly see that "the hand of Providence" is against Crusoe.

In his speech the captain assumes that since Crusoe's calling is obviously not that of a seaman then he had best not try going to sea again, for the storm has been sent by Providence specifically to warn him against taking up that vocation. Or so thinks the captain. The eighteenth century reader knows, of course, that Crusoe has sinned against his father in a religious sense, and in so doing, has also committed a sin of pride in the secular sense: Providence is not just warning Crusoe to avoid the seaman's trade, but is acting to influence him to return to his proper social station. The proper social position is the "middle station in life." Crusoe's sin of pride, then, is still his desire to rise "faster than the nature of the things admitted," and this time in a socio-economic sense: Crusoe is the individual sinning against the status quo and consequently being punished for it.

Again, this concept of controverting the social order is very fundamentally based in the Puritan doctrine of the calling: the economic boundaries set out in this doctrine are those which Crusoe transgresses. Since the calling has already been defined in its
secular and spiritual aspects, what remains is to define the calling with particular reference to the Puritan outlook on economics, as it is our contention that Defoe wants, and even expects, his reader to see Crusoe's actions from this viewpoint. In the section previously quoted from Perkins (page 269), the Puritan divine attaches definite value to living an "honest kinde of life," and in fact summarizes the rather altruistic position of the early Puritans: a man's calling should be practised with a view to a common social good, rather than towards fulfillment of one's own selfish desires. Thus, the primary impetus behind the Puritan conception of the particular calling would be to maintain the status quo. This conflicts, however, with Ian Watt's arguments in that Watt, following the theory outlined by Max Weber in *Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus*, ties the rise of capitalism directly to the Puritan doctrine of the calling. And, in so arguing, Watt defines capitalism as a "dynamic tendency...whose aim is never merely to maintain the status quo, but to transform it incessantly."30

In actual fact, the Puritans had long maintained a more conservative outlook on economics. Richard Sibbes, for example, in *The Spirituall Man's Aime* (1637), sets up what amounts to an opposition between religion and trade:

> Now being such a skill it must direct everything so farre as it helps or hinders that...so all trades wee must tell them of their faults, as they are blemishes to Religion, for wee must not bee so in this or that trade, as that we forget we are Christians, and therefore we must heare meekly the word of God, when it meets our particular callings....31
However, as William Haller rightly remarks, the Puritan "had no reason to fear the world or run away from it. Rather he must go forth and do the will of God there." And the will of God was for man to labor and be fruitful. Sibbes, though, is still assuming the correct Puritan position in that the individual must accept his calling in meekness and humility. Also, of course, connected to this humble acceptance of the will of God is the belief that material well-being did not necessarily mean that God sanctioned that wealthy individual's particular calling, or that that person was blessed by God. "A rich man may be a good man, and a poore man may be wicked," states Thomas Adams (in 1629). "But Christ sanctified Riches as well as Povertie...." One must remember that poverty is a traditional Christian virtue, and that the poor man has as much a chance of being numbered among the elect (to some Puritan ministers, even more of a chance) as a rich man.

However, in the interim between these early Puritan writings and Defoe's Robinson Crusoe, a marked change had taken place in the structure of English society, followed by a subsequent change in Puritan "economic doctrine." Not only did the persecution of the Puritans push them more and more into the world of merchants and trade, but that business world itself was evolving out of the more traditional guild and mercantilist social structures into an open and competitive market society. As H.M. Robertson points out, in his Aspects of the Rise of Economic Individualism, the Puritans, faced with this new type of society, had to assimilate its ultimately individualist ideology into their own, and the Puritan churches had to find a place for this new, important class of hard-headed
businessmen in the ecclesiastical scheme of things. These churches (including, according to Robertson, the Anglican and Catholic churches), in accepting this new class, had "in some way to sanctify and find an otherworldly significance in their [the business class] solidity, diligence and honest respectability--characteristics which were really virtues despite their worldly origin--and to justify the aims and methods of their trade."34 Thus, a Puritan minister like Richard Baxter, writing in 1678, makes what was to become a characteristic statement on the new Puritan economic outlook:

Q. It is a duty to desire and endeavour to get, and prosper, and grow rich by our labours; when Solomon saith, Labour not to be rich? Prov. xxiii,4. 

Answ. It is a sin to desire Riches as worldlings and sensualists do, for the provision and maintenance of fleshly lusts, and pride: But it is no sin, but a duty, to labour not only for labour sake, formally resting in the act done, but for that honest increase and provision, which is the end of our labour; and therefore to choose a gainful calling rather than another, that we may be able to do good and relieve the poor.35

A Puritan can now choose "a gainful calling" and proceed to increase his possessions honestly. Also, altruism still makes up a part of this doctrine, but "relieving the poor" seems to take second place to an "honest increase and provision." And, later on in the seventeenth century, as Novak points out, "Among religious thinkers the ideal of charity began to fade.... The poverty that had once been regarded as a sign of salvation now developed into an almost certain indication of damnation."36 Puritans, in fact, could now assume that worldly success was a mark of divine favor. Even Robinson Crusoe hints at this belief at the end of the first volume of his adventures, when he refers to the "latter end of Job" being "better than the beginning" (I, 318).
Job's prosperity is a direct gift from God, a reward for not succumbing to temptation.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, then, a new economic class—a new kind of merchant with a new outlook—had emerged, and the Puritans had become very much a part of this group. Of course Watt is right to an extent: this new middle class did lean toward a concept of "economic individualism:"

Capitalism brought a great increase of economic specialization; and this, combined with a less rigid and homogeneous social structure, and less absolutist and more democratic political system, enormously increased the individual's freedom of choice. For those fully exposed to the new economic order, the effective entity on which social arrangements were now based was no longer the family, nor the church, nor the guild, nor the township, nor any other collective unit, but the individual: he alone was primarily responsible for determining his own economic, social, political and religious roles.37

Watt's description of the new capitalist ethic should be somewhat tempered, however, when discussing the economic outlook of the Puritans, even after they had successfully assimilated themselves into the rising economic society. It is true that the long-standing democratic tradition of individualism—set out originally in the "Liberty Tracts" composed during the Puritan Revolution and carried on in subsequent Leveller pamphlets—in Puritan ideology would make the transition into a secular individualism fairly easy, and that the concept of the calling could be easily modified to assimilate new political and economic doctrines. However, Watt still exaggerates the whole-hearted acceptance, by Puritans, of the basic concerns of capitalism—i.e., to be eternally transforming the status quo. The Puritan "capitalist" is still concerned with the maintenance of a social
order. Or, perhaps it would be more accurate to say that later Puritan writers, those of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, tend to assume a more reasoned, middle-of-the-road position—not necessarily conservative, but opposed to any radical changes in the fundamental, unifying concepts of the status quo. It would be of importance to note here that Defoe himself is cited by H.M. Robertson as an example of the conservative Puritan outlook, and that both Maximillian Novak and William Payne, the former arguing primarily from pamphlet evidence and the latter from Defoe's Review, come to the conclusion that Defoe was a mercantilist—a conservative, in other words, for the most part opposed to the laissez-faire school of economic individualism. Payne does see elements of a laissez-faire attitude in Defoe, but concludes by labelling him a mercantilist:

In his preoccupation with credit as a substitute for a bullion economy, his arguments for high wages, his disapproval of workhouses, his belief in competition, expansion of trade, and the free movement of labor he foreshadowed the coming laissez faire philosophy. On the other hand, in his eagerness for a favorable balance of trade, his emphasis on the value of bullion and coin, his approval of chartered colonial companies, his insistence on the importance of colonial trade, and the need of fostering it; in his emphasis on a large population kept busily employed, in his contempt, even hatred, for speculation, he placed himself directly in the stream of mercantilist philosophy, and might well be called a "thorough-going mercantilist."

Besides the evidence Novak and Payne cite in their arguments, one of Defoe's own first publications tends to support the conservative view of economics. In his Essay Upon Projects, written about twenty-two years before Robinson Crusoe, he condemns economic foolishness and the errors of "projecting" while he praises practicality, level-headedness, and reason:
Man is the worst of all God's Creatures to shift for himself; no other Animal is ever starv'd to death; Nature without, has provided them both Food and Cloaths; and Nature within has plac'd an Instinct that never fails to direct them to proper means for a supply; but Man must either Work or Starve, Slave or Dye; he has indeed Reason given him to direct them, and few who follow the Dictates of the Reason come to such unhappy Exigencies; but when by the Errors of Man's Youth he has reduc'd himself to such a degree of Distress, as to be absolutely without Three things, Money, Friends, and Health, he Dies in a Ditch, or in some worse place, an Hospital.

The "Errors of Man's Youth" are, of course, illustrated in Robinson Crusoe. On the other hand, what the reasonable man should assume is that only through slow, progressive labor, diligence, and application, and through well-reasoned decision, will one rise in the world to a place beneficial both to oneself and to society at large. This, in fact, is one of the most prevalent and long-lasting themes in all of Defoe's writings, for in one of his last works, The Complete English Tradesman, he returns to this same basic idea: "A Man that will be still, should never hope to rise; he that will lie in a Ditch and pray, may depend upon it he shall be in the Ditch and die."

To Defoe, then, application and diligence did not mean ruthless competition in the chaotic world of stock-jobbing, speculating and "open-market" trading. Rather, the tradesman is a sort of spiritual father to both his peers and the lower classes. Again in The Complete English Tradesman, Defoe sings praises to the merchant:

He is, in the first place, a kind of natural magistrate in the town where he lives; and all the little causes, which in matters of trade are innumerable, and which often, for want of such a judge, go on to suits at law, and so ruin the people concerned in them by the expense, the delay, the wounds in substance, and the wounds in reputation, which they often bring with them: I say all these causes are brought before him; and he not only hears and determines them, but in many of them his determination shall be as effectual
among the contending tradesmen, and his vote as
decisive, as that of any lord chancellor whatever.

He is the general peacemaker of the country, the
common arbitrator of all trading differences, family
breaches, and private injuries; and, in general, he is
the domestic judge, in trade especially; and by this he
gains a general respect, an universal kind of reverence,
in all the families about him, and he has the blessings
and prayers of poor and rich.

Again; he is the trade-counsellor of the country where
he lives. It must be confessed, in matters of commerce,
lawyers make but very poor work, when they come to be
consulted about the little disputes which continually
happen among tradesmen; and are so far from setting
things to rights, that they generally, by their ignorance
in the usage and customs of trade, make breaches wider
rather than close them, and leave things worse than they
find them.

Thus he is, in a word, a kind of common peacemaker,
and is the father of the trading world in the orb or
circle wherein he moves; his presence has a kind of
peacemaking aspect in it and he is more necessary than
a magistrate, whether he is in office or not.42

This panegyric describes not a real tradesman, but an ideal one—a
model which every merchant should emulate. The model tradesman is a
force for order in his society: he does not seek to destroy any
competitor's business, rather he fairly arbitrates disputes and is
looked upon as an ideal social being. He has, in other words, quietly
and contentedly assumed his social position and maintains that position
for the good not only of himself, but for everyone else around him.
He is not eternally transforming the status quo.

The young Crusoe is in complete contrast to this figure of ease,
stability, and reason. If a diligent application of oneself to one's
calling should result in a steady rise in one's fortune coupled with
one's acceptance of a specific social position, then the young Crusoe,
in letting his rash desire to rise quickly control his actions, embarks
on a series of foolish ventures which the Protestant moral cosmos must
naturally punish. Thus, Crusoe's sin is both religious and social: he disobeys his figurative spiritual father and becomes a prodigal, and he disobeys his literal father and becomes a foolish projector of get-rich-quick schemes. Instead of rising slowly to his own economic and social position, he decides to rise quickly on his own, paying no heed to his father, to the ship's captain, or to his own religious background:

But my ill fate pushed me on now with an obstinacy that nothing could resist; and though I had several times loud calls from my reason and my more composed judgment to go home, yet I had no power to do it. I know not what to call this, nor will I urge that it is a secret overruling decree that hurries us on to be the rash instruments of our own destruction, even though it be before us, and that we rush upon it with our eyes open. (I, 15)

And, a bit further, Crusoe calls his "ill fate" "That evil influence which carried me first away from my father's house, that hurried me into the wild and indigested notion of raising my fortune, and that impressed those conceits so forcibly upon me as to make me deaf to all good advice and to the entreaties and even command of my father...." (I, 17-18).

By thus moralizing on an economic basis, Crusoe is pointing to a significant connection between morals and trade. In the fictional world of this novel, the prodigal son must learn to be a rational economic creature just as he must gain that important commitment to a religious belief. Thus, the idea of the Bildungsroman underpins and connects both themes—economic and religious: Crusoe must learn proper respect for society and for his position in society just as he must learn proper respect for God. To see this connection clearly, let us
go again to the early sections of *Robinson Crusoe*.

As I have already indicated, the didactic purpose of the first pages of *Robinson Crusoe* is to show that youthful sins result in terrible punishments. But, Crusoe is successful at least twice before he is shipwrecked on the island. His successes at this early stage, however, are qualified, and both cases serve to support the moral vision of the narrator. On his third voyage, Crusoe makes £300 through trading, a profit of something over 500% on his original investment of £40. However, this one successful venture, states Crusoe, "filled me with those aspiring thoughts which have since so completed my ruin." He sets himself up as "a Guinea trader" and on his next voyage is captured by Moorish pirates, becomes a slave in their city, Salee. And, as George Starr has pointed out, captivity in Salee, or in other of the Moorish pirate towns, had become emblematic in seventeenth-century travel literature, of a sojourn in Hell and consequently as a punishment for a sinful life. Thus, as in *Colonel Jack*, *Roxana*, and *Moll Flanders*, Crusoe's overreaching results in disaster. He does eventually escape, and after drifting down the coast of Africa, he is picked up by an honest Portuguese captain who generously helps him become a plantation owner in Brazil. The plantation prospers, and Crusoe ironically discovers that he is fast approaching that "very middle station, or upper degree of low life" which his father had praised as his proper calling: "...and I used often to say to myself, I could ha' done this as well in England among my friends as ha' gone 5,000 miles off to do it among strangers and savages in a wilderness...." (I, 39). But this state is not destined to last, for Crusoe longs for
more wealth and adventure: "And now increasing in business and wealth, my head began to be full of projects and undertakings beyond my reach; such as are indeed often the ruin of the best heads in business" (I, 41). His next project is a slaving expedition which ends with the shipwreck, the death of all the crew save Crusoe, and his subsequent isolation on the island.

Again, the reader is not surprised at the shipwreck, for Crusoe has carefully prefigured the incident. In fact, while he is still discussing his Brazilian plantation life, he gives the reason for this further punishment, and again, punishment results from a transgression of socio-economic boundaries:

....I lived just like a man cast away upon some desolate island that had nobody there but himself. But how just has it been, and how should all men reflect, that when they compare their present conditions with others that are worse, Heaven may oblige them to make the exchange and be convinced of their former felicity by their experience; I say, how just has it been, that the truly solitary life I reflected on in an island of mere desolation should be my lot, who had so often unjustly compared it with the life which I then led, in which had I continued, I had in all probability been exceeding prosperous and rich. (I, 39)

Here the "felicitous state" is equated with simply staying put and rising slowly and reasonably. But Crusoe must be off to sea again on another foolish project. Thus, he is, in the "pre-island" part of his Adventures, an "economic individualist"--a capitalist--out for personal gain. However, within the moral framework of the novel the reader clearly perceives that each time Crusoe tries to overextend himself he is destined to fall. Providence will not allow Crusoe to be guilty again of religious or economic hybris. The point of this novel
is, then, that the good man (or "Puritan") must do his best to assimilate himself into the existing social and moral order, because in so doing, he is obeying God's will. When, conversely, he attempts to overextend himself—to become a capitalist transforming the *status quo*—he is disobeying God's will and must be punished. Of course when Crusoe is isolated on the island he is certainly still an economic individualist: he is literally isolated from the society of men and concerned ("economically" speaking) with his own survival. It is exactly because of this isolation that critics interpret Defoe's thematic purpose as the recreation of an ideal economic Utopia modeled on the existing social and economic situation in England at that time. At least, both Watt and Novak argue for this interpretation. But Novak, at least, goes on to indicate a further moral interpretation: while on his island, Crusoe learns humility, and consequently carves out a place for himself in the natural order, becomes a projector but at this time, as Novak seems to indicate, with practicality and diligence as goals, not selfish economic gain. On the island, then, Crusoe's projecting goes hand in hand with his moral development, and again, the repentance scene is central to this interpretation of the book.

We have already seen that before Crusoe actually repents of his sins and begins his introspective, religious soul-searching, he keeps to his own immediate part of the island. Likewise, his economic projects tend to be short-term and based more on immediate needs. His first major project, for example, is an attempt to salvage material from the ship: his "extremity" (he spent the night in a tree) arouses his "application," and he constructs a raft to carry back to the island all
that he can reclaim. In fact, Crusoe is methodical—more than previously, at any rate—in what he does save, showing a practical turn of mind. He first removes provisions, including some corn, clothes and tools, then ammunition and arms. He even methodically lists the "three encouragements" to his project: "1. A smooth, calm sea. 2. The tide rising and setting in to the shore. 3. What little wind there was blew me towards the land...." (I, 56). Such careful considerations speak highly of Crusoe's practicality and diligence, and when he returns to his island in his *Farther Adventures*, it is just this attitude that the Spanish settlers praise the most. They tell Crusoe that they could do nothing but despair when shipwrecked, and they realize that this was definitely the wrong attitude. An old Spaniard remarks to Crusoe:

...that it was not the Part of wise Men to give up themselves to their Misery, but always to take Hold of the Helps which Reason offer'd, as well for present Support, as for future Deliverance. He told me that Grief was the most senseless insignificant Passion in the World; for that it regarded only Things past, which were generally impossible to be recall'd, or to be remedy'd, but had no View to Things to come, and had no Share in any Thing that looked like Deliverance, but rather added to the Affliction, than propos'd a Remedy.... He ran on then in Remarks upon all the little Improvements I had made in my Solitude; my unweary'd Application, as he call'd it.... (II, 108)

Crusoe's actions in the few months following the shipwreck indicate that he has taken the first step to becoming a balanced, integrated human being. From being a person of pure passion, a projector of foolish schemes, Crusoe has graduated to being a man of Reason: he has, in the language of Renaissance, moved up from the vegetative soul (Caliban, the natural man) to the rational soul. And this move up can, in fact, be taken as the first step in Crusoe's development
to a spiritual rebirth, a step which is indicated primarily through an "economic" aspect of the novel. Before, Crusoe acted upon impulse, but in the extremity of his isolation he must use reason. Impulse, in fact, has no further control over Crusoe's actions, for it is now only through reason that he can possibly accept his situation and do the best he can in order to survive.

Thus, Crusoe daily improves his fortifications and explores the immediate part of his island. He discovers goats on the island, and through close study of goat behavior and theorizing on goat optics, he finds he is able to kill them for food. He begins building a table and chair but finds he is a sorry workman, being merely a "natural mechanic." What is important is that Crusoe gradually begins, through reason, to order his projects, his routine, and finally, his environment: "So I went to work; and here I must needs observe, that as reason is the substance and original of the mathematics, so by stating and squaring everything by reason and by making the most rational judgment of things, every man may be in time master of every mechanic art" (I, 77). And, a bit later, when he begins his Journal, he notes in an entry for November 4, "This morning I began to order my times of work, of going out with my gun, time of sleep, and time of diversion" (I, 79). He then lists his daily activities and the times he has allotted for each. The Journal itself is important since it indicates Crusoe's desire for an orderly, daily record of what he has done, besides the fact that it allows him, for a while at any rate, to keep track of the date. Finally, as he sets his provisions in order, he takes "great pleasure...to see all my goods in such order and especially my stock of all necessaries so great" (I, 76).
Almost as soon as Crusoe lands on his island, he exhibits a "rage for order." After a brief period of despair and despondency, his practical nature gains control, so that by the time his repentance takes place, he has already secured himself fairly well from danger and has exhibited a diligent application that will allow him to survive for twenty-eight years on a desert island. Reason, then, has reduced the environment, for the most part, to an order that suits Crusoe's convenience; Crusoe is able to give shape and purpose to nature and has thus moved up from the passionate, almost brutish behavior (in a moral and religious sense) he displayed throughout his early adventures.

But, faith is still needed before the earth will yield to Crusoe the harvest that will truly sustain him; i.e., faith will give him that vision of Providence actively participating in his life which will quash his fears (those that Reason will not eradicate) and will result in Crusoe's spiritual conquest of himself—a victory which parallels his conquest of the natural environment. Actually, the shipwreck itself is a kind of minor fulcrum in Crusoe's moral growth: impulse drops away as reason takes over. But the repentance scene is the major fulcrum of the novel—the pivotal point in Crusoe's moral and intellectual growth—for he finds the faith that will bolster his reason and which will result in a change in his pattern of behavior and a change in his outlook towards his island environment.

First, since the acquisition of faith means, to the Protestant, an acknowledgement of the existence of God and a realization that God cares for the particular, individual soul, then Crusoe knows that Providence has taken a special interest in him and is influencing the
events in his life. In psychological terms, this new knowledge of Providence, coupled with a spiritual rebirth, allows Crusoe to overcome his fear of nature and consequently to expand both his discoveries and his projects. George Starr, in his discussion of Robinson Crusoe and its relation to spiritual autobiography, comments on just this aspect of Crusoe's behavior.

At various points [after his repentance] he experiences 'frights' and 'consternations'; some of them are fully as harrowing as the 'strange surprizing adventures' that preceded his conversion and perhaps more so, since he had then been callous towards dangers and deliverances alike. Now, however, he becomes better able to confront new hazards, and to dispel their terrors, for he gains security from the conviction that he is an object of Providential care. In other words, it is not that his belief shields him from further vicissitudes, but that such vicissitudes either fail to discompose him or else agitate him only when he forgets he is under divine protection.44

We have already seen that Crusoe begins to explore his entire island, but he now also considers himself as "lord and king" of his domain (I, 111). He builds a bower near the middle of the island, begins seriously keeping the Sabbath, and starts his large projects for mastering and taming the environment. He learns the seasons; plants barley; manufactures tables, chairs, baskets, and pots; discovers turtles; tames a goat. One could, of course, argue that given the amount of time Crusoe spends on his island, he would naturally evolve to this level of conquest and exploitation. However, Crusoe himself is careful to point out that his awareness of a beneficent Providence has calmed his fears: "...therefore I acquiesced in the dispositions of Providence, which I began now to own and to believe, ordered everything for the best; I say, I quieted my mind with this, and left afflicting myself with fruitless wishes...." (I, 120). And, J. Paul
Hunter points directly to the overall significance of Crusoe's conversion when he remarks, "Emblematically, Crusoe has beaten the sword of his vision into the ploughshare of his experience." However, these statements should be qualified. Upon repenting, Crusoe is not immediately transformed into a paragon of "economic" brilliance: he is not, in other words, an allegorical stick figure either in an economic or a religious sense, but defines himself as much through his mistakes as through his successes. Crusoe learns slowly and painfully through experience, from his account of the number of clay pots he attempts before he produces one he can call a functional success, to probably his best-known mistake, the manufacture of a periagua, which is a direct result of his newly acquired exploratory zeal. Hitting upon the idea of a canoe pleases Crusoe no end, and he immediately chooses a "vast tree" which he must hollow out. He spends thirty-four days cutting the tree down and hacking away its branches. It takes another month to hollow, shape and dub it, and then—and only then—does he realize that he can never get it to the water: "But all my devices to get it into the water failed me; though they cost me infinite labor, too. It lay about one hundred yards from the water, and not more. But the first inconvenience was, it was uphill towards the creek; well, to take away this discouragement, I resolved to dig into the surface of the earth, and so make a declivity...." (I, 141). However, he realizes that he cannot even move the heavy boat. He decides to build a canal but then realizes that that project would cost him ten to twelve years labor. At the dismal end of this venture Crusoe realizes he has allowed eagerness and "fancy" to prevail, and he sees "the folly of beginning a work before we count the cost and before we judge rightly of our own
strength to go through with it" (I, 141-142). But, in the final analysis, perhaps it is Providence that watched over this project and saved Crusoe from committing a greater folly, for after he reasons awhile on this latest project, he concludes that had he finished the canoe he would have embarked on "the maddest voyage and the most unlikely to be performed that ever was undertaken" (I, 141). The important point is that Providence helps Crusoe to help himself. In spite of his seeming stupidity, he learns from his mistakes, and necessity and a new-found spirit of adventure (this time within the dictates of common sense and Christian faith) compel him on to new projects and new mistakes.

If, on the other hand, we follow Novak's more secular approach to this novel, necessity alone gives birth to society by destroying sloth. And Novak points out that Crusoe's primary aim is to "recreate upon the microcosm of his island the standard of existence of Western civilization in his day—to duplicate in the existence of one man all the useful products required by the human race for comfort and convenience."

Therefore, the more properly economic themes of Robinson Crusoe are "That labor and invention create things of use and that the value of things depends on their utility...."46 Defoe, Novak suggests, is telling his readers that their concept of society is in fact based upon their society's theories of value and utility: a given society tends to value things for their usefulness, and their value varies according to their utility. This holds true for Western European civilization just as it holds true for the one-man society that Crusoe creates on his island. This idea, then, is the economic theme of the book. However, a careful reading of Defoe's novel will show, as we indicated above,
that the religious theme functions just as much in the economic sphere of the book as it does in the adventure sphere. If necessity compels Crusoe to take up his various projects, then Providence certainly gives him an added impetus. Thus it is that the repentance scene is crucial to both the religious and the economic themes. But the economic theme also develops a pattern of its own, and this is one reason we cannot read Crusoe's account as a strict religious allegory. The economic pattern detaches itself from time to time from the religious theme to create its own narrative rhythm. The reader becomes aware of a kind of "rhythm of project" which is counterpointed to the more general spiritual and moral pattern.

In general terms, this economic pattern evolves logically through (1) the realization of a problem, (2) projected solutions and a decision on a single course of action, (3) the solution of the problem which may, in turn, breed (4) new problems. For example, after Crusoe has constructed his shelter, he faces a general problem: since he cannot live forever on the ship's stores, how can he obtain food? This basic problem breeds several solutions: raise barley, harvest grapes, kill goats, and so on. However, the barley must be planted at a certain time, otherwise the crop will fail (as it does once). The project then involves a study of the climate and the seasons, so the barley can be planted accordingly. Then, of course, one must reap, thresh, grind, and store the grain. Each phase requires new projects, creating, in effect, a web of economic schemes. The same pattern develops with the grapes and the goats. Proceeding through reason from phase to phase of his projects, creating new projects along
the way, and eventually achieving an ordered and patterned life on the
island—all of these create that sense of excitement in the reader.
And finally, Crusoe manages to create that status quo—an economic
stability—which allows him ample security and gives him that sense
of true accomplishment in which the reader shares. By the time
Crusoe discovers the print of a man's foot on the beach (which throws
him into great consternation by reviving his fears of cannibals), he has
a large and prospering goat herd, fields of planted grain, considerable
grape harvests, and two "plantations," as he calls them. He is a
competent carpenter, farmer, baker, potter and jack-of-all trades, and
he is continually employed in just keeping his projects going.

At about the same time that Crusoe finishes developing his
pattern of existence on his island, he discovers traces of the
cannibal feasts on the side of the island opposite to where he had
originally washed ashore. If he had made this discovery before the
time of his repentance, he undoubtedly would have been "taken quite
affright," perhaps running to his "fortress" and cowering there for
several days. However, at the same time that his routine becomes
organized and he tames the natural environment, his moral character
has developed and deepened. And just as his religious reflections
have given his economic activity a new meaning, granting to his tasks
and his products what amounts to a glow of spiritual significance,
so has his fear of the natural environment and all it contains diminished
considerably. Thus, when he discovers traces of the cannibals on this
far side of the island, he shows absolutely no fear at all. Rather, all
his "apprehensions were buried in the thought of such a pitch of
inhuman, hellish brutality, and the horror of the degeneracy of human
nature" (I, 182). He vomits, but more from disgust than from fear, and then he gives thanks to God that he "was distinguished from such dreadful creatures" (I, 183). Crusoe does, on the other hand, exhibit a great amount of fear when he discovers more recent evidence of cannibals visiting the island—i.e., the discovery of the footprint on the beach—but by that time, the reader is so aware of Crusoe's own religious nature that this reaction seems nothing more than a slight relapse. Indeed, Crusoe's immediate impulse is to destroy the order he has so carefully constructed. But again, it is his religion that saves the economic basis of his existence.

After reflecting once again on Providence, Crusoe is inspired to make certain small changes in his life style. He takes "all the measures human prudence could suggest," and plans for new fortifications, devises a hidden pasture for his goats, and uses charcoal for his cooking fires so no flame will be seen. While rearranging his environment he continually turns to his Bible for inspiration, meditates on Providence, and, in this manner, he presents—in the midst of his considerations on projects—his strongest statements on Providence and its actions in his life:

I then reflected that God, who was not only righteous but omnipotent, as He had thought fit thus to punish and afflict me, so He was able to deliver me; that if He did not think to do it, "twas my unquestioned duty to resign myself absolutely and entirely to His will; and on the other hand, it was my duty also to hope in Him, pray to Him, and quietly to attend the dictates and directions of His daily providence. (I, 174)

Because of these reflections, Crusoe is able to "rise cheerfully" and go about turning his new schemes into realities. Religion masters fear, reasons overcomes impulse, and economic optimism triumphs. The moral,
accordingly to Crusoe, is:

''tis never too late to be wise; and I cannot but advise all considering men, whose lives are attended with such extraordinary incidents as mine, or even though not so extraordinary, not to slight such secret intimations of Providence, let them come from what invisible intelligence they will, that I shall not discuss and perhaps not account for; but certainly they are a proof of the converse of spirits and the secret communication between those embodied and those unembodied; and such a proof as can never be withstood. (I, 194)

Thus religion comes to Crusoe's aid, allowing him the presence of mind—the wisdom—needed to effect his more purely economic projects. Though Crusoe begins in sin, he "grows up" on his island, and the Puritan ideology which he internalizes—which gives him this faith and wisdom—sanctions his projects. Even though the economic pattern at times achieves a kind of independence from the religious theme, Crusoe is always anxious to point the reader back to a moral and religious perspective. Thus, Crusoe's endeavors have meaning not only on a mundane level, but on a spiritual level as well. For as Martin Greif remarks, Defoe's hero "is enabled through the gift of divine grace to contribute to his own physical survival on the island." So, even if Ian Watt, in proving his economic interpretation of Robinson Crusoe, points out that Friday is the "advent of new manpower," and that relations between Friday and Crusoe are completely "utilitarian," the reader is still aware of the importance of a Christian ideology throughout this section of the book. Crusoe's rescue of Friday is foretold in a dream—a "secret intimation" of Providence. In fact, after this dream, Crusoe decides his next project will be to obtain a servant, but when he actually makes the rescue he is "called plainly by Providence to save this poor Creature's life" (I, 224). Certainly the advent of
Friday on the island is of great utilitarian value to Crusoe, but it also allows him to practice his Christianity: he converts Friday and in so doing strengthens the impact of his own conversion. Crusoe is able to extend his own ethical being and thus give the lie to a solely economic interpretation of the book by proving that his own spirituality is not merely "mechanical," or the author's afterthought to improve the novel's sales among the moral element of the English population. This religious theme is an intrinsic part of the narrative structure and thematic patterning of the book itself, and an important part of Defoe's original moral intention in writing *Robinson Crusoe*.

§v. Structure

It is possible to discuss the structure of *Robinson Crusoe* on three levels: the level of paratactic structure which is analogous to the pattern of the picaresque and adventure stories; the formalistic pattern of two interacting themes; and a structure somewhat analogous to that of the *Bildungsroman* wherein the reader sees the education and growth of the main character's mind. To be sure, these structural levels are not completely isolated from one another. They are connected first through the controlling consciousness of the narrator, second through the type of "double vision" discussed earlier, and third through the main character's spiritual growth. It is because of the latter that Crusoe is able to articulate the patterns of emblematic reference which structure the book on the second and third levels. Thus, these structural patterns are models which will indicate the existence of
a certain logic of construction in Crusoe's story. This present section will attempt to describe briefly these levels, beginning with the simplest, the paratactic structure. The last level—that based on the way Crusoe himself perceives reality—is the most complex since it involves both a pattern of ideas and an epistemology which merit further exploration in the next chapter. Therefore, this last level will be described here simply as a basic structural pattern and only insofar as it relates to the other patterns in the book.

A paratactic pattern is that in which a given text is dissolved into a series of discrete episodes. The narrative, in fact, tends toward fragmentation rather than integration. Thus, this type of structure is basic to adventure and picaresque stories wherein the account usually proceeds scene by scene with little or no direct causal relationship between two successive "scenes" or "adventures." Such a pattern is unified only through the existence of a main character who "travels" through these scenes and around whom (though not always) the action centers. In Robinson Crusoe, the narrative is thus fragmented on at least two levels. First, the reader follows the hero through scene after scene and, indeed, if he reads Robinson Crusoe as merely an adventure narrative, he can see little causal or thematic connection between the scenes except that they are narrated sequentially by a single, central character. Second, the novel breaks up into three large chunks: Crusoe's series of early adventures, his island sojourn, and his later travels between the time of his deliverance and his return to England. Again, outside of the fact that these sequences are narrated by Crusoe, there seems, on this level of pure adventure, to be very little intrinsic connection between the sections,
and if we were reading Robinson Crusoe as a simple adventure story, then this would be our final word on structure.

However, it is obvious from our discussion of Defoe's novel thus far that Crusoe's adventures are meant to be read emblematically. In other words, the adventures are given a significance which transcends the paratactic level of structure, so that the form of the book is, in part, this further signification of the event, situation, and even object, which transcends the mundane pattern of adventure. The fact that most of the adventures can be described as economic in one way or another, and also as significant in a religious sense, leads to the postulate that a truer way of describing the structure of Robinson Crusoe would be to see these two themes as interacting with one another through the narrative.

With specific reference to Defoe's novel, let us define this concept of an interaction of themes as two themes running alongside each other, reflecting upon one another, and crossing at different points in the narrative. We have already seen, for example, that the economic and religious themes are fused together in the opening pages of the novel: Crusoe's original sin and subsequent punishments can be read on both religious and socio-economic levels. These two themes divide during the island section of the narrative, but in this case division is not opposition, rather it is a counterpointing and reflecting. The narrative focus shifts from economics to religion and then back again. This shifting results, as we have seen, in the two themes interacting with one another, thus achieving a pattern of interaction. Crusoe's economic projects are punctuated by his reflections on God's beneficence, and, in parallel fashion, religion influences economics
just as economics reflect back on religion. Crusoe feels that he owes his economic success—his progress in transforming a wild and natural environment to his own uses—to that Providence which bolsters his faith and courage and allows him to discover his own initiative. Crusoe carefully points this out many times in his narrative: "I frequently sat down to my meat with thankfulness and admired the hand of God's providence, which had thus spread my table in the wilderness" (I, 143). And, "These reflections made me very sensible of the goodness of Providence to me and very thankful for my present condition, with all its hardships and misfortunes" (I, 144). It is because of God's will that Crusoe comes to the island, and through God's will he eventually gains control over his situation, realizing, as A.D. McKillop puts it, "within natural limits and with comparative innocence man's desire for domination." 49

Thus, Crusoe's achievement comes about partly through his own initiative (although its development is influenced by Providence, it is still primarily Crusoe's own) and partly through a curious confluence of events which strongly indicate a Providential hand at work. Through faith Crusoe gains initiative, purpose, and significance, and with the help of Providence he achieves economic success and eventually deliverance from his island. Trade and morality, then, are not necessarily opposed to one another in Robinson Crusoe. Rather, Crusoe must learn to control his inclinations to adventure and trade by realizing and internalizing an essentially Christian morality. This morality, Defoe implies, will allow Crusoe to live comfortably and at ease in the world.
Coming to a realization of Christian morality involves, of course, a learning process, and this, in turn, suggests the final level of unification in structure. Each structural level discussed so far has been inadequate in one way or another. First, the paratactic level does not take into account the pattern of emblematic signification and the "archetypal" reenactment of the prodigal son story. The concept of an interaction between two themes moves us one step closer to this reading of the novel, but it does not take fully enough into account the controlling and growing consciousness of Crusoe himself. Still, this pattern of interaction does suggest this growth, for as Martin Price asserts:

Defoe achieves the most fundamental dramatization of his industry. The forming of the pot has been likened to the forming of a soul, and the analogy can be accepted without overemphasis. The book relates Crusoe's mastery of nature to his mastery of self; the outward island and the inward jungle are, to some extent, counterparts, yet at a level of symbolism that needs no insistence and is more readily sensed than identified.50

The ordering of Crusoe's "inward jungle" operates, generally, as a pattern of growth through the novel. As Crusoe proceeds from impulses and passion (note the number of references to "wild" and "foolish" "notions" in the pre-island part of his adventures) through reason (diligent application) to faith, he gradually masters his environment. His control of his passions makes him not only a complete man, but also a leader of men. He proves successful in both recapturing a ship on which the crew has mutinied and in leading a party of men through the Pyrenees where he displays such a cool head in actions against large pack of hungry wolves that he is made "captain" of the
group. This battle with the wolves serves to bring out those qualities which Crusoe has developed while on the island: his ability to deal with the natural environment in a rational way, his courage due to his acquisition of faith, and finally his qualities of leadership.

Crusoe, by the end of his story, has internalized those qualities of being which Defoe assigns to the "complete tradesman." Crusoe has learned to control his impulsive behavior and to be a "natural magistrate" among men.

Thus, *Robinson Crusoe* is a significant structural unit, patterned generally along the lines of a spiritual autobiography with its conventional sin-exile-redemption-grace structure, each element of which conforms to a stage in Crusoe's moral growth. At the end of his story Crusoe assimilates himself back into society, assuming the very "middle station of life" which he broke away from in the beginning.

The structure of the novel, then, is well balanced in three parts—each part significant in the pattern of spiritual growth. The early adventures show Crusoe sinning and in exile; the central portion of the narrative—Crusoe on his island—develops the theme of spiritual growth and contains what I have termed the major fulcrum of the novel, the repentance scene; the final portion of the novel shows a new Crusoe emerging from the island experience, a Crusoe who is the complete antithesis to the young man who first set out on his "foolish adventures." Finally, through the system of emblemism, the events, situations, objects, and even characters described in this novel all work to drive the theme home. There is, in other words, a more or less complete integration of all the narrative elements in *Robinson Crusoe*.
But structure itself is perhaps only a metaphor for a larger ideological vision. At least this is what our study so far would seem to indicate. Defoe is articulating a Protestant vision of reality and experience, and this vision of reality makes up the structure of the novel. At the center of Defoe's own imaginative vision, as it is projected in *Robinson Crusoe*, is a conception of human experience as an economic and moral struggle defined very much within the context of an eighteenth-century middle class ideology. It is not enough to say, with Robert Donovan, that "The world of Defoe's imagination is a projection of economic society," and that "the practical choices thrust upon his characters are dictated by economic necessities." These choices are also dictated by a moral framework which conditions that economic outlook. Crusoe himself, then, is emblematic of his society in a more metaphysical sense, for we have hinted at a deeper epistemology and doctrine of ideas which form the theoretical and ideological basis to *Robinson Crusoe*. Any final unification of trade and morality can be achieved only when we see *Robinson Crusoe* as embodying in concrete (though fictional) experience the abstract eighteenth century concepts of man and society. This relationship is what the next chapter will explore.
CHAPTER III

Philosophy and Knowledge in Robinson Crusoe

1. Introduction

In the eleventh century, A.D., an Arab philosopher, Ibn Tufail, wrote a book entitled *Hayy ibn Yakzān* after the name of its main character. This fictional narrative traces the life of Yakzān through a series of seven-year cycles as he grows and matures on an isolated desert island. Ernst Behler has recently discussed this work, and claims that these cycles perform two functions: first, they give a definite over-all structural rhythm to the book; second, this rhythm indicates the growth of the main character's mind through four stages—"the discovery of the science of life," "the discovery of the higher world," "the discovery of ecstasy," and "the discovery of mankind." Behler also indicates that the plan of Tufail's work is very roughly analogous to the plan of *Robinson Crusoe*, though differences in particular themes and intentions are apparent.1 If, however, we follow the pattern of Yakzān's mental and spiritual development, we can see certain general analogies with the development of Robinson Crusoe's character. When Crusoe is shipwrecked on his island, he begins studying the science of existence; necessity leads him to evolve certain projects upon which his very survival depends, and this is the "discovery of the science of life." Crusoe has already lived the life of a sinful creature—a "brutish" human—so this "science"
is the first step to a "higher vision." The dreams and eventual 
repentance of Crusoe, which bring him to a knowledge of Providential 
care and of the existence of God, could correspond to the discoveries 
of "a higher world" and of "ecstasy." In a way, the coming of Friday 
to the island represents a "rediscovery" of mankind, since this section 
of Defoe's novel parallels the advent of another human, Abdal, on 
Yakzān's island. Just as Crusoe teaches Friday the fundamental tenets 
of the Christian religion, so Yakzān teaches Abdal the universal 
knowledge he has gained through his development of natural reason 
and contemplation. It is in this manner that Yakzān reveals a 
concordance of reason and religion, just as Crusoe solidifies his 
own faith by reasoning out Christian doctrine with Friday.

At this point, however, the correspondence between the two books 
breaks down. When Yakzān and Abdal return to civilization with the 
intention of preaching truth to mankind, they realize, upon making that 
attempt, that they can never enlighten their fellows. Yakzān sees 
"that there are varying degrees of insight, that the majority of men 
have no access to his own vision, and that the words of their prophet 
already contain within themselves the highest possible measure of 
truth, to which nothing can be added."² Crusoe, however, successfully 
reintegrates himself into society, settling down in the middle station 
and enjoying his accumulated wealth.

There are other differences between the two books. Yakzān 
is supposedly a child of nature, since he drifted to the island in a 
basket while still an infant. Crusoe is large a product of the 
beliefs and conventions of his English society. Yakzān seems quite
content on his island, Crusoe is at first nearly always in some state of fear or despair. However, Behler indicates a fundamental theme for both books: "The depiction of a human consciousness developed in isolation may equally well serve to show the harmony of natural and revealed explanations of the world. It can bring proof, or at least an indication, that theological instruction need not conflict with nature and in this way strengthen the fundamental agreement of both views."  

As Behler indicates, we can approach Defoe's first novel from the point of view that it illustrates a general view of man and his relationships to nature, society, and even the cosmos. In this sense, Crusoe himself is "emblematic" of a larger metaphysical and religious ideology. But, before we can approach this reading of Robinson Crusoe, we again need definitions. If Defoe's book indicates the harmonious relationship between religion and nature, or reason, then we need to define these terms in their eighteenth century context. Thus, phrases such as the "state of nature" and "natural law" become extremely important to a reading of Robinson Crusoe, and in fact, as Hans Aarsleff points out in referring to Locke's philosophy; "The problem of the state of nature is essentially a question about the nature of man."  

Aarsleff's statement would indicate that concepts such as "reason" and "natural law" perhaps form a kind of "core ideology" which was used in the eighteenth century to define the individual and his relations with society, nature, and the universe. In this manner, "human consciousness" would come to be defined in the terms of reference
which defined and delineated both the popular and metaphysical view of man in the early eighteenth century. Our assumption here, is this: Defoe's Robinson Crusoe illustrates, or exemplifies, a "community of values" which had been systematized by the more "popular" (by popular I mean widely disseminated) philosophers of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. These values come to be defined through Crusoe's intellectual and spiritual growth in the novel, and so we must look to the philosophy of the time to understand the quality of this growth.

More specifically, this possible ideological structure of Defoe's novel finds its parallel in the philosophy of John Locke. Locke, in his Essay concerning Human Understanding and Two Treatises of Government, is concerned with codifying the bases to human thought, understanding, and action, as these were formulated through the seventeenth century. At least one of his concerns is to show how a stable, ordered society is created. Thus, in his Second Treatise of Government, he reasons from an abstract state of nature wherein he can also define the nature of man. Defoe, of course, places his hero in a concrete state of nature (i.e., the desert island) and in this manner illustrates this theory of man. And where Locke reasons that through reflection and meditation it is possible for man to gain knowledge of himself and his place in nature and society, so Crusoe follows this same general pattern of thought. Again, though some essentially Marxist critics have indicated that Locke was defining a bourgeois and "capitalist" ethic, he is still, in actual fact, very much concerned with the possibilities of creating a stable and ordered social environment.
In order to show the parallels between the ideology illustrated in *Robinson Crusoe* and Locke's philosophy, our approach must again be from the general to the particular. Of first importance is the definition of the standard metaphysical concepts of the period, and following this, an application of these concepts to *Robinson Crusoe*. Our major point, then, is this: besides the specific adventure pattern, the religious and emblematic pattern, and the related economic pattern, at least part of the popularity of *Robinson Crusoe* in the eighteenth century results from Defoe's ability to present concretely (i.e., through example and illustration) the rational basis of man's belief in God, in a natural order, and in a society that would function most successfully by incorporating into its structure the principles of right reason and religious morality. And, by thus illustrating the rational and religious bases which should control the actions of a "good" social being, Defoe is able to reconcile that paradox between trade and morality which he has been accused of either simply glossing over or ignoring altogether.

II. The State of Nature and the Early Growth of Robinson Crusoe

When Robinson Crusoe is carrying out his bread-making project, he reflects on the number of tasks he must perform and remarks on the difficulty of doing such things in a "meer State of Nature" (I, 130). Certainly, at least the more learned of Defoe's readers would be fully aware of the significance of this remark: poor Robinson Crusoe, isolated on a desert island and forced
to make do as best he can without the comfort and aid of human society, is a paradigm of the natural man placed in a state of nature.

To be sure, a concept of the natural man is almost literally as old as Adam. The Puritans, in fact, see natural man as the archetypal Adam figure—the man who fell from grace through sin, and must consequently live out his life battling and subduing the environment around him. Likewise, the medieval and scholastic Christian philosophers held to approximately the same view while at the same time positing that both the law of nature and the law of reason (essentially the same thing) were operative in the natural, or fallen, man. To the scholastic, the laws of reason and nature were written on the heart of man by God. However, in the first half of the seventeenth century, when Descartes and the scientific philosophers of the Paduan school began exploring and defining new methodologies in philosophy and science, they sparked dialectical arguments over the definitions of man which became, on the one hand, an intellectual revolt against the doctrines of the older scholastic philosophers, and on the other, one of the defining "motifs" of seventeenth century philosophy.

We can begin with Hugo von Grotius, whose *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* was published in 1625, and who is the first to begin secularizing the concept of the law of nature. Grotius, to be sure, follows the scholastics in assuming that the law of nature is the same as the law of reason. But, he also writes, "The law of nature is a dictate of right reason, which points out that an act, according as it is or is not in conformity with rational nature, has in it a quality of moral
baseness or moral necessity; and that, in consequence, such an act
is either forbidden or enjoined by the author of nature, God."
Thus, instead of the law of nature being obligatory because it is the
will of God, it is obligatory because it is grounded in reason. Human
nature, then, becomes "the mother of the law of nature." However,
Grotius' mistake, according to later "natural law philosophers,"
was to reject the concept of isolated man as the basis of his
investigation. Hobbes, Locke, and Pufendorf, all following the
secularizing trend initiated in Grotius, define the abstract essence
of man as complete solitude; in other words, a state of isolation
and alienation from his fellows.

Hobbes, in *Leviathan* (published in 1651), first draws his
theoretical man outside of society: Hobbes' state of nature and his
natural man are both logical, not historical, hypotheses. His
picture of man in the state of nature is, in this sense, clearly
the abstract negation of man in civilized society:

In such condition, there is no place for industry;
because the fruit thereof is uncertain: and consequently
no culture of the earth; no navigation, nor use of the
commodities that may be imported by sea; no commodious
building; no instruments of moving, and removing, such
things as require much force; no knowledge of the face
of the earth; no account to time; no arts; no letters;
no society; and which is worst of all, continual fear,
and danger of violent death; and the life of man,
solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short.

The state of nature, according to Hobbes, is a state of perpetual
war—both of man against man and man against nature—where man is
motivated by two primary emotions, fear and desire. And, it would
seem, Crusoe is describing himself in just this Hobbesian state of
nature when he lands on his island:
I had a dreadful Deliverance: For I was wet, had no Clothes to shift me, neither did I see any Prospect before me, but that of perishing with Hunger, or being devour'd by wild Beasts; and that which was particularly afflicting to me was that I had no Weapon either to hunt and kill any Creature for my Sustenence, or to defend my self against any other Creature that might desire to kill me for theirs: In a Word, I had nothing about me but a Knife, a Tobacco-pipe, and a little Tobacco in a Box, this was all my Provision, and threw me into terrible Agonies of Mind, that for a while I run about like a Mad-man; Night coming upon me, I began with a heavy Heart to consider what would be my Lot if there were ravenous Beasts in that Country, seeing at Night they always come abroad for their Prey. (I, 50-51)

Crusoe, like a "meer Brute," must spend the night in a tree.

Samuel Pufendorf, born in the same year as Locke, describes his theoretical natural man as Hobbes does, and this description too, fits Robinson Crusoe perfectly:

What a wretched Creature we should at least behold! A mute and an ignoble Animal, Master of no Powers or Capacities any farther than to pluck up the Herbs and Roots that grow about him; to gather the Fruits which he did not plant; to quench his Thirst at the first River, or Fountain or Ditch, that he finds out in his way; to creep into a Cave for Shelter from the Injuries of Weather, or to cover over his Body with Moss and Grass and Leaves; Thus would he pass a heavy Life in most tedious Idleness; would tremble at every Noise, and be scar'd at the approach of any of his Fellow Creatures, till at last his miserable days were concluded by the Extremity of Hunger or Thirst, or by the Fury of a ravenous beast.8

The purpose of Hobbes' description of the state of nature as a state of war and fear is to build up a theory of absolute monarchy based firmly on laws which govern men's behavior in such a natural state. Thus, with Hobbes, and later with Pufendorf and Locke, natural law evolves into both a moral and a political doctrine based upon, and insisting on, the individual man's rights to self-defense and self-preservation.
Of course, Locke's argument differs radically from Hobbes' in at least one way: If Hobbes reasons from the state of nature in order to indicate that the best possible government is an absolute monarchy, then Locke argues from the natural state in order to prove the best government is essentially democratic. Certainly, Locke's popularity in the eighteenth century is in part explained through this fundamental purpose of his argument. As John Plamenatz states, "Locke's Treatise was popular because it suited the social aspirations and also the intellectual prejudices of classes growing in importance, classes living on rents and profits and employing wage-labourers. It is a theory made up of old ingredients presented in a more secular and modern, and therefore attractive form."  

Thus, when Locke argues from the state of nature in his Second Treatise of Government, his purpose is to prove that the existing form of government in England at that time (i.e., the period following the Glorious Revolution) is the best type of government. In making this argument, Locke incorporates the most common and acceptable ideas of the period on natural law and the state of nature, the use of reason and divine law, and the form of government, into a system both rational and desirable to a major portion of the society of early eighteenth-century England. Locke's philosophy, then, is made up of the leading, and popular, ideas of the time, and before relating it to Defoe's own very popular novel, we need to discuss its three basic concepts: the state of nature, the law of nature and the place of reason and divine law, and the concept of property.
First, Locke's view of the state of nature is a bit more optimistic than Hobbes', especially with his apparent incorporation of Christian principles into this state. For one thing, Locke describes the state of nature in two ways: it can be a state of peace, or it can be a state of war. It is a state of war if any man "attempts to get another Man into his absolute power." But, the men who attempt to do this—that is, encroach on the fundamental freedom of others without proper consent being given—are obviously full of "Malice, Violence," and want only the "Mutual Destruction" of mankind. Man, in the state of nature, realizes the many benefits to be derived from maintaining peace with his fellows. This way of thinking is possible because man is essentially a rational creature; he has "a knowledge of himself, which the beasts have not." Man, in the state of nature, is thus governed by a law of Nature...which obliges everyone: And Reason, which is that Law, teaches all Mankind, who will but consult it, that being all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his Life, Health, Liberty, or Possessions. For Men being all the Workmanship of one Omnipotent, and infinitely wise Maker; All the Servants of one Sovereign Master, sent into the World by his order and about his business, they are his Property, whose workmanship they are....

Man, then, is created equal with his fellows, and "Every one," even in the state of nature, "is bound to preserve himself, and not to quit his Station wilfully." In so obeying the dictates of natural law and reason, the individual helps to "preserve the rest of Mankind" (Locke's italics). Those who transgress natural law declare themselves "to live by another Rule, than that of reason and common Equity, which is that measure God has set to the actions of Men for their mutual security ...."
Even in a state of nature, then, man should assume his proper role in that universal order set and sanctioned by God for the benefit of humanity. In obeying the law of nature and the dictates of reason, man is also obeying divine law, and Locke grants to the natural state of man a Christian moral tone not found in the Hobbesian view. In his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, Locke states that man's duty is, in effect, to discover the purpose for which God has placed him on earth, and what, in fact, his duty is. This discovery leads to greater knowledge and self-awareness:

> Therefore, as God has set some things in broad daylight; as he has given us some certain knowledge, though limited to a few things in comparison, probably as a taste of what intellectual creatures are capable of to excite in us a desire and endeavour after a better state: so, in the greatest part of our concerns, he has afforded us only the twilight, as I may so say, of probability; suitable, I presume, to that state of mediocrity and probationership he has been pleased to place us in here; wherein, to check our over-confidence and presumption, we might, by every day's experience, be made sensible of our short-sightedness and liableness to error; the sense whereof might be a constant admonition to us, to spend the days of this our pilgrimage with industry and care, in the search and following of that way which might lead us to a state of greater perfection. It being highly rational to think, even were revelation silent in the case, that, as men employ those talents God has given them here, they shall accordingly receive their rewards at the close of the day, when their sun shall set, and night shall put an end to their labours.13

Locke could here be describing the basic Christian outlook on life as a pilgrimage wherein man is aided through both reason and revelation to come to a greater knowledge of himself, his place and duty in the world, and his Maker. Morality, then, in Locke's view, "is the proper science and business of mankind in general," and "Moral philosophy comprehends religion too, or a man's whole duty..."14 Reason can discover to us both natural law and divine law, since the two are
essentially the same, and this use of reason coupled, Locke hints, with revelation (a matter of faith) leads to the knowledge of one's position in a sane and rational universe.

Thus, we see the morality inherent in Locke's conception of human nature and his view of how man should rationally act. It is essentially the same morality that one finds in more properly "Puritan" works of the same period, The New Whole Duty of Man, containing the Faith as well as Practice of a Christian and Richard Baxter's Christian Directory, both of which were extremely popular and influential writings in the period between 1670 and 1720. Both books describe the rational, happy man who becomes the model for the eighteenth century man, and both picture man as being moral because he is rational. And again, as John Plamenatz states, Locke "believed that men are moral because they are by nature rational, and can therefore discover, merely be reflecting on what is involved in being human, how they ought to behave."15

There is also another important part of Locke's philosophy which involves two central concepts which lie at the core of his thought: individualism and property. When Locke follows Hobbes in defining the bases of human nature through a removal of man from society and a concomitant placing of him in the state of nature, he, like Hobbes, emphasizes an essentially solipsistic view of man—a view which is also present and prevalent throughout the philosophical, political and economic writings of the seventeenth century. Hobbes bases his philosophy on an egocentric individualism: man, in the state of nature, is completely on his own. "Locke," says Ian Watt, "constructed the class system of political thought based on the
indefeasibility of individual rights, as against the more traditional ones of Church, Family, or King.\footnote{16} Watt goes on to indicate that Locke's emphasis on individualism is fundamental to the epistemology of our modern period, and he is essentially correct in doing so. Basic to the Essay concerning Human Understanding is a concern with particular and individuating circumstances in constructing a theory of knowledge. In his concern for precise observation in the recording of human thought, Locke focusses on descriptions of intermediate processes in the individual human mind. His focus is on the inner man—an individual different from all others in that his patterns of thought are, through his particular experience of the world, unique to him alone. Likewise, in his Two Treatises of Government, Locke presents his natural man as a creature "loose from all social discipline; he is autonomous and self-contained, and belongs to no social order, no community\footnote{17}—except, one might add, a natural community. And, of course, what is essential to the definition of man as a complete individual is the concept that each man "has a Property in his own Person." Locke continues:

\begin{quote}
This no Body has any Right to but himself. The Labour of his Body, and the Work of his Hands, we may say, are properly his. Whosoever then he removes out of the State of Nature hath provided, and left it in, he hath mixed his Labour with, and joyned to it something that is his own, and thereby makes it his Property.\footnote{18}
\end{quote}

We have moved here from the idea that man has a property in his person to the idea that he can extend his basic property into the state of nature by mixing his labor with it. And again, Locke is articulating a set of values that had achieved almost the status of a tradition in the seventeenth century.
"All roads in our period have led to individualism," states historian Christopher Hill in his discussion of the seventeenth century. This of course includes the philosophic road, and Locke's epistemology itself is merely a continuation of the individualistic and introspective method used by Descartes earlier in the same century. Also, his theory of man and property goes back at least to the Puritan pamphleteers at the time of the civil war. In 1646, Henry Overton, in his *An Arrow against all Tyrants*, stated what is essentially the same doctrine:

To Every Individuall in nature is given an individual property by nature, not to be invaded or usurped by any: for every one as he is himselfe, so he hath a selfe propriety, else could he not be himselfe and on this no second may presume to deprive any of, without manifest violation and affront to the very principle of nature, and of the Rules of equity and justice between man and man; mine and thine cannot be, except this be; No man hath power over my rights and liberties, and I over no mans; I may but an Individuall, enjoy my selfe, and my selfe propriety, and may write my selfe no more than my selfe, or presume any further; if I doe, I am an encroacher & an invader upon an other mans Right, to which I have no Right. For by naturall birth, all men are equally and alike borne to like propriety, liberty and freedome, and as we are delivered of God by the hand of nature into this world, every one with a naturall, innate freedome and propriety (as it were writ in the table of every mans heart, never to be obliterated) even so are we to live, every one equally and alike to enjoy his Birth-right and priviledge; even all whereof God by nature hath made him free.

Overton goes on to stress the sanctity of individual freedom and equality, and to define man as an egocentric creature: "Every man by nature being a King, Priest and Prophet in his owne naturall circuite and compasse, whereof no second may partake, but by deputation, commission, and free consent from him, whose naturall right and freedome it is." Overton, then, argues that each man
is behaving rationally and reasonably, according to both the law
of nature and moral law, when he seeks to preserve his essential
freedom.

Overton, of course, reflects the same fundamental individualism
and its connection with a concept of property that is found in both
Hobbes and Locke. This egocentricism is so central to the Puritan
religion that when William Haller stresses "spiritual equalitarianism"
and individualism as basic to Puritanism, he is also quick to
connect this ideology to the "accelerating democratization of English
society" and to a basis in a common view of natural law. Also,
C.B. MacPherson has written convincingly of the rise of individualism
and its relation to property in political philosophy; H.M. Robertson
has discussed it with specific reference to the rise of the trading
state; and both Christopher Hill and Maurice Ashley have traced the
important changes in economics as English society evolved from the
essentially feudal system of guilds and royally chartered companies
in the Renaissance to the mercantilist—in some cases laissez-faire—
system and joint-stock companies of the late seventeenth century.

Defoe, of course, with his interest in both trade and politics,
was aware of, and vitally concerned with, questions on the concepts
of property and individualism in the early eighteenth century. He
filled the pages of his *Review* with his ideas on trade, politics, and
morality, and produced a long series of pamphlets on the same subjects.
His fiction can in fact be seen as a logical extension of these
erlier articles and pamphlets; Defoe, in other words, uses a fictional
form as a vehicle for conveying his ideas on man and society. At the
same time, his novels are, or can be considered to be, aesthetic structures.
We would expect Defoe to consciously use rhetorical and structural devices to define and explore these individualistic and social themes in his fiction, and we would thus also expect the three-part division of *The Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* to mean something in relation to the author's intentions. We have already seen that the three-part structure underpins and helps to express the book's Christian and economic themes. It remains to indicate how this division clarifies and patterns the development of Crusoe's knowledge from his "brutish" beginning wherein he isolates himself from society to his willing reentry back into society at the end of the book. In this manner, the theme of individualism and the pattern of Crusoe's developing self-knowledge combine to form a more philosophical interpretation of the first volume of Crusoe's adventures.

We have already seen that Crusoe, in his pre-island adventures, is very much a *laissez-faire* individualist. His economic schemes, his desire to rise faster than "the nature of the thing" allows, and his complete disregard for any prompting toward a balanced and normal life, point to Crusoe as being a "Capitalist" in Watt's Marxist sense of the term (i.e., one who continually transforms the economic *status quo*). But at the same time, Defoe stresses that Crusoe is not a man of reason—not even a rational creature—for his passions rule his actions. He breaks his "vows and promises" to lead a better life, his obstinacy wins over his reason and judgment, and whereas reason ought to guide him, his "wild and undigested notions of raising [his] fortune" come to control his thoughts and actions. Thus, as he points out with reference to the slaving expedition which ends with his isolation on the island, he is "the wilful agent" of his own
miseries, and he entirely gives over to his "foolish inclination" by abandoning, and abusing, his prosperous plantation in Brazil. Finally, he notes that he obeys "blindly the dictates of [his] fancy rather than [his] reason" (I, 43). His shipwreck on the island and his descent into the physical state of nature merely complete this picture of Crusoe as an animal: he is, in other words, a brutish being controlled completely by his own passions. Thus, the moral tone of the book would indicate that Crusoe the capitalist, by opposing the dictates of Nature and Reason, is breaking the Law of Nature by allowing himself to be controlled by animal instincts. He would, in fact, compare with the Hobbesian man who is motivated in his actions by two emotions—fear and desire—and there might also be some resemblance to Locke's perpetrator of the state of war in nature. Crusoe's isolation on the island is essentially no different than his isolation in society except that, now that he doesn't have human companionship, he misses it. Crusoe's irrational behavior, his basis of action in instinct, his essentially brutish human nature—all of his basic personality traits before he landed on his island—receive concrete embodiment in this physical isolation. On this island he is, at first, the same Crusoe—alone, acting according to fear and desire, sunk into a state of nature. But it soon becomes apparent that he is growing out of this state, leaving behind his animal instincts, and become a rational man.

Defoe's use of a first person narrator who is recounting his early adventures contributes to the moral tone of these early parts of the book. We have already seen that the older Crusoe is able to give Christian and emblematic significance to his youthful exigencies
by referring the reader to parallels between his own story and those of the prodigal son, Jonah, and the fall of man. It undoubtedly is Defoe's artistic intention to indicate a disparity between the moral tone implied through the intrusions of the older Crusoe and the actions of the young Crusoe which involve "rash and immoderate" desires and "wild and undigested" notions. The moral is, of course, pointed out several times by the narrator. One instance of this is Crusoe's earliest reflection on quitting the adventuring life. This reflection occurs almost immediately after his first sea voyage ends in near disaster:

As to going home, shame opposed the best motions that offered to my thoughts; and it immediately occurred to me how I should be laughed at among the neighbours, and should be ashamed to see, not my father and mother only, but even every body else; from whence I have since often observed how incongruous and irrational the common temper of mankind is, especially of youth, to that reason which ought to guide them in such cases, viz., that they are not ashamed to sin, and yet are ashamed to repent; not ashamed of the action for which they ought justly to be esteemed fools, but are ashamed of the returning, which only can make them be esteemed wise men. (I, 15-16)

Here, the contrast between the young and foolish Crusoe and the moral tone of the older narrating Crusoe is made explicit through a juxtaposition of a "foolish" notion of shame and wiser observations, after the second semi-colon, of the narrating voice. There are other such juxtapositions throughout this early part of the narrative, as the narrator both comments on his earlier sins and adumbrates the coming events. Thus, there are references to "something fatal in that propension of nature" (I, 2) and to the "miseries which Nature and the station of life...provided against" (I, 4). The implication throughout these early sections is that Crusoe is a "fool" in his revolt against the middle station of
life and against a natural order. Consequently, the major contrast in this part of the book is between Crusoe the ignorant young fool and Crusoe the man of moral awareness and self-knowledge. Crusoe's early actions spring from foolish inclinations, not from any principles of reason or faith, and both Defoe's style and technique indicate this obstinacy and bull-headedness in a young Crusoe who lacks reason or judgment.

It is also important to note that Defoe, in structuring these early parts of his narrative, shows Crusoe as always gravitating back toward the middle station in life which he had scorned at the beginning of his adventures. The older Crusoe notes that he once approached the middle station when his Brazilian plantation began to prosper, and again, on his island, he tries to achieve the same qualities of ease, stability, and security by which his father had characterized this station. This tendency of Crusoe's to return to the middle station—whether he likes it, or wants to, or not—would seem to indicate that this is his true "natural" inclination, rather than his own foolish, and therefore "unnatural," inclination. Through his perhaps unnatural acts, the results of his following the promptings of a foolish inclination and desire, he continually isolates himself from the society of men. His selfish and egocentric drive to extend his material wealth and holdings results in a reversal of his fortunes and his isolation from human society.

Finally, Crusoe is isolated from society not through any act of his own, but through the action of Providence. Crusoe is then sunk into the state of nature that, in one sense, represents the logical outcome of his previous actions; by following completely his irrational
passions and desires, Crusoe is the Hobbesian natural man, and thus his actions eventually lead him back from society into the state of nature. On his island, in complete isolation from mankind, Crusoe is forced through necessity to change the basis of his action, and he must, simply by force of circumstance, begin pulling himself out of this lowest state of "brutishness." It is at this point in his adventures that his actions tend to take on a positive quality, for he begins to base them on more rational thoughts. In fact, all of Crusoe's actions from this point on—including his accountant's figures, his calendar-maker's dates, the itemizing of his possessions, the circumstantial descriptions of projects—are necessary steps he must take on the long and sometimes difficult path back to society. Here again, Defoe's intentions become apparent. Most of the seventeenth-century accounts of shipwrecked and stranded sailors point out the degrading psychological effects of isolation; they lose the faculty of speech, go mad, and even die. But Defoe disregards these effects, and it is for a good reason. He intends, in his fictional account of one man's isolation, to indicate the possibilities of moral and rational growth in his hero, and thus to indicate something about the nature of man and his place in the world.

The change in Crusoe—his acquisition of both rudimentary self-knowledge and a general, practical knowledge through experience—is signalled in several places in the text. After he has salvaged most of the material he needs from the ship, he sets about improving his living quarters, securing himself from wild beasts and savages, and, symbolically, pulling himself out of the state of nature. He does all this through an application of reason to his situation, and the text
reflects this use of reason by indicating an explicit logic of development in Crusoe's thoughts—something that he lacked before. Consider, as an example, the following account of how Crusoe comes to locate his new dwelling:

My thoughts were now wholly employed about securing myself against either savages, if any should appear, or wild beasts, if any were on the island; and I had many thoughts of the method how to do this, and what kind of dwelling to make, whether I should make me a cave in the earth, or a tent upon the earth; and, in short, I resolved upon both, the manner and description of which it may not be improper to give an account of.

I soon found the place I was in was not for my settlement, particularly because it was upon a low moorish ground near the sea, and I believed would not be wholesome; and more particularly because there was no fresh water near it. So I resolved to find a more healthy and more convenient spot of ground.

I consulted several things in my situation, which I found would be proper for me. First, health and fresh water, I just now mentioned. Secondly, shelter from the heat of the sun. Thirdly, security from ravenous creatures, whether men or beasts. Fourthly, a view to the sea, that if God sent any ship in sight I might not lose any advantage for my deliverance, of which I was not willing to banish all my expectation yet. (I, 63)

Thus, Crusoe begins his search for a proper location for his dwelling, and thus he begins to domesticate his island. There are several important things worth noting in this passage. First, Crusoe's actions are well-thought out in advance; there is a careful weighing of facts before a conclusion is reached—something which does not occur to this extent in any of the earlier portions of the story. Second, there is a logical continuity to Crusoe's thought; again something we do not see in previous parts of the book. And third, the structure of the passage itself is exceedingly rational: though Crusoe may have "many thoughts," he is able to sort them out and present the important ones accurately and logically to himself for consideration, and thus he can make strong and
rational resolutions which lead both to a greater control over the
natural environment and to a greater control over his own thought-
processes and behavior. Also, as we have seen, Crusoe is fairly
methodical when he salvages materials from his ship. He does make
mistakes, nearly sinking his raft twice, and rather foolishly taking
off everything he can get his hands on. But again, he carefully
considers all the factors, advantages, and disadvantages, and thus
displays the first crude use of a rationality that will allow him
to control and order a major portion of the natural environment on his
island.

Following the Lockean concept of property and labour, Crusoe,
in mixing his labor with the natural environment, manifests a "natural"
human control over it, and also extends the property of his person
into it. Thus, in the many passages wherein Crusoe takes pride in his
belongings and in his accomplishments, he is celebrating not only the
triumph of human reason over both the state of nature and the brutish
aspects of his own human nature, but also the acquisition of property
through his own action and increasing self-knowledge. In fact, as his
practical knowledge and true confidence (as opposed to false pride)
increase, his actions evolve into gradually more and more complicated
patterns, and his property increases from the time he sits in his
cave and takes pride in the orderly arrangement of the items he has
salvaged from the ship, to the place in his narrative where he can
say (after his repentance): "I descended a little on the side of that
delicious vale, surveying it with a secret kind of pleasure (though
mixed with my other afflicting thoughts), to think that this was all
my own, that I was king and lord of all this country indefeasibly and
had a right of possession; and if I could convey it, I might have it in
inheritance, as completely as any lord of a manor in England" (I, 110).
And again, later on in the narrative, Crusoe reflects on knowledge,
reasonable acquisition, and usefulness: "In a word, the nature and
experience of things dictated to me upon just reflection that all the
good things of this world are no farther good to us than they are
for our use; and that whatever we may heap up indeed to give others,
we enjoy just as much as we can use, and no more" (I, 143).

First, Crusoe is justified in claiming ownership of the
island in the Lockean sense, since he has mixed his labor with large
parts of it, and since it is part of the natural order, or way
of things, for man to dominate. As Locke states in his First
Treatise of Government:

For the desire, the strong desire of Preserving his
Life and Being having been Planted in him, as a Principle
of Action by God himself, Reason, which was the Voice
of God in him, could not but teach him and assure him,
that pursuing that natural Inclination he had to
preserve his Being, he followed the Will of his Maker,
and therefore had a right to make use of those Creatures,
which by his Reason or Senses he could discover would
be serviceable thereunto. And thus Man's Property
in the Creatures, was founded upon the right he had,
to make use of those things, that were necessary or
useful to his Being.23

And further on, in the chapter on property in the Second Treatise, Locke
again indicates that God (or Providence) works through man's reason to
allow him to subdue and order the earth according to the laws of nature
and of property:

God and his Reason commanded to subdue the Earth,

i.e. improve it for the benefit of Life, and therein
lay out something upon it that was his own, his labour.
He that in Obedience to this Command of God, subdued,
tilled and sowed any part of it, thereby annexed to it
something that was his Property, which another had no
Title to, nor could without injury take from him.24
Therefore, in Locke's Treatises, God gave the earth to man to cultivate, and order, according to reason, which is God's will, which is also the law of nature and thus the law which society should model itself on. As Locke states near the end of his First Treatise, "the positive Laws of Society" are "made conformable to the Laws of Nature, for the public good, i.e. the good of every particular Member of that society." Locke's concepts of property and individuality, then, are at one with his concepts of natural order and the stable arrangement of society; and all, of course, find their basis in God's will as that will is indicated by both the voice of Reason and Providence. The spiritualized cosmos at the back of Locke's philosophy is the same as that which operates continually through Robinson Crusoe; and, as we have already seen, Providence and Crusoe work very closely together to order the natural environment on the island and to create a status quo that--according to Watt, MacPherson, and others--is so unprofitable to the true capitalist.

Second, as our quotations from Defoe's novel indicate, once Crusoe masters his passion he gains the use of his more rational faculties, and it is through this learning process that he completes his conquest of the natural environment by extending his property on the island. Thus, once again, the pattern of Crusoe's meditations indicates his growing rationality and self-knowledge as he subdues and orders his environment. For example, when Crusoe reflects on "stating and squaring everything by reason, and making the most rational judgment of things" (I, 74), he is involved in enlarging his cave, producing his first table and chair, making shelves, and ordering his goods inside his fortification. Soon after this, Crusoe begins keeping his Journal, which
seems to him to be a fit place for recording both his reflections on his situation and what he does in that situation—his daily activities in other words. It is interesting, at this point, that the narrative eye of the older Crusoe becomes the narrative "I" of a diary, perhaps indicating that in one sense, Crusoe is developing the perspective of the older narrative voice. The Journal does contain some essentially moral reflections, but the perceptions are not yet turned inward to record the state of Crusoe's soul. This kind of observation will come only after his conversion. So, for the time being at any rate, Defoe is more largely concerned with presenting to his readers Crusoe's relative success in ordering his actions and his thoughts according to reason. At the same time, this pattern of interior growth and external conquest again parallels certain basic ideas in Locke's philosophy.

According to both Locke and Défoe, man is not born with a knowledge of the law of nature, or of the uses of reason. Man's faculties must be developed—a learning process must take place—before he can effectually pull himself out of the state of brute nature to a position of self-knowledge and rationality. As Locke asks in his Second Essay of the Law of Nature, "if all men are led to the knowledge of it [the law of nature] by the light of nature, how does it arise that very many mortals are without knowledge of this law and nearly all think of it differently, a fact that does not seem possible if all men are led to the knowledge of it by the light of nature?" Locke's answer is that, since the law of nature is not innate in all men, a proper use of mental faculties (i.e., reason) will lead man to a knowledge of this law. 26 This knowledge, as those who have read the Essay concerning
Human Understanding will testify, can be gained through experience and contemplation. This is how, according to Locke, man transcends the brutish state of nature. Man differs from the brute animals in three ways: man has reason and memory, he can learn from experience, and he can come to act in accord with the results of his contemplation. Man, then, is free at any time to use his faculties of reason and contemplation to gain a knowledge of the workings of nature, the society he lives in, and the universe.

In most of Defoe's fiction, characters are more largely determined by their environment than by any innate or hereditary traits. Colonel Jack, of course, has certain traits which lead people to think he is of noble, or high-ranking, birth. However, characters such as he and Captain Singleton are ignorant of the moral and social evils of pickpocketing or pirating until they are told, or somehow learn, that such actions controvert moral and social order. As Jonathan Bishop states, in his article, "Knowledge and Action in Defoe's Novels,"

Notwithstanding each hero starts the book as a tabula rasa, but before every principal adventure he is again reduced to this state. Moll Flanders is broke and desperate when she starts a new attempt. Bob Singleton is marooned on the coast of Madagascar, Robinson Crusoe wrecked on a desert island, Colonel Jack transplanted as a felon to Virginia. In each case the hero is stripped naked and must begin again the laborious business of learning and applying his knowledge.

Once filled with abhorrence towards the evil of their deeds, Defoe's characters often try to remedy the situations they created, or they repent and live good, Christian lives. In this sense, all of Defoe's novels are stories of men and women learning about themselves through a combination of a close interaction with their environment, and consequent
reflections on what they have learned from their interaction. Defoe creates situations for his main characters through which he can illustrate his doctrine of necessity and self-preservation. In other words, committing a moral sin is often necessary simply in order to survive in this world. However, at the same time, Defoe's characters are learning through experience and reflection to become essentially moral and good human beings. In this larger context, then, Defoe's novels are studies in the acquisition of knowledge through experience. The direct causal relationship between experience and knowledge is, of course, fundamentally Lockean, and at the same time allows Defoe to indicate what a society of men devoid of morality and rationality would be like: it would be, simply, a Hobbesian state of nature—a world filled with pickpockets and thieves and lacking any order or sanity. That is, society would be such if not for the existence of men who are knowledgeable in the ways of God, the laws of nature, and who are aware of what their position in society is and what the bounds set by nature on that position are. Man's acquisition of self-knowledge, then, would also be an affirmation of a social and moral order in which a society of men can exist in peace and harmony with one another.

Thus, Defoe often depicts the true state of society (among the lower classes at least) not as that rational and moral mechanism in which all mankind can happily and peaceably coexist. Rather, the state of society is in many cases analogous to the Hobbesian state of nature, and so Crusoe points out in conversation with an "Old Gentlewoman" in his Serious Reflections:
R.C. Truly, the main business that mankind seems to be doing is to eat and drink; that's their enjoyment, and to get food to eat is their employment, including a little their eating and devouring one another. Old Gent. That's a description of them as brutes. R.C. It is so in the first part, namely, their living to eat and drink; but in the last part they are worse than the brutes; for the brutes destroy not their own kind, but prey upon a different species; and besides, they prey upon one another for necessity, to satisfy their hunger, and for food; but man for baser ends, such as avarice, envy, revenge, and the like, devours his own species, nay his own flesh and blood.... (III, 106)

A bit further on, Crusoe discusses the civilizing power of Christianity as it works to influence men—both "savage" and "civilized"—to a higher knowledge of themselves and of their proper positions in society and nature. Finally, in a later work, A System of Magick, Defoe combines practicality, action, knowledge and understanding in criticizing the generations descended from Noah and his sons after the flood:

In the room of this capacious Understanding and this inquiring and applying Temper in those Ages, behold a stupid Generation risen up in Succession; stript as naked of the natural Glories of their Ancestors, as the Earth was of its natural Fruitfulness after the Curse in Paradise; and instead of applying themselves to useful Arts, and to the acquiring of Knowledge, grown as indolent as they were ignorant, having, like Solomon's Fool, no delight in Understanding.29

In Moll Flanders, to draw an example from Defoe's fiction, society is often pictured as a state of nature wherein man must try to survive in the midst of ignorance, foolishness, and a hostile environment. Robert Donovan points out, "In this respect Moll is very much like Robinson Crusoe; both are centrally concerned with the elementary problem of survival, and beyond that with whatever material amenities a hostile environment can be made to provide."30 The fundamental difference between the two novels is that, in Robinson Crusoe, Defoe's hero struggles in the state of nature as nature, while in Moll Flanders,
the main character directly confronts the moral and social problems as they are created by the social environment through which she moves. But, on the other hand, both novels contain a dialectical opposition between a complete secular individualism and a moral vision which incorporates the eighteenth century ideals of Christian morality and social order.

Perhaps, then, in his first novel, Defoe has focussed on a single character through whom this dialectic can be resolved. We have so far seen that, through an application of a rational knowledge and action to practical problems, Crusoe is able to pull himself out of a "meer State of Nature," and in so doing is perhaps embodying the ideals of a rational and active man. These ideals are dialectically opposed to Crusoe's own character traits in the pre-island portion of his adventures; that is, before Crusoe came to his island, he was an egocentric, possessive, and essentially capitalistic character motivated by unreasonable desires and inclinations. But Defoe, in ordering the events of his narrative, implies that rationality is insufficient in aiding the good man to perform right actions, and Crusoe needs to acquire the principles of Christian faith before his knowledge becomes complete and before he can therefore successfully reenter the society of men. Crusoe, then, needs to repent and convert himself to Christianity before he can become a good social being. In becoming a rational creature, Crusoe has advanced one step closer to faith and one step closer to a reintegration into society. And Defoe, in tracing this early development of Crusoe on his island from the state of brute nature to a state of reasonable acquisition, allows his hero just enough time to get comfortably
settled on his island, and just enough time to gain rational control over his actions, before God strikes a blow that Crusoe feels will surely be fatal. What small security Crusoe had and what stability he did acquire are shattered by illness and a terrifying dream.

There is a possible parallel, however slight, between this event and the second voyage Crusoe made in which he realized a handsome profit. In both cases, Crusoe has gained some confidence: his early success leads him to feel confident that he can perhaps make a career out of voyaging and trading, and the miracle of the grain leads him to believe that Providence is watching over him and caring for him. However, on his third voyage he is captured by the Moorish pirates, and just as he achieves a new sense of security and comparative ease on his island he falls ill. In both cases, the reader is made aware of the fact that Providence is responsible for both the achievement and the loss, and this fact is one of the first that the repentant Crusoe realizes and which humbles him before God and Providence.

Finally, in spending those first nine months (perhaps a period of gestation before a spiritual rebirth) on his island, ordering and subduing his environment for his use, Crusoe has learned to fully appreciate the principles of reason, for they have allowed him to achieve his stability and security. Because rationality has become integral to his thoughts and actions, he will be able, upon his conversion, to successfully combine the principles of reason and Christian faith in meditating on his place in the divine scheme. He will be able, in other words, to view his faith rationally and to achieve an even greater security and peace of mind that he ever
Defoe has ordered his narrative, then, to trace the growth of Robinson Crusoe into a fully aware moral and rational being. This development, I would suggest, culminates in a resolution of the dialectic of trade and morality within the main character himself and his successful reintegration into society. Thus Crusoe moves from an egocentric and possessive capitalist to a more complete social and moral being who eventually reassumes his proper station in life (and, it should be pointed out, in an essentially Christian moral and social cosmos). This dialectical movement, and the resolution that takes place, would be one way of making sense of the development of Crusoe through those three stages of growth discussed earlier—impulse (brute nature), reason, and faith—and would allow us, finally, to see Crusoe as embodying certain of the ideals of the eighteenth century view of man. In the next section, we will consider the patterns of event and situation in Robinson Crusoe in order to define the final stage of the protagonist's development—that of faith—and to show how this development operates to resolve the trade-morality paradox.

II. Possessive Individualism and the Pattern of Growth in Robinson Crusoe

Locke's concept of property, which becomes the needed bridge in his philosophy between the abstract world of the state of nature and the concrete, actual world of political liberty guaranteed by political arrangements, can also be used to begin our discussion of the dialectics and pattern of Robinson Crusoe. We have seen that concept of self-ownership is central to the philosophical and political definition of
individualism in the seventeenth century. C.B. MacPherson defines the essentially "possessive" quality of this doctrine of individualism in his discussion of seventeenth century political theory:

Its possessive quality is found in its conception of the individual as essentially the proprietor of his own person or capacities, owing nothing to society for them. The individual was seen neither as a moral whole, nor as part of a larger social whole, but as an owner of himself. The relation of ownership, having become for more and more men the critically important relation determining their actual freedom and actual prospect of realizing their full potentialities, was read back into the nature of the individual. The individual, it was thought, is free inasmuch as he is proprietor of his person and capacities. The human essence is freedom from dependence on the wills of others, and freedom is a function of possession. Society becomes a lot of free equal individuals related to each other as proprietors of their own capacities and of what they have acquired by their exercise. Society consists of relations of exchange between proprietors. Political society becomes a calculated device for the protection of this property and for the maintenance of an orderly relation of exchange.31

Here, in a nutshell, is the essence of the seventeenth century theory of individualism as formulated by Hobbes, Locke, and many of the Puritan political writers. Man in a state of nature is free to think and act as he wants. Freedom is then equated with total possession of self. When a free individual becomes a member of society, a contract is made wherein the individual gives up a certain number of freedoms for the security and the stability (law and order) offered by a society of men. The relationship of the individual to society becomes essentially a trade relationship: I will trade some of my freedom in the state of nature for the security and stability I expect to receive in joining the society of men. Again, transgression of this stabilized system of trade relationships upsets the balance of society—-the social order—-and consequently, law and order (morality) must step in to restore
the balance of relationships and to keep the individual from again upsetting the contractual arrangements.

Thus, men like Defoe and Locke saw the need for a Christian morality which would keep society, and the arrangements which make up that society, balanced. Locke, for example, when sitting on the Board of Trade in London from 1695 to 1698, promulgated a mercantilistic economic policy tempered by a Christian morality. Likewise, Defoe, in one of his last pieces for Applebee's Journal (11 January 1729), writes:

Sir, I have upon many Occasions shewn the World that I am a constant Friend to TRADE, and Commerce, which I take to be the third general Head in the Essentials of a Nation's Good. For,—

1. To be Uniform in orthodox Principles of Religion, adhering strictly to the common Faith. 2. To be established on one and the same Foundation of Right and Property, Loyalty and Subjection, and 3. To be flourishing and prosperous, in just Measures, for Encouragement of Commerce, &c. These three, in my Opinion, constitute a happy People.

And a bit further on in the same piece:

If Trade is the Life and Prosperity of a Nation in general, and the next valuable Thing to Religion and Civil Government in a Commonwealth, then the Tradesman is a most useful and valuable Creature to his Country; and it is of Importance to the Publick, that he should thrive in his private Capacity, as well as it is that Trade, in General, should prosper as a publick Good....

Also, in previous articles for Applebee's, Defoe argues against that extreme form of economic individualism, stock-jobbing, picturing the stock-jobber as an immoral person who is willing to undermine social stability in order to raise his own fortune, and consequently, who is the direct antithesis to the good, or "compleat," tradesman. In effect, the stock-jobber—and the floater of wild projects—tends to cause society to revert into that state of nature wherein all social contracts are
nullified. For a stable economy and a flourishing trade, this reversion would never do.

Consequently, Defoe's earlier work, Robinson Crusoe, can be seen as a manifesto against this reckless and speculative "capitalism." When Crusoe's animal nature and his desire to rise quickly in the world of trade result in his wild economic schemes, these schemes are justly punished by Providence in its capacity as a force of order in the social environment. Thus, the first part of the novel becomes a dialectic in which the thesis is Crusoe's economic schemes and the antithesis a sense of moral rightness, embodied in Providence, which continually plagues Crusoe's trading adventures by means of storms, shipwrecks, and captivity. Crusoe, then, begins as the acquisitive capitalist who prefers to brush aside any awareness he might have of religion and morality, yet eventually he reaches a "synthesis" of trade-and-morality through his experience and the knowledge he gains from that experience. Again, the crucible of experience which molds Crusoe's new knowledge is the island, and again, the central point in this development is the conversion scene. One example will serve to indicate the difference in Crusoe before and after his repentance, in both the social and religious sense.

Before Crusoe lands on the island, he never thinks seriously on religion or on the morality of his actions. In spite of the professed loyalty of Xury—a loyalty which should bind both the slave and Crusoe sells his "man" to the Portuguese captain for sixty pieces of silver, twice the sum for which Judas betrayed Christ. Crusoe is, of course, "loth to take" the money at first, since it means selling "the poor
boy's liberty," yet he does it anyway. Later, he realizes his need for Xury, and states that he had "done wrong" in parting with him. But here, their relationship is stated in terms of need and usefulness and seems completely lacking in any moral or Christian quality. And even though Crusoe sells Xury into ten years' bondage, he will be set free only if he turns Christian. Surely this comment is ironic, since Crusoe's act of selling is itself not very charitable; it seems that Crusoe is only out to turn the fast buck, discarding Xury when the boy is no longer useful. This early master-servant relationship contrasts with the later association between Crusoe and Friday. Here, though Friday swears fealty to Crusoe, becoming in effect his slave, Crusoe takes the pains himself to convert his slave to Christianity, to give Friday an awareness of "civilized" values (e.g., forbidding Friday to eat his enemies and salting his meat), and, in fact, their comradeship develops into a relationship of trust and love throughout the rest part of Crusoe's narrative, ending only with Friday's death in the Farther Adventures. Besides, then, the usefulness of a servant, a great deal of morality enters into this second association with a "barbarian".

There is one other interesting contrast involving Friday and Crusoe and the nature of social relationships. When these two men rescue Friday's father from the cannibals, the kindness and solicitation shown by the son contrasts markedly with Crusoe's earlier treatment of his own father. One interpretation here would be that even Friday, a natural man and supposedly a savage, can show more loyalty, love, and obedience to his father than Crusoe, a supposedly civilized man, did previously to his. Thus, Crusoe, in the first part of his narrative,
is even less than a savage in his social and moral relationship with his father; he is a "meer brute."

These contrasts in Crusoe's relationships with his two servants, and in the two father-son relationships, indicates that a marked change has taken place in Crusoe's principles of action and his self-knowledge. Whereas before his conversion experience he only honors what we could term a "social contract" if it is useful to him—that is, allows him to rise in the world—after this experience he learns to subordinate these "obstinate impulses" to a sense of morality and order. If Crusoe's conversion of Friday illustrates a triumph of nurture over savage nature, then his conversion also parallels Crusoe's own experience in learning to be, in effect, a better human being.

Likewise, before the island experience, Crusoe is essentially an isolated figure among mankind: his contact with men takes the form of trading or economic contracts, but we never admire Crusoe's actions or the part he plays in these trading inclinations. He leaves his father's home to go to sea, thus refusing to take his lawful and moral place in the middle station of life. He leaves his prospering Brazilian plantation in order to go on a slaving expedition, again overthrowing his position in the middle station of life. However, when he returns to society, after twenty-eight years of isolation, his actions are admirable. The reader, in fact, has been prepared long in advance for this successful reintegration into the social order through Crusoe's growing reinvolvimento with mankind while still on his island.

In his first encounter with another European—the Spaniard he and Friday rescue from the cannibals—Crusoe is quick to set out the terms of a contract which all parties will faithfully abide by:
if the Spaniard is to bring his friends over from the mainland, they
must swear to follow Crusoe's commands and to obey his decisions.
This demand is quite reasonable, since Crusoe does own his island
(in the Lockeian sense) and since he is offering a degree of protection
and stability (the island can support a sizeable population as long
as peace is maintained). This contract is set out in writing even though
Crusoe has run out of ink many years before, and the signing of the
document indicates that Defoe's hero is now prepared to become a
leader of men. Crusoe is allowed to prove his leadership capabilities
later when he poses as the "governor" of his island and leads a
successful counter-mutiny against the sailors-turned-pirates on the
English ship. Here, of course, Crusoe becomes a force for moral
order and stability in the limited, and perhaps microcosmic, ship-
board society. Whereas the pirates have overturned their social
obligations by revolting against the representative of moral law
and order, the ship's captain, Crusoe reaffirms the orderly arrangement
of this society by triumphing over the sinful ways of the mutineers.
Consequently, when he returns to Europe, he is given the leadership of
the group of men with whom he travels through the Pyrenees, and at
the end of the book, he dutifully reassumes that proper place in
society which he overthrew at the beginning of his adventures. The
moral of the story is that Crusoe has learned to live a life based
on the "right", principles of social order and stability; he has gained,
in other words, a proper morality and self-knowledge.

A larger system of parallels and contrasts in Crusoe's actions
indicates that perhaps Defoe's novel is carefully structured to show
the development of Crusoe into this paradigm of the good social being who always affirms through his actions the natural and social order. Again, the bases of social action reside in a knowledge of what is ethically right, and this sense of right and wrong is inherent in the conversion experience in the book. An awareness of moral goodness proceeds directly from the repentance of Crusoe, and Defoe's novel is structured so as to indicate the birth of a moral vision as it springs from Crusoe's acceptance of Christianity.

As we have seen, upon his acceptance of God, Christ, and the rest of the Christian doctrine, Crusoe begins to seriously consider his position in relation to God and the Christian cosmos. He points out that, for the first time since his prayers during the storm off Hull, he contemplates his sinful nature and thinks of repenting. The difference is, of course, that during the earlier storm, Crusoe was prompted by fear of drowning, while on his island he is prompted by the terrifying dream-vision, but at the same time, perhaps realizes that he is reaching out for something he has lacked before: he is, in other words, working toward a higher vision—a self-knowledge. Thus, he states that previously he "was merely thoughtless of a God or a Providence; acted like a mere brute from the principles of Nature, and by the dictates of common sense only, and indeed hardly that" (I, 97). This passage signals the course of Crusoe's later spiritual development: "common sense," or reason, is not enough if one wants to understand as completely as possible the workings of the universe, the purpose of events in this world, and the place of the individual in God's design. Crusoe, in fact, finds that faith bolsters his powers of reasoning, and he begins to discern patterns in his own
life which, of course, are reflected in the patterns of the novel.

In the first place, Crusoe notes "a strange concurrence of days in the various providences which befell" him. He notes in quick succession that the same date he left his father's house, he was taken by Moorish pirates; he escaped from Sallee on the same date that, some time before, he got away from the sinking ship in Yarmouth Roads; on his birthday he was stranded on his desert island. He points out, referring to this latter concurrence of dates, "...my wicked life and my solitary life began both on a day" (I, 147).

Just as he begins noting this curious pattern of significant dates in his life (a pattern which indicates a Providential design in his life), Crusoe also begins ordering his pattern of living. For example, he solemnly observes the anniversary of his shipwreck on the island, fasting and meditating for an entire day each year. Since his repentance, Crusoe has also used this day, among others, to reason out the existence of God and to meditate on the design and pattern of Providential care in his life. And he can announce on the fourth anniversary of his isolation, that "by a constant study and serious application of the Word of God, and by the assistances of His grace, I gained a different knowledge from what I had before. I entertained different notions of things" (I, 142). Crusoe's knowledge, gained from experience, is partly the ability to "sum and square" everything, and to act rationally where before he would have acted foolishly.

But, to Defoe and to Crusoe, reason alone is a weak and faltering guide, whereas reason buttressed by the strong principles of Christian faith provides the sure means to true knowledge. In speaking of religious conviction, Defoe himself writes, "It is Religion alone, which is the
bond of Virtue in the World; the Awe of a Divine Power, and a Sense of the Majesty and Vengeance of Heaven, being alone able to restrain the Vices and Lusts of Men." Beginning with a true repentance, Crusoe realizes that his major sin was to reject "the voice of Providence, which had mercifully put me in a posture or station of life wherein I might have been happy and easy; but I would neither see it myself, or learn to know the blessing of it from my parents" (I, 100). He then prays sincerely for the first time in many years, and soon after is able to reason out his place in the divine scheme:

> What is this earth and sea, of which I have seen so much? whence is it produced? And what am I, and all the other creatures, wild and tame, human and brutal, whence are we? Sure we are all made by some secret Power, who formed the earth and sea, the air and sky. And who is that?

> Then it followed most naturally, It is God that has made it all. Well, but then it came on strangely, if God has made all these things, He guides and governs them all, and all things that concern them; for the Power that could make all things, must certainly have power to guide and direct them.

> If so, nothing can happen in the great circuit of His works, either without His knowledge or appointment. And if nothing happens without His knowledge, He knows that I am here, and am in this dreadful condition. And if nothing happens without His appointment, He has appointed all this to befall me. (I, 101-102)

This, then, is a large part of Crusoe's new-found knowledge, an awareness of Providence and a justification of faith through reason. The catalyst for Crusoe's thought is the dream-vision which so terrified him, so that Defoe seems to be indicating that some sort of revelation must take place before reason can justify the foundations of faith. On the other hand, there were two ways to faith in God in the eighteenth century—one by revelation and one through reason—and it seems that Crusoe uses both in conjunction with one another. However, when he later converts
Friday to Christianity, Crusoe draws a distinction between reason and revelation:

...it was a testimony to me how the mere notions of nature, though they will guide reasonable creatures to the knowledge of a God, and of a worship or homage due to the supreme being of God, as the consequence of our nature, yet nothing but Divine revelation can form the knowledge of Jesus Christ and of a redemption purchased for us, of a Mediator of the new convenant, and of an Intercessor at the footstool of God's throne. (I, 244)

Thus, a general knowledge of God can be obtained through the principles of nature and reason, but particular knowledge of Jesus Christ must come through revelation or nurture. With Friday, Crusoe must bear the white man's burden.

We have previously noted that, after Crusoe's repentance, he expands both his exploration and his control over the natural environment. He learns the seasons, orders his projects, and meditates continually. He dominates the island in a strictly orderly fashion, producing neither too much nor too little of what he needs. It is well within Crusoe's power to overproduce the commodities essential to his existence. He could, for example, grow acres of rice, barley, and corn, but most of it would be surplus and waste. He would be dominating his environment for no real reason whatsoever, and thus we can assume that he has learned what his place is in the natural order and, in consequence, adheres to the bounds set by nature: "...we enjoy just as much as we can use, and no more" (I, 143). Thus, Crusoe comes to value things only as they are useful to him. In other words, he learns to temper his acquisitiveness, to keep it within the natural (and moral) bounds, and again, the triumph over his animal, "brute" nature is complete.
Another pattern which would indicate a new basis for action and a new means of knowledge for Crusoe, would be the series of dreamvisions he narrates. Significantly, these visions begin only with the one that brings on his repentance. Previously, while his prayers and sabbath-keeping were merely matters of form, he had no such visions, or paid no attention to them. At least, none are narrated. However, the dream pattern takes its significance from the fact that Crusoe pays great attention to his separate dreams, knowing (after his conversion) they are one means through which Providence communicates. Thus, by listening to this Providential voice, he is able to see into the future, and to guide his actions according to the knowledge granted him by God's voice.

Frank Ellis, taking a rather strange view of the dream-pattern in Robinson Crusoe, states that in fact dreams exist on both sides of Crusoe's conversion: "Superimposed on this form is a related pattern of dreams (isolated man talking to God). This dream-conversion pattern is repeated on either side, so to speak, of the central confrontation—before and after, that is to say, the central episode of the plot." And further, Ellis points out, "the conversion of Friday and of Robinson Crusoe himself are preceded and foreshadowed by dream sequences."35 Thus, Crusoe dreams one night that he will get one of the "savages" to be his servant, that a man would come "running into my little thick grove, before my fortification, to hide himself." Crusoe dreams he will show himself to the savage, whereupon the latter will prostrate himself before Crusoe and become his servant (I, 220-221). Crusoe's new project will be to get a servant, and his fear of the cannibals is consequently overcome by the knowledge granted him by
Providence that he will be successful in this venture.

The general importance of the dream pattern is that it indicates that Crusoe's inner being—his thought-processes and his spiritual and rational character—is slowly opening out into the book and assuming an ever greater importance to the narrative itself. The importance of this "blooming" of Crusoe's inner being is to indicate that he is coming to a greater knowledge of himself, and that this knowledge—a result of his experience—is being fed back into his experience through an interaction with the environment. Thus, the collapsing and stretching of the time sequence throughout *Robinson Crusoe* serves what we could term a thematic function. We can assume, given the existence of an obvious paralleling and contrasting of events in Defoe's novel, that our author carefully chooses his events to show Crusoe's gradual awakening to these spiritual realities and to a self-knowledge. The stretching of a single day's events into several pages, or the collapse of several weeks into a single sentence, would indicate parallels between Crusoe's acquisition of knowledge and his acquisition of goods and property through a focus on important events and important meditations. The fairly detailed descriptions of various projects such as the making of pots, furniture, fortifications, and the growing and harvesting of crops, illustrate Crusoe's diligence, patience, prudence, and an application of reason in order to gain control over the natural environment. His explorations of the island and, in particular, the discoveries he makes of fertile land, grapes, tortoises, and so on, serve the purpose of showing how Crusoe extends his diligent application, his human power of reason, and his property into the state of nature.
In conjunction with the narration of certain of these projects, Crusoe's meditations and reflections exist in a kind of timeless world, yet at the same time parallel his conquest of the natural environment. Thus, as Crusoe indicates in several of the more meditative passages of the book, the "secret hints and notices" of Providence, working in conjunction with his reason and proving to him the "justness of this reason," form a strong bond between his growing spiritual and rational being and his application of moral knowledge and reason to a practical and utilitarian conquest of the environment. This major thematic thrust of the narrative achieves its fruition with the coming of Friday to Crusoe's island. Friday himself can be seen, in one sense, as a thematic device which indicates the triumph of reason and faith in Crusoe's mind. First, of course, we have seen that Providence gives notice to Crusoe that he will obtain a servant. Crusoe, because of his new "notions of things," pays heed to this Providential dream and decides, after many "secret disputes" and "great perplexities," to prepare to capture one of the savages. He sets himself "upon the scout, as often as possible" (I, 222), and soon his diligence is rewarded. After a fight with the cannibals, in which he is "called plainly by Providence to save" one "poor creature's life" (I, 225), he obtains Friday. Friday then becomes useful to both Crusoe and the narrative itself. He has a certain utilitarian value as a servant to Crusoe, but at the same time, he allows Crusoe to become a missionary. Crusoe converts Friday, and with particular reference to the theme of Crusoe's moral growth, this solidifies and illustrates our hero's faith and knowledge. Again, the narrative focusses on the dialogues through which Crusoe converts
his servant to a Christian and civilized morality, indicating the path that is open from meditation to action throughout the novel. Therefore, Friday is of practical use to Crusoe, and he is of moral and thematic use to the narrative, since once again reason and faith triumph over a savage nature.

There is one final important pattern in Defoe's novel which indicates the growth of practical knowledge, reason, and finally, the realization that acquisition should be tempered by reason. Three times ships come to Crusoe's island, and each of these incidents is used by Defoe to illustrate certain character traits in Robinson Crusoe which have developed through the course of the preceding narrative. The first incident is that of the shipwreck which places Crusoe in a state of nature and which concretely embodies the dominant nature of Crusoe himself up to that point in the narrative. First, the shipwreck is obviously punishment by Providence for what we have seen to be moral and social sins: Crusoe's overreaching and bestial nature results in divinely-sent punishment as the Providential pattern once again triumphs. He is placed in a state of nature which is emblematic of his own nature. He is controlled by passion and morally isolated from his own species through his early adventures; he is controlled by passion and physically isolated from his own species when he is shipwrecked on the island. Though he begins slowly to evolve rational patterns of thought in his mind, he is still largely a creature of instinct as is illustrated in his plundering of this first ship. He does not being to coordinate his plans and "gestures," but plunders the ship of everything he can take off, whether it is useful or useless. And, in his haste and folly, he nearly overturns one raft-
load, while at another time he accidentally dumps a load of useless and heavy ironwork into the river. He even hauls off what he knows is useless gold, but not without addressing to the money his famous apostrophe which Coleridge and others have found to be a masterpiece of irony:

I smiled to myself at the sight of this money. "O drug!" said I aloud, "what art thou good for? Thou are not worth to me, no, not the taking off of the ground; one of those knives is worth all this heap. I have no manner of use for thee; even remain where thou art, and go to the bottom as a creature whose life is not worth saving." However, upon second thoughts, I took it away.... (I, 62)

Certainly this passage could be ironic, since at the same time Crusoe has taken away other useless items, but it could also illustrate the first glimmerings of prudence in Crusoe's mind. If he is ever rescued from his island, the gold will certainly be useful, and it is this line of reasoning that controls his thoughts when the second ship is wrecked off his island years later.

When this second ship runs aground, Crusoe takes his canoe out to it and finds "very little...that was of any use to me," except for several chests of money (I, 214). Again he reflects that "for as to the money, I had no manner of occasion for it; 'twas to me as the dirt under my feet; and I would have given it all for three or four pair of English shoes and stockings, which were things I greatly wanted, but had not had on my feet now for many years." Crusoe takes the money off the ship, but this time gives his reason:

Well, however, I lugged this money home to my cave, and laid it up, as I had done that before which I brought from our own ship; but it was great pity, as I said, that the other part of this ship had not come to my share, for I am satisfied I might have loaded my canoe several times over with money, which, if I had
ever escaped to England, would have lain here safe enough till I might have come again and fetched it.

(I, 215)

What the reader might have once seen as merely greed and stupidity has now become a prudent act, for Crusoe is saving the money for when he might need it.

A number of years have elapsed since Crusoe plundered the first wreck, and the change in his behavior as he takes things from this second wreck is quite evident. Instead of laying his hands on anything that is loose or that he can detach, he is very judicious in the items he acquires. He doesn't take any muskets—he already has enough—but he takes the powder horn. He takes some kettles and pots, and a gridiron, and is likewise very selective in what he takes from the seachests. Crusoe, then, behaves as a reasonable man would. He knows what he needs from the ship, his experience and reason having taught him the usefulness of certain items and the uselessness of others. Therefore, in judging the utility and value of certain objects, and even of certain ventures, Crusoe shows again a new knowledge in his ability to handle himself in certain situations. And, as if to drive the point home, Defoe fills the following pages of the narrative with another of those long meditative passages wherein Crusoe reflects on his past life of sin and the joys he would have found in staying peaceably in the middle station of life, allowing reason and morality to guide him in his acquisition of material wealth and well-being. Further, in calling himself a "memento to those who are touched with the general plague of mankind"—i.e., the sin of pride—Crusoe again shows an awareness of the existence of an essentially moral universe wherein man must peacefully settle into his proper station in life and temper his aspirations and acquisitiveness with both faith
and reason. Crusoe, here, is a far cry from the Crusoe who found himself, in his first days on the island, sunk into a "meer state of Nature" and governed only by "fear and desire," unaware of his true position or nature, or by any realization that through reason and rational application he can raise himself out of his bestial mental and physical state of nature.

Finally, with the coming of the third ship to the island, Crusoe is ready to take complete control of the situation and to become a leader of men and a force for order and stability in society.

In planning a counter-strategy that leads to a successful recapture of the ship, Crusoe again illustrates through his actions his ability to reason and take control, and to see the event through to the end. For example, he makes his demands to the English captain "most reasonable." If Crusoe is to give his aid in recapturing the ship, the captain must submit to two conditions:

1. That while you stay on this island with me, you will not pretend to any authority here; and if I put arms into your hands, you will upon all occasions give them up to me and do no prejudice to me or mine upon this island, and in the meantime, be governed by my orders. 2. That if the ship is or may be recovered, you will carry me and my man to England, passage free.

(I, 285-86)

A social contract is formed that is both reasonable and just. The captain offers Crusoe command of his ship, but Crusoe judiciously refuses. What follows the arrangement of this contract is a string of victories which end with the recapture of the ship and safe passage of Crusoe and Friday back to England. In all, Providence has allowed Crusoe to achieve, through diligence and application, his own salvation: through Crusoe's own efforts, he gains a final deliverance from the island and is fully prepared to reassume his just and proper
place in society. One of Crusoe's last actions on his island is to
give thanks to that Providence which aided him in all his "right"
actions:

I forgot not to lift up my heart in thankfulness to
Heaven; and what heart could forbear to bless Him, who
had not only in a miraculous manner provided for one
in such a wilderness and in such a desolate condition,
but from whom every deliverance must always be
acknowledged to proceed. (I, 305-06)

And, as a final note, Crusoe realizes the significance of the
date of his departure from the island:

And thus I left the island, the 19th of December, as
I found by the ships account, in the year 1686, after I
had been upon it eight and twenty years, two months, and
nineteen days, being delivered from this second captivity
the same day of the month that I first made my escape in
the barco-longo, from among the Moors of Sallee
(I, 310-11)

IV. Structure and Dialectics

The suggestion that Crusoe is finding significant patterns in
his life and that Defoe is carefully structuring his narrative to show
the stages of Crusoe's development points to the possibility, again,
of a shaping vision at work throughout the entire narrative, and further,
that each episode is thematically significant in this larger structure.
In the previous chapter I indicated the possibility of three structural
levels in Robinson Crusoe: the paratactic structure, the pattern of
interaction between the religious and economic themes, and a structure
which incorporates the growth and development of the main character and
which serves to unify and place in proper perspective the moral and
economic themes of the book. Now that we have explored and defined
the quality of Crusoe's mental and spiritual development and its basis
in the philosophy of the period, we should be able to describe this
more comprehensive structure in Defoe's novel.

On the most basic level, Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* divides into
three units: the pre-island section, the twenty-eight year sojourn
on the island, and the return to the civilized world. As we have seen,
Crusoe's own nature—his character and thoughts—is explored and
defined in each of these three sections, the exploration being deeper
and more significant during the island portion of the story. The
reason for this significance is that, quite simply, the island is
Crusoe's proving-ground; it is here that he must develop and fully
realize a code of ethics and of right action which will facilitate his
peaceful reentry into society. In this sense, each of the major
changes in his character—his acquisition of reason and faith—and
all his projects and diary-keeping, take him one step further from the
state of nature and consequently one step closer to a recovery of
civilized society. If the island portion itself is a major transitional
scene, then it is carefully connected with the narrative sections on
either side through Defoe's use of specific fictional devices. In
fact, Defoe is careful to prepare his reader for each stage in Crusoe's
development through both dramatic build-ups to climactic scenes and
transitional scenes and devices. Our last section, then, will be an
attempt to indicate the close relationships between Crusoe's
developing character and the dramatic structure of the novel, and to
show how both character and structure consequently work toward a
resolution of the trade-morality paradox.

First, each stage of Crusoe's development, beginning with his
essentially "brutish" early life, is carefully defined and dramatically
rendered before any move is made to the next stage (though in many cases Defoe does prefigure future developments). Thus, in the opening pages of the book, Crusoe's father carefully describes the middle state in life, and in so doing he defines the quality of Crusoe's earliest years. Defoe's hero grows up in an environment of ease, stability, security, and comparative tranquility; he does not have much to worry about, and his future has been pretty well mapped out for him. But Crusoe is quick to point out that he is "filled very early with rambling thoughts" (I, 2), and so begins laying the groundwork for a revolt against his father. The revolt comes about, characteristically, through a spur-of-the-moment decision to ship out with a friend, and in revolting against the values of rationality (implied in his father's arguments) and a concomitant security and stability, Crusoe embraces a set of counter-values—passion, inclination, and a desire to rise quickly in the world. These counter-values are exemplified and illustrated in the series of schemes and trading adventures which follow. At the same time, the moral framework and the correct values of Crusoe's father continually impose themselves throughout these early adventures, both through the narrator's literary analogies to the Genesis story, the prodigal son, and Jonah, and through the intrusions of Providence into young Crusoe's life. In this manner, the dialectic between Crusoe's trading schemes and a moral and Christian ethos becomes operative through the first portion of the book.

The dialectic is nearly resolved for the first time when Crusoe settles on his Brazilian plantation. In this case, the moral reflections of the narrator indicate that the younger Crusoe is gravitating back into the middle station of life. But the counter-ideology proves
successful again, as Crusoe decided to accompany his friends on a slaving expedition, and once again the themes of trade and foolishness assert themselves. Crusoe's slaving voyage proves to be the structural transition between the first two major sections of the book. What the reader is invited to see as basically an immoral venture ("foolish inclinations" coupled with "rising faster than the nature of the thing allowed") ends in disaster for Crusoe, with all of his former security destroyed; he is shipwrecked and isolated through an act of Providence on a desert island, and he must spend the next twenty-eight years developing his rational and moral being before Providence will allow him to return to society.

It is interesting to note, at this point, that before each major change in his life, Crusoe reaches a position of a certain degree of stability and security. The equilibrium and relative immobility of the middle station of life is refuted by Crusoe as he opts for the hazards and mobility of the adventurer's life. And instead of quitting after his successful second voyage, he feels confident in his trading capabilities—a confidence which is shattered by Providence during his third voyage. For a third time, on his plantation in Brazil, Crusoe realizes a certain degree of equilibrium. As I have indicated, he fast approaches the middle station which he overthrew at the beginning of his story. But, the trade nexus enters once again, and what confidence and sound position Crusoe had gained is overthrown by Providence. Finally, we have seen that on his island, Crusoe manages to take a step out of the natural state by applying reason to his situation. Again, he realizes a certain stability in his situation, and this
stability is indicated in several ways. He works carefully at several rudimentary projects, he fortifies himself against any "wild creatures" or "savages," and finally he even has time to begin a journal: "And now it was when I began to keep a journal of every day's employment; for, indeed, at first, I was in too much hurry, and not only hurry as to labour, but in too much discomposure of mind; and my journal would have been full of many dull things" (I. 75).

A journal, of course, implies a certain ordering of one's life and thoughts, and as Crusoe points out, it is only after he has rationally mastered his thoughts, that he can begin this particular account. Among other things, then, Crusoe's Journal traces his development up to a point of relative confidence and equilibrium. Thus, the "reason-stage" of our hero's development is carefully rendered by Defoe before he begins his dramatic build-up to Crusoe's repentance, when the sure ground Crusoe felt himself to be on is shaken first by a storm and an earthquake, and then by illness and a vision of God's punishment.

The social and thematic implications of this structure of equilibrium and undercutting are that Crusoe, in each case, has somehow failed to become a complete man. Throughout his pre-island adventures he opposes rational and moral values in basing his actions on desire and inclination. Because of his opposition to correct values he is justly punished by Providence. And when Crusoe achieves, through rational behavior, a certain equilibrium on his island, Defoe implies that reason alone is insufficient; it does not complete man's knowledge. Thus, Defoe structures his narrative to indicate, on the one hand, the incompleteness of each of the stages Crusoe reaches, and on the other hand, the absolute necessity of a
sense of Christian moral principles in achieving a balanced and rational self-knowledge. Once Crusoe has gained this knowledge, he is ready to make his slow and painstaking way back into human society.

Again, Defoe gives us a slow and dramatic build-up to Crusoe's final apotheosis—his entry into the proper station of life in civilized society. After Crusoe's repentance, Defoe allows plenty of time for his protagonist to discover and explore the principles and values of Christian faith, carefully preparing him, through meditations and actions, for his eventual rescue from the island. "Thus," as E.M.W. Tillyard points out, "Crusoe learnt to cope with solitude and with a life now devoid of violent turns and surprises. But that is a different matter from coping with society and its ways. And to that second aptitude he must be educated. It is this further education and the use to which Crusoe puts it that is the theme of the second half of the book."

In a manner of speaking, the pattern Crusoe follows in rediscovering human society is roughly analogous to the pattern of his own development up to this "half-way" point in the novel. Crusoe has progressed from the "meer State of Nature" through reason to Christian faith, and the pattern he follows in rediscovering mankind proceeds from a discovery of the cannibals, or "natural men," through a rescue of Friday—who is shown to be a fairly rational human—then Friday's father and the Spaniard, and finally to a meeting with a man of both reason and faith, the English captain. And just as he gets more and more of his island into his possession, so he gradually gets more and more of humanity to serve him. In all this he is, of course, a just ruler and leader, since he now bases his actions and social contracts
on the principles of reason and faith he has learned in his solitude. When, for example, he has three men working for him on his island, he makes this "merry reflection:"

My island was now peopled, and I thought myself very rich in subjects; and it was a merry reflection, which I frequently made, how like a king I looked. First of all, the whole country was my own mere property, so that I had an undoubted right of dominion. Secondly, my people were perfectly subjected. I was absolute lord and lawgiver; they all owed their lives to me, and were ready to lay down their lives, if there had been occasion of it, for me. It was remarkable, too, we had but three subjects, and they were of three different religions. My man Friday was a Protestant, his father was a Pagan and a cannibal, and the Spaniard was a Papist. However, I allowed liberty of conscience throughout my dominions. (I, 269)

Crusoe, who once revelled in his society of cats, a dog, and a parrot, can now take a great deal more pride in his ability as a just ruler of this somewhat informal society of humans.

There are two important transitional scenes which dramatically signal the beginning of this recovery of human society. The first is the discovery of a single footprint on the beach which at first throws Crusoe into great consternation. However, as we have seen, after much reflection and meditation, Crusoe alters his life-style on the island to take into account this previously unforeseen circumstance (i.e., the possibility of cannibals frequenting his side of the island), and this minor event breeds a chain of events which ends in the rescue of Friday. The other event is the second shipwreck which allows Crusoe to give voice, again through reflections, to his desire for human companionship. From these two occurrences, the reader is led through a series of meditations and actions through which Crusoe continually proves his capabilities. This sequence of thought and event leads to the final recapture of the English ship
from the mutineers (again, possibly emblematic of Crusoe's recovery of civilized society). Indeed, we have already seen that this final event allows Crusoe to prove his capabilities as a leader of men by basing his actions on reason and a faith in Providence. Crusoe's triumph over the unjust and immoral mutineers (who were probably motivated in their action by desire and inclination) proves that he is now able to return to England and to peacefully and confidently settle into the secure and stable middle station of life. And, as if to drive this point home, Defoe gives us one last picture of Crusoe in action, this time commanding civilized men in the fight with the wolves as he is returning to England. The implication through these final actions is that Crusoe has internalized the moral framework, first presented through his father's lectures, which he foolishly revolted against at the beginning of his tale. Finally, Crusoe is now prepared to write his memoirs (Defoe's "just history of fact") and to structure them so as to instruct the reader through "a religious application of events to the uses to which wise men always apply them...and to justify and honour the wisdom of Providence in all the variety of our circumstances, let them happen how they will" (I, lxvii, "Author's Preface").

It is, in the final analysis, Defoe's ability to carefully order his fictional structure so as to exemplify and illustrate the growing consciousness of the main character that results in the aesthetic success of the work. This success is achieved through an unmediated identity of form and content, and with this fact in mind, we can agree with David Grossvogel who states that Crusoe is "not reread because of the complexities of a critic's interpretations," but because of the "simplicity" of the narrative itself.  The word "simplicity," however,
does need some qualification. Form and content are one in that the
development of Crusoe's knowledge and ethics is related to us through
his own narrative eye. He sees the Providential pattern in his life
just as he sees the structure of the book in its relationship to
his own development. The structure of the book thus represents to the
reader the growth of rationality and moral awareness in the mind of
its narrator. From voyage to voyage, and from shipwreck to shipwreck,
we view the slowly developing processes of Crusoe's thought, and we
delve with him below the surface manifestation of events and objects
to read a deeper and truer significance. The narrative eye is essentially
a Puritan and ethical eye, but if some events cannot be read as
having specific and significant religious meaning, they still
certainly contribute to our knowledge of the narrator himself and to the
pattern of his moral growth. Therefore, the book's simplicity does not
lie entirely in its quality of descriptive "realism", nor in the pattern
of an unambiguous adventure story, but rather in the complete identification
between the narrator and the narrative, between the theme and the
aesthetic and dramatic structure.

One quality of the structure of this novel, which Defoe
is doubtlessly concerned with bringing out, is that the book is a
kind of patterned polemic; Crusoe, in narrating his life story, is
reconciling the paradox of trade and morality by tracing his evolution
from a brute human in the state of nature to a civilized human ready
to assume his place in society. The basic problem which Defoe must
resolve is, as we have seen, indicated in the opposing sets of counter-
values which form a dialectic in the pre-island section of the narrative.
It is exactly this opposition that has led John Richetti, in his *Popular Fiction Before Richardson*, to see the first and third books of the Crusoe trilogy—*The Strange and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* and *The Serious Reflections*—as "directed at a counter-ideology of secular individualism which insists, in a sense, upon the implications of modern experience, and thus effectively denies the providential control of the natural and human orders." Richetti continues, "In its balancing of secular and religious experience and its compensation for secular action and power by passivity and submission, *Robinson Crusoe* epitomizes the strategy of popular religious ideology, not simply, as Watt would have it, Defoe's own psychosis." Thus, the psychology, and the psychological growth, of Crusoe implies a moral polemic in the novel: the development of Crusoe's character on the island embodies and exemplifies (through incident, action, and meditation) an ideology which is a balanced resolution of the two sets of values juxtaposed in the earliest portion of the narrative. In more precise terms, the trade-morality dialectic in the pre-island adventures of the young Crusoe is resolved—or synthesized—through Crusoe's application of reason to his situation and with his acquisition of Christian faith.

Therefore, on one level of interpretation, *Robinson Crusoe* illustrates the harmony between reason and the laws of nature on the one hand, and the moral principles of the English Protestant religion on the other. The rights of nature include those of self-preservation, the liberty of the individual as defined through the concept of property, and the desirability of extending one's own property to insure self-preservation. The laws of nature, according to Hobbes and Locke, are those laws of
reason which insure the liberty of the individual and his rights to self-preservation and property. But the laws of nature also insure peace, stability, and order in the state of nature, at least according to Locke. These laws can be controverted by the overly acquisitive individual, and thus, as in the early, pre-island adventures of Robinson Crusoe, the orderly arrangement of society and of the Lockean state of nature, and the laws governing both nature and society, are upset. The unbalancing of nature and society in the earliest parts of Robinson Crusoe occurs through Crusoe's sin of pride—his reenactment of the fall of man from the social and natural order and from a state of grace. The sin of one individual, in Defoe's view, can upset the entire arrangement of the world, and in a chain of events, Crusoe's sin (emblematic of the sin of all men) results in shipwrecks and disasters befalling other men. At the end of the book, however, when Crusoe has become a man of reason, faith, and knowledge, his good acts can restore society and nature to their proper balance—first, in his successful "correction" of the mutineers, and second, in his wise handling of his wealth and his settling down in English society. This contrast between the young Crusoe and the mature Crusoe indicates that the acquisition of both reason and faith can influence a man to maintain the social and natural order. Thus, instead of drawing a contrast between Crusoe as the active capitalist and Crusoe as the passive social being, as Richetti would have us do, we can see the difference with reference to eighteenth century ideas of "wrong" action and "right" action. Let us briefly return to the structure of Defoe's novel as it relates to these concepts of action.
This larger contrast between the younger Crusoe and the older is supported, as we have seen, by a structure of parallels and contrasts throughout the book. Defoe, in fact, works consciously over each side of Crusoe's repentance to indicate similarities or dissimilarities in mental states, incidents, and situations, in order to show the maturing process which takes place as his main character comes to a more complete self-knowledge. The change in Crusoe's temperament would indicate that, if there exists a dialectic between secular and religious interests (or trade and morality) in the pre-island exploits of Crusoe, then a proper balance has been struck between these two sets of values by the time our hero leaves his island: this balance is simply the placing of religious and moral "controls" on one's desire to rise quickly in the world. Crusoe, on his island, has learned to work for and maintain a status quo—a balanced and orderly way of life—and through this achievement has prepared himself for a reentry into the society of men. He has learned to control his acquisitiveness with a morality which involves the knowledge of his proper place in the natural and social order, and this is exactly what makes the island such a remarkable proving ground. As Crusoe remarks, after his repentance:

In the first place, I was removed from all the wickedness of the world here.... I had nothing to covet; for I had all that I was now capable of enjoying. I was lord of the whole manor; or, if I pleased, I might call myself king or emperor over the whole country which I had possession of. There were no rivals: I had no competitor, none to dispute sovereignty or command with me.... But all I could make use of was all that was valuable.... The most covetous griping miser in the world would have been cured of the vice of covetousness, if he had been in my case; for I possessed infinitely more than I knew what to do with. (I, 142-43)
In this state of comparative innocence, Robinson Crusoe realizes the need for order. If he is prompted by fear and desire to raise himself out of his bestial state and to order his environment, then he soon also learns the virtue of temperance perhaps simply because he learns he can saturate himself with goods to no purpose whatsoever. He learns to value things for their utility, and this goes hand in hand with restraint in the acquisition of goods. The important thing to note is that Crusoe eventually comes to involve both his head and his heart in his labor and acquisition, and thus the long meditative passages wherein Crusoe displays his maturing self-knowledge and the narration of projects wherein Crusoe channels his thoughts and his energies towards the problems of survival are integral to one another: the deepening of Crusoe's moral nature both controls and validates the energy he expends on survival. God placed man on earth to do his duty, to work, and to transform and subdue nature in order to make it useful to himself. But, in all this, Crusoe tells us, man cannot forget God. Instead of running into excess and intemperance, as the young Crusoe did, this mature Crusoe illustrates the cohesiveness of conscious activity and moral aim, and it is thus that the paradox of trade and morality is resolved. And although, as Martin Price has pointed out, on his island Crusoe's "tradesmanlike energy remains innocent, with no danger of inordinate desires leading to dishonesty," it is also on his island that Crusoe learns to control rationally and morally, his previous "inordinate desires." Again, Defoe's technique of dramatic presentation is important, for we see Crusoe vitally involved in solving problems of both a practical and a spiritual nature. Just as each stage in his growth to self-
awareness and right action is dramatically rendered and fixed through his involvement directly with trading projects or with survival projects, so the spiritual and philosophic quality of each stage is explored and defined through a series of meditations and reflections both on religion and reason, and on action itself.

Thus, Crusoe returns to society a new man. He marries and settles down in England, enjoying the wealth he has gained from his Brazilian plantation, the money he put into the care of the old widow in England, and the treasure he accumulated during his island sojourn. When he realizes the extent of his wealth, he states that "I might well say now, indeed, that the latter end of Job was better than the beginning" (I, 318). Crusoe handles his money wisely this time, preferring to invest most of it safely, and to generously settle portions of it on faithful friends and relatives. He can say, then, at the end of his story, "And thus I have given the first part of a life of fortune and adventure, a life of Providence's chequerswork, and of a variety which the world will seldom be able to show the like of; beginning foolishly, but closing much more happily than any part of it ever gave me leave so much as to hope for" (I, 340).

Defoe shows us, then, that reason and faith can work to restore balance and normality to a situation made extremely unstable by man's intemperate and immoderate desires. But, this resolution in one man does not mean that the dialectic is resolved in society at large. Unfortunately, Defoe realizes, too few men honor their social contracts and obligations, and so he perhaps offers his Crusoe as an example of the good man which others should imitate. If the novel shows Crusoe pulling himself out of the state of nature as island, then one other implication
is that other men should, and could through right actions, pull themselves out of the state of nature as society. Thus, there would be no disjunction between public virtue and private vice—no disparity between the essential value of trade and the intrinsic value of private morality—for all men would become moral and reasonable beings, and forces for order and stability in the small circuits of their lives.
CHAPTER IV

Conclusion: Theme and Technique

While delineating three fundamental themes in Robinson Crusoe—the religious, the economic, and the theme of growth to moral knowledge—I have also attempted to construct various models which would describe the fundamental structure of the novel. These models have included the paratactic structure, the pattern of interaction between two themes, and finally, a dramatic pattern through which Defoe presents his hero's acquisition of reason and faith. These three patterns and the three most fundamental themes are not isolated from one another, but rather work together to structure and create meaning in Defoe's novel. Previous critics have tended to isolate one theme and one pattern from the rest, elevating one aspect of the book at the expense of all others; thus, a solely religious interpretation of the work tends to undercut what economic meaning it may have, and vice versa. And for the most part, a philosophical background has been called in simply to support one of two basic interpretations of the novel: if a critic sees the book as a religious and allegorical story, then he draws support from a Puritan background and philosophy; if a critic, on the other hand, sees the book as a tract on economics (as Watt and Novak have done), then his support is drawn from a more secular philosophy and from political and economic writings. I suggest
a change in our critical view of *Robinson Crusoe*; seeing the novel in relation to the values and ideas of its age—its broad cultural and ideological background—should allow one to put together a more complete pattern of meaning in the book, a pattern which will take into account nearly all of the narrative elements and allow us to see the three themes as being interrelated and integral. By "narrative elements" I mean the author's technique in its broadest sense as it is defined by Mark Schorer in his essay, "Technique as Discovery:"

> When we speak of technique...we speak of nearly everything. For technique is the means by which the writer's experience, which is his subject matter, compels him to attend to it; technique is the only means he has of discovering, exploring, developing his subject, of conveying its meaning, and, finally, of evaluating it. Technique is really what T.S. Eliot means by "convention"—any selection, structure, or distortion, any form or rhythm imposed upon the world of action; by means of which—its should be added—our apprehension of the world of action is enriched or renewed.¹

As was suggested in the previous chapter, Defoe's technique can be described as one of continual simplification. His style, for example, is plain, his descriptions are of surfaces (Locke's primary qualities of matter) or of events or objects that can be read as allegorical shells, and finally, his narrative contains a single moral thrust. Thus, A.D. McKillop describes the broad appeal of *Robinson Crusoe* as stemming from an "impulse...toward simplification, not toward primitivism." He describes Crusoe's actions on the island as illustrating "a simpler-than-real-life-program," but here McKillop is discussing a single theme without relating it to technique.² I would suggest that Defoe's themes and his technique are all part of a single moral vision which suffuses the novel, and that his technique is, in this sense, those methods through which Defoe presents his moral vision.
The impulse through the novel—on both a thematic and technical level—is toward simplification and reconciliation as Crusoe realizes this moral knowledge while working through his adventures and projects back to society. Therefore, *Robinson Crusoe* embodies not only a theory of man but a moral vision as well, and both vision and theory serve to define Defoe's intentions and his technique. And vision and theory are, of course, subsumed in the larger and more complex cultural and ideological model which has been defined in the previous two chapters.

Our reading of Defoe's novel has indicated that, for purposes of fictional presentation, the author has reduced and simplified this model through his technique. But before involving ourselves in these issues, a short summary of findings is perhaps in order.

First, Defoe's novel embodies an essentially Puritan religious vision. Different events and situations are obviously intended to be emblematic. Crusoe's leaving home represents the fall of man through disobedience, his wanderings embody isolation from God and value (Jonah, the prodigal son), his physical isolation on the island represents this same spiritual alienation and a complete social alienation. Providence, the hand of God, intervenes throughout Crusoe's life, leading both Crusoe and the reader to see his autobiography as "Providence's chequer-work." The novel, in this sense, shows how the moral and religious vision of the narrating Crusoe has developed—what significant incidents, situations, and thoughts the younger Crusoe experienced which came to define the religious point of view and the religious pattern of the book. Thus, Crusoe sees himself as reenacting the age-old pattern of the fall of man, the loss of Paradise (in this case, the middle station and society), the
exile and repentance of the wanderer, and a final restoration to Paradise (again, society seen emblematically). This pattern is, perhaps, the backbone of the novel, since the narrating Crusoe has internalized this Christian view of life and presents his own story as it illustrates this view. As we have seen, the religious vision is so strong in certain parts of the narrative that some critics attempt an allegorical interpretation of the work. But again, there is no precise, point-for-point analogy between each one of the events and a fundamental Christian pattern of meaning. One can, for example, read the miracle of the corn as emblematic of the seeds of grace sprouting in Crusoe's heart, but the direct correlation is in fact nonexistent. When the "physical" incident occurs, the seeds of grace have not yet sprouted, and they don't until sometime later. At most, this event can be read as a kind of emblematic foreshadowing, but Defoe is probably more concerned with the thematic possibilities of a disparity between this conventional religious metaphor and Crusoe's spiritual state at the time the actual event takes place. This example is more a case of isolated irony, since Crusoe falls ill before he even thinks of repenting. There are other events which might be interpreted as emblematic, but only by stretching a point or by reading the metaphoric meaning in a very broad and general sense; Crusoe, for example, forms his first pot, which represents his giving spiritual shape to his soul, or Crusoe ordering his island-wilderness parallels his growth out of his "inward jungle." This allegorical reading, besides being hazy and at times ambiguous, would also give more of a subsidiary status to the other themes than is warranted by the text. These other patterns are stressed too much throughout the novel
and, in this sense, should not be relegated to a solely religious-allegorical pattern.

However, this is not to say that the general religious pattern is unimportant, for it operates to place a perspective on Crusoe's economics. His sins are in fact enacted in a more economic frame of reference, so that the economic pattern supports the religious and moral theme just as the religious pattern supports the economic and moral theme. Again, in the opposition between mercantilism and *laissez-faire* capitalism, both Defoe and, eventually, Crusoe opt for the more conservative and moral view. This conservative bias is, as we have seen, a basic part of Puritan thought in the seventeenth century, indicated primarily in the writings of Richard Baxter and William Perkins. The conservative attitude does change throughout the latter part of the century, but writers such as Defoe and Locke—both from Puritan backgrounds—still side with the mercantilist conservatives. Thus Defoe actually fortifies his economic theme in *Robinson Crusoe* by setting his hero's trading ventures in a moral and religious context. The moral depends on the religious framework, but it depends on socio-economic values as well. We have seen that Crusoe's early trading schemes are in direct opposition to the correct social values—i.e., maintaining order, stability, balance, not rising faster than the nature of things allows—both expounded by his father and implied through the older Crusoe's moral vision and his growth to ethical awareness on the island. Crusoe learns to order his life, maintain a *status quo*, and realize the blessings of so doing. He learns to value things economically only as they are useful to him,
honor his contractual arrangements, and reciprocate the loyalties of his servant and friends. In short, he learns the essential value of stability and security through his experience and through his coming to a knowledge of proper position, duty, and obligation.

As our summary has thus far indicated, a pattern of growth into moral vision and knowledge is superimposed on both the religious and economic patterns. We have seen that this larger pattern involves an awareness of both the philosophical ideas in circulation at the time and the values presented in the philosophies of the seventeenth century. Certain Christian ideals are fundamental to Locke's views on man and society, and these ideals are inherent in the Lockean quest for greater knowledge—for discovering, in other words, the sane and rational workings of a universe which embodies the wisdom of its Creator. Crusoe grows into this knowledge while on his island. He discovers that nature is best made useful by ordering it according to the principles of reason, and that nature herself contains a natural law or order which Crusoe realizes by assuming (in Locke's terms) a "natural control" over the environment. After his repentance, he notes that faith solidifies and builds on this rationality; reason orders and faith validates, in other words. Thus, after his repentance, Crusoe indicates that he makes himself "very melancholy sometimes, in reflecting, as the several occasions presented, how mean a use we make of all these [the precepts of reason], even though we have these powers enlightened by the great lamp of instruction, the Spirit of God, and by the knowledge of His Word added to our understanding...." And he makes "certain discoveries of the invisible world and a converse of spirits we cannot doubt" (I, 233) through both his understanding of the law of
nature and his discovery of the reasonableness of Christian faith. These concepts, then, lead Crusoe to accept rationally and apodictically the existence of a "converse of spirits" and a hand of Providence always at work in the world, and this realization is, of course, part and parcel of his new-found knowledge. Likewise, these concepts seem to lie at the basis of Locke's own quest for knowledge—in a manner of speaking, his philosophy itself—and in presenting this more philosophic theme of self-knowledge, Defoe is reducing the Lockean (and Puritan in some respects) concepts of reason and faith and their interaction to their most basic and simplified levels. At the same time, Defoe's reduction leads to an integration of all three basic themes simply by showing them as interrelated parts of the same basic moral vision—in this case, Crusoe's vision.

All three themes, then, are reflexive in that they work to define the "complete man" as he combines the principles of reason and faith to produce essentially good actions. This complete man is Crusoe himself when he leaves his island to return to civilization; he has a strong moral vision, fortified by both reason and faith. Crusoe's morality has, of course, its passive aspect; self-knowledge and awareness come through right (rational) thoughts and contemplation. But his vision also has an active side; right intentions lead to good actions. Thus, according to Crusoe in his *Serious Reflections*, "...we are to listen to the voice of Nature [i.e., Reason], and to the voices of creatures, viz., to the voice of the invisible agents of the world of spirits...we are to listen to the voice of God" (III, 187). Listening to the voice of "invisible agents" and "the voice of God"
are, in Crusoe's sense, parts of the Puritan concepts of introspection and emblematic interpretation of events. But, in Crusoe's case, this moral vision is also firmly grounded in the philosophy of the period, so that both religion and philosophy work to give man a strong sense and knowledge of right action in a world threatened by the inordinate and immoral desires and inclinations of a fallen human nature. Crusoe has learned his lesson; he must work for order and stability, for only then will he be blessed (as was Job), and only then is there a possibility that society as a whole (with reference to the themes of Defoe's novel) will be balanced, ordered, and sane. Defoe's polemical purpose, then, is perhaps to show that people should follow Cursoe's example, realizing as completely as possible their position in a world threatened by the probability of human anarchy, and that their moral duty is—to follow the dictates of reason, faith, and moral knowledge—to become active in promulgating ideals of order and social stability. In all their actions, people should maintain a Christian morality and apply the principles of human reason.

Therefore, to Defoe, proper knowledge should apply to action in all spheres of human endeavor—political, social economic, philosophic, religious. But, as we have seen, in eighteenth century philosophy a major portion of these categories dissolve into a single economic framework. Social and political relationships are seen as a system of "trade contracts" which, to a philosopher such as Locke, should provide the maximum freedom to the individual (defined, significantly, through an "economic" concept of property) while at the same time insisting on an orderly arrangement of these contracts which would insure a stabilized society. The set of laws which govern both the state of nature and the
arrangement of society should also of course operate to maintain a balance, or status quo, in the area of actual trading relationships. Thus, there is a general connection between Locke's abstract and theoretical concepts and Defoe's thematic intentions in Robinson Crusoe. Defoe's purpose in setting Crusoe in a state of nature and tracing his growth back into society is to illustrate those rules which should always govern man's actions. Locke's codification of the laws of nature, his description of the state of nature, his view of society as a system of contract and trade relationships, are all paralleled in Crusoe's realization of his position in a state of nature and in society. And, just as Locke's philosophy is based on the relationships between reason and faith (the quest for knowledge being a rational discovery of man's purpose and position in relation to nature, society, and God), so Crusoe must internalize the principles of reason and faith in order to recover his proper position in both a Christian cosmos and a secular society.

The way in which Defoe presents this basic theme is most important here, since he is illustrating, through his fiction, the same organization of reality that Locke attempts in his more theoretical and abstract philosophy. The rather complex ideological model which informs both Defoe's and Crusoe's vision is thus reduced and simplified in order to concretely represent the ideas, ideals, and values by which the eighteenth-century Englishman should live. In this sense, the dramatic structure and the moral conflicts in Robinson Crusoe are unidimensional in that both are controlled by a single, pervading moral vision which infuses both theme and technique.

For example, part of the simplification is a plainness of style which is discussed not only by Defoe, but also by Puritan writers and
Locke himself. Plainness in style leads, in all three cases, to a closer approximation of reality (Locke's empiricism, the Puritan emblematic vision of experience) and thus closer to the fundamental truths of the human condition. And, in both Locke and Defoe, this style leads to a uniform tone of "cool" objectivity and emotional detachment. Since most of Defoe's stories are memoirs, the narrator himself is detached from his earlier experience. This detachment creates both an "aesthetic distance" between the narrator and the early events of his life, and a style that remains "outside"—not emotionally involved, in other words—the narrated situations. The given event is reported by means of a detached style which leads, paradoxically, to an emotional involvement by the reader. Crusoe, for example, relates that after the first shipwreck, he never saw any of his fellow crewmen, "or any sign of them, except three of their hats, one cap, and two shoes that were not fellows" (I, 43). Not only does this sentence illustrate Defoe's use of circumstantial detail, but the style itself reflects an emotional detachment. The reader must fill in the emotional gap; he must imagine the sadness, perhaps even the bitterness, that Crusoe feels when he finds these objects on the beach.

Therefore, the detachment of the narrator leads not necessarily to irony, but rather to empathy. Again, the straight-forward and consistently serious manner in which Crusoe tells his story militates against any pervasive ironic view of his adventures. Certainly there are isolated cases of irony, but only when some of Crusoe's early actions are held up against the moral vision of the narrator. Swift or Pope, for example, may use the detached persona to create complex
ironies in their works, but Defoe offers us a simple narrative which evokes an empathetic response from the reader, not an ironic one. Defoe undoubtedly meant us to take his hero seriously, not to see him as a buffoon or to see his entire autobiography as an ironic inversion of the moral viewpoint of the older Crusoe. This lack of complex irony again leads us to see the novel as essentially unidimensional; rather than creating a complex structure of meaning through convolutions and verbal complexities, Defoe reduces Crusoe's actions and meditations to a single, straight-forward, "surface" level.

Finally, if Defoe's novel is not a work of complex or pervasive irony, our case against the trade-morality conflict school of criticism is further strengthened. Any major theme or pattern in the book can be read precisely for what it is, neither more nor less. Crusoe's progress in both the religious and economic patterns—his slow acquisition of faith and reason—is subsumed in a larger, more general pattern of his growth out of the state of nature into a "civilized" human being, able to reenter society. Thus, each theme and pattern reflects the same fundamental moral purpose; Defoe's intention is to present to his readers a picture of the essentially good eighteenth-century man. His technique, then, reflects his intention; he defines such a man by slowly and painstakingly tracing Crusoe's growth through a series of adventures and situations which produce this paradigmatic being. Crusoe, therefore, is a man who can resolve the paradox between trade and morality. He does so by becoming an essentially conservative fellow with strong religious moral principles and with a strong belief in a stable and ordered society. By letting reason and faith work in conjunction with one another, Crusoe can be responsible for good
social actions—i.e., actions which will insure the continued prosperity and balance of society. In short, by the end of the novel the younger Crusoe has caught up completely with the older one in that he has internalized moral and rational principles and is thus able to assume a rational and stable position in society. He has learned, quite simply, that reason orders and stabilizes one's thoughts and actions, and that faith validates—makes significant—those meditations and actions. Crusoe has thus acquired a moral conscience and a philosophical knowledge of his place in a rationally operated, and essentially moral, cosmos. He has combined principles of a secular knowledge (economic and philosophical) with the precepts of Protestant Christian faith to find a pattern of religious meaning, social identity, and value in his own life, and is thus offered to us by Defoe as the paradigmatic model of the eighteenth-century middle class Englishman.
NOTES

CHAPTER I


11. There are actually two Covenants. The first dates from 1638 when a protestation was signed throughout Scotland in which the signers (Covenanters) pledged to defend the Protestant (i.e., Calvinist) religion.
The second Covenant—the one relating to our discussion—is a treaty, The Solemn League and Covenant, concluded between the English Parliament (at that time in revolt against Charles I) and the Scots nation in 1643. In return for Scottish military aid in prosecuting the war against Charles, it was stipulated that the reformed church in Scotland (Presbyterian) would be preserved, popery and episcopacy were to be extirpated in both England and Scotland, and peace would be concluded between the two kingdoms. The Covenant remained on the books, officially at least, throughout the period of Puritan rule. With the restoration of Charles II, however, the Covenant came under heavy criticism, and the treaty itself was effectually abolished by the Clarendon Code, though the Scots continued for some time to refer to it as if it were still in effect.


20 See Novak, Economics, pp. 11, 160.

21 Sutherland, p. 45.

subsequent references to the Crusoe trilogy (Part I: The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe; Part II: The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe; Part III: Serious Reflections), which comprise the first three volumes of Aitken's edition of the Romances and Narratives by Daniel Defoe (16 vols.), are noted parenthetically in the text by volume number (I, II, or III) and page.

23 Novak, Economics, p. ix.

CHAPTER II


3 Starr, Defoe and Spiritual Autobiography, p. xi.

4 For a particular discussion of this theme, see Starr, Defoe and Spiritual Autobiography, pp. 5-11.


7 See Starr, Defoe and Spiritual Autobiography, pp. 6-11.

8 Quoted in Starr, Defoe and Spiritual Autobiography, p. 20.

9 Quoted in Starr, Defoe and Spiritual Autobiography, p. 20.


16. Quoted in Hunter, p. 130.


22. Benjamin, p. 211.


26. Watt, p. 70.

27. Daniel Defoe, Caledonia; a poem in honour of Scotland and the Scots nation (Edinburgh: Printed by the heirs and successors of A. Anderson, 1706), pp. 57, 59, 2.

28. Watt, p. 86.


33 Quoted in Charles and Katherine George, p. 160.


37 Watt, p. 61.


45 Hunter, p. 175.


CHAPTER III

1 Ernst Behler, "Ideas of the 'State of Nature' and 'Natural Man' in the Arabic Tradition of the Middle Ages and their entrance into Western Thought," *Arcadia*, 3 (1968), 22.

2 Behler, p. 15.

3 Behler, p. 17.


6 Grotius, p. 15.


8 Quoted in Novak, *Defoe and the Nature of Man*, p. 25.


11 Quoted by Laslett in "Introduction," Locke, Two Treatises, p. 48.

12 Locke, Two Treatises, pp. 311, 312.


14 Locke, Essay, IV, xii, 2.

15 Plamenatz, I, 222.

16 Watt, p. 62.

17 Plamenatz, I, 221.

18 Locke, Two Treatises, pp. 328-39.


23 Locke, Two Treatises, p. 243.

24 Locke, Two Treatises, pp. 332-33.

25 Locke, Two Treatises, p. 247.


30. Donovan, p. 36.


34. Lee, II, 353.


CHAPTER IV


2McKillop, p. 24.
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