



حَوْلِيَّات كلية الآداب

تصدر عن كلية الآداب - جامعة الكويت

د. محمد رجب الدريسي

قسم اللغة الانجليزية - جامعة الكويت

مكانة رواية

ريبنسون كروزو

في القصص اللايوطوبى

الرسالة الثلاثون

١٤٠٥ هـ - ١٩٨٥ م

الحولية السادسة



رئيس التحرير
زميلة التحرير

د. عبد الله يوسف الغنيم
د. نجاة عبد القادر الجاسم
د. د. فنوا دزكريا
د. د. داود حنمى السيد
د. د. احمد عملي اسماعيل
د. د. سعيد عاشور
د. د. سعد عبد الرحمن
د. د. محمد سليمان الحداد
د. د. توفيق الفيل

هيئة
التحرير

نص الرسالة

الكويت ٤٠٠ فلس - البحرين نصف دينار - قطر ٥ ريالات - الامارات ٥ دراهم - السعودية ٥ ريالات - عمان
نصف ريال - اليمن الجنوبي ٢٠٠ فلس - اليمن الشمالي ٣ ريالات - العراق ٤٠٠ فلس - ج. م. ع. ٢٥ قرشا -
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٤٠٠ مليم - المغرب ٥ دراهم .

الاشتراك السنوي لعدد (٨) رسائل

للأفراد ثلاثة دنانير كويتية ومائتا فلس في الكويت - أربعة دنانير في الوطن العربي اثنان وثلاثون
دولاراً أمريكياً في الخارج بالبريد الجوي .
للشركات والمؤسسات والدوائر الرسمية ستة عشر ديناراً كويتياً - في الخارج أربع وستون دولاراً
أمريكياً .

لأعضاء هيئة التدريس والطلاب خصم ٥٠ %

جميع المراسلات الخاصة بشروط النشر أو أية إستفسارات أخرى بشأن الحوليات توجه إلى
رئيس هيئة تحرير الحوليات - ص. ب. : ١٧٣٧٠ الخالدية - الكويت .

حَوَالِيَاتُ كَلِمَةِ الْأَدَابِ

تصدر عن كلية الآداب - جامعة الكويت

دورية علمية محكمة ومنظمة تتضمن مجموعة من الرسائل التي تعالج
بأصالة موضوعات وقضايا ومشكلات علمية في مجالات
اللغة والأدب والفلسفة والتاريخ والاجتماع والجغرافيا
وعلم النفس، وتشمل معينا علميا للثقفين العرب.

الحوالية السادسة -- الرسالة الثلاثون

١٤٠٥ هـ - ١٩٨٥ م

الرسالة الثلاثون

مكانة رواية
ربنسون كروزو
في القصص اللاربطوبى

د. محمد حبيب الدريسي
قسم اللغة الانجليزية - جامعة الكويت

حوليات كلية الاداب - الخلية السادسة ١٤٠٥ هـ - ١٩٨٥ م

المؤلف : -

د. محمد رجا عبد الرحمن الدريني

* دكتوراه في الأدب الانجليزي ١٩٧٧ .

* أستاذ مساعد للرواية الانجليزية .

من انتاجه العلمي

* ترجمة . كتاب الايديولوجيا واليوتوبيا ، كارل مانهايم ١٩٨٠

مسرحيات منها : وفاة بائع متجول ، آرثر ميللر ، ١٩٦٥

الناشرون ، آرثر ميللر ، ١٩٨٠

دنيا زوال ، موس هارت وجورج كوفمان ، ١٩٨١

* أبحاث : - لورنس ومحفوظ : دراسة أدبية وسيكولوجية مقارنة ،

حوليات كلية الآداب ، الرسالة الثالثة عشرة ، ١٩٨٢ .

« التطورات الفنية والجمالية في القصص اليوتوبي منذ البداية حتى

توماس مور » المجلة العربية للعلوم الانسانية ، المجلد الثالث ،

العدد الحادي عشر، ١٩٨٣ .

ملخص

درج النقاد ودارسو الأدب على تصنيف رواية روبنسون كروزو تصنيفات متنوعة . بعضهم اعتبرها أول رواية انجليزية (Novel) ، وفريق ثان صنفها ضمن أدب الرحلات (Travel tale) ، وفريق ثالث اعتبرها قصة مغامرات (Adventure Story) تروق للصغار أكثر مما تروق للكبار ، وفريق رابع يؤكد أنها قصة رمزية دينية وأن أحداثها تكرر قصة سيدنا آدم ابتداء من عصيانه ربه ثم خروجه من الجنة ثم ندمه وتوبته ورجوعه إلى الله ، وفريق خامس يراها واحدة من قصص الشُّطار (Picaresque Story) . وأخيرا هناك من يراها قصة ملحمة (Epic Story) .

يقترح هذا البحث أن من الأفضل تصنيف روبنسون كروزو ضمن القصص اللايوطوي .

هناك عدد من النقاد ودارسي الأدب يدرجون روبنسون كروزو ضمن القصص اليوطوي . من هؤلاء (مورتون : A. L. Morton) و (بيرنيري : Marie Louise Berneri) ، و (فرانك مانويل) و (إيان واط) و (مكسيميليان نوافك) وغيرهم . بعض هؤلاء النقاد يصف حياة كروزو وحيدا على الجزيرة المعزولة بأنها « يوطوبيا الانسان الواحد » والبعض الآخر منهم يسميها « يوطوبيا الأخلاق البروتستانتية » . لكنهم جميعا لا يفتنون إلى التناقض البين والاختلاف الواضح بين معاني كلمة « يوطوبيا » من جانب ، والمعاني التي تنطوي عليها قصة تصور حياة انسان واحد يعيش وحيدا بعيدا عن الناس من جانب آخر .

يناقش البحث هذا الاختلاف . ذلك أن من أبرز معاني اليوطوبيا أنها تصور مجتمعا محكم التنظيم سياسيا واجتماعيا واقتصاديا ، مجتمعا يضمن للجميع الأمن والمساواة والعدل والرخاء ، لكنه في الوقت ذاته مجتمع سلطوي يحتم على الأفراد فيه أن يلغوا فرديتهم وينصاعوا دون تردد لأوامر المجتمع . أما قصة حياة كروزو فتصور فردا متمردا على مجتمعه حريصا على فرديته واستقلاله وحرية حتى ولو كلفه ذلك غضب الأب ولعنة الرب وخسارة الأهل والأصدقاء والعيش وحيدا في جزيرة نائية بعيدة مدة من الزمن طويلة .

الأساس في القصة اليوطوبية هو التخلي عن الحرية الفردية من أجل الاندماج في الجماعة والانسجام مع النظام الاجتماعي . أما الأساس في قصة روبنسون كروزو فهو الحرص على الحرية الفردية - حرية الاختيار والفكر والعمل ، ومن أجل ذلك يضحى كروزو بالجماعة فيتمرد على أوامرهم ثم ينسلخ عنها . وإذا كان المواطن في اليوطوبيا يختار العدل والمساواة والأمن والرخاء المادي ويضحى بحريته الفردية ، فإن اختيار كروزو يسير في الاتجاه المضاد : فهو يضحى بالأمن والرخاء من أجل أن يحتفظ بحريته . ولهذا يمكن القول أن رواية روبنسون كروزو تُعسّر هذا الاتجاه اللايوطوبي في الاختيار ، ومن هنا ينبغي وصفها بأنها قصة لا يوطوبية .

لكن روبنسون كروزو كقصة لا يوطوبية تختلف عن القصص اللايوطوبية التي ازدهرت في القرن العشرين ، ومن أهمها رواية عالم جديد شجاع للكاتب (أولدوس هكسلي) ورواية عام ١٩٨٤ للكاتب (جورج أورول) . في روبنسون كروزو تمجيد للمذهب الفردي وتصوير متفائل للمنجزات الجميلة التي قد يتمخض عنها الحرص العنيد على الحرية الفردية ، دون أن يكون هذا التمجيد مصحوباً بتحقيق النظام الاجتماعي أو تسفيهه ، الأجزاء هنا تتركز على انتصار الإرادة الفردية المستقلة . أما في القصص اللايوطوبية الحديثة فإننا نجد نعيًا للمذهب الفردي وتصويراً مفاجئاً لاستبداد الإرادة الجماعية بالأفراد وتحطيمها لكل فرد يظهر حرصاً على حريته واستقلاليته . روبنسون كروزو تتحدث بلهجة مطمئنة واثقة من انتصار الفرد وفوزه بحريته واستغلاله هذه الحرية في تطوير شخصيته وقدراته وتطوير كل ما حوّه لارادته . أما القصص اللايوطوبية الحديثة فإنها تتحدث بلهجة الهزيمة المحتومة والحقد العاجز واليأس المرير ، وتصور الرغبة في الحرية الفردية على أنها رغبة مهزومة ومسحوقة كما تصور المجتمع الذي يزعم لنفسه صفة اليوطوبية على أنه مجتمع منحرف ومزيف وفاسد (Dystopia) أو مجتمع مقلوب يلبس الشرف فيه ثياب الخير وتنقلب الوسائل فيه إلى غايات (Inverted utopia) .

ثم يبين البحث الأسباب التاريخية التي أنجبت لهجة التفاؤل بانتصار المذهب الفردي والثقة بفوائد الحرية الفردية في رواية روبنسون كروزو ، كما يبين بعض الأسباب التاريخية التي أنجبت نغمة اليأس والتشاؤم في القصص

اللايوطوبية التي ازدهرت في القرن العشرين .

بعد ذلك ينصرف البحث إلى متابعة القضايا والموضوعات التي يُعْتَقَد أن المؤلف (دانيال ديفو) أراد تصويرها في أحداث رواية روبنسون كروزو . وتلتقي هذه الموضوعات والقضايا في المذهب الفردي أو تتفرع منه ، إذ يقتضي هذا المذهب أن يحرص الفرد على تأكيد ذاته عن طريق الاصرار على ممارسة حقه في حرية الاختيار واتخاذ القرار ، وأنه حين يختار بحرية عليه أن يتحمل مسؤولية هذا الاختيار . ويتفرع من الحرص على الحرية الحرص على الاستقلالية ؛ ومن الاستقلالية تتولد العزلة والوحدة وما يرافقهما من غربة مؤلمة . ومن هنا يضطر المرء الحر المستقل إلى إيقاظ كل طاقاته ومواهبه واستغلالها وتطويرها مما يؤدي إلى نمو هذه الطاقات والمواهب في الاتجاه الصحيح حتى يصبح الانسان في آخر الأمر واثقا من نفسه ، مطمئنا إلى قدراته ، قادرا على التصرف السليم الناجع في كل المواقف .

ثم يناقش البحث الجوانب الفنية في رواية روبنسون كروزو ، وينتهي إلى أن (دانيال ديفو) استعار من القصص الیوطوبی التقليدي معظم أدواته الفنية كالرواية المسافر ، والرحلة ، وتحطم السفينة على شواطئ جزيرة مجهولة ، والاقامة في تلك الجزيرة مدة طويلة ، وأخيرا رحلة العودة وسلامة الوصول وإعطاء وصف للحياة في الجزيرة المجهولة . لكن (ديفو) يستعمل هذه الأدوات الفنية بطريقة مبتكرة ويجري عليها بعض التغييرات الجوهرية لكي يسخرها في خدمة الأفكار والموضوعات الیایوطوبیة التي تناهض مبدأ هيمنة المجتمع على الفرد والغاء حرية الفرد وتؤيد مبدأ الحرية الفردية وما يتفرع عنه من قضايا ومواقف .

وفي الختام يقرر البحث أن (دانيال ديفو) كان لدى كتابته لرواية روبنسون كروزو روايا مبدعا ومجددا في ناحيتين : الأولى ، أنه أول كاتب رواي يسخر الفن القصصي الیوطوبی لخدمة أفكار لا یوطوبیة تنبع من المذهب الفردي أو ترجع إليه ، ولهذا يجوز أن نخلع عليه لقب « أب القصة الیایوطوبیة » ، الثانية أنه ادخل على التكنيك القصصي تطویرات هامة مما أغرى جمهرة من النقاد بأن يمنحوه لقب « أب الرواية » ويؤكدوا أن الرواية وُلدت على يديه .

مجلة دراسات الخليج والجزيرة العربية

تصدر عن جامعة الكويت

رئيس التحرير
الدكتور عبد العزيز الغنيم

صدر المجلد الأول في يناير ١٩٧٥

تصل أعدادها إلى أيدي نحو ٢٠٠٠٠ قارئ

- يحتوي كل عدد على حوالي ٢٥٠ صفحة من القطع الكبير تشتمل على :
 - مجموعة من البحوث تعالج الشؤون المختلفة للمنطقة بأقلام عدد من كبار الكتاب المتخصصين في هذه الشؤون .
 - عدد من المراجعات لطائفة من أهم الكتب التي تبحث في الماضي المختلفة للمنطقة .
 - أبواب ثابتة : تقارير — وثائق — يوميات — بيبليوجرافيا .
 - ملخصات للبحوث باللغة الانجليزية .

منشورات المجلة

- اضطلعت المجلة باصدار عدد من سلاسل الكتب هي :
 - **أولا : سلسلة المنشورات** ، وقد صدر منها حتى الآن أحد عشر منشورا من أحدثها :
 - منظمة الاقطار العربية المصدرة للبترول ١٩٦٨ — ١٩٧٧ : دراسة مقارنة في التنظيم الدولي د. عادل خاكي .
 - قواعد الملاحة عند بن ماجد والطامي . حسن صالح شهاب .
 - **ثانيا : سلسلة الاصدارات الخاصة** ، وصدر منها حتى الآن ثلاثة عشر كتابا ، من أحدثها :
 - المفهوم الحديث للتسويق وتخطيط الخدمات المصرفية في البنوك التجارية الكويتية . د. عبد الفتاح الشربيني ، د. السيد ناجي
 - رسالة في تاريخ اليمن : مطالع النيران . د. محمد عيسى صالحية .
 - **ثالثا : سلسلة كتب الوثائق** ، وقد صدر منها كتب الوثائق للأعوام : ٧٥ — ٧٦ — ٧٧ — ٧٨ — ٧٩ — ٨٠ .

الاشتراكات

- ثمن المجلد : ٤٠٠ فلس كويتي أو ما يعادلها في الخارج .
- الاشتراك للأفراد : سنويا ديناران كويتيان أو ١٥ دولارا امريكيا في الخارج (بالبريد الجوي)
- الاشتراك للمؤسسات والدوائر الرسمية : سنويا ١٢ دينارا كويتيا أو ٤٠ دولارا امريكيا في الخارج (بالبريد الجوي) .

العنوان : جامعة الكويت — كلية الاداب — الشويخ — دولة الكويت

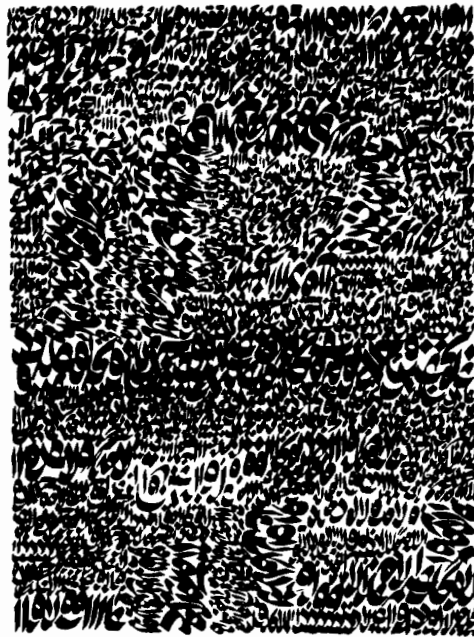
هـ.ب : ١٧٠٧٣ — الخالدية

الهاتف : ٨١٦٨٠٧ — ٨١٦٧٩٩ — ٨١٦٨٢٤

جميع المراسلات توجه باسم رئيس التحرير

المجلة العربية للملوم الانسانية

تصدر عن جامعة الكويت ، فصلية محكمة ، تقدم البحوث الأصلية والدراسات الميدانية والتطبيقية
في شتى فروع العلوم الانسانية والاجتماعية باللغتين العربية والانجليزية .



رئيس التحرير
د. عبدالله العتيبي

مديرة التحرير
آمال بكر الغربلي

جميع المراسلات توجه الى رئيس التحرير : ص . ب : ٢٦٥٨٥ الصفاة - الكويت
هاتف : ٨٢١٦٣٩ - ٨١٥٤٥٣ (الضويخ) - توكس ٢٢٦١٦ KUNIVER

تمنّدها
جامعة
الكويت

مجلة العلوم الاجتماعية

مجلة فصلية أكاديمية تعنى بنشر الأبحاث والدراسات
في مختلف حقول العلوم الاجتماعية .
رئيس التحرير : د . خلدون حسن النقيب
مدير التحرير : عبد الرحمن فايز المصري

منهجهان للأكاديميين العرب .
توزيع أكثر من (٨٠٠٠) نسخة .

الاشتراكات

للمؤسسات : ١٢ ديناراً في الكويت .

٤٥ دولاراً أمريكياً في الخارج

للأفراد : ٢ دينار في الكويت ، ٤ دينار للطلاب

٥٠٠ دينار أو ما يعادلها في الوطن
العربي .

١٥ دولاراً أمريكياً في الخارج .

الموزع في الكويت والخارج : مجلة العلوم الاجتماعية

توجه جميع المراسلات الى رئيس التحرير على العنوان التالي :
مجلة العلوم الاجتماعية - جامعة الكويت / ص.ب ٥٤٨٦ / الكويت

هاتف : ٢٥٤٩٤٢١ / فاكس ٢٢٦١٦



المجلة التربوية

تصدر عن كلية التربية - جامعة الكويت

فصلية ، تخصصية ، محكمة

رئيس التحرير
د. فكري حسن ريان

رئيس مجلس الإدارة
د. سعد جاسم الهاشل

تنشر البحوث التربوية ، ومراجعات الكتب التربوية الحديثة
ومحاضر الحواري التربوي ، والتقارير عن المؤتمرات التربوية

- ★ تقبل البحوث باللغتين العربية والانجليزية .
- ★ تنشر لاساتذة التربية والمختصين فيها من مختلف الاقطار .
- ★ تطلب قواعد النشر من رئيس التحرير .
- ★ تقدم مكافأة رمزية للناشرين بها .

الاشتراكات :

للأفراد في الكويت : ٢ دك وللطلاب ١ دك
للأفراد في الوطن العربي : ٢٥ دك وللطلاب ١٥ دك
للأفراد في الدول الأخرى : ١٥ دولاراً أمريكياً بالبريد الجوي
للهيئات والمؤسسات : ١٢ دك وفي الخارج ٤٥ دولاراً أمريكياً

توجه جميع المراسلات إلى :

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31. For more information on the circumstances of the rise of the novel and on Defoe's contribution to this phenomenon see especially Ian Watt, **The Rise of the Novel** (1966); Barbara Hardy, **The Appropriate Form: An Essay on the Novel** (1965); Walter Allen, **The English Novel: A Short Critical History** (1982); and Michael Shinagel, **Daniel Defoe and Middle-Class Gentility** (1968). see also A.R. Humphreys, **Daniel Defoe: Robinson Crusoe** (York Notes, No. 28, 1980).
 32. Some titles of these utopian narratives are given in footnote 2 above. More titles can be found in John Ferguson's **Utopias of the Classical World** (London, Thames and Hudson, 1975), and in the author's article, *Esthetic Developments in Utopian Fiction Until Thomas More*, **Arab Journal for the Humanities** vol. 3, No. 11 (Summer, 1983), 337-350.
 33. See author's paper, *"Esthetic Developments in Utopian Fiction Until Thomas More"*, **Arab Journal For the Humanities**, vol. 3, No 11 (summer, 1983), 337-350.
 34. For more information on the Classical use of the literary device of shipwreck on a remote island see Ferguson's **Utopias of the Classical World** (1975), and Gerber's **Utopian Fantasy** (1955)
 35. For further information on European and English utopian fiction writers using this literary device see Berneri's **Journey Through Utopia** (1971) Morton's **The English Utopia** (1968) and Gerber (1955).
 36. Secord (1924: 32-49) gives a detailed discussion of "Robert Knox's Contributions" to Defoe's **ROBINSON CRUSOE**, especially concerning Crusoe's growing consciouness on the desert island of the existance of the "hand of God" in human affairs. Humphreys (1980: 12) supports this view.
 37. This is a source of influence on **ROBINSON CRUSOE** strongly championed by Arab scholars and investigators, the most recent of whom are Nawal Muhammad Hassan (1980) and Hassan Mahmoud Abbas (1983). Secord (1924: 22-3) and 31) refers to "Ibn Jokdhan as "a probable" influence on Crusoe's experience and development on the desert island. So does Maximilian Novak (1963: 24, 27, 31, 33).
 38. Secord (1924: 23-24) tells us that this is a source of influence on **ROBINSON CRUSOE**, claimed by "a number of Dutch and German investigators."

17. For further information on Winstanley, the Levellers and the Diggers see: Christopher Hill, "Introduction" to Winstanley, **The Law of Freedom and Other Writings** (Penguin Books, 1973), pp. 9-68; J.C. Davis (1983: 169-203); Berneri (1971: 145-173); F.E. Manuel and F.P. Manuel (1982: 349-355).
18. Hartlib's **Macaria** has been given long studies by Davis: (1983: 312-324) and F.E. Manuel and F.P. Manuel (1982: 321-331).
19. Further information and enlightening discussions on Harrington's **Oceana** can be found in Davis (1983: chapter 8 and 9, pp. 205-276); Morton (1968: 95-103).
20. Watt (1966: 91) mentions one specific report, namely **The Voyages and Travels of J. Albert de Mandelslo**. This book is also mentioned by Secord (1924: 28-29). Secord also claims (1924: 28, n. 17) that this book was in Defoe's library.
21. For enlightening biographical information on Defoe see Sutherland (1971), Starr (1965), Moore (1958), Legouis and Cazamian (1954), Sampson (1953) Ross (1941), Pocock (1969), Cowley (1981), Novak (1963 and 1983).
22. Virginia Woolf confirms **ROBINSON CRUSOE**'s independence of its author and his age. She (Byrd, 1976: 15) says: "The book resembles one of the anonymous productions of the race rather than the effort of a single mind.....Itseems that the name of Daniel Defoe has no right to appear upon the title-page of **ROBINSON CRUSOE**."
23. Prominent among such scholars are Starr (1965), and Hunter (1966). Starr, for example, claims that "In **ROBINSON CRUSOE** Defoe develops such (Christian) motifs to the point that they become the very fabric of his narrative" (Byrd, 1976: 83).
24. The clearest example of such an individual rebel is Kuno in E.M. Forster's **THE MACHINE STOPS**.
25. Many more examples from the text of **ROBINSON CRUSOE** can be cited in support of the claim that Crusoe distrusted human beings and had no faith in their native goodness. See for instance p. 137, concerning his wish to find in the sunk ship one living fellow creature to speak to or converse with; and 178 where Crusoe requests a written and signed contract from the 17 Spaniards and Portuguese living among the savages, to the effect that if Crusoe relieves them they would be true to him and be "directed wholly and absolutely by my orders."
26. My Underlining.
27. The parallelisms between the mythical story of Prometheus on the one hand and the story of Robinson Crusoe on the other form a tempting basis for a longer study on the subject. From a Christian point of view individualism may be seen as a Satanic impulse that creates pride and leads to sinful disobedience comparable to that of Satan in Christian mythology and to that of Prometheus in Greek mythology. For further information on the subject see Aeschylus' **Prometheus Bound**, Hamilton (1961: 25; 68-73), and Kramer (1961: 256-8).
28. See, Henry James, **The Art of the Novel** (New York, 1934). This book consists of a number of critical prefaces which James wrote between 1907 and 1917 for the collected edition of his works. Later, they were published in a book entitled **The Art of the Novel** (1934).
29. For the impact of travel literature on Defoe's **Robinson Crusoe** see A.W. Secord, **Studies in the Narrative Method of Defoe** (1924).
30. For **Robinson Crusoe**'s affinities with the spiritual autobiography tradition see

- (1941); Arthur W. Secord (1924); Michael Shinagel (1968).
10. In "Robinson Crusoe as a Myth", **Essays in Criticism**, I (1951) 95-119; as reprinted in **Eighteenth-Century English Literature: Modern Essays in Criticism**, ed. James L. Clifford (New York, 1959), p. 170.
 11. Later, however, Novak (1983: 55-56) comes very near to reading the solitary life of Crusoe's on the solitary island as a utopia. Novak writes:
 Many modern critics have tended to read **ROBINSON CRUSOE** entirely in religious terms. Certainly all the materials are there for such a reading....But...the religious interpretation excludes much in the book that involves Crusoe's character and interests as well as the important sections devoted to Crusoe's development of his island into a mini-paradise with plantations and a country house. What Defoe did was create a new myth from the old myths. It is possible to see the island as an allegory of Eden, with Crusoe as its Adam....
 12. Particular attention should be given to a number of facts here. The twentieth century witnessed the rise of totalitarian states which, unlike Hobbes's Leviathan state, practice absolute and despotic rather than contractual domination over individual citizens. The rise of Communism, Fascism and Nazism sharpened the awareness of the threat to individualism, which these movements represent. This sharp and rather frightening awareness gave rise to such antiutopian narratives as Wells's **The First Men in the Moon** (1901) and **When the Sleeper Wakes** (1899), Zamyatin's **We** (1924), E.M. Forster's **The Machine Stops** (1930), Aldous Huxley's **Brave New World** (1932), and George Orwell's **Animal Farm** (1945) and **1984** (1949). The fear for individualism begot not only narrative anti-utopias, but also a number of scholarly works on the dangers of utopianism on individualism such as Mark R. Hillegas's **The Future as Nightmare** (1967), George Kateb's **Utopia and Its Enemies** (1963), Thomas Molnar's **Utopia, The Perennial Heresy** (1972), Karl Popper's **The Open Society and Its Enemies** (1945), Chad Walsh's **From Utopia to Nightmare** (1962), and Herbert Marcus's "The End of Utopia" (1970).
 13. We have used the word "almost" because in reality Crusoe could not achieve absolute freedom. The voices of the society in which he was brought up (his parents' advice and prophecy; and the religious teachings and principles) kept ringing in his ears and haunting his heart and mind. There is no denying, of course, that these "voices" had no serious effects on Crusoe's actual behaviour, but they were there on almost all serious occasions, and they did give his heart and mind and deeds a certain colouring, however practically insignificant.
 14. As to the charge against utopias, that they have "no theory of change" and "no transfer mechanisms" see also
 George Kateb (1963);
 Karl Popper (1974);
 Karl Mannheim (1966).
 15. In another translation Thomas More's Latin text is rendered as follows:
 But I freely admit that there are many features of the Utopian Republic which I should like — though I hardly expect — to see adopted **in Europe** (or, literally, **in our states**).
 16. For more information on the utopianism of Thomas Hobbes's **Leviathan** see:
 C.B. Macpherson, "Introduction" to Thomas Hobbes, **Leviathan** (Penguin Books, 1975), pp. 9-63;
 J.C. Davis (1983: 13, 31, 322);
 Frank E. Manuel and Fritzie P. Manuel (1982: 335, 336, 337, 338);
 Marie Louise Berneri (1971: 143-144).

in an English translation two years before the French edition appeared. The English version was attributed to an imaginary Captain Siden. Morton claims that it is more a wonder tale that has close connections with the utopian romance which became widely current in the 18th-century, and that it is a forerunner of the Rousseauesque glorification of the simple aborigine and of, Diderot's **Supplement to Bougainville's 'Voyage'** in France, and in England, of the works of such different though related writers as Swift, Defoe, Berington and Patlock. (see also Berneri (1970: 175 and 326); Frank Manuel (1982: 368-381).

Nevile, Henry. **The Isle of Pine**. 1668. Morton (1969: 110-111) considers it a remarkable anticipation of **Robinson Crusoe**. It is a dramatization of the triumph of natural human goodness left to assert itself. If the setting here anticipates that of Crusoe's island, the spirit is rather that of Diderot and the French Enlightenment.

2.B. European Utopias translated into English before 1719.

Bodin, Jean. **The Six Bookes of Commonweale**, Out of the French and Latin copies, done into English By Richard Knolles, 1606.

Gabriel de Foigny **A New Discovery of Terra Incognita Australis or the Southern World**, by James Sadeur, a Frenchman, London, 1693.

Rabelais, Francois. **Gargantau and Pantagruel**, translated into English in 1653 and 1654.

If we accept the claim that Defoe was a master of six languages including French and Italian, then we may include here the Italian author Tommaso Campanella's **Civitas Solis Poetica** (1623); and the German author, Johann Valentin Andrea's **Reipublicae Christianopolitanae Descriptio** (1619).

3. For further information on Bacon and his place in utopian literature and in the history of ideas see A.L. Morton (1969); Marie Louise Berneri (1971); Sidney Pollard (1971); Anthony Quinton (1980); J.C. Davis (1983).
4. see A.L. Morton (1969); Berneri (1971), Davis (1983).
5. For further information concerning the literary identity and genre of **ROBINSON CRUSOE**, we suggest the following references:
Brown (1971); Donovan (1966); Ellis (1969);
Hardy (1965); Hunter (1966); Secord (1924);
Shinagel (1968); Starr (1965, 1971);
Sutherland (1971); Watt (1966); Zimmerman (1971).
6. This is the complete title as given in The World's Classics edition of **Robinson Crusoe** (1981), edited with an Introduction by J. Donald Crawley.
7. **Everyman's Dictionary of Literary Biography** (1965), p. 180, gives a slightly different title. It uses the word "Further", instead of "The Farther", and thus the title becomes **Further Adventures of Robinson Crusoe**.
8. **Everyman's Dictionary of Literary Biography** (1965), p. 180 supports this claim about the **Serious Reflections**. So does Guy N. Pocock (1969: xii) who suggests that the **Serious Reflections** has no close connection with the **Life of Robinson Crusoe**, and that "it is a bogus afterthought". Arthur Secord (1924: 21) indicates that the **Serious Reflection** is often referred to as Part III of **Robinson Crusoe**.
9. These are but few out of many other scholars or critics who are unanimously agreed on the superiority of the first part to the second part of **Robinson Crusoe**, if not to all the other works of Daniel Defoe. Among these other scholars we may mention Ian Watt (1951); Maximilian Novak (1963; 1966); Louis Cazamian (1954); George Sampson (1953); Richard Church (1951); J. Paul Hunter (1966); John F. Ross

NOTES

1. See, Mohammad Raja Al-Direeni "Esthetic Developments in Utopian Fiction until Thomas More" in **Arab Journal For the Humanities**, vol. 3, No. 11 (Summer 1983), pp. 327-350.
- 2.A. English Utopias published in England before 1719 (Notice: for further information on this subject see the following:

J.C. Davis, **Utopia and the Ideal Society: A study of English Utopian Writing 1516-1700**, (Cambridge U.P. 1983).

More, Thomas. **Utopia, or the best state of republic weale**, first English translation by Ralph Robyson, 1551.

Bacon, Francis. **New Atlantis**, first published by William Rawley, in the same volume with **Sylva Sylvarum: or a Natural Historie**, London, 1627.

Hartlib, Samuel. **A Description of the famous Kingdom of Macaria: Showing Its excellent Government, wherein the Inhabitants live in great Prosperity, Health and Happiness: the King obeyed, the Nobles honoured, and all good Men respected: Vice punished, and Virtue Rewarded. An Example to other Nations: In a Dialogue between a Scholar and a Traveller**. First Edition, London, 1641.

Gott, Samuel. **Nova Solyma**. First published in Latin anonymously in 1648; was republished in 1649. Then it was forgotten till it was discovered and translated into English in 1902, by Rev. Walter Stephen K. Jones, who attributed the work to John Milton. In 1910 he discovered that the author was Samuel Gott. (see Berneri (1970: 104); Manuel (1982: 308); Morton (1919: 90).

Winstanley, Gerard. **The New Law of Righteousness**, 1649. **The Law of Freedom in a Platform: Or True Magistracie Restored**, London, 1652 These two works are direct proponganda, not in the fiction. Nevertheless they are often mentioned among Seventeenth-century English utopias.

Hobbes, Thomas. **Leviathan, or The Matter, Forme and Power of A Commonwealth Ecclesiastical and Civil**, London, 1951.

Harrington, James. **The Common-Wealth of Oceanea**, first published, London, 1656. (Both Harrington's **Oceanea** and Hartlib's **Macaria** are half-way between **Utopia** and essays in constitution-making).

Sadler, John. **Olbia: The New Island Lately Discovered**. London, 1660. Was never republished. (see Manuel (1982: 839); Morton (1919: 91-92)

Glanville, Joseph. **A Continuation of New Atlantis**, published in 1676. It is, like Bacon's **New Atlantis**, incomplete. It is believed to be a part of a much longer book in continuation of **New Atlantis**, known to have existed in manuscript, but has now been lost. (see Morton, 1968, p. 107)

Denis Vairasse d'Allais. **The History of the Sevarites or Sevarambi**, London, 1675. Morton (1969: 107-110) says that it is the work of a French writer, that it was published

Instead of being populated with a utopian community the island becomes uninhabited. This uninhabited island becomes, for Defoe's imitators and creators of Robinsonades a stereotyped ideal place for starting a utopian community. This had been done by Defoe's predecessor Henry Neville who wrote **The Isle of Pines** (1668), and it was done after Defoe by his imitators. But for Defoe the desert island serves different purposes which, apparently, have not been sufficiently appreciated and grasped by his successors and critics.

practices of collective authority and on their crippling and dehumanising effects. The paper explores these differences and investigates the possible sources of such differences.

As for the literary genre or form **ROBINSON CRUSOE** belongs to, it may be safely stated that at Defoe's time the status, categories and rules of fiction were neither firmly established nor clearly conceived. But the fact remains that **ROBINSON CRUSOE** is, as we have pointed out, basically not a mere travel tale, an adventure story, or a spiritual autobiography. Fundamentally it is a realistic long story that approaches the novel form. In the opinion of some writers it is a full-fledged novel, intelligently conceived and, despite some lapses and errors, skillfully executed. We do not see any essential difference between those who consider **ROBINSON CRUSOE** a novel and those who consider it an approximation of the novel. Both agree that it is more a novel than anything else, a judgment that receives full support from this paper.

Having settled the matters of content and form in **ROBINSON CRUSOE**, the paper embraces the task of showing the sequence of thematic concerns in the book, and the literary techniques harnessed for dramatising those thematic concerns.

The paper shows that the major themes of **ROBINSON CRUSOE** concern the attainment of absolute freedom and autonomy for the individual, and using that freedom for self cultivation, self-development, and self-realisation along utilitarian principles and survival requirements. The religious theme and the social theme are shown to be subservient to the individualistic self-assertive themes mentioned above.

The literary techniques used to dramatise the above themes are shown to be techniques extant in traditional utopian fiction such as the claim of truthfulness, the first person narrator, travel, shipwreck on an unknown island, the extended stay there, and finally the safe return. **ROBINSON CRUSOE** uses all these techniques with admirable ingenuity, but manipulates them in such a way as to make them equally entertaining in themselves and useful for dramatizing anti-utopian themes.

This dramatization of the anti-utopian themes of individualism and freedom is Defoe's major thematic contribution to utopian fiction. His artistic contributions to utopian fiction affect the functions of the first person narrator and the conditions of the island he is stranded on. Instead of being a mere scientific observer the narrator is made an actor, a doer of things. The interest of the story shifts from his observations to his deeds, his condition of solitude and his struggles against nature, savages and pirates in order to survive and to maintain his freedom and autonomy.

solitude come to an end. Crusoe's reintegration in a social fabric now takes momentum.

With more people arriving at the island, the place loses its significance to the anti-utopian themes of absolute freedom, autonomy and solitude. The thematic interest of the story wanes, and Crusoe goes back to civilization, where he remains relatively non-attached and non-concommitted. In few years, absolute freedom on a desert island becomes a persistent dream. The desire to ramble haunts Crusoe day and night, and this paves the way for a new cycle of adventures presented in **THE FARTHER ADVENTURES OF ROBINSON CRUSOE**.

CONCLUSION

Reading **ROBINSON CRUSOE** as a story in the utopian tradition provides us with a number of insights into the intentions of Defoe, the nature of the book, and the literary techniques ingeniously used in constructing the book.

It has been shown that Defoe most probably intended to glamorise **Laissez-faire**, and to promote the principle of individualism at the expense of collectivistic principles. If our understanding of Defoe's themes is correct, **ROBINSON CRUSOE** would become "the first English anti-utopia," and Defoe would deserve the honour and privilege of being the father of modern anti-utopianism, both in England and in the world at large.

The term "anti-utopia" did not exist in Defoe's age. Still, the spirit of Defoe's age was anti-utopian, in the sense that it valued individual freedom much more highly than collective authority and organisation. So was the spirit of Defoe himself. In writing **ROBINSON CRUSOE**, Defoe was expressing, for the first time in fiction, the anti-utopian spirit of himself and of his age.

ROBINSON CRUSOE's anti-utopianism, however, differs in tone and in focus from twentieth century anti-utopianism. Crusoe's anti-utopianism has the self-confidence, certainty, and self-assertiveness of children. It has their cheerfulness, inventiveness and buoyancy. Twentieth-century anti-utopianism has the bitterness, malice and hatred of long-suffering and helpless individualistic victims. It expresses itself in desperate shrieks and desperate destructive and sadistic impulses. Defoe's anti-utopianism in **ROBINSON CRUSOE** focuses on the glories of individualistic behaviour without capitalizing on the evils of collective authority. In the twentieth century, anti-utopianism reverses the focus and concentrates on the ugly

practical projects. Besides, he forms a substitute community of pets — a dog, some cats, a parrot, goats — who acknowledge him as absolute lord. Furthermore, his ever-active mind provides him with a multitudinous community of thoughts, ideas, dreams and visions. Added to all this is the fact that Crusoe develops a sense of an omnipotent and omnipresent God who keeps a watchful eye on him and gives him company through “intimations” to his soul. In six years time Crusoe becomes fully reconciled to and even happy with his solitary condition. This feeling is confirmed when he takes a perilous tour in his boat around his little kingdom (pp. 101-104) and when he is frightened by the voice of the parrot, thinking it a human voice (p. 105). Nevertheless, Crusoe continues his claim of pining for society. The sincerity of this claim is put to the test in the twelfth year, in the footprint episode (pp. 113-120).

Reading **ROBINSON CRUSOE** as an anti-utopia allows us to see in the footprint episode a further evidence of Defoe’s anti-utopian intentions. Man’s freedom is endangered and threatened by other human beings more than by any other factors. It reveals Crusoe’s deep distrust of human nature. Human company remains pleasant as an abstract concept. When the concept takes a concrete form it becomes frightening. The coming of human beings seems to the solitary Crusoe an invasion rather than a relief. Their absence, not their presence, is the genuine blessing. Hence, the significance and relevance of an **uninhabited** island.

The footprint episode destroys Crusoe’s feeling of security and peace. From now on his mind becomes possessed by the probability of human invasion. His thoughts centre on the defensive measures and precautions that must be taken to face this probability. For six years Crusoe employs himself in improving his defences and effecting a variety of precautionary measures, such as growing a wood before his dwelling, and dividing his herd of goats into two flocks and putting each flock in a different place.

In the eighteenth year Crusoe finds on the shore the remnants of a savage feast, “skulls, hands, feet, and other bones of humane bodies” feasted upon by fellow creatures (pp. 120-121). To Crusoe, this meant that his island is no longer secure and that his solitude and sovereignty may at any time be terminated. From now on Crusoe’s physical and mental activities change their routine, direction and content. His thoughts and deeds are now motivated by fear and by the desire to have some human beings as slaves or as subordinate assistants.

In the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth year Crusoe saves Friday and makes him his slave. Two years later Friday’s father and a Spaniard are saved. Crusoe’s island is no longer **uninhabited**. His absolute freedom and

and earn them. "It was in vain" says Crusoe (p. 38), "to sit still and wish for what was not to be had, and this extremity rouz'd my application". Crusoe's island is not a "Land of Cokaygne" where one may "drink and eat "Freely without care and sweat." It is bountiful, but its bounties have to be looked for first, and once found they have to be looked after. Crusoe therefore activates all his faculties, physical as well as mental, and thus achieves great many things, and learns more. He tells us he was seldom idle. "With patience and labour," says Crusoe (p. 85), "I went thrugh many things, and indeed everything that my circumstances made necessary to me to do."

Crusoe's life on the island is not without difficulties or challenges that threaten his safety, comfort and provisions. The earthquake, the storms, and the rain are things to be put up with. The birds and animals that threaten to eat up his crops and the stray cats that attack his provisions at home have also to be dealt with. Crusoe's daily physical needs such as bread, salt, cooked food, clothing, bedding and seating cannot be secured without ingenuity, resourcefulness and patient application. The lack of essential tools and materials makes the situation more acute. Crusoe's conduct in the face of all this is a lesson to mankind. It teaches not only the dignity of labour, but shows by a dramatic example that labour is a real blessing. Only through labour can man learn foresight. Through making errors and correcting them man learns to arrange his time and priorities productively, to occupy his mind with healthy and constructive thoughts, and to keep himself physically fit and psychologically cheerful and hopeful. Crusoe's career on the island proves that man's inner resources are almost limitless. They only need an active imagination that keeps creating occasions for tapping them and putting them to use. The desert island episode conveys the message that if freedom and autonomy may be attained through a self-assertive act of disobedience to authority, they can be maintained only through arduous self-cultivation and self-justification. Freedom is not an end in itself. It is a means to an end. As a means, freedom is an exacting master. Anyone who wields it must live up to its weighty demands and achieve glory, or founder under its tumultuous waves and perish.

One of the weightiest demands of absolute freedom is absolute solitude. Crusoe's island has, therefore, to be perfectly uninhabited. At the beginning Crusoe often bemoans his solitary condition. He experiences some measure of anxiety and fear. But he manages to overcome his nagging sense of solitude through busying himself with the most urgent needs for survival. To remain alive, to secure food, shelter and protection become the concerns which occupy his mind and consume his energy and time. His awareness of solitude becomes submerged under endless

guarded against external inquisitive eyes. So is Crusoe's desert island shut up against outsiders and cut off from the external world. It is located off the familiar navigation routes. The civilised world has not yet discovered it, and primitive savages touch on its outskirts only on rare occasions and temporarily, without ever going deep inland.

Defoe makes this island seem a physical reality. He gives it a geographical location in the Caribbean Sea off the northern coast of South America. He gives its latitude, "9 degrees 22 minutes north of the line." But, unlike the writers of other utopian or travel stories, he does not give it a name, which is one of Defoe's inspired artistic touches. It remains an elusive place, like More's Utopia, known to the world only as Crusoe's Island. It might as well be called everyman's island, for in reality it is the island which everyman carries in his mind and heart. He resorts to it when he seeks absolute freedom and independence. For no ship lands here unless it is driven by irresistible storms. On rare occasions savages touch on its shores to carry on their unsavoury deeds, and once their cannibalistic deeds are done they depart.

Locating the island off the known navigation routes is not merely what Gerber (1955) calls the evasive technique which makes it difficult for readers and researchers to deny or confirm the island's existence. Once the island's symbolic significance is discerned everyone may look within himself and find it there. Smoke-screening here echoes the various masks people assume to hide their inner islands. But more important is the fact that the remoteness of this island is a barrier that makes it difficult for external authorities to get to us. Whether this external authority wears paternal utopian robes and claims the right to rule over us for our own good, or whether it paints its face with primitive savagery, the perilous and unsailed ocean surrounding our island gives us a reliable guarantee that our freedom and independence are beyond its reach.

There are no beasts of prey on Crusoe's island. It is to be noticed that when Crusoe finds himself stranded on the island his uppermost two fears are the fear of "ravenous beasts" and the fear of "perishing with hunger". Crusoe says (p. 36); "that which was particularly afflicting to me was that I had no weapon either to hunt and kill any creature for my sustenance, or to defend myself against any other creature that might desire to kill me for theirs". Defoe designs an island that would silence both fears. It has no wild beasts of the man-eating kind, but it is populated by enough fowls and goats to feed ten Crusoes.

Furthermore, the island is quite fertile. But it is a wild fertility that calls for timely and patient cultivation to yield the needed provisions in sufficient quantities. Food and fruits are not to be obtained unless we look for them

authors, especially Thomas More in **UTOPIA**, Francis Bacon in **NEW ATLANTIS** and Henry Neville in **THE ISLE OF PINE**.³⁵

Most writers on Defoe's **ROBINSON CRUSOE** agree on Defoe's indebtedness to the story of Alexander Selkirk's life on the island of Juan Fernandez as related by Captain Woodes Rogers in **A Cruising Voyage Round the World** (1712) and as retold in 1713 by Richard Steele in his paper **The Englishman**. Another generally accepted source is Captain William Dampier's **A New Voyage Round the World** (1697). Other suggested sources include Captain Robert Knox's **Nineteen Years in Captivity in.....Celon** (1681),³⁶ Sir Walter Raleigh's **Discovery of the Empire of Guiana** (1596), a version of which was published by Defoe in 1720; an Arabic story, **Hayy Ebn Yaqdhan**, by Ibn Tufail;³⁷ and a Dutch book, **The Mighty Kingdom of Krinke Kesmes**, written by Hendrik Smeeks and published at Amsterdam in 1708.³⁸

However, it may be claimed with certainty that Defoe's artistic treatment of his borrowed materials excels by far the treatment of those materials by the original writers. In our discussion of the plot and characterisation we have pointed out that Defoe uses travel not merely as a literary device to take the narrator to a utopian country, but for three other purposes not used by previous writers of utopian fiction.

First, travel is used as a characterisation technique. To travel or not to travel is made an issue over which the individual will of the narrator and the collective will of his society engage in a bitter conflict. The individual will wins, and thus Crusoe stubbornly asserts his individual will and gives a clue to what should be expected of him on later occasions.

Secondly, travel is treated as a distancing technique to realise the themes of self-dependence and freedom from social obligations and limitations.

Thirdly, it is an activity which is rewarding in itself. In other words, it is used to dramatise man's deep need for the excitements, joys and sorrows of "living dangerously".

Defoe's treatment of the desert island also differs from the treatment given to such a setting in the supposed sources of **ROBINSON CRUSOE**. The desert island of Crusoe chimes beautifully with the anti-utopian themes of freedom, autonomy, self-cultivation and self-development. It is deliberately made an uninhabited virgin island that awaits to be cultivated and developed, and in the process the cultivator awakens, cultivates and develops his own potentialities. Such an island exists in the deep subconscious of every individual. Defoe transforms this subconscious island into a concrete reality. Our subconscious islands are jealously

After he develops his own particular concept of God he gets rid of his previously troubled conscience and develops an easy conscience. His deeds are from now on not prompted by "the decrees of ill fate" but rather guided by "providential intimations". The change is thus not a change from freedom to submission, or from disobedience to obedience, or from lack of faith to the acquisition of faith. Crusoe's conduct remains essentially the same. It is Crusoe's concept of the metaphysical powers behind his conduct which suffers change. This change contributes to the development in Crusoe of self-complacency and self-justification. From now on, Crusoe can rest assured that whatever he does must be right.

The other characters, as pointed out earlier, derive their significance from their role in consolidating the anti-utopian themes in **ROBINSON CRUSOE**. Each of them represents one or other of the social values that may limit individual freedom. Socially, fatherhood presupposes filial dependence and obedience. Crusoe's relation to parents is summarily dealt with in the process of gaining individual freedom and independence. Friends are represented by the son of the captain of the ship that sinks near Yarmouth, the captain of that ship, the captain of the ship that takes Crusoe on his first voyage to Guinea, and Xury. These and others are again summarily dealt with and dropped out of the story. Obligations to friends represent another social tie on one's freedom. Some are simply ignored. One dies. One is sold. And Crusoe is left free. Other characters such as Friday's father and the Spaniard are treated on Crusoe's terms. Friday and his father are turned into mere slaves who have duties to perform but no rights, besides being kept alive, to claim.

Only through this anti-utopian interpretation of **ROBINSON CRUSOE** can we explain the absence of women in the story. Man-woman relations represent the strongest human or social tie on one's freedom. Defoe's construction of the story deliberately excludes women. If Defoe allowed Crusoe to get involved in some man-woman affair, he would have needed a great deal of artistic ingenuity to rid him of that relation. Furthermore, he would have harmed Crusoe's reputation with readers. Thus, the exclusion of women from the story may be looked upon as a stroke of genius.

5. SETTING

Shipwreck on or unexpected arrival at the shores of a remote and previously unknown island is an age-old literary device in travel literature and utopian fiction. Classical authors as Homer, Euhemerus of Messene, Iambulus and Lucian used it,³⁴ and so did many European and English

qualities in him. Crusoe makes constructive use of his liberty. He is never a squandering libertine, but is always soberly ambitious, extremely active and perseverent. Success rarely turns his head, nor does failure lead him to despair. He is not above exaltation or fear on certain occasions, but excess in either is not part of his nature. He is basically sensible and reasonable, and generally he is hopeful, cheerful, modest and humane. His relations to social or natural surroundings are determined by their utility or opposition to his egocentric concerns, in particular, his self-preservation, self-realisation and self-glorification. Things or people not related to these concerns are simply ignored or unfeelingly disposed of and forgotten. Parents, friends, acquaintances, pets, or even economic and moral values are disposed of once they become opposed or even neutral to his self-directed interests.

A judicious reader will not be deceived by Crusoe's moralisings. These moralisings serve Crusoe as means of self-justification. They come after, not before, his deeds. Crusoe's claimed salvation is deceptive and self-congratulatory. Even after this so-called salvation Crusoe would have deserted parents, sold Xury, killed cats shot birds, killed savages in order to save a Friday and enslave him. Crusoe's behaviour in **THE FARTHER ADVENTURES** which take place after salvation, confirms the fact that Crusoe's conduct is always determined first by his egocentric interests, and only secondarily by moral values.

This is not intended to disparage the character of Crusoe. It is meant to show that Defoe's sense of realism and of artistic demands went deeper than is generally recognised. His conception and execution of Crusoe's character is superb. Crusoe never betrays his true nature. He remains a non-attached, non-committed individual to the very end. His only commitment is to himself. Having attained absolute freedom and independence on the desert island, he cultivates all his mental faculties to secure his physical and psychological needs. While he was providing himself with the available materials for survival and physical comfort, he busied himself with reconstructing his relations with religion, God and society on his own terms. His conception of God pre-supposes a God who is personally interested in the safety, protection and prosperity of Crusoe, and who always has a watchful eye over Crusoe. The terms of Crusoe's relation to God are specified in the following words: **Call on me in the day of trouble, and I will deliver, and thou shalt glorify me.** This conception of God as deliverer from danger and trouble, provides Crusoe with an omnipotent ally and an omnipresent companion who is always beside him and hears his call. Psychologically, this concept gives Crusoe some peace of mind and reduces his fear. But it is important to notice that Crusoe never allows himself to give up self-dependence or to relinquish his freedom.

It is to be noticed that as an autobiography, **ROBINSON CRUSOE** does not include all the details of Crusoe's life. It selects only those incidents or accidents that have a bearing on one of the themes of the book. The first eighteen years of Crusoe's life are glossed over because they have no thematic significance. The story begins in the eighteenth year of Crusoe's life, when the question of his future career comes to a head. At this age, Crusoe's self-awareness becomes complete and from now on he refuses to relegate his right of free and independent choice to any external authority. On all occasions when social obligations or moral teachings are in opposition to his inclination Crusoe simply disregards them and acts as a free agent. When he realises that neither father nor mother would consent to his going abroad, he simply acts in response to his inclination "without asking God's blessing, or my father's".

Crusoe's conduct, however, is never spiteful. It is merely self-assertive. His disobedience to his father's commands is not dictated by a mean desire to thwart father's wishes. Crusoe wastes a whole year in the hope that father would understand his son's irresistible impulse to go abroad, and consent. Nevertheless, Crusoe never slanders his father's behaviour. He describes his father as "wise", "grave", "warm", "excellent counsel", while he describes his own behaviour in declamatory and self-reproaching terms: "obstinately deaf", "contempt of advice" and "breach of duty to God and my father".

Thus Defoe uses a subtle technique in portraying Crusoe. He allows him to have his way without openly questioning the validity of father's right to obedience. At the beginning of the story, Crusoe's action is shown to be motivated by "ill fate", "an irresistible inclination", a "secret overruling decree that hurries us on to be the instruments of our own destruction", etc. Whenever Crusoe runs into trouble, this trouble is interpreted by Crusoe as "a visible hand of Heaven" overtaking him as punishment. Later in the story, Crusoe sees his irresistible inclination as "secret intimations of Providence, and says: "I cannot but advise all considering men.....not to slight these secret intimations of providence, let them come from what invisible intelligence they will....." (p. 128). In **THE FARTHER ADVENTURES** Crusoe calls it "some secret powerful impulse of Providence upon me." (p. 227).

Underneath all these interpretations and appellations of Crusoe's motives, there seems to lie the basic assumption that the impulse for freedom and independence is such an impelling force in Crusoe's character that it cannot be helped. Furthermore, it should not be obstructed.

Crusoe's use of his independence and freedom reveals many admirable

4. CHARACTERIZATION

As an anti-utopia, **ROBINSON CRUSOE** does not aim at giving a discrediting description of utopias. Its major concern is to present individualism, which is an anti-utopian principle, under glamorous lights. Like other utopian narratives, it makes use of the first person narrator. This narrator is usually entrusted with three functions (travel, observation, narration) that would be performed in the interest of the utopian theme. The prime objective of a traditional utopian narrative is to extol a certain utopian arrangement by showing it as a working scheme in some remote part of the world. As narrator, Crusoe is entrusted with functions that serve an opposite interest, namely, showing the means of attaining individual freedom, and describing the miseries as well as the blessings associated with maintaining the attained individual freedom.

Unlike his counterparts in traditional narrative utopias, Crusoe does not travel merely to see and observe the world, and later to report his observations. Crusoe is shaped as a self-centered traveller-actor-narrator. He travels to assert his free will and to realise his independent choice. Travel to him is not a mere literary device that gets him to a utopian world. It is an act of self-assertion that ignores all external sources of opposition. At the same time, it is a means for maintaining his freedom by putting a distance between him and the social limitations that may reduce his ability to choose freely and to decide the course of his life independently. Furthermore, travel to him is an activity rewarding in itself. It offers excitement, satisfies curiosity, and activates all the human faculties.

As an individualist, Crusoe is presented as a self-assertive rebel against external authority whenever the dictates of that authority run counter to his innermost inclination. In other words, Crusoe is not a rebel on all occasions, but only when his dominant passion for independence and freedom is at variance with the demands of the external world. On such occasions, he cannot but be true to his nature, whatever the outcome might be. This self-assertive conduct of Crusoe involves him into a number of dramatic situations and activities where his staunch individualism is put to the test. For the sake of remaining independent he runs the risk of incurring paternal anger and providential wrath, acts contrary to his economic interests in the Brasils, and would end his life in solitude rather than have rivals who would dispute his sovereignty or command.

As an anti-utopian story that attempts to glorify individualism **ROBINSON CRUSOE** is given the form of an autobiography. As such, the narrator is made the central figure. All other characters derive their significance from their relation to the themes of Crusoe's freedom, self-assertion and self-development.

But I don't want comfort. I want God, I want poetry, I want real danger,
I want freedom, I want goodness. I want sin.

The course of action in each of the three cycles follows almost the same pattern: (1) The protagonist refuses to relegate his right of choice to any external agent, whether it be parent, friend, economic necessity, or religious inhibition. (2) He responds to the call of an inner, mysterious, irrational but irresistible impulse to go abroad. (3) The voyages undertaken act as agents of distancing, spatial, psychological and temporal.

The distancing is achieved by gradual steps: from life with the family in his home town, to life with friends in a big city, to life as a slave in a foreign land and alien society, to life as a planter in an extremely remote foreign country. The distancing here is not only spatial — from Hull, to Yarmouth, to London, to Salée, to the Brazils. It is also psychological: From parents, to friends, to business acquaintances, to a foreign master of a different tongue and a different religion, to colleagues of a different tongue and religion. The gradual distancing process has also a temporal dimension: months, a year, two years, and finally four years in the Brazils.

In the second cycle, however, steps one and two are repeated, but the distancing process is more decisive. Spatially, the uninhabited island is not only extremely remote, but also cut off from the outside world. Temporally, the isolation from human society extends to 25 years before Crusoe saves Friday. Psychologically, the isolation and solitude are now absolute. Human contact is completely denied, and Crusoe has no one but himself and perhaps his pets to communicate his joys and sorrows to.

Another difference in the second cycle lies in the fact that Crusoe's priorities change their content. In the first cycle Crusoe's foremost wish was to attain enough freedom and wealth to follow his natural inclination. On the desert island Crusoe's foremost need was to survive, then to secure the means for survival for as long as he had to remain on the island, and finally to improve the conditions of his existence on the island as much as it is in his power to do so. At the same time, Crusoe does not forget his desire to reintegrate himself in a social fabric. This desire seems a remote possibility and he makes half-hearted plans and attempts to make its realisation possible. Reintegration, however, comes very slowly. First he teaches his parrot to repeat some phrases. After 25 years of solitude, he saves Friday and enjoys his company for two years. Then he saves the Spaniard and Friday's father and thereby he becomes a king in a community of four people. Soon the tempo of reintegration into human society gathers speed and in less than a year Crusoe finds himself back in England, an independent, free, rich and self-made gentleman.

Guinea, away from his prosperous plantation in the Brazils. Thematically and artistically this fifth voyage is a re-enactment of the first voyage which took Crusoe from his home in Hull to Yarmouth. Artistically, it is a literary distancing device which serves the theme and enables Crusoe to liberate himself from all the ties that bind his freedom. The first voyage frees him from the duty of obedience to father's command and of heeding the advice of mother and friends, whereas the fifth voyage liberates him from the necessity of being tied to the plantation which, as a thriving business, needed his personal supervision. Economically both voyages end in a disaster. Artistically, each voyage is a literary device to realise for Crusoe his deep-rooted wish for freedom. But the freedom gained by the fifth voyage is **the** perfect and absolute freedom won at the price of perfect isolation and absolute solitude. Crusoe is now shipwrecked not on the shores of Yarmouth where society would lend a helping hand, but on the shores of an un-inhabited island where he must fend for himself if he is to survive.

The first four voyages represent an independent cycle in Crusoe's early career. The whole cycle is a prefiguring of a second cycle which begins in the fifth voyage and ends when Crusoe comes back to England after 28 years of life on the desert island. The same pattern is used in a third cycle which provides material for Defoe's **The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe**, and lasts for ten years and nine months.

Although the details differ from one cycle to another, the pattern of motivation and of the course of action in the first cycle is repeated in the second and third cycles.

The principal motive in all three cycles is definitely not the economic motive, but the anti-utopian and psychological dynamic restlessness of Crusoe's individualistic temper. The economic drive acts as one of the major surface and direct motives. The psychological motive goes deeper and represents one of the fundamental mysteries of human nature. It is often irrational and yet more compulsive than the obvious logical impulses. Without it, we may have quiet, safety, security, plenty and peace, all typical utopian promises, but no genuine change and progress, and no deeply-felt excitement, sorrow or joy. Without it, social and individual life would stagnate, complacency would dominate, and corruption and decay would creep in unperceived. The choice before Crusoe in the three cycles has been brilliantly dramatised again in Huxley's **Brave New World** in the story of John the Savage. Here the Controller Mustapha Mond allows John the Savage to choose between the comforts of "civilization" and the miseries of free but dangerous living. Like Crusoe, John the Savage chooses the latter alternative and says (Huxley, 1975: 187):

never seriously uses his faculties of observation to learn any thing of cultural or social value to convey to his people when he returns. In Sallee, Crusoe's only concern was to regain his freedom. Says Crusoe (p. 16): "Here I meditated nothing but my escape, and what method I might take to effect it." The fact is that Crusoe, unlike his counterparts the travellers-observers-narrators of utopian fiction, has no genuine interest in foreign cultures, religions, social arrangements and political organisations. His main and only concern is his own personal freedom.

The fourth voyage begins with Crusoe's escape on a fishing boat. The second leg of the voyage is taken on board a Portuguese ship bound to the "Brasils". In this part of the voyage Crusoe sells the boat he escaped in and the boy Xury to the Portuguese captain. In "the Brasils" Crusoe, "seeing how well the planters liv'd, and how they grew rich suddenly", turns planter. In four years time he thrives and prospers very well, learns the language, contracts friendships with fellow-planters and merchants. In short, he becomes well-established in the middle-class and his prospects of further success are very good. In short, he is now sufficiently reinstated and reintegrated in the social fabric. But the restlessness which drove him away from home seven years before begins now to haunt him. He begins to feel bored, lonely and alienated. He feels that he "was gotten into an employment quite remote to my genius, and contrary to the life I delighted in" (p. 28). Crusoe responds to what he calls "my foolish inclination of wandering abroad" (p. 30). By so doing, Crusoe repeats the same pattern of behaviour which he followed seven years earlier under similar conditions. Says Crusoe (p. 30):

As I had once done thus in breaking away from my parents, so I could not be content now, but I must go and leave the happy view 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;...

This desire of rising fast has been considered by some critics the major motivation behind the action of **ROBINSON CRUSOE**, and the major theme dramatised by the book. Scholars who support this consideration ignore a deeper and stronger motive, namely, "the foolish inclination of wandering abroad". Crusoe gives this "inclination" almost a dozen other names, but all the names boil down to what Mannheim calls the "utopian mentality" which is dominated by the "will to action". We may call it "the anti-utopian restlessness of dynamic individualism", or what Huxley (1975: 186) calls the impulse for "living dangerously".

Whatever the case may be, this restless impulse which sometimes hides behind the economic drive takes Crusoe on his fifth voyage to

concerning social arrangements and not in the excitement occasioned by the events. Thomas More's **UTOPIA** is an exception here. Its lasting appeal derives not from its plot, and not only from the novelty of its ideas, but also, and more importantly, from its hilarious wit and ingenious serio-comic techniques.³³

The general framework and details of the plot in utopian narratives are all present in **ROBINSON CRUSOE**, but they are handled quite differently. First of all, it is to be noticed that instead of the two voyages in utopian plots, Defoe manages to put at least eight extended voyages in **ROBINSON CRUSOE**. Each voyage is endowed with a significance of its own and at the same time functions as a step in one of the two processes that dominate the book: the process of disentangling Crusoe from the cobweb of social ties, and the counter process of reinstating and reintegrating him in the social fabric.

The first voyage is from Hull to Yarmouth by sea, and from Yarmouth to London by land. It is the first step in the process of freeing Crusoe from family ties and obligations. At the same time it gives Crusoe a prefiguring of the dangers and troubles he might have to face if he persists in his waywardness. This part of the book is a dramatisation of the conflict between the utopian promises of "peace and plenty" and "the blessings attending the middle station of life" such as "temperance, moderation, quietness, health, society, all agreeable diversions, and all desirable pleasures", on the one hand, and the anti-utopian individualistic impulse of going abroad and seeing the world, and withal facing the unknown all alone. In spite of the hardships and dangers Crusoe faces in this first voyage, the individualistic impulse wins.

The second voyage takes Crusoe from London to Guinea and back to London. This was a successful voyage which gave Crusoe the pleasure of seeing the world, of learning from his friend the captain some useful information about navigation, and of making easy profit through trading. At the same time, this voyage sharpened his appetite for more travel and more trading. The voyage was not without discomfort, but the lure of profit was stronger. Parental remonstrations, providential warnings and utopian promises were now completely forgotten or ignored, and Crusoe was overwhelmed by the joys of freedom, the excitement and profits of travel.

The third voyage ended in a catastrophe. Crusoe did not only lose his belongings and his fellowo-travellers, he also lost his freedom and became a slave to a foreign master in a foreign country. He lived for two years here. His behaviour throughout these two years belies his claim that he wanted to go abroad in order to see the world. On this occasion, as on later occasions in the Brazils and in **The Farther Adventures**, Crusoe

largest and most interesting section deals with Crusoe's life on the desert island. This section receives a comparatively minor position in the wording and the printing device of the title. Whether or not this was done on purpose and has significance is a question worthy of further investigation. What is important for our purposes is that the wording of the original title of **ROBINSON CRUSOE** suggests a change of focus. Instead of focusing on collective life as most titles of utopian narratives do, the title of Defoe's book focuses on a particular individual's life.

2. FOCUS

Focus in traditional utopias is on what the author conceives to be the ideal order, organisation and arrangement in society. Therefore the narrative elements such as plot, action, characters and characterisation, point of view, narrator, setting, style and tone are all subordinated to the thematic interests, and given minimum attention. Plot and action are stereotyped. The narrator is rarely individualised and his function is reduced to mere observing and reporting. His travels are never important in themselves; they are mere literary devices to get him to the utopian world and bring him back in order to make a report of his observations. His stay in utopia is significant only in so far as it enables him to see and understand all that is worth seeing and reporting. What he does there or what is done to him is simply ignored. The largest section of the utopian narrative is occupied by mere description.

In **ROBINSON CRUSOE** the focus is on Crusoe himself. Nothing matters unless it has some bearing on his career. Things, activities, happenings, places, and other humans receive attention only in so far as they become relevant to Crusoe's life and interests. All the narrative elements and techniques are geared to bring to light the various aspects of his individualistic nature, his self-assertion, his pride, his love of freedom, his acquisitiveness, his dynamism, his alienation, his solitariness, his resourcefulness, his sense of guilt, his suspicious nature, etc.

3. PLOT

In traditional utopian narratives action is reduced to a minimum and plot is mostly stereotyped. It consists of a voyage, mostly by sea; a shipwreck on the shores of a previously unknown utopian country; survival of the traveller-narrator; his extended stay in the utopian country; his return to home country in order to report his observations in the utopian country. All these happenings are of no importance in themselves. They are mere literary devices harnessed for the service of the utopian theme. The interest in such utopian narratives is in the novelty of the utopian ideas

that Defoe, as a skillful and long-experienced writer, did have some concept of a plan and that this preconceived plan guided his steps in selecting his narrative materials and arranging them in a narrative form. As we hope to show in the following pages, **ROBINSON CRUSOE** does have organic unity; its themes control the shape of its form and determine the course of its action. At the same time, its form and plot highlight its themes. And in short, each part falls in its convenient place in the whole and is made more meaningful by its relation to the whole. Each part gives a significant and timely contribution to the total effect.

We have already discussed the anti-utopian thematic concerns of **ROBINSON CRUSOE**. To win public support for his anti-utopian vision of life, Defoe presents it in the form of an entertaining story which, according to his preface, would offer readers diversion and instruction. Knowing that his middle-class readers hate fiction, Defoe asserts that the book is "a just history of fact; neither is there any appearance of fiction in it." Defoe did not lie. In **ROBINSON CRUSOE** he had so perfected the art of hiding art and the techniques of achieving verisimilitude that the book had the appearance of real fact and not the appearance of fiction. Defoe's masterly use of these techniques has been recognised by all critics and commentators, and it seems unnecessary to labor the point any further.

As an anti-utopian story, **ROBINSON CRUSOE** uses the traditional techniques of utopian fiction, with some significant variations to suit its anti-utopian themes. These variations can be discerned in the title, in the focus of the story, in the plot, in characterisation, and finally in the setting.

1. TITLE

Previous utopian narratives had titles which give the names, and sometimes short descriptions of the utopian countries in which social, political, religious and economic arrangements make citizens happy and contented.³² These titles show that the main interest of the story lies in the portraying, through description and dialogue, of the collective arrangements and the economic and political organization in the utopian country. The original long title of **ROBINSON CRUSOE** suggests a variety of literary intentions: that the book is an autobiography (The Life.....of Robinson Crusoe.....Written by Himself); that it is a thrilling adventure story (The.....Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe); the word "Mariner", and the phrases "Having been cast on Shore by Shipwreck" and "strangely deliver'd by PYRATES" suggest that the book belongs to travel-by-sea literature. The heart of this long title seems, as the printing device suggests, to be the name of the person whose "life and adventures" are related. Later, when we read the book, we find that the

successful professional writer long before he turned novelist. But he "was less an artist than a literary tradesman". As a writer, then, Defoe was a master of the trade and knew well how to win the ear of his audience. On the other hand, writing for him was not mere artistic self-expression, but a trade through which he could produce literary commodities that sell and bring rewarding material gains.

Second, Defoe's narrative works, unlike his polemic works, were not addressed to certain sophisticated patrons or to refined readers, but to an audience which consisted mainly of middle class readers whose "plebian" tastes, needs, interests and "vulgar" aspirations he identified and sympathised with. Ian Watt (1982: 152) says that Defoe's novels "were among the greatest concessions he made to the tastes of the reading public". Shinagel (1968: 107-141) gives an enlightening analysis of the relations early in the eighteenth century between writers and readers, and of the impact of those relations on the thematic, artistic and stylistic developments in fiction. Shinagel points out that the traditional patronage system was breaking down and disintegrating, and was being replaced by the patronage of publishers and of the ever-increasing middle-class reading public. Writing and publishing were becoming a profitable business and industry, and publishers were hard-core businessmen keen on making profit by catering to the needs and tastes of the reading public. Book-sellers, Shinagel (1968: 117) tells us, "arose as the vital middlemen between author and reader." They were "attuned to the tastes and reading needs of their times, and they enabled the writers to find an audience in large enough numbers for their works to make writing profitable and attractive". Defoe, as "a longstanding author and a middle-class tradesman", was supremely suited to know what the publishers and the new middle-class audience wanted and to supply it. But what they wanted was not great poetry and classical models. These were favoured by the aristocracy and refined readers, and were provided by such men of letters as Pope and Swift. The unsophisticated middle-class readers were more inclined toward prose. It was Defoe and other Grub Street writers who provided them with the reading material they wanted.

The third consideration is the fact that Defoe wrote his narratives at a time when three kinds of prose fiction were popular: travel literature,²⁹ including utopian fiction as a minor branch; spiritual biographies³⁰; and an emergent form of narrative literature, including adventure stories and thrillers, that was quickly approximating the novel form.³¹

In the light of the above-mentioned considerations it would hardly be possible to accept the view presented by some scholars that Defoe had no concept of design, pattern or plan to guide his steps in constructing **ROBINSON CRUSOE**. It would be more in accord with reason to assume

Finally, in connection with the opposition between the individual will and the collective will, it is tempting to see in Crusoe a promethean figure. Like Prometheus, Crusoe is a social rebel; he disobeys father and — by implication — God; he is punished by God who causes him to be shipwrecked and chained to an isolated island. At a deeper level, one may discern some sort of parallelism in the complex relations between good and evil in the stories of Prometheus and Crusoe. Prometheus, as the Greek myths and Aeschylus' play tell us, was man's benefactor. He gave man fire and light. But by so doing he incurred the wrath of Zeus on himself and on men. Crusoe, on the other hand, presents his fellow creatures with an alluring picture of triumphant individualistic rebellion. But this triumphant individualism entails isolation and alienation from fellow creatures, which few men can bear.²⁷ On the other hand, this individualism often has a negative impact on social cohesion and on social solidarity. It may even end in social disintegration and anarchy.

THE ARTISTRY OF ROBINSON CRUSOE

At the risk of seeming redundant, it is important to reiterate the fact that **ROBINSON CRUSOE** is a story, a work of art, an artistic construct. Whether this story is a novel, a spiritual biography, a travel book, an adventure story, is at this point a side issue. Such classifications of prose fiction did not exist at the time of Defoe, nor was fiction honoured, or seriously and systematically studied and categorised as it has become in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, especially after Henry James made the first systematic attempt at formulating a rhetoric of fiction.²⁸ On the other hand, there were no great novels or great works in prose fiction before Defoe that could be copied or imitated by him as great examples. Defoe had therefore to rely mainly on his own creative literary instinct in his search for a proper form, design or pattern for his narrative works. Nevertheless, Defoe's narrative achievements are, despite the controversy they still raise and the adverse criticism they sometimes receive, genuine and original contributions to prose fiction in general and to the rise of the novel in particular.

Out of the voluminous scholarship dealing with Defoe and his **ROBINSON CRUSOE** one arrives at three major considerations that should be taken into account when one discusses the artistry of **ROBINSON CRUSOE**.

First, Defoe, as Ian Watt (in Ford, ed, 1982: 152) claims, was a

146): "I fancied my self able to manage one, nay, two or three savages, if I had them, so as to make them entirely slaves to me, to do whatever I should direct them, and to prevent their being able at any time to do me any hurt." When he saves Friday, "first, I made him know his name should be Friday.... I likewise taught him to say Master, and let him know, that was to be my name" (p. 150). After he saves the lives of the Spaniard and Friday's father, Crusoe tells us (p. 175):

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 look'd. First of all, the whole country was my own meer property, so that I had an undoubted right of domination. 2ndly, my people were perfectly subjected: I was absolute lord and lawgiver....

What seems strange, however, is the fact that Crusoe leaves the island and sails back to England at the time when it promises to be populated by relatively substantial community of civilized white people. There is every reason to expect that these new inhabitants would have willingly recognised Crusoe as their governor. Nevertheless, Crusoe foregoes this opportunity of acting the role of the absolute king or lord. The seeming strangeness of Crusoe's behaviour on this occasion easily disappears when we remember that Crusoe is an incorrigible individualist who would not accept any social tie or bond on his freedom. Kingship or lordship is a social institution; it implies responsibility and duty to the subjects. He who rules men is accountable to men, and is tied up to them. He who makes rules for others binds himself to those rules as much as he binds others. Crusoe is essentially a rambler. If in his previous roles as a son, as a slave, and as a planter, he refused to be bound by the social principles that determine the pattern of behaviour in those roles, he would not now allow his freedom to be curtailed or limited by the social principles of lordship. If he does, he would not be the Crusoe we know and admire; he would be a different, ordinary creature.

Perhaps it would not be wrong to see in **ROBINSON CRUSOE** an epic strain. In fact, **THE FARTHER ADVENTURES OF ROBINSON CRUSOE** echoes the rambling nature of Ulysses who, according to Lord Tennyson's poem **ULYSSES**, "cannot rest from travel", and exclaims:

How dull it is to pause, to make an end,
To rust unburnished, not to shine in use!

Both Ulysses and Crusoe spurn "the sphere / of common duties" such as family duties and the responsibility of lordship, and prefer to roam "with a hungry heart" and "To sail beyond the sunset,... until I die." Each is "Made weak by time and fate", but remains "strong in will - To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield."

And after four years of solitude Crusoe's basic attitude is fundamentally the same. He says (p. 95):

I was removed from all the wickedness of the world here. I had neither **the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, or the pride of life.**²⁶ I had nothing to covet, for I had all that I was now capable of enjoying;there were no rivals; I had no competitor, none to dispute sovereignty or command with me.

Crusoe's favourite society seems to be one which would be accountable to him rather than one which would bring him to account. He wants a society of which he would be the recognised absolute master, one whose members are his property (dogs, cats, birds and kids), his slaves (Xury, Friday and Friday's father), or his unquestioningly obedient subordinates (the Spaniard he saved from the cannibals, the captain of the ship whose crew mutinied against him, the captain's mate and the passenger). Crusoe accepts no master above himself, nor would he stand equals who might dispute his sovereignty or command. He seems obsessed with the image of himself as king, lord, sole owner of the land and the creatures that live on it. Before the first year of his solitary life on the island is over, Crusoe discovers a fertile valley. On this occasion he says (p. 74):

I descended a little on the side of that delicious vale, surveying it with a secret kind of pleasure...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.

In the fourth year Crusoe observes (p. 95): "I was lord of the whole manor; or if I pleas'd, I might call my self king or emperor over the whole country which I had possession of". In the fourteenth year of his life on the island Crusoe reiterates the same ideas in more emphatic terms. He says (p. 109):

It would have made a stoick smile to have seen me and my little family sit down to dinner; there was my majesty the prince and lord of the whole island; I had the lives of all my subjects at my absolute command; I could hang, draw, give liberty, and take it away, and no rebels among my subjects.

Later, when he sees the footprint (pp. 113 ff), and when he finds "the shore spread with skulls, hands, feet and other bones of humane bodies" (p. 120), Crusoe's feelings of security and peace evaporate. He now longs for civilized society and dreams again of escaping from the desert island, but he does not give up the idea of being a master of men. He dreams (p. 145, 146) of saving some savages to make them his servants. He says (p.

confusing. As it has been pointed out by many critics, Crusoe's life on the desert island is the part which has secured for the book its lasting appeal. Here, society exists only in an abstract, though active form. It appears as cultural heritage — as language, as religion, as values, modes of thinking and patterns of behaviour — that governs to a large extent Crusoe's ways of acting on and reacting to his surroundings. It should be remembered that by the time Crusoe is stranded on the island he has already become 27 years old — a physically, mentally and ideologically mature man. It is true that no flesh-and-blood people are there to help or hinder Crusoe's freedom and development. Nevertheless, the image of society and the impact of social upbringing are never fully absent. Furthermore, Crusoe is fortunate to have some tools and products of society, which were saved from the wrecked ship..

Throughout his solitary life on the island Crusoe pines for society and human company. Nevertheless, Crusoe's account of his life on the island reveals unmistakable proofs of his deep-rooted distrust of human nature and fear of society. While he was dosing, he tells, us, 'I thought I dream'd that somebody spoke to me....[I] was at first dreadfully frightened, and started up in the utmost consternation....even though I knew it was the parrot,... it was a good while before I could compose myself' (p. 105). The story of the human footprint (pp. 113-118) shows that Crusoe does not think of others as friends or fellow creatures, but rather as savages or heartless enemies. Talking to the Spaniard whom he had saved from the cannibals about helping the seventeen Spaniards and Portuguese who were stranded among the savages, Crusoe says (p. 177):

I told him with freedom, I fear'd mostly their treachery and ill usage of me....for that gratitude was no inherent virtue in the nature of man; nor did men always square their dealings by the obligations they had received so much as they did by the advantages they expected.²⁵

Crusoe's concept of social life indicates that he considers society more evil than good. He concedes that it provides the individual with the material needs and satisfies his urge for human company, but he seems to resent the fact that it charges an exorbitant price: it limits his freedom, destroys his peace, hinders his development and self-cultivation, and even corrupts or demoralises him by the various lusts and fears it arouses in him. After the first two years of his solitary life Crusoe says (p. 83):

I gave humble and hearty thanks that God had been pleas'd to discover to me, even that it was possible I might be more happy in this solitary condition, than I should have been in a liberty of society, and in all the pleasures of the world....

reflections are not fully insincere, nor are they completely unwarranted. Religion in Crusoe's condition on the desert island does have as much survival value as food and shelter. Without it he would most probably have gone mad. Crusoe's living concept of an omnipotent, omnipresent, watchful and protective God often helps Crusoe to forget his solitude and feel that God is there, a living Reality, giving him company. God, says Crusoe (p. 83)

could fully make up to me the deficiencies of my solitary state...by His presence and the communications of His grace to my soul, supporting, comforting, and encouraging me to depend upon His providence here....

As for the economic theme which was brilliantly developed by Ian Watt (1966) and has received more support than criticism, it does not seem fully convincing once **ROBINSON CRUSOE** is read as an anti-utopia. As a matter of fact, the text frequently belittles the economic theme in favour of a different motive for action, which belongs more to rebellious and restless individualism than to economic interests and considerations. Crusoe gives this motive a variety of names and descriptions. He calls it: "a meer wandering inclination" (p. 5); "thoughts ...entirely bent on seeing the world" (p. 7); "my ill fate... a secret overruling degree that hurries us on to be the instruments of our own destruction" (p. 13); "That evil influence" (p. 14); "my foolish inclination of wandering abroad" (p. 30); "The dictates of my fancy rather than my reason" (p. 32); "native propensity to rambling" and "the strong inclination to go abroad, which hung about me like a chronical distemper" (p. 225). Crusoe describes his never-ceasing travel as done "more in obedience to a restless desire of seeing the world than a covetous desire of getting in it". He also says: "mine was the notion of a mad rambling boy, that never cares to see a thing twice over" (p. 360)

This desire "to see the world without getting in it" is indicative of Crusoe's extreme jealousy of his individualistic independence and freedom from any involvement in social or economic relations that might limit his freedom of choice, his self-cultivation and self-development. This is not to say that the economic theme is not important, but our contention is that it is less predominant than the individualistic freedom theme. In fact, when Crusoe's substantial economic interests in Brazil as a planter threaten to tie him down to his plantation, he jumps at the first opportunity to go abroad, and agrees to go on the voyage to Guinea to bring negro slaves, knowing that by so doing he is risking his life and fortune (pp. 30-32).

The social theme in **ROBINSON CRUSOE** is rather confused and

that the perfection of machinery to which it has sacrificed everything will in the end avail it nothing, for want of the vital power which, in order that the machine might work smoothly, it has preferred to banish.

The second major theme in **ROBINSON CRUSOE** is therefore self-development. Once Crusoe is stranded on the desert island he does not only attain perfect freedom, but is, at the same time, faced with the necessity of resorting to his own natural faculties if he is to survive. Here is no father or mother to secure food and shelter for him, no Xury to help him, no slaves and servants to wait on him. He has by necessity to depend on himself, and only himself. He has to activate all the faculties that have hitherto been unused or not fully used. From now on Crusoe must cultivate all his physical, mental and psychological powers in order first to survive, second to secure the means for continued survival, and third to make that survival pleasant and comfortable, both physically and psychologically, as far as human invention can make it.

A third theme that looms large in Crusoe's life on the desert island is the principle of utilitarianism. This is closely connected with the theme of self-development. If one's survival is at stake, things that have survival value must be given priority. And in most of his activities on the desert island Crusoe never loses sight of this utilitarian principle. Crusoe says (p. 95): "...all I could make use of was all that was valuable.... In a word, the nature and experience of things dictated to me...that all the good things of this world are no farther good to us than they are for our use." Some critics accuse Crusoe of not having an esthetic instinct. He never gives a thought to the beauty of his surroundings, nor does he waste a moment on admiring that beauty. Again, some critics charge Crusoe with insincere moralising. Whenever utility and morality are at variance, utility wins, and morality is either ignored or made subservient to it. Examples of this utility-morality conflict are abundant, but we may mention in passing the Xury episode, the unnecessary killing and drowning of the cats (pp. 76 and 109, 132), Crusoe's deliberations as to whether or not he should attack the cannibal savages (pp. 125-127), and Crusoe's concept of the contractual relation between God and man, which is summed up in the Biblical words: "**Call on me in the day of trouble, and I will deliver, and thou shalt glorify me**", and in Crusoe's utilitarian understanding of this text.

In the light of reading **ROBINSON CRUSOE** as an antiutopia, the theme of religious conversion does not seem as essential as it is claimed to be by Hunter (1966). The book's interests are dominantly secular. The religious reflections of Crusoe seem, as Charles Gildon, Defoe's contemporary critic, observes, 'filler' material designed to get a higher price for a bulkier book (Crowley, 1981: xix). Our feeling, however, is that these religious

talents, and therefore those talents wither and fade away. They are simply wasted. To anti-utopians, this particular fact is especially deplorable. In Huxley's **Brave New World**, for example, Helmholtz Watson is capable of producing great poetry. He is ordered to simply ignore this ability rather than cultivate it. When he proves incapable of obeying the order he is exiled. To Defoe and his middle-class audience originality and talent were precious endowments. Mill (1979: 193 ff) claims that the originality of exceptional individuals protects social life against deterioration and corruption, and secures continued vitality for it. Mill says:

...originality is a valuable element in human affairs. There is always need of persons...to discover new truths....to commence new practices, and set the example for more enlightened conduct.....[such persons are few]. But these few are the salt of the earth. Without them human life would become a stagnant pool. Persons of genius...are always... a small minority; but in order to have them, it is necessary to preserve the soil in which they grow. Geniuses can only breathe in an atmosphere of freedom.

Freedom therefore is not merely an end that is sought for itself. It is also and more essentially a means to a higher end — self-development. In a utopia, individuals are sheltered from and protected against unpleasant vicissitudes, but this is done at the expense of their development into better, nobler, and more effective human beings. Too much protection arrests the growth — mental, moral and physical — of human beings. A protected child never grows up to real and reliable manhood or womanhood. Protection dwarfs people, and keeps them in the childhood stage where they would perhaps remain obedient and pliant, but dependent on others and never reliable. Their various faculties remain dormant and inexperienced because they are not aroused or activated. In anti-utopias individuals rebel because the utopian prescribed courses of action leave no space for the practice of originality, inventiveness, and resourcefulness.²⁴ In confirmation of this Mill (1979: 192) says:

....In proportion to the development of his individuality each person becomes more valuable to himself, and is therefore capable of being more valuable to others. There is a greater fulness of life about his own existence, and when there is more life in the units there is more in the mass which is composed of them.

In his discussion of the ideal relation between the State and the individual Mill (1979: 250) concludes:

...a State which dwarfs its men, in order that they may be more docile instruments in its hands even for beneficial purposes — will find that with small men no great thing can really be accomplished; and

the nature of the battle and the weapons it is fought with. Mill (1979: 135) sums up the situation in these terms:

The object of this Essay is to assert one very simple principle. ...That the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others. His own good...is not a sufficient warrant. He cannot rightfully be compelled to do or forbear because it will be better for him to do so, because it will make him happier, because, in the opinions of others, to do so would be wise, or even right. These are good reasons for remonstrating with him, or persuading him, or entreating him, but not for compelling him, or visiting him with any evil in case he do otherwise. The only part of the conduct of any one, for which he is amenable to society, is that which concerns others. In the part which merely concerns himself, his independence is, of right, absolute. Over himself, over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign.

The opposition in the first ten pages of **ROBINSON CRUSOE** is over a matter which concerns the son and his future career. The son wants to go to sea whereas the father wants his son to accept a lucrative career in his home town. The father uses remonstrance, persuasion, entreaty and command. The mother and the captain of the sunk ship advise the son to obey his father. Even Providence seems to support the father by giving signs of displeasure at the son's conduct. In the face of all these social and religious pressures the son arms himself with wilful stubbornness and resolute firmness in holding to his decision to go to sea.

Not only does Crusoe end this confrontation with native social authority in his favour, he also succeeds in asserting his will to have absolute freedom on various occasions later on: i.e. when he manages to escape from slavery in Salée; when he sells Xury and thus rids himself from moral obligations to a devoted friend; when in Brazil he professes himself a Papist and thereby goes against and betrays his religious upbringing, and finally when he leaves Brazil and goes to sea again to engage in Negro trade, and thereby indulges a whim against the advice of reason and the dictates of conscience.

By the time he arrives at the desert island, Crusoe's absolute freedom of thought and action is perfectly attained. Society and social pressures are here completely absent. Now he can do as he likes without interference from father, mother, friend or master.

Freedom for Crusoe is quite essential. For only in freedom can he practice his exceptional talents and give them free scope. In utopias in general exceptional individuals are not allowed enough scope for their

own personal choices. Nevertheless, if the conditioning of the utopian citizen fails to automatically produce this desirable response, and if, in consequence, the utopian citizen refuses to accept the ready-made choices and courses of action, he would not be allowed to assert his will and to refuse. An anti-utopia, on the other hand, makes this right of refusal a focal issue. Individualism means, before everything else, the right of self-assertion, of making one's choices independently of any external interferences. Crusoe acts on this principle, whereas Mill (1979: 186-8) turns it into a philosophical manifesto:

...it is the privilege and proper condition of a human being, arrived at the maturity of his faculties to use and interpret experience in his own way. The human faculties of perception, judgment, discriminative feeling, mental activity, and even moral preference, are exercised only in making a choice. He who does anything because it is the custom makes no choice. ...He who lets the world ...choose his plan of life for him, has no need of any other faculty than the ape-like one of imitation. He who chooses his plan for himself, employs all his faculties. He must use observation to see, reasoning and judgment to foresee, activity to gather material for decision, discrimination to decide, and when he has decided, firmness and self-control to hold to his deliberate decision.

Thus in the first few pages of **ROBINSON CRUSOE** Defoe sets the stage for a confrontation between the utopian principle, that of pressuring individuals into accepting a ready-made plan of life for them, and the anti-utopian principle which upholds that the individual must not forego his human right of free choice and of freedom in its various forms and aspects. One would think that Mill's definition of human liberty (1979: 137-8) was formulated with the picture of Crusoe's confrontation with his father in mind. Mill's definition runs as follows:

...This, then, is the appropriate region of human liberty. It comprises, first, the inward domain of consciousness; demanding liberty of conscience ...; liberty of thought and feeling; absolute freedom of opinion and sentiment on all subjects. Secondly, the principle requires liberty of tastes and pursuits; of framing the plan of our life to suit our own characters; of doing as we like, subject to consequences as may follow: without empediment from our fellow-creatures, so long as what we do does not hurt them, even though they should think our conduct foolish, perverse, or wrong....

Again, the battle between individuality and collectivity, or between the individual and his society, takes, in **ROBINSON CRUSOE**, the form of dramatic interaction that.. fills up the first ten pages (pp. 5-14), whereas in Mill's essay **ON LIBERTY** it takes few philosophical statements to define

Another serious instance of Crusoe's going against his conscience is revealed near the end of **ROBINSON CRUSOE** when he tells us that while he was in Brazil he changed his religion and "profess'd myself a Papist" (p. 208)

One deduces from all these examples that Defoe was well aware of the major theme he was planning to dramatise in his narrative. This major theme centers around absolute and triumphant individualism that John Stuart Mill was to formulate philosophically 140 years after the publication of Defoe's book, in his treatise **ON LIBERTY** (1859).

In the first few pages of the story Defoe gives a definitely utopian description of the "happiest" station and position in the social hierarchy. Crusoe's father, "a wise and grave man" like most citizens of utopias, tells his son that his [Robinson's]

... was the middle state ... which he [the father] had found by long experience was the best state in the world, the most suited to human happiness, not exposed to the miseries and hardships, the labour and sufferings of the mechanick part of mankind, and not embarrass'd with the pride, luxury, ambition, and envy of the upper part of mankind. He told me.....that the wise man gave his testimony to this as the just standard of true felicity, when he prayed to have neither poverty or riches.

He bid me observe it, and I should always find, that...the middle station of life was calculated for all kinds of vertues and all kinds of enjoyments; that peace and plenty were the handmaids of a middle fortune, that temperance, moderation, quietness, health, society, all agreeable diversions, and all desirable pleasures were the blessings attending the middle station of life; that this way men went silently and smoothly thro' the world, and comfortably out of it... in easy circumstances sliding gently thro' the world, and sensibly tasting the sweets of living without the bitter, feeling that they are happy, and learning by everyday's experience to know it more sensibly.

After this, he press'd me earnestly... that if I was not very easy and happy in the world, it must be my meer fate or fault that must hinder it.

If we consider this idyllic and utopian picture of "the middle station of life" and Crusoe's refusal to stay in it, we may come across one of the basic differences between utopia and anti-utopia. In utopia, a citizen is expected to be contented with and proud of his place. He is not allowed to choose for himself; his choices are made for him and he is expected to gratefully adopt them. He is perhaps so effectively conditioned as to automatically accept these ready-made choices and consider them his

inclination to this led me so strongly against the will, nay, the commands of my father, and against all the entreaties and persuasions of my mother and other friends, that there seem'd to be something fatal in that propension of nature tending directly to the life of misery which was to befall me.

Soon afterwards we see Crusoe acting against all the external voices which represent public will and opinion such as father, mother and friends, as well as against the internal voices such as conscience, reasoning faculty, and moral sentiment. On the first sea voyage from Hull to Yarmouth, which Crusoe takes on board the ship of his friend's father "without asking God's blessing, or my father's, without any consideration of circumstances or consequences" (p.8), Crusoe is frightened by a little storm into making "vows and resolutions, that if it would please God here to spare my life this one voyage... I would go directly home to my father, and never "set into a ship again" (pp. 8-9). On the very second day after the storm he forgets his vows and resolutions, and "in five or six days got as complete a victory over conscience as any young fellow that resolved not to be troubled with it could desire" (p. 10). Few days later the ship goes out to sea again and meets such a terrible storm that it sinks. The Captain of the sunk ship feels that his ship was probably sunk on account of carrying a prodigal son, and exhorts Crusoe to go back to his father. He warns Crusoe: "young man, depend upon it, if you do not go back, wherever you go, you will meet with nothing but disasters and disappointments till your father's words are fulfilled upon you" (p. 13). Soon after that Crusoe goes to London instead of going back to father, and henceforth becomes "deaff to all good advice" (p. 14). After that he makes a successful voyage to Guinea. But when he goes on the same voyage again the ship is attacked and captured by "a Turkish rover of Sallee" and Crusoe is made the slave of the captain of the rover. After two years of slavery Crusoe manages to escape with the boy Xury and regains his liberty. He promises the boy Xury to make him "a great man" if he [Xury] helps him (P. 19). Xury serves him devotedly, but as soon as he feels secure, Crusoe sells the boy to the captain of the Portuguese ship. Crusoe again silences the voice of his conscience by these words:

...he (the captain) offered me also 60 pieces of eight more for my boy Xury, which I was loath to take, not that I was not willing to let the captain have him, but I was very loath to sell the poor boy's liberty, who had assisted so faithfully in procuring my own. However, when I let him know my reason, he own'd it to be just, and offer'd me this medium, that he would give the boy an obligation to set him free in ten years, if he turn'd Christian; upon this, and Xury saying he was willing to go to him, I let the captain have him. (p. 27)

says: "The ancestor of Poe and Wells as literary hoaxers is Daniel Defoe, whose **ROBINSON CRUSOE** and **JOURNAL OF THE PLAGUE YEAR** are classics of illusory authenticity. **CRUSOE**, at least, is closely allied to SF."

In the same way, we may confidently confer on Defoe the title of "father of the English anti-utopia", since his **ROBINSON CRUSOE** seems to be the first English story of an individual who rebels against, disobeys or simply ignores many of the social values and codes of behaviour current at his time, especially those which obstruct or stand against his individualistic tendencies and inclinations.

The source of **ROBINSON CRUSOE**'s lasting appeal lies, in our opinion, in the fact that Crusoe's rebellion ends in success. Unlike his counterparts in twentieth-century antiutopias, Crusoe achieves such a great success that he arouses wonder and wins admiration. His counterparts in twentieth-century anti-utopias end in irrevocable defeat — their tragic fates arouse pity and fear, and call for sympathy, not admiration. Naturally, Defoe's vision of the victorious individual echoes the spirit of his time as much as Forster's, Huxley's, or Orwell's vision of the absolutely defeated individual reflects the individualistically defeatist outlook of their time. But to attribute literary achievement solely to the historical milieu is to deny the author's genius and originality. In order to be fair to Defoe without ignoring the impact on him of his historical milieu, we shall re-examine **ROBINSON CRUSOE** in the light of reading it as an anti-utopia. We shall first re-examine its main themes as we see them, then we shall have a close look on the artistry of the book. Our main interest is to see whether or not it is possible and legitimate to locate **ROBINSON CRUSOE** in the mainstream of utopian fiction.

MAJOR THEMES IN ROBINSON CRUSOE

The dominant theme of **ROBINSON CRUSOE** seems to be the glorification of the triumphant individual who refuses to betray his nature to suit others whoever they may be, and who allows no consideration to deny or bracket his freedom of will, of decision and of action. In the very first page of the story, Crusoe (1969: 5) sets the stage for this antiutopian theme when he says:

Being the third son of the family and not bred to any trade, my head began to be fill'd very early with rambling thoughts. My father...had given me a competent share of learning, ...and design'd me for the law; but I would be satisfied with nothing but going to sea, and my

of **ROBINSON CRUSOE** may be valid and convincing to Christianity oriented readers, but it might not carry enough weight with readers having different religious orientations. This, however, does not invalidate the relevance of the Christian interpretation, for, in fact, this interpretation lies on solid ground since the author of the book and his original audiences were avowed Christians. The crux of the matter is that **ROBINSON CURSOE** happens to appeal to readers of all ages, races, interests and orientations. One must therefore go beyond mere Christian interpretations to account for **ROBINSON CRUSOE**'s **Universal** appeal. One would agree in this connection with Maximillian Novak's (1983: 54-55) statement:

... The idea — the myth — of **ROBINSON CRUSOE** is still very much with us.

As a continuing modern myth it lends itself to the work of economists, political scientists, sociologists, theologians and philosophers. And so it did in the eighteenth century. Although most English readers regarded it as an adventure story, others considered it a kind of moral romance. ... Rousseau... treated it as a treatise on education in his **Emile** (1762) Karl Marx... treated it as an illustration of the labour theory of value....

To those who read **ROBINSON CRUSOE** "entirely in religious terms" Novak (1983: 55) says:

... Certainly all the materials are there for such a reading — the references to Providence, the discovery of Crusoe's Christian faith, and his sense that his entire life was ruled by God's will. But it is notable that... every event that Crusoe credits to Providence is also given a natural or scientific explanation.... And the religious interpretation excludes much in the book that involves Crusoe's character and interests as well as the important sections devoted to Crusoe's development of his island into a mini-paradise....

We also agree with Novak's decision that "Crusoe's interpretation is his own. The reader may draw other conclusions."

Once we read **ROBINSON CRUSOE** as a narrative in the utopian tradition, we find ourselves opening a door on a fairly new vista of possibilities. Most of the themes and artistic techniques of utopian fiction are present here, only differently manipulated by a genius who, it seems, did not fully apprehend the dimensions and implications of what he was achieving. Scholars have dubbed Defoe the father of the English novel, the father of modern journalism, the originator of circumstantial evidence and detail, or the first of "literary hoaxers". Patrick Parrinder (1980: 108)

INTRINSIC SOURCES OF ROBINSON CRUSOE'S SUCCESS.

It is to be kept in mind, however, that **ROBINSON CRUSOE** is first and last a work of art, an artistic construct. To stand the test of time and to survive, a work of art must have inherent virtues and intrinsic worth independent of any external source of appeal such as relevance to its time or being an immediate echo of its author's sentiments and thoughts. If **ROBINSON CRUSOE** continues to grip the imagination and win the ear of readers who know next to nothing of Defoe and are not enlightened about the characteristics of the age that produced it, then the book must have intrinsic features that force admiration.²²

Pocock (1969: x-xi) suggests that "the power which has placed **ROBINSON CRUSOE** among the immortals" is doublefold. The first is the power of the book's "truth — the piling up of innumerable apparently trivial details till the reader's mind is battered into acceptance". This power is "intensified by his [Defoe's] forthright English style, which takes no count of refinements." The second is the power which derives from the fact that "the book is first and last the supreme justification of individuality."

Benjamin Boyce (in Byrd, 1976: 40-50) suggests a third source of power, namely, Defoe's "representation of anxiety". Boyce claims that "It is the emotional background, the often submerged but never quite forgotten anxiety... that renders the detailing of processes and the totalling of resources so powerful. Defoe's methodical reporting and the emotional atmosphere of the book support and justify each other" (Byrd, 1976: 44). Boyce concludes that Defoe's books "interest us by their evocation of some sort of fear."

Other scholars have suggested a variety of artistic, thematic as well as formalistic, sources. Many of these suggestions are dealt with intelligently, and some are extremely enlightening though not wholly and universally convincing. Nevertheless, most of those scholars address themselves to readers born in the Western civilization and well-acquainted with the social, cultural, ideological, religious, political and economic vicissitudes in the occident. Our contention is that the above studies are not all addressed to humanity at large as **ROBINSON CRUSOE** does with success. Nor do they read and interpret **ROBINSON CRUSOE** in the same way. Those, for example, who read **ROBINSON CRUSOE** as a novelistic or fictional dramatisation of an exclusively Christian theme²³ seem to ignore the fact that the book appeals equally strongly to non-Christians as well. Their religious, particularly Christian interpretation

and the notion of personal responsibility they inculcated.... Without benefit of a university, he was a man of wide learning, speaking half a dozen languages and reading seven. His interests and activities were many: he was in turn shopkeeper, manufacturer, journalist, and government spy, and his title to be considered the founder of English journalism is as great as his claim to be father of the novel. His curiosity was endless....

This new type of Englishman, empirical, self-reliant, energetic, and with the sense of a direct relation with a God made in his own image, he expressed in the character of Crusoe. ...

In the light of our knowledge of Defoe's life, interests and values, it would be feasible to suppose that the story of Crusoe's life on the desert island is a projection of Defoe's deep wish to be left alone and with no interference or intervention from whatever source — be it parents, family, church, or state —, to shape his life materially as well as spiritually according to his own genius and potentialities. Nor would it be unwarranted to assume that the individualism of Crusoe is that of Defoe himself, fictionalized and in the process idealised and made successful. The triumphant achievements of Crusoe may be looked at as achievements which Defoe wished but failed to make. This, perhaps, is one of the sources of **ROBINSON CRUSOE** immediacy and ring of sincerity. This, probably, is an essential source of its strong appeal to readers, especially those who, like Defoe, find their essential wishes and private ambitions thwarted and frustrated by the powerful limitations of an unsympathetic society.

Besides, it must be remembered that when Defoe turned novelist in 1719, he was 59 years old and had already distinguished himself as a great writer on whatever subject he chose to deal with. In other words, Defoe had, by 1719, mastered the craft of writing, and had known and practiced the secrets of the trade. In fact, he was one of the earliest writers who depended on their own literary talents and on the patronage of the reading public rather than on the patronage of one important personage. He knew the literary trends of his time and was most sensitive to the public literary tastes and needs. At the same time, he was such a dynamic master of language and invention that he provided for the public tastes and needs with miraculous speed and efficiency.

Sympathy...; but all the solid Reflection is directed to ourselves. We love, we hate, we covet, we enjoy, all in Privacy and Solitude: All we communicate of those Things to any other, is but for their Assistance in the Pursuit of our Desires; the End is at Home; the Enjoyment, the Contemplation, is all Solitude and Retirement; 'tis for our selves we enjoy, and for our selves we suffer.

The individualism of Crusoe can thus be better understood if it is considered in the light of the life of Crusoe's creator, Daniel Defoe.

According to his biographers,²¹ Daniel Defoe (1660-1721) was the son of James Foe, a butcher. He changed his name to Defoe about 1703. His father being a Dissenter or Nonconformist, he was educated at a Dissenting college with the view of becoming a Presbyterian minister. He joined the army of Monmouth, and on the defeat of this army in 1685 Defoe escaped punishment. In 1688 he joined William III and later became his trusted confidant. Before settling down to his career as a political writer, Defoe had been engaged in various enterprises as a hosier, a merchant-adventurer to Spain and Portugal, and a brickmaker, mostly ending in failure. As a writer, he tried his hand at almost every conceivable subject: politics, economics, religion, satire, geography, history, biography, and so on. There was almost no human activity of which he was not sufficiently informed. To Trevelyan (1948: 93) "Defoe could be all things to all men" and "was the typical man of his day". To Sampson (1953: 453-457) Defoe "was the most prolific writing machine known to us", and as a writer and as a figure in public affairs, Defoe is second only to Swift and his "life and work defy summary". To Cazamian (1954: 771-777), Defoe's "personality is elusive"; he was an exceptional being" who suffered from an "erratic destiny"; "Nothing was too small to escape his notice; nothing was too large to fit into his comprehension"; "His curiosity was insatiable. He was an indefatigable writer on all subjects. To write was as natural to him as to breathe". Browning (1965) claims that "In all, he published, including pamphlets, 250 works". Walter Allen (1982: 37) claims that Defoe is "authoritatively credited" with "375 works". Ian Watt (1982: 152) says that Defoe "produced over five hundred separate works as well as a vast amount of journalism, including the whole of thrice-weekly newspaper, **The Review**, which ran for nine years, from 1704 to 1713". Allen (1982: 38) sums up Defoe's characteristics, life and interests in the following statements:

Defoe was almost the prototype of a kind of Englishman increasingly prominent during the eighteenth century and reaching its apotheosis in the nineteenth: the man from the lower classes, whose bias was essentially practical and whose success in life, whether in trade or industry, was intimately connected with his Protestant religious beliefs

man; let the sun rise and set at his command; ... and the earth still furnish spontaneously whatever may be useful or agreeable to him; he will still be miserable, till you give him one person at least with whom he may share his happiness, and whose esteem and friendship he may enjoy.

But despite this painful solitude and alienation which individualism imposes on those who are willing to practice it, individualism offers in recompense various kinds of freedom which allow the individual to be himself, to be a law unto himself, to acknowledge no master but himself, and to develop his internal peace. In short, it gives him perfect autonomy.

AUTHORIAL SOURCES OF ROBINSON CRUSOE'S ANTI-UTOPIANISM:

In his **Serious Reflections of Robinson Crusoe**, Daniel Defoe, as Max Byrd (1976: 3-5) and Watt (1966: 92 ff.) point out, almost equates himself with Crusoe and claims that the "Story, though Allegorical, is also Historical; and that it is the ... Representation of a Life of unexampled Misfortunes, ... sincerely adapted to, and intended for the common Good of Mankind". He claims that "most... of the story directly alludes" to the life of a "Man alive, and well known too". Accordingly, Crusoe's utterances concerning freedom, solitude, and realising one's innermost interests, are to be taken as echoes of Defoe's deeply felt concerns, of his pride in his resourcefulness, of his sensitivity to the social forces which didn't appreciate him as they should, and subverted rather than supported his singular abilities and towering ambitions, and of his conviction that he himself was an isolated and solitary figure. In the preface to a 1706 pamphlet, **A reply to a pamphlet, Entitled 'The Lord Haversham's Vindication of His Speech...'**, Defoe sums up his life as follows:

... I stand alone in the world abandoned by those very people that own I have done them service; ... with.....no helps but my own industry, I have forced misfortune, and reduced them.... in goal, in retreats, in all manner of extremities, I have supported myself without the assistance of friends and relations.

The first of Crusoe's essays in **Serious Reflections** is on "Solitude". Crusoe seems to echo Defoe when he exclaims (Defoe, 1720, 2-3):

What are the Sorrows of other Men to us? And what their joy?
Something we may be touch'd indeed with, by the Power of

against society and collective life. And as individualism is not made a serious issue in the previous utopias, likewise collectivism is not made a serious issue in **ROBINSON CRUSOE**. The lights in the previous utopias are focused on the virtues and benefits of good planning and effective organisation, and individualism as an issue is merely ignored as if it doesn't exist. The practice is reversed in **ROBINSON CRUSOE**. Lights are here focused on the fascinating and constructive experiences of a lonely individual who found himself stranded on a desert island. The absence of society is not totally ignored here, and the hero often deplores his solitary condition and pines for society. But this deploping and pining never obstructs Crusoe's determination to make the best of his condition, or to have his own way in whatever he does.

The individualism and freedom **ROBINSON CRUSOE** dramatises and glorifies are worth looking into more closely. An individual is a person who practices complete self-awareness and self-responsibility and has the conviction that he is complete in himself. He is self-centered, self-sufficient, self-dependent, self-confident, and is proud of the illusion that he is self-made. He does not need parents, brothers, sisters, spouse, children, relatives, or friends to lean on whenever the need arises. He does not seek the help of social institutions, nor does he acknowledge obligations to them. His mind, soul, heart and body are not always warring elements that tear him apart and paralyse his activity. They are mostly integrated into one, complete, indivisible entity. His relations with others are based on self-interest and aim at self-preservation, self-assertion, self-realisation and self-glorification. He is the "Alpha and Omega", the "be all and end all", the "all in all" of his own existence.

The irony is that this individualism, this self-centeredness, self-sufficiency and self-dependence, entail alienation and separateness, mental if not physical, from others. Of course, individualism in this sense is not compatible with the generally accepted view that man is a social animal. Watt (1966:91) points out that **ROBINSON CRUSOE** is often objected to on the ground that it is socially and psychologically improbable. Travel reports often confirmed the fact that "prolonged lack of society actually tends to make the individual relapse into a straightened primitivism of thought and feeling". And these reports were available to Defoe.²⁰ Dr. Johnson also affirms that the mind of "a solitary mortal....stagnates for want of employment; grows morbid, and is extinguished like a candle in foul air". David Hume, as quoted by Watt (1966: 95), wrote in the **Treatise on Human Nature** (1739: Bk II, Pt. 2, sect. 5) a passage which might almost have been a refutation of **ROBINSON CRUSOE**.

We can form no wish which has not a reference to society Let all the powers and elements of nature conspire to serve and obey one

World. He has, for example, the privilege of choosing his wife, and of surveying her in the nude before he commits himself. He is allowed to choose and change his religion and even his trade. The limitations on his freedom are there for his benefit as well as the benefit of the whole society, and, what is more important, he is claimed to be fully convinced of their rightness, and therefore he accepts them with pride. Of course, there are many limitations that appear, by twentieth-century standards, oppressive and obnoxious, such as limitations on travel and privacy. But compared to the actual life conditions and limitations in the contemporary England, these limitations seem mild and even comfortable. Therefore, the citizen of **UTOPIA** is supposed to rejoice rather than complain. He does not feel, as the citizens of **1984** do, that his freedom has been confiscated. He does not resent the utopian limitations imposed on him as they do.

It could even be claimed that the social utopians before Defoe had the interest of the individual at heart. Their pronounced aim was to redress the social ills, and replace chaotic organisation by well-planned organisation. If, in the process, individual freedom was curtailed and its range narrowed, this was looked upon as a necessary evil that had to be tolerated rather than objected to. It was an inevitable by-product, like the bitterness of curative medicine, but not an end in itself.

Indeed man in those social utopias was still considered God's creature rather than state property. As a creature of God he was not to be manipulated as if he were a witless animal, a mere object or a senseless thing. Comparing the absolute authority of the utopian sovereign in Jean Bodin's **Six Livres de La Republique** (1576) and in Thomas Hobbes's **Leviathan** (1651) with the authority of twentieth-century totalitarian leaders, Schapiro (1972: 74-77) says that the utopian monarch ruled "in obedience to the law of God, and therefore respects the liberties of his subjects." Of course, man was looked at as a fallen creature, prone to sinning and fault perpetrating because of the weakness of the flesh and of the promptings of the devil. The duty of the utopian collective authorities was to see to it that the Utopian citizen reasonably satisfied the needs of the flesh, made correct choices, and turned a deaf ear to the vicious whisperings of Satan. He was fed, educated, wed, sheltered and dignifyingly employed under the close supervision of authority, lest he goes astray. If such arrangements appear to twentieth-century disillusioned eyes as implying inconsistencies and illogicalities, the credulous and naive eyes of the sixteenth-and-seventeenth-century Europeans of the emergent middle-class thought these arrangements reasonable, commendable, and acceptable.

In the same way, the anti-utopianism of **ROBINSON CRUSOE** emphasises individualism without taking a militant antagonistic stand

The narrative social utopias should not be confused with the various utopian treatises that appeared in the seventeenth century and were "action-minded" or intended as blueprints such as Thomas Hobbes's **LEVIATHAN** (1651)¹⁶ or Gerrard Winstanley's **THE LAW OF FREEDOM** (1652).¹⁷ Nor should they be mixed up with the semi-fictional works which were also nearer to political programming than to entertaining art, such as Samuel Hartlib's **MACARIA** (1661)¹⁸ and James Harrington's **OCEANA** (1656).¹⁹ Daniel Defoe knew these works and was not without interest in them. But it should be remembered that Defoe wrote during a cynical age that frowned upon activist utopianism and suspected all kinds of enthusiastic zeal in public affairs. Defoe himself was given a sobering bitter dose of the fate that awaited enthusiasts in public and political affairs. In 1702, for example, he was pilloried and imprisoned for publishing the famous verse satire, **The Shortest Way With the Dissenters**. In 1712 he was imprisoned again. Sampson (1953: 455) tells us that "The year 1717 saw the end of his career as a political controversialist", and "A new Defoe now appears."

Furthermore, the narrative social utopias before Defoe did not highlight the antagonism between collectivism and individualism as Davis (1983) seems to indicate. Looked at with twentieth century eyes which know Orwell's **1984** or Zamyatin's **We** and are trained to read individual-state opposition as soon as they see the word utopia, those social utopias seem to portray this opposition. But in the eyes of 16th-, 17th-, and 18th-century readers those social utopias seemed to convey the harmony, rather than the opposition, between the utopian organization and the utopian individual citizens. Compared with the ills and discomforts which stemmed from lack of utopian order and of utopian good discipline and efficient organization, the loss of personal liberty seemed insignificant. Davis (1983: 104) claims that "To Burton (1577-1640) this was rather illusory than lamentable". Davis quotes Burton's (1932: vol. ii, p. 173) declaration: "Servitude, loss of liberty, punishment, are no such miseries as they are held to be: we are slaves and servants the best of all....."

The fact is that those social utopias were not fully aware of an individualistic crisis within the utopian context. It was still taken for granted that man is a fallen creature and the inheritor of the Original Sin and that therefore he is apt to choose wrongly and foolishly. The aim of utopian organisation was to tighten the system in such a way as to reduce, minimise and, if possible, eliminate foolish choices. In other words, utopia was meant not to curtail man's freedom as such and in the absolute sense, but rather to reduce it as far as wrong or foolish choices are concerned. The individual in More's **UTOPIA** is not utterly without freedom of choice as he is in Orwell's **1984** or in Huxley's **Brave New**

This change in the outlook and spirit of the time was accompanied with changes in the social stratification of the English society and in the distribution of wealth and power among the classes. The middle class was gaining more wealth and more political power at the expense of lower and higher classes. The interests, values and tastes of this middle class were begetting and calling into existence changes in the world of letters — prose was in the ascendance, and prose works, including fiction that catered for the “vulgar” tastes of the new powerful middle class, were coming out in increasing numbers. Writers, therefore had to win the ear of this new reading public by offering it works that flattered its individualistic self-confidence and egotism. Shinagel (1968: 107-141) gives an admirable account of the interrelationships between the social changes and the literary changes. Shinagel (1968:113) reports that “the members of this great and growing middle class were the ‘trading, merchandizing, manufacturing, and shop-keeping’ elements, who came from dissenting backgrounds....., for whom Defoe.....wrote, and with whose interests and ambitions.....he identified.” Shinagel (1968: 117) claims that Defoe “was supremely suited to know what they wanted and to supply it.” This is why Defoe was accused of catering to “blebian” tastes, and appealing to “the lower conditions of readers.” Neill (1954: 43) attests to the success of Defoe when she claims that “In the eyes of the practical middle-class....., Robinson Crusoe was the epitome of their virtues.” Charles Gildon (1719) allows that “there is not an old woman that can go to the price of it, but buys thy life and Adventures, and leaves it as a legacy, with the **Pilgrim’s Progress**, the **Practice of Piety**, and **God’s revenge Against Murther**, to her posterity” (Shinagel, 1968: 119).

In addition to these historical developments that favoured the rise and practice of individualism, it should be added that, historically, the narrative social utopias before Defoe had not yet fallen into disrepute as they have recently done in the twentieth century, especially during and after the rise of police states and totalitarian regimes. Those utopias were not seen as projects of change. They were not, as Judith Shklar (1965: 367-381) points out, “action-minded”. They did not have any programme of action in relation to changing and transforming the current system into a utopia. As Davis (1983: 376) claims, “utopia has no theory of change, no ‘transfer mechanisms’.” In other words, the narrative social utopias before Defoe were conceived not as blueprints to be acted upon, but rather as very distant probabilities or as ideals that would throw a critical light on the current lack of order and discipline, or even as inoffensive, if not attractive dreams.¹⁴ Thomas More himself attests to this when he concludes his **UTOPIA** (1949: 83) by saying: “Yet I must confess that there are many things in the Utopian Commonwealth that I wish rather than expect to see followed among our citizens.”¹⁵

SOME HISTORICAL LIGHTS ON ROBINSON CRUSOE'S ANTI-UTOPIANISM

It is possible to attribute **ROBINSON CRUSOE**'s success as an anti-utopia to three main sources: the first historical, the second personal, and the third artistic. Historically, we are told that Daniel Defoe "was the typical man of his day"; he "was one of the first who saw the old world through a pair of sharp modern eyes" (Trevelyan, 1948: 293-294). England at Defoe's time was a country of religious toleration for two reasons: first, it was tired of religious fanaticism and sectarianism because in Cromwell's time "The Puritans had made men 'eat religion with their bread', till the taste of it sickened them" (Trevelyan, 1948: 255); second, secular interests were gaining more attention than religious causes. Trevelyan (1948: 295) gives a succinct picture of the changing spirit of England:

While religion divided, trade united the nation, and trade was gaining in relative importance. The Bible had now a rival in the Ledger. The Puritan, sixty years back, had been Cromwell, sword in hand; thirty years back, Bunyan, singing hymns in goal; but now the Puritan was to be found in the tradesman-journalist, Defoe"

Basil Willey (1961: 16-17) describes this change of outlook on life in similar terms. He writes:

.... The centuries following the Renaissance liberated the acquisitive impulse... and several economic ethics from control by any comprehensive conception of the ultimate purpose of human (not to say Christian) living For, as the eighteenth century discovered,
Thus God and Nature fixed the general frame,
And bade self-love and social be the same.

So beneficently had God planned the world, that by giving full rein to his acquisitive appetites the individual was, in fact, adding his maximum quota to the sum of human happiness. Thus, instead of Dante ascending to Paradise under the guidance of Reason and Grace, instead of Spenser's Arthur, fashioned in noble and gentle discipline, instead of Bunyan's Pilgrim, setting forth with his load of sin to escape from the wrath to come, the new world offers us as its symbolic figure Robinson Crusoe, the isolated economic man, pitting his lonely strength successfully against Nature in a remote part of the earth, and carrying on a little missionary activity as a side line. The Law of Nature, which in the Middle Ages had been a check on unregenerate impulse, had now been transformed into a sanction for **Laissez faire** and free competition for the spoils of the world.

Turning from these bitter-tasting anti-utopias to **ROBINSON CRUSOE** is like turning from night and despair to daylight and hope. **ROBINSON CRUSOE** is a cheering and invigorating story of the success and triumph of individualism. Unlike the twentieth-century anti-utopias individualism which is motivated by malice, hate and outrage, and fights a losing battle against a formidable and invincible opponent, the individualism of **ROBINSON CRUSOE** is youthful, vigorous, ambitious and confident of success. It follows its activities in the total absence of any effective societal and collective opposition. It is the individualism which had long been on a victorious march, even since the days of Thomas More early in the sixteenth century. It is the individualism which was begotten by the Renaissance, suckled by Humanism, nourished by the Reformation and Protestantism, and wedded to mercantilism and capitalism. This individualism had already scored a number of significant and revolutionising victories: the victory of Human Reason over Scholastic tradition; of change and mutability against unchange and immutability; of king against Pope and the Catholic Church; of nimble dynamic capitalism over heavy-plodding and static feudalism, of social mobility over stagnant immobility, of pleasure in life over asceticism, of science over magic and superstition. At the time **ROBINSON CRUSOE** was written, individualism had accomplished so many history-making feats that it began to seem one of the potent cures for many of the social ills. Hand in hand with capitalism, utilitarianism, secularised religion and mercantalism, individualism seemed capable of achieving miracles, if only individuals were liberated from the limitations, obligations, ties and entanglements of collective living.

At the time of Defoe such views were perhaps not yet clearly discerned or philosophically formulated. The antagonism between individualism and collective authority or tyranny — whether as state or as public opinion — was not yet as fully appreciated as it was appreciated later by thinkers such as John Stuart Mill. Mill's works, **On Liberty** (1859) and **Utilitarianism** (1861), offer cogent philosophic support to themes dramatised novelistically a hundred and forty years earlier by Daniel Defoe. In **ROBINSON CRUSOE** Defoe gives the first novelistic dramatisation of these themes and shows how far an **ordinary** individual can realise almost all his potentialities when he is **almost**¹³ perfectly freed from social limitations.

tation, and brainwashing. Collectivism in these anti-utopias, represented by the policy of the Party, the Ten World-Controllers, the Benefactor, Big Brother, or the Machine, is made so supremely and powerfully dominant that citizens with individualistic tendencies are easily found out and cured of these harmful tendencies, or they are simply liquidated and blotted out of existence.

Individualism, on the other hand, aims at undermining the collective system and, if possible, blowing it up. In **1984** (p. 140) we notice the following significant dialogue. O'Brien addresses the following questions to Winston Smith and Julia, and receives the following answers:

".....What are you prepared to do?"

"Anything that we are capable of", said Winston.

"You are prepared to give your lives?"

"Yes".

"You are prepared to commit murder?"

"Yes".

"To commit acts of sabotage which may cause the death of hundreds of innocent people?"

"Yes."

"To betray your country to foreign powers?"

"Yes."

"You are prepared to cheat, to forge, to blackmail, to corrupt the minds of children; to distribute habit forming drugs, to encourage prostitution, to disseminate venereal diseases — to do anything which is likely to cause demoralization and weaken the power of the Party?"

"Yes."

Thus the twentieth-century anti-utopias are stories of the absolute triumph of dehumanising and demoralising collectivism, and of the disheartening defeat of individualism. They persistently offer gloomy and depressing images of the world in the present and in the near or far future. They seem more like the Gothic novels which flourished late in the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Collectivism here knows no compromise and individualism has not even a shadow of a chance.

This gloom of the twentieth-century anti-utopias is not unfounded. Our contemporary history offers more gloomy and hair-raising realities. Leonard Schapiro (1972: 34-38) gives an equally horrifying picture of totalitarianism under which Lenin maintains, "We recognize nothing private" (Schapiro, 1972: 34), and Geovanni Gentile, the philosopher of Italian Fascism, explains that under Fascism there is "nothing private, and no limit to state action" (Schapiro, 1972: 35).

inclinations, to practice his privileges or rights in free choice, free thought and free action. If utopia gives utopian authorities the right to dictate and coerce, **ROBINSON CRUSOE** promotes the counter right of the individual to disobey and rebel or to end his social relations by simply sailing away with or without permission.

Looked at in the light of these and other remarks, **ROBINSON CRUSOE** can obviously be seen only as an anti-utopia. As we hope to show in the following pages, **ROBINSON CRUSOE**'s anti-utopianism differs from that of 20th-century anti-utopias in that it is motivated solely by the constructive desire to promote individualism rather than by a destructive grudge against collectivism.

ROBINSON CRUSOE AND TWENTIETH-CENTURY ANTI-UTOPIAS

Twentieth century anti-utopians saw utopias materialise before their very eyes, and realised the frightening implications of utopia when it becomes a nightmarish reality.¹² Therefore they wrote anti-utopias which give frightening novelistic accounts of the painful experiences and tragic fates of individualists who try to remain individuals and resist, in vain, reduction into mere things, objects, or numbers. Winston Smith and Julia in Orwell's **1984**, Helmholt Watson, Bernard Marx and John the Savage in Huxley's **Brave New World**, Kuno in Forster's **The Machine Stops**, and D-503 in Zamyatin's **We**, are but few of many modern Crusoes. Like Crusoe, they are individualists to the bone, but they all fail to practice their individualism whereas he makes of this practice a glorious success.

The problem with the above-mentioned anti-utopian works is that they ignore the Hegelian dialectic in portraying the relations between collectivism and individualism. The thesis (absolute collectivism) and antithesis (absolute individualism) in these works are not allowed to develop into some sort of synthesis in which the relationship between the two opponents would forego absolutism and accept a working degree of relativism. In the twentieth-century anti-utopias collectivism and individualism cancel each other out.

Collectivism does not recognize the need for a reasonable degree of individualism, and takes every possible and conceivable step to root out any individualistic tendency — such as prenatal and postnatal biological, physical and psychological conditioning of citizens, intimidation, regimen-

“natural”, and nature itself is bountiful enough to accommodate those wants. In utopia the approach is drastically different. According to Davis (1983: 37-38)

The utopian is more ‘realistic’... in that he accepts the basic problem as it is: limited satisfactions exposed to unlimited wants.... He does not assume drastic changes in nature or man. In most utopias, indeed, the problem is never resolved completely on an individual level and has to be dealt with by the restraint or punishment of recalcitrant individuals. The utopian’s concern is rather to control the social problems that the collective problem can lead to — crime, instability, poverty, rioting, war, exploitation and vice. None of these evaporate in utopias. They are controlled and where possible eliminated, and the utopian is concerned to show how.... The utopian’s method is not to wish away disharmony within the collective problem,... but to organise society and its institutions in such a way as to contain the problem’s effects.... In utopia, it is neither man nor nature that is idealized but organisation. The utopian seeks to ‘solve’ the collective problem collectively His prime aim is not happiness, that private mystery, but order, that social necessity.

It may be added to Davis’s definition of utopias that the individual in these utopias is not treated as an autonomous entity, but rather as a cell in the social body — a cell that is only allowed to be active as long as it obeys, co-operates, conforms, and lives in perfect harmony with the social human wave of which it is a drop. He is not allowed to have autonomy, independence, privacy or distinctiveness of any sort. He is not allowed to differ, disagree, or hold private views, beliefs, likes or dislikes. If he ever dares to do so in a way that disrupts the achieved order or disturbs the attained balance he is fatefully and mercilessly punished, ostracised, imprisoned, excommunicated, exiled, subjected to a lobotomy operation, brainwashed and rehabilitated, evaporated or liquidated. He has to toe the line or face rejection and/or ejection. Politically, he has to allow himself to be perfectly assimilated in the body of the Leviathan, or be crushed into nothingness.

On the basis of what seems to be universally accepted definitions of utopia and of its concerns and functions, it becomes hardly feasible to classify **ROBINSON CRUSOE** a utopia, for utopia is a faulty description of this book’s content. **ROBINSON CRUSOE**’s connection with utopia must be conceived as antithetical. If utopia asserts the individual citizen’s duty to relegate his right of choice to his betters or elders, to conform to utopian norms and to obey the orders and instructions of utopian collective authorities, **ROBINSON CRUSOE** insists on the counter assertion that the individual’s first duty is to be true to his own nature, to respond to his own

Brave New World (1932) and Orwell's **1984** (1949) treat the first question in a dramatic, and tragic way. As for the second question concerning whether or not **ROBINSON CRUSOE** is an anti-utopia, it has never, as far as I could find, been contemplated or studied although there is much in the book that points in this direction.

Ian Watt, as we have seen, explores the relationship between the rise of individualism and the rise of the novel. Had he tried to find connections between individualism and utopias or antiutopias he might have come across a number of valuable discoveries concerning **ROBINSON CRUSOE**. Perhaps, the force of intellectual habit and of traditional focus often leads thinkers away from the essential issue. Perhaps, it is Defoe himself who has unconsciously led himself and critics into a wrong direction with his moralisings in **ROBINSON CRUSOE** itself and with his **SERIOUS REFLECTIONS**. It is also possible that the traditional view of utopia as a work concerned solely with solving the problems of collective life is the view which has so far misguided most readers and critics into reading **ROBINSON CRUSOE** as anything (a novel, a travel book, a spiritual autobiography and emblematic work, an epic of solitude, a picaresque story) but a utopia or anti-utopia. It is certain, however, that it is this view which has led some scholars into shying away from exploring all the implications of their initial avowal that **ROBINSON CRUSOE** is a "one-man utopia", "a characteristic utopia of the early eighteenth century", "the utopia of the Protestant Ethic", or "a do-it-yourself utopia".

Whatever the differences in the definitions of utopia offered by various writers (e.g. Negley and Patrick (1952); Hertzler (1923); Elliot (1970); Finley (1975); Kateb (1963; 1968); Mannheim (1966); and J.C. Davis (1983), these definitions seem to unanimously agree on one fundamental issue, namely, that utopias are essentially concerned with the problems of collective, not individual life. J.C. Davis's (1983) definition may be considered representative. Davis (1983:6) claims that utopia is only one of five available modes of ideal society. These five modes are "utopia, millennium, arcadia, cockaygne and perfect moral commonwealth", and they all have one common problem, the collective problem which deals fundamentally with "the reconciliation of limited satisfaction and unlimited human desires within a social context". The difference between one mode and another is a difference in the approach to the collective problem. While "the millenarian shelves the problem by invoking a **deus ex machina**", the writer of a "Land of Cockaygne" just ignores the problem and solves it by wishing the "Material and sociological scarcities" away. In a perfect moral commonwealth man's wants are changed: reduced or adapted to the available sources through regeneration and moral conditioning. In arcadia, however, man's wants are moderate, being

therefore forego the freedoms. Hence the general sense of frustration and also the general feeling of admiration for Crusoe who, by virtue of his **arete** (resourcefulness) and **hubris** (boundless egocentricity), survives solitude and wins the freedoms. Hence also is Crusoe's appeal as a culture-hero.

There is, however, a missing link, or perhaps more accurately a different focus in Watt's very enlightening argument. He did not read **ROBINSON CRUSOE** as a utopia, but rather as a myth (1951) and as a novel or a prelude to the novel (1957). He (1966: 96) concludes this second reading in the following words:

....Defoe's story is perhaps not a novel in the usual sense since it deals so little with personal relations. But it is appropriate that the tradition of the novel should begin with a work that annihilated the relationships of the traditional social order, and thus drew attention to the opportunity and the need of building up a network of personal relationships on a new and conscious pattern; the terms of the problem of the novel and of modern thought alike were established when the old order of moral and social relationships was shipwrecked, with Robinson Crusoe, by the rising tide of individualism.

In conclusion, the claim that **ROBINSON CRUSOE** is a utopia seems to be reiterated rather hesitatingly or without genuine conviction. Berneri, for example, invents a self-contradictory phrase: "a one man utopia". Frank Manuel shies away from self-commitment and resorts to such non-committal phrases as "some commentators believe" or "Robinson **may be**" (my emphasis).

The case is so because the individualistic, non-conformist and rebellious spirit of **ROBINSON CRUSOE** is obviously incompatible and incongruous with the communitarian, collectivistic and conformist spirit of utopia.

ROBINSON CRUSOE: THE FIRST ANTI-UTOPIA

As it has been pointed out earlier, the stumbling block which confronts whoever reads **ROBINSON CRUSOE** as a utopia, lies in the keyword "individualism". How can a story that glorifies "individualism" be treated as a utopia? Perhaps, if the question is reworded, the connection will become clearer. Is not individualism anti-utopian? Is not **ROBINSON CRUSOE** an anti-utopia? The first question has lately been raised and answered in the affirmative, fictionally, novelistically, and in various treatises. Such anti-utopian works as Zamyatin's **We** (1924), Huxley's

On the second occasion the same reaction and action are repeated. Says Crusoe:

... for as to the money, I had no manner of occasion for it: 't was to me as the dirt under my feet... Well, however, I lugg'd this money home to my cave, and laid it up, as I had done that before which I brought from our own ship....

ROBINSON CRUSOE (1969 ed.: 141)

On these two occasions capitalism works instinctively in Crusoe, without, of course, contradicting with his utilitarianism. He carries off from the two wrecked ships everything that could be of use for him on the desert island, but at the same time he does not leave the money. For he had never given up the hope that someday he would go back to life in society where money would then be of great advantage.

Another impracticality lies in Defoe's treatment of Crusoe's solitude. This treatment, as Watt (1966: 91-92) points out, is not in keeping with the traditional views and travel books' reports of the dehumanising effects of solitude. After citing some of those views and reports Watt says:

In the story just the opposite happens: Crusoe turns his forsaken estate into a triumph. Defoe departs from psychological probability in order to redeem his picture of man's inexorable solitariness, and it is for this reason that he appeals very strongly to all who feel isolated — and who at times does not? An inner voice continually suggests to us that the human isolation which individualism has fostered is painful and tends ultimately to a life of apathetic animality and mental derangement; Defoe answers confidently that it can be made the arduous prelude to the fuller realization of every individual's potentialities; and the solitary readers of two centuries of individualism cannot but applaud so convincing an example of making a virtue out of a necessity, so cheering a colouring to that universal image of individualist experience, solitude.

In conclusion, Watt (1966: 62-96) sees **ROBINSON CRUSOE** as a romanticization of individualism in its positive and negative aspects. Individualism allows one to realise the "three associated freedoms": the economic, social, and intellectual freedoms. At the same time, individualism imposes on whoever wishes to practice those freedoms the necessity of experiencing solitude and alienation. Both aspects, the freedoms and the solitude, are so inseparably intertwined that the former cannot be experienced without the latter. The prize and the price go together. The generality of men, however, are incapable of standing solitude and must

much of Crusoe's character", and "Puritan individualism" (Watt, 1966: 77-88) which controls his spiritual being.

Watt (1966: 88-95) claims that Crusoe's appeal lies in his realizing "three associated tendencies of modern civilization — absolute economic, social, and intellectual freedom for the individual". Because of these great achievements "**ROBINSON CRUSOE** falls most naturally into place, not with other novels, but with the great myths of Western civilization, with **FAUST, DON JUAN, and DON QUIXOTE**". Crusoe, like the mythical heroes of those great works, is an enduring image "of one of the characteristic desires of Western man". Like them, he "embodies an **arete** and a **hubris**", or an exceptional prowess represented by his indefatigable resourcefulness, and an excessive egocentricity which "condemns him to isolation wherever he is". Also because Crusoe realises the three most coveted freedoms, he becomes...

an inspiration to economists and educators, and a symbol both for the displaced person of urban capitalism, such as Rousseau, and for its more practical heroes, the empire builders. Crusoe realizes all these ideal freedoms, and in doing so he is undoubtedly a distinctively modern culture-hero.

Watt is quite aware of the impracticalities in Crusoe's career on the lonely island and of the "utopian" (i.e. incredible and wishful-thinking) quality of the ideal freedoms he achieves. But he is also aware that Defoe, in conceiving and writing **ROBINSON CRUSOE**, was acting "perhaps as an unconscious victim of what Karl Mannheim (1968:36) has called the "Utopian mentality" which is dominated by its will to action and consequently "Turns its back on everything which would shake its belief". In other words, Crusoe, like his creator, is driven by a utopian activist impulse which would defy the impossible. One major impracticality is implicit in the fact that Crusoe is made capitalist to the bone. His primary motive is the pursuit of profit and material gain. But the satisfaction of this motive cannot be experienced away from society. How, then, would freedom from social involvements be compatible with capitalism? Defoe's presentation of Crusoe ignores this incompatibility without making his hero unconvincing. On two occasions during his solitary life on the island, Crusoe comes across money on board the wrecked ships. His reaction and action on the first occasion is as follows:

I smil'd to my self at the sight of this money. 'O drug!' said I aloud, 'what art thou good for? Thou art not worth to me, no, not the taking off of the ground....I have no manner of use for thee, e'en remain where thou art, and go to the bottom as a creature whose life is not worth saving'. However, on second thoughts, I took it away....

ROBINSON CRUSOE (1969 ed.: 43-44)

him as an unscrupulous self-seeking utilitarian who would exploit men and animals as complacently as he cultivates nature. Morton (1968: 131-132) says that Crusoe, as a "true bourgeois man does almost always convince himself that what is profitable is right".

On the whole, however, Morton's views on the thematic and artistic utopian aspects of **ROBINSON CRUSOE** are basically sound, though not sufficiently comprehensive. Morton is quite alert to the fact that the spirit of utopia in **ROBINSON CRUSOE** is unique and different from that of other social utopias, but he does not fully explore the implications of this uniqueness. Furthermore, Morton sometimes allows his sectarianism to blur his vision, and drives him to utter broad sectarian generalisations that would not hold in the face of objective scrutiny, such as his saying, "It is typical of the bourgeois that he always attributes his wealth to his work, genuinely ignoring what he does not wish to see, the working class to whose exploitation that wealth is due".

Ian Watt's (1951; 1966) treatment of **ROBINSON CRUSOE**'s utopianism is so far the deepest, soundest and most comprehensive. It is true that in **THE RISE OF THE NOVEL** (1966: 62-96) Ian Watt approaches **ROBINSON CRUSOE** as a novel, or rather as a prelude to the novel. Nevertheless, his argument is thematically at least quite pertinent to the reading of **ROBINSON CRUSOE** as a utopia. In fact, he (1966: 95) does describe "the scene of Crusoe's silent life" as "a Utopia", and in his article entitled "**ROBINSON CRUSOE** as a Myth" (1951) he describes it as "the utopia of the Protestant Ethic".

The gist of Watt's argument runs as follows. **ROBINSON CRUSOE** is a dramatisation of "that vast complex of interdependent factors denoted by the term 'individualism'," (p. 62). This individualism which was evolving during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and which reached a climactic stage after the Glorious Revolution of 1688 had had its roots in a cobweb of economic, social, religious, philosophical and political trends which were working together. These trends and the "individualism" they had begotten were novelistically or fictionally dramatised for the first time in the story of **ROBINSON CRUSOE**. Watt (1966: 65) writes:

Defoe, whose philosophical outlook has much in common with that of the English empiricists of the seventeenth century, expressed the diverse elements of individualism more completely than any previous writer, and his work offers a unique demonstration of the connexion between individualism in its many forms and the rise of the novel. This connexion is shown particularly clearly and comprehensively in his first novel, **ROBINSON CRUSOE**.

The forms of individualism demonstrated in **ROBINSON CRUSOE**, are mainly "economic individualism" (Watt, 1966: 65-76) which "explains

ordinary adventure story, but something unique has been added — a man alone building civilization from the state of nature up, without the encumbrance of inherited institutions. This, some commentators believe, symbolically expressed the dynamism of the rising middle classes and their growing feelings of competence; it flattered the self-esteem of the new self-made man. It also demonstrated the good that could come directly from the state of nature, if the corruptions of society were avoided.... Robinson Crusoe fed the cult of the state-of-nature utopia.... Robinson may be a kind of aggressive bourgeois Prometheus”.

One feels that Manuel's statements here lack the ring of conviction and the decisive commitment to a specific view of the nature of **ROBINSON CRUSOE's** utopianism. The phrase “some commentators believe” deflects the strength of Manuel's statement. Other phrases indicate Manuel's reluctance to commit himself in regard to the kind of utopianism dramatised by **ROBINSON CRUSOE**.

A.L. Morton (1968: 116, 122-126, 130-132) comes very close to discerning the essential uniqueness of **ROBINSON CRUSOE's** utopianism. He (1968: 116) first describes the book as “the characteristic utopia of the early eighteenth century” and Defoe as “the characteristic writer” of that era. Later, Morton (1968: 130-132) makes a direct attempt at tackling the essential difference between traditional social utopias and Defoe's “one-man” utopia. He reasons as follows:

Early utopias had been....pictures of a community; something of the social unity and stability which feudal society had inherited from tribal is taken for granted, and the individual.... is still part of a greater whole. Robinson Crusoe is the pure bourgeois man, the man completely alone, and his utopia is a one-man colony where the individual owes everything to his own efforts and is neither helped nor hindered by anyone. It is typical of the bourgeois that he always attributes his wealth to his own work, genuinely ignoring what he does not wish to see, the working class to whose exploitation that wealth is due. The illusion of independence has always been his favourite illusion. In a society whose first law is competition, independence carried to the logical absurdity of absolute solitude cannot be without a certain theoretical appeal, since solitude means first of all freedom from competitors and only secondarily the absence of assistants. This is the basis of the widespread desert island dream, in which the hero is always either alone or king of the island.

A close examination of Morton's (1968) reasoning here reveals that it is strongly tilted towards a Marxist view of the “the bourgeois man”, seeing

far, been sufficiently appreciated by those scholars who have dealt with **ROBINSON CRUSOE** as a utopia.

Maximillian E. Novak (1963: 59-61: 120), for example, does not treat Crusoe's solitary life on the island as utopia,¹¹ but he mentions the colony which Crusoe leaves on the desert island, and the "Utopian colony, Libertalia" which Defoe describes in his **GENERAL HISTORY OF THE PYRATES** (1724-8: vol. 11, pp. 99-109) as "Defoe's Utopias". We suggest, however, that Defoe did not believe in the possibility of successfully establishing a social utopia. Crusoe's reports of the community he left on the desert island (**THE FARTHER ADVENTURES OF ROBINSON CRUSOE**, 1969: 248-335) and Defoe's description (**GENERAL HISTORY OF THE PYRATES**: 1724-8: ii, 99-101) of the community of Libertalia ruled by Captain Misson, show that these communities can neither attain nor maintain a utopian quality. They are shown to be permanently threatened by disintegration.

Beneri (1977: 177), on the other hand, considers Crusoe's life on the desert island a utopia. She writes:

While Defoe had created a one-man utopia, his imitators, more ambitious, shipwrecked a man and a woman, or a whole crew, on a desert island and there founded an ideal family or an ideal community. They attempted to reconstitute, in this manner, the origin and formation of society, **L'Isle Inconnue** belongs to this type of novel.

The mere associating of Defoe's **ROBINSON CRUSOE** with **L'Isle Inconnue** reveals the fact that Beneri did not really or sufficiently recognize the essential difference and contradiction between the "one-man utopia" and the ideal-family, ideal-community or ideal-commonwealth utopia.

Frank E. Manuel, whose monumental and encyclopedic scholarship on utopias and utopian thought in the Western World excels by far any individual scholarship on the field, also seems to have not fully appreciated the basic contradiction between **ROBINSON CRUSOE** and the traditional social utopias of any type, including the **ROBINSONADES**. Nevertheless, Manuel's treatment of **ROBINSON CRUSOE** (1982: 433-434) reveals a keen perception into the nature of **ROBINSON CRUSOE**'s uniqueness and difference. Manuel (1982: 433) says:

Daniel Defoe's **ROBINSON CRUSOE**.....launched a new utopian form with a magnetic appeal both in the original and in scores of imitations that became knownas **ROBINSONADES**. Many elements are preserved from the classical Morean utopia and the

appeared.....it has been reissued more often than any book except the Bible.....it has prompted numerous imitations.That **ROBINSON CRUSOE** continues still to create its own literary offspring is evidenced by the publication in 1960 of Michel Tournier's novel **FRIDAY**, a satiric inversion of Defoe's classic in which Friday converts Crusoe and this saves him from the insanities of civilization.

Frank Mannuei (1982: 433) claims that "**ROBINSON CRUSOE** launched a new utopian form with a magnetic appeal both in the original and in scores of imitations that became known as Robinsonades".⁹

It is important, therefore, to point out here and before we go any further, that we use the title **ROBINSON CRUSOE** to indicate the first part which deals with Crusoe's arrival to, life on, and return from the desert island. Whenever the need arises to allude to events in the second part or to statements from the sequel, we shall give that second part or sequel their well-known short titles: **The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe**, and **Serious Reflections**.

THE MAIN OBJECTION TO READING ROBINSON CRUSOE AS A UTOPIA

A.L. Morton (1968: 116) describes **ROBINSON CRUSOE** as "the characteristic Utopia of the early eighteenth century". According to Marie Louis Berneri (1971: 177), "Defoe created a one-man utopia" when he wrote **ROBINSON CRUSOE**. Ian Watt (1951) claims that Crusoe's island is the utopia of the Protestant Ethic,¹⁰ and Martin Price (in Max Byrd, 1976: 35) reiterates Watt's claim. Price explains that Crusoe's island is "a place where the dangerous paradox of trade and morality is happily resolved". In confirmation of this Price quotes Crusoe's statement:

I was remov'd 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.... There were no rivals. I had no competitor, none to dispute sovereignty or command with me.

ROBINSON CRUSOE (1969 ed.: 95)

The stumbling block which confronts us when we try to read **ROBINSON CRUSOE** as a utopia lies in the thematic contradiction between the social, communitarian or collectivistic aspect of utopia on the one hand and the absolutely individualistic experience of Crusoe on his desert island on the other. The nature of this stumbling block has not, so

on the Shore by Shipwreck, wherein all the Men perished but himself.

WITH

An Account how he was at last as strangely deliver'd by
PYRATES.

Written by Himself.⁶

This long title is usually shortened into **The Life And Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe of York, Mariner**, or just **ROBINSON CRUSOE**. This first volume is often referred to as Part I of the story of Robinson Crusoe.

The second volume was published four months later, on the 20th of August, 1719, and it carried the title: **The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe**.⁷ This volume is often referred to as Part II of Crusoe's story.

The third volume came out a year later, on the 6th of August, 1720, under the title:

Serious Reflections During the Life and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe: With his Vision of the Angelick World.

This title is often shortened into **The Serious Reflections of Robinson Crusoe** or just **Serious Reflections**. Most critics consider this volume "a sequel of much inferior interest" rather than an integral part of **ROBINSON CRUSOE**.⁸

There seems to be universal agreement among critics that Part I of the story of Robinson Crusoe is the only part which has enjoyed everlasting appeal to readers of all ages at all times and places, and that it is this part which, in Crowley's (1981:x) words, "has placed **ROBINSON CRUSOE** among the immortals," and which has made **ROBINSON CRUSOE**, as Ian Watt (1951: 95) points out, one of those rare works of fiction that have assumed the status of myth among us. To Guy N. Pocock (1969:x), "The first part of **ROBINSON CRUSOE** is, without question, by far the greatest work Defoe ever produced," and "Defoe's great genius burnt at its highest on Robinson Crusoe's lonely island; and there it burns for ever". The World's Classics edition of **ROBINSON CRUSOE** (1981) includes only part I, while J. Donald Crowley, in his "Introduction" to this edition, points out that in Defoe's life this part ran into seven editions, was serialized in the London **Post**, was translated to many languages and was pirated several times. Asserting this part's continued popularity, Crowley (1981: vii-viii) continues:

....Since that time so many editions — over seven hundred — have

fiction. Such a reading does not negate or preclude other types of reading. Each type of reading implies a different emphasis and focus. If one approaches **ROBINSON CRUSOE** as a novel, his dominant interest would be the finding out and focussing on the novelistic elements in the book without having to confirm or deny the existence or nonexistence of other utopian, picaresque, epic, travel, adventure or spiritual biography elements in the same work. By the same token, reading **ROBINSON CRUSOE** as an anti-utopian narrative does not necessarily imply that we should take a definite stand as to whether or not the book is a novel, a travel book or a spiritual autobiography. We think that such various readings ought to complement rather than negate and cancel out one another, each reading producing its own invaluable insights and making its own contribution towards a more comprehensive and more accurate understanding of the book.

Other various aspects of **ROBINSON CRUSOE**, such as its sources and its originality, the history of its career, the imitations and adaptations it inspired, have attracted voluminous and often conflicting scholarship. This highly illuminating scholarship will not be approached for its own sake in the present paper. However, reference to such scholarship shall be made when this would serve the main objective of this paper, namely, the suggestion that **ROBINSON CRUSOE** would be better understood and appreciated if it is placed in the mainstream of anti-utopian fiction, and read as an anti-utopia.

Finally, a minor point is perhaps relevant here. We are now at the outset of 1984, the year in which, according to George Orwell's prophecy in his novel **NINETEEN EIGHTY-FOUR**, collectivism achieves absolute and tyrannical dominance over individualism. It is quite pertinent in this particular year to remind ourselves of **ROBINSON CRUSOE**, the great literary masterpiece which glorifies individualism in the person of the mythical and triumphant individualist Robinson Crusoe.

ROBINSON CRUSOE: PART I

Robinson Crusoe is the central figure in three volumes written by Daniel Defoe. The first volume came out in April 25, 1719, under the following title:

The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures Of Robinson Crusoe, Of York, Mariner: Who Lived Eight and Twenty Years, all alone in an un-inhabited Island on the Coast of AMERICA, near the Mouth of the Great River of OROONOQUE; having been cast

Paul Hunter (1966), on the other hand, rejects Secord's claim and accuses (1966: 13) "Source hunters" of having seriously maligned the artistry of **ROBINSON CRUSOE** because they considered "its total form to be patterned on the travel tradition" and because they "failed to distinguish what Defoe worked from (sources) and what he worked toward (artistic aims)". He (1966: 19) rejects Secord's claim that **ROBINSON CRUSOE** "imitates life in its very shapelessness", and asserts that the book has a clear coherence which ultimately separates it "from both travel literature and adventure stories, for books in both latter traditions lack an informing idea" and "ideological content....and no thematic meaning can be abstracted from them". Hunter (1966: 19-20) concludes that

ROBINSON CRUSOE is structured on the basis of a familiar Christian pattern of disobedience - punishment - repentance - deliverance, a pattern set up in the first few pages of the book. Crusoe sees each event of his life in terms of the conflict between man's sinful natural propensity... and a watchful providence.... Crusoe's continual appraisal of his situation keeps the conflict at the forefront of the action throughout, for his appraisal is not the superficial unrelated commentary some critics have described, but rather is an integral part of the thematic pattern set up by Crusoe's rebellion and the prophecy of his father.... On the first page Crusoe plunges himself... into the universal predicament of fallen man; the remainder of the narrative describes the predicament in detail and dramatizes Crusoe's attempt to confront his world — and his God.

ROBINSON CRUSOE has been swirled on by "critical winds" into various directions "in its seemingly endless voyage of farther surprising adventures", as Crowley (1981: xii) points out. In his "Introduction" to **ROBINSON CRUSOE**, Crowley (1981: vii-xxii) makes an excellent critical survey of those "critical winds", starting with Charles Gildon's attack on **ROBINSON CRUSOE** in the very first year (1719) of the book's appearance, then through the favourable or detrimental critical judgments of representative literary figures such as Pope, Dr. Johnson, Rousseau, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Lamb, De Quincey and Dickens, and finally ending with the views of a number of celebrated twentieth-century scholars such as Mark Schorer (1948), Ian Watt (1951; 1966), E.M.W. Tillyard (1958), G.A. Starr (1965), Barbara Hardy (1965) and J. Paul Hunter (1966).

It is not the purpose of this paper to take issue with or to support any of the previous judgments or claims. Our main objective is to establish the claim that **ROBINSON CRUSOE** may and should be read, both thematically and artistically, as an anti-utopian narrative, and that it should be given a worthy and prominent place in the tradition of anti-utopian

explored. We intend to examine these implications as thoroughly as possible, to point out the apparently unobserved flaws in this claim, and finally to suggest that it may be more precise and more fruitful to consider **ROBINSON CRUSOE** an anti-utopia and to read it as such.

We are aware of the other conflicting claims in relation to the kind of fiction **ROBINSON CRUSOE** belongs to, such as the novel, the travel tale, the adventure story, the spiritual autobiography, or even the picaresque or epic narrative traditions. So far, no claim concerning the literary identity of **ROBINSON CRUSOE** has been so decisively proved and so universally accepted as to exclude other categorisations. Indeed, Crowley (1981: viii-ix) confirms this view when he says:

Seen by generations of common readers as the simplest kind of literary expression - a gripping adventure story concealing none of its meanings - **ROBINSON CRUSOE** paradoxically has provoked widespread disagreement about its nature and origin, its values, structure, and meaning. It is still impossible to say that critics and literary historians have satisfactorily resolved the central questions of Defoe's basic sincerity, exact intentions, and achievement in the book. Indeed, no consensus has yet been reached even about whether or not **ROBINSON CRUSOE** can be said to be a novel⁵.

It is obvious, then, that it is not possible to deny that **ROBINSON CRUSOE** has many novelistic features, many aspects of the travel book, many elements of the adventure story, a great deal of the spiritual autobiography of the "fortunate fall" type, or the fall — atonement — regeneration pattern. It therefore seems unwarranted to draw sharp lines in identifying the literary narrative genre **ROBINSON CRUSOE** belongs to, because the book is apparently capable of accepting and compromising all the classifications that have been conferred or imposed on it. Crowley (1981: ix-xii), Shinagel (1968: 107-121), Ian Watt (1966: 62-92), Paul Hunter (1966), and A.W. Secord (1924: 9-20; 108-111) among others, all testify to the resilience and the protean quality of **ROBINSON CRUSOE**. Perhaps the secret of the book's genius and lasting appeal lies in this resilience and protean quality. Secord, for example, describes the controversy on Defoe's person and art as "The Defoe Problem". He claims that for a better and more accurate understanding of Defoe's artistry "A thorough examination of the sources of his inspiration and of his material is needed". Having made this "thorough examination", Secord (1924: 111) goes on to reject the view that **ROBINSON CRUSOE** is a fictitious spiritual autobiography, and concludes that "it is a fictitious book of travel, the.....geographical matters of which are based upon authentic relations, but the details of which are largely invented by Defoe".

Artistically, **ROBINSON CRUSOE** uses the literary techniques of traditional utopian fiction. But it gives them a new and original treatment. They are geared to chime with the anti-utopian themes. The traveller-narrator, for example, is no longer a mere observer. He is turned into a doer and his deeds are endowed with focal significance. The plot is arranged in such a way as to present two processes: distancing from society for the sake of attaining freedom, and reintegrating into society. This pattern is repeated in two cycles: the first ends in establishing Crusoe as a farmer in the "Brasils" and the second begins with his arrival at the desert island. Characterisation and the setting are also shown to be superbly conceived and systematically executed to serve thematic interests.

INTRODUCTION

In a previous paper¹ I explored and examined the artistic developments in European utopian fiction from very early times in Homer's **THE ODYSSEY** until Thomas More's **UTOPIA** (1516). Many utopian narratives appeared in Europe and England during the two centuries that elapsed between the publication of **UTOPIA** in 1516 and that of **ROBINSON CRUSOE** in 1719.² None of those narratives, however, made considerable esthetic contributions to, or serious artistic changes in, the tradition of utopian fiction as those made by **ROBINSON CRUSOE**. Thematically, almost everyone of those utopian narratives had something new or quaint to offer. Francis Bacon's **NEW ATLANTIS**, for example, trumpeted the importance of science and promoted the idea of scientific knowledge as power. It inspired many scientific projects and contributed to the rise, in England and on the continent, of Royal Societies, and to the rise of the French Encyclopedists.³ Also Harrington's **OCEANA** became an invaluable inspiration for constitution-makers and politicians in England and in America.⁴ Esthetically and artistically, however, those narratives were rather boring or at least uninteresting imitations of More's **UTOPIA**. None of them gripped the readers' imagination and held it as lastingly and forcefully as **ROBINSON CRUSOE** has done. Nor did any of them have a generative and inspirational influence on the developments in the art of fiction as **ROBINSON CRUSOE** has had. Nor did any of them raise so many literary and thematic issues and attract so many studies as **ROBINSON CRUSOE** has done. Because of all these reasons, and because no fully satisfactory analysis of **ROBINSON CRUSOE** has yet been made, it has been decided to make this book the subject of this study.

Our point of departure is that **ROBINSON CRUSOE** belongs to anti-utopian fiction. Many scholars have made the claim that this book is a utopia, but the implications of this claim have never been fully examined or

DANIEL DEFOE'S ROBINSON CRUSOE AND THE TRADITION OF ANTI-UTOPIAN FICTION

ABSTRACT

ROBINSON CRUSOE has been read as a novel, a travel tale, an adventure story, and lately as a spiritual autobiography. Objections have been raised and the validity of these readings has been questioned, especially in relation to the book's thematic intentions and its artistic form and techniques. This paper takes a new approach to **ROBINSON CRUSOE** and reads it as the first anti-utopia in English literature

Some writers have made the claim that **ROBINSON CRUSOE** is a utopia. Some describe it as a "one-man utopia". The paper surveys these claims and discusses the apparent contradiction between the basic **social and collective** concerns of traditional utopias and the emphasis on individualism and individual freedom in **ROBINSON CRUSOE**. It is concluded that though the book uses utopian literary techniques, its thematic intentions are definitely anti-utopian.

ROBINSON CRUSOE is seen as the first English narrative to glorify the individual and glamorise individual freedom. It shows that the attainment by the individual of absolute freedom and autonomy forces him to resort to his own native resources, and creates in him the need for self-dependence and self-cultivation. This, in turn, leads to healthy growth, self-development and self-realisation.

As an anti-utopia **ROBINSON CRUSOE** differs in tone and attitude from twentieth-century anti-utopias or dystopias. It portrays a positive, constructive and triumphant individualism whereas they dramatise an individualism that fights a losing battle against collective tyranny and thereby becomes injured, destructive and dehumanised. These and other differences are examined and accounted for.

The paper then moves to a detailed discussion of the major themes of **ROBINSON CRUSOE**. The dominant theme is the attainment and maintaining of absolute freedom. Related to it are the themes of self-cultivation, self-development and self-realisation. Solitude is an inevitable companion of absolute freedom and an indispensable condition for initiating the process of self-cultivation. The religious, economic and social themes are treated as subordinate though essential themes.

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