ROBINSON CRUSOE: DEFOE'S DECEPTIVE LEGEND OF CAPITALISM

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ABSTRACT

ROBINSON CRUSOE: DEFOE'S DECEPTIVE LEGEND OF CAPITALISM

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Daniel Defoe's *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York* (1719), depicts the turbulent period of economic transition in Britain from the mercantilist to the capitalist order. Unintentionally, the novel reveals the corrupting influence of capitalist order on man: the work discloses that this economic system is exploitative of human labor, and disruptive of human psychology. Through the disrupted personality of Robinson Crusoe, the major character of the work, who can be labeled as "homo-economicus" since he turns everything into profit, Defoe inadvertently depicts the inherent human defect in man which constitutes the core of the capitalist culture, and which, in a vicious circle, creates the capitalist individual: Crusoe, with his "original sin," sees everything, including man, as the material to be exploited. Having no

sense of humane passions such as love, friendship, devotion, and without any moral principles, he is recognized only with his hypocritical acts, and with his will to rise on the social ladder. As an individual living during the transition from the mercantilist to the capitalist order, his conflict with his father, his psychological instability, and his shifting mood, are the results of such a transition. Hence, the title character of the novel comes to embody the painful process of transformation in the British society of the early 18th century, and gives ample information about the burgeoning capitalist order.

Keywords: Capitalism, Mercantilism, Protestantism, Psychology

ROBINSON CRUSOE: DEFOE'NUN ALDATICI KAPİTALİZM EFSANESİ

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Daniel Defoe, The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York (1719) adlı eserinde Britanya'da merkantilist düzenden kapitalist düzene geçişin yaşandığı çalkantılı dönemi anlatır. Ancak Defoe, kapitalist düzenin yozlaştırıcı etkisini ortaya koyduğunun bilincinde değildir. Aslında roman, bu ekonomik sistemin insan emeğini sömüren ve insanın ruhunu tahrip eden bir düzen olduğunu göstermektedir. Her şeyi kazanca dönüştürdüğü için "homo-economicus" olarak da adlandıran Robinson Crusoe karakteri aracılığıyla Defoe, farkında olmadan kapitalist kültürün özünü oluşturan insan doğasındaki bozukluğun kısır bir döngüde kapitalist bireyi nasıl oluşturduğunu anlatır. Crusoe "ilk günah"ıyla insan dâhil her şeyi sömürülecek bir kaynaktan

ibaret gören bir karakterdir. Sevgi, arkadaşlık, sadakat gibi tüm insani duygulardan ve her türlü ahlaki değerden uzak olan Crusoe, ikiyüzlülüğü ve sosyal statüsünü yükseltme arzusuyla kendini ortaya koyar. Merkantilist düzenden kapitalist düzene geçiş sürecini yaşayan bir birey olarak Crusoe'nun babasıyla yaşadığı çatışma, sergilediği psikolojik dengesizlikler ve sürekli değişen ruh hali bu dönüşümün karakter üzerindeki sonuçlarıdır. Böylelikle, romanın başkahramanı 18. yüzyılın başında İngiliz toplumunda yaşanan bu sancılı geçiş sürecini temsil eder ve oluşmakta olan kapitalist düzen hakkında bilgi verir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kapitalizm, Merkantilizm, Protestanlık, Psikoloji.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The new economic system¹ and the new individual that may be labeled as "homo-economicus²" Defoe depicts in *Robinson Crusoe* emerged in the 18th century with the collapse of mercantilist system which required "a system of government intervention to promote national prosperity [to] increase the power of state." (Burns, 1980, p.496) As the opposite of emerging order, in the old mercantilist system high tariffs and limited imports are among the basic ways of avoiding the private accumulation of wealth. Economy is under state control, and individual wealth is considered to be disrupting the well-being of a nation. In contrast to the restrictive and protective state practices of mercantilist system, capitalism, however, breaks the restrictions of governmental taxes, quotas

¹ Forming the economic order in the West, the system is defined as a structure in which the privileged minority holds the means of production to gain more by exploiting the powerless "have nots." In this structure, profits are accumulated by a privileged group who own the means of production, and this minority continuously seeks ways of renewing resources to expand markets, make use of opportunities for surplus interests.

² The term was first used by John Stuart Mill in his work On the Definition of Political Economy, and on the Method of Investigation Proper to It in the late 19th century. See Mill, 1836.

or tariffs, and creates privileged classes as well as inequality among the social groups. As Defoe's Crusoe is the product of a new socio-economic order, why he is known all over the world is not a coincidental. From the time the novel was published, this character has appealed greatly not only to the 18th century audience, but to all living under the capitalist order. A prototype of an entrepreneur, who emerged during the transition period from mercantilist to capitalist order, he is also an archetype representing the two conflicting economic systems, and hence two cultures. His dilemma between the teachings of his father and the impulses the new order has imposed on him create the conflict between the two clashing paradigms in the novel.

Daniel Defoe is also one of the first to indicate the changing economic and socio-cultural circumstances in Britain. In the 18th century, the flourishing socio-economic phenomenon had already inspired economists as well as the laymen that the new epoch was quite different from the previous one. The scholars and philosophers such as Adam Smith, David Ricardo, and Robert Malthus put forward theories to form the basic principles of this new order. To an extent, in *The Wealth of Nations* (2000) Smith depicts almost the same worldview of Defoe's character with his "laissez faire" (let them do) ideology, and encourages free market economy for entrepreneurs. Believing in the power of free spirit, Smith states that an individual "... [who] intends only his own gain ... [is] led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention ... by pursuing his own interest he frequently promotes that of the society

more effectually than when he really intends to promote it." (Smith, 2000, p.485) Smith's "invisible hand" metaphor does not address a divine justice which equally allocates goods or profits, but rather describes a competitive market economy in which suppliers and consumers search for the most profitable bargain for themselves. In search of the most profitable for himself, Crusoe acts as a live model of Smith's theories within the framework of such capitalist design, and these principles seem to have formed the expansive *imperialist* British policies and practices as carried out via the entrepreneurs like Robinson Crusoe.

Based on Smith's theories, Ricardo's *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation* (1817)³ and Thomas Robert Malthus's *An Essay on the Principle of Population*⁴ (1798 - 1826) justify the accumulation of wealth by specific groups, which forms the essential role of capitalism. As stressed in these studies, capitalism accelerates the individual profit gaining process. Surprisingly, however, a merging of the theories of these philosophers can be found in Defoe's work. If interpreted from the angle of economic individualism, *Robinson Crusoe*, the main character of which becomes an adventurer in pursuit of wealth and status, becomes an illustrative work on the new capitalist individual and, on capitalism itself. Crusoe's inconsistent attitudes and shallow individual relations are the results of his socio-cultural habits emerging from his semi-capitalist

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³ See Ricardo (1817).

⁴ See Malthus (1798).

cultural stature.⁵ Not yet fully integrated into the new economic order at the beginning, and unable to understand both the old and the new cultural orders, he is a character in between the two different paradigms. His cultural transformation from the "conventional" to the "modern," or from mercantilist to capitalist, has similar features with the societal transformation experienced in Britain in the 17th and 18th centuries. The societal transformation of this period is also justified by the Protestant work ethics which "allege[s] the materialistic joy of living," (Weber, 1976, p.42) as opposed to the ascetic ideals of the catholic way of life.

In *Robinson Crusoe* Daniel Defoe prefigures the changes in the socio-cultural structure of Britain in the 18th century. As a man of his century, in his preface to *The Complete English Tradesman*, Defoe explains the shifts in the society of his time as follows:

The temper of the times explains the case to everybody that pleases but to look into it. The expenses of a family are quite different now from what they have been. Tradesmen cannot live as tradesmen in the same class used to live; custom, and the manner of all the tradesman round them, command a difference; and he that will not do as others do, is esteemed as nobody among them. (Defoe, 2000, p.12)

Defoe emphasizes here the differences between the old and the new orders. The new order promises changes in the social stratum, and it promotes consumption. Such a transformation inescapably divides the

threaten the system's development or well-being.

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⁵ The culture of capital determines the modes of behaviour in a society which constitute culture itself and culture cannot be explained "as the result of a single, determining social process . . . Art, music, literature, and history are the results of both economic and political forces, including class processes and the ordering of social behaviour." (Amariglio, Resnick, and Wolff, 1988, p.487) As the driving force of culture, the economic system imposes its own rules on individuals to provide the sustainability of the system. It does not let any socio-cultural customs prevail in the society which

society into two camps as the defenders of the traditional system, and as the supporters of the new order. As the indicator of this disagreement, the main conflict in the book emerges from the clashing values of two different cultural paradigms represented by Crusoe and his father, and it is this conflict that creates the other conflicts such as Crusoe's inner conflict, his conflict with other individuals, and his conflict with nature. The confrontation between the father and the son can be seen as the struggle between the two economic systems.

The conflict between the father and the son gives way to a psychological division, which transforms Crusoe to a neurotic character. As the urges of the id-oriented capitalism clashes with his father's teachings, he fails to find a compromise between these two different poles. To satisfy the urges of the id, he follows a life of instability, instead of a middle state of life, as his father proposed. This decision leads him to crimes such as slave trade. However, Crusoe represses his guilt, and in his unconscious, he lives in a world of shame, and guilt. Therefore, the new system not only affects the socio-cultural environment, but it also disturbs the psychology of the individual.

To analyze the cause effect relationship of Crusoe's conflicts, the chapter entitled "Robinson Crusoe: The Victim and the victimizer" will focus on the basic urges that force Crusoe to leave home. In this framework, the formation of his attitudes and his worldview, constituted by the economic base of his society, will be discussed from the Marxist point of view. As the economic shift also requires religious and philosophical

doctrines to support its mottos, Protestant work ethics, and Locke's empiricism will be studied to find the intersecting influence of these three concepts on the character. The impact of the empiricist philosophy and Protestant work ethics on Robinson Crusoe will also be exemplified. In addition to these, his relation with Friday will be analyzed in terms of the bond between the capitalist and the proletariat. Crusoe's efforts to convert the island into a small Britain with a working class will be regarded as a part of his colonizing capitalist mentality.

In the chapter entitled "The Mindset of Capitalist Culture and the Creation of Neurotic Individual" the psychological impact of the new capitalist base on the character will be examined. This chapter will reveal the effect of the conflicting mottos of capitalism and mercantilism on Crusoe's psyche. His split psyche and his hallucinations will be analyzed in accordance with the Freudian and Jungian approaches. The controversy between the id and the super-ego will be emphasized to show that in capitalist culture, the balancing power of ego is destroyed. Furthermore, Crusoe's repressed sense of guilt will be covered to illustrate his schizoid personality which is the result of the clashing values of two different systems. In this sense, the effects of the loss of parental love and guidance, especially the fatherly one, will be studied. This chapter will also include Defoe's aims in writing this novel, and the response his reading public gave to the work.

Finally, in the conclusion part of this dissertation, the interaction between the economic system and the individual psychology will be shown

to explain the new individual who can be labeled as "homo-economicus." The creation of this ambitious character and the resultant psychological problems the character comes to suffer will be revealed as defining the Western Anglo-Saxon man who tries to colonize the other, who, with his perverse psychology, spreads the disease of the new economic order to the world.

CHAPTER II

ROBINSON CRUSOE: THE VICTIM AND THE VICTIMIZER

By the turn of the 17th century, the overseas discoveries together with the development of new markets, increasing consumption, banking system, and trade enabled the limited British economy to flourish beyond its national boundaries. The young Englishmen, who could not find any promising trade or job opportunities in their native land, followed the voyages of discovery of the Spanish and the Portuguese sailors. Like Crusoe, these young Englishmen were inspired by wealth gained through adventure, and they left their homes with the hopes of finding fortunes: "The Englishman [was] never satisfied with what he obtained; his mind [got] bored when in rest. The desire to increase always his property by continuous speculations destroy[ed] in him the love of tranquility . . ." (Crauzet in Earle, 1989, p.9) Motivated by the new alternatives the new economic order promised, the young generation established a new culture, due to which they set off in quest of adventure and profits. The parallelism between the breakthrough of the young generation of

Englishmen and Crusoe is an indication of the changing stable worldview of the previous socio-economic order. When Crusoe starts narrating hisyounger days, he gives the socio-economic panorama of the 17th century:

My father, who was very ancient, had given me a competent share of learning, as far as house-education and a country free school generally goes, and designed me for the law; but I will be satisfied with nothing but going to sea . . . I was under no necessity of seeking my bread; that [my father] would do well for me . . . he told me I had my elder brother for an example, to whom he had used the same earnest persuasions to keep him from going into the Law Country wars, but could not prevail, his young desires prompting him to run into the army, where he was killed. (Defoe, 2000, p.3)

Crusoe tells the limited opportunities for his career, and how he is troubled with planning a career for his future. He explains the reason why he desires to go overseas.

For his educational background, Crusoe says that "[he was] not bred to any trade, [his] head began to be filled very early with rambling thoughts." (Defoe, 2000, p.1) His statement shows the importance of apprenticeship which begins at a very early age. In the 17th century, it was among one of the duties of fathers to "see [their children] apprenticed [and to] choose the particular career that they were to follow." (Earle, 1989, p.89-90) Those who did not experience such an apprenticeship process were deprived of any other alternatives like Crusoe and his brothers. His eldest brother "was lieutenant-colonel . . . and [he] was killed at the battle near Dunkirk . . . what became of [his] second brother [he] never knew." (Defoe, 2000, p.1) Although there are not any definite indications of his brothers' backgrounds, it is understood from Crusoe's narration that they

did not look for careers in their homelands, an indication of the lack of job opportunities in Britain then. Hence, Crusoe's insistence on going overseas suggests the transformation of a closed culture into an expansionist one with the blooming of capitalism. His transformation, however, will not be easy due to the conflict between him and his father.

The influence of the economic system on culture leads to tension between Crusoe and his father, for his father represents the mercantilist, and hence, the conservative system in the novel. This culture has not urged the father to gain more. He, therefore, chose the middle state of life, and he advises Crusoe that this is

the state of life which all other people envied; that kings have frequently lamented the miserable consequences of being born to great things, and wished they had been placed in the middle of the two extremes, between the mean and the great; 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. (Defoe, 2000, p.2)

For Crusoe, however, his father's worldview is a narrow one. From his distrusting tone concerning what his father says, it is understood that Crusoe will take a different, a more ambitious course in life. The father, however, simply says that

it was for men of desperate fortunes on one hand, or of aspiring, superior fortunes on the other, who went abroad upon adventures, to rise by enterprise, and make themselves famous in undertakings of a nature out of the common road; that these things were all either too far above [Crusoe], or too far below [him]; that [his] was the middle state, or what might be called the upper station of low life, which he had found by long experience was the best state in the world, the most suited to human happiness, not exposed to miseries and hardships, the labour and sufferings, of the mechanic part of mankind, and not embarrassed with the pride, luxury, ambition, and envy of the upper part of mankind. (Defoe, 2000, pp.1-2)

The mercantilist worldview of the father is a sharp one. It consists of the "either-or" reasoning, and experience has taught him that in between the two lies the best state of human existence. He is not open to the novelty of finding surplus resources for exploration and exploitation. He does not want to be rich. Happiness, for him, lies in the traditional, sedate life and he wants his son to follow the same path he has travelled in life. However. the thriving capitalist mentality of the new age has already instilled in Crusoe the idea of expansionism, thereby creating the conflict between him and his father. Crusoe's capitalist side ignores the values of the past such as obeying his father's decisions as he says: "I continued obstinately deaf to all proposals of settling to business and frequently expostulating with my father and mother about their being so positively determined against what they knew my inclinations prompted me to." (Defoe, 2000, p.4) By insisting on following his own way for his future, he ignores the choices his father shows him. For the sake of realizing his dreams, he argues with his father, a sign of disrespect in the traditional viewpoint. Hence, Crusoe turns his back on the mercantilist way of life, and embraces the ideals of the new culture.

For Marx, the social relations between men "are bound up with the way they produce their material life." (Eagleton in Ducharme and Watson, 1990, p.149) These relations, in turn, create "base" and "superstructure" in a society. The superstructure contains the laws and politics as well as religious awareness of individuals, and this awareness is shaped by the requirements of the economic system in which the individual lives.

In the social production of their existence, men inevitably enter into definite relations, which are independent of their will, namely relations of production appropriate to a given stage in the development of their material forces of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which arises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political, and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, their social existence that determines their consciousness. (Marx in Hoslett, 2000, p.18)

As Marx states, "consciousness" of the individual is determined by the economic system of society, and it is his concept of "economic determinism," which "necessarily presupposes that the economy is fundamentally determinative of all other social phenomena." (Ellwood, 1990, p.74) The notion emphasizes the determinative power of economy on social life, and it suggests that the economic element "conditions [people] in such a way that their form and expression are fixed." (Ellwood, 1990, p.76) The system creates masses, who are deprived of any original ideas, to serve the leaders of the order. Like an invisible force, the capitalist base forms its own superstructure or its ideology, which is defined by Marx as the "all non-scientific ideas, or socially determined ideas, or any ideas that serve some social function, like legitimating the social structure, or promoting class interests, or the interest of a ruling class." (Torrance, 1995, p.191) The base imposes ideologies on individuals to manipulate them in their relations with the world, and in the capitalist mode of production the people, who have the means of production, create and make use of ideologies to enhance their interests.

According to this definition, an ideology is a twofold phenomenon consisting of conscious and unconscious sides.

The conscious side is what Marx refers as the "ruling class," and within the capitalist system, the bourgeoisie occupies this privileged position to impose its own ideology on the masses and thereby sustain the well being of this class:

Producers of concepts are called 'theorists, ideologists and philosophers' and since Marx regarded philosophers as theorists, we can infer that he considered ideologists to be theorists too. Or the theoreticians of the bourgeois, when they equate the bourgeois property with individuality in theory, are said to give a general expression to the belief of the bourgeois- an illusionary belief, obviously- that he is an individual only in so far he is a bourgeois. These theoreticians are clearly ideologists. (Torrance, 1995, p.193)

In the Marxist view, the origins of the ideologies are theories, and once they are accepted, they go to the extent of prescribing masses how to feel, and what to believe. Such a judgment system directs individuals to form their lives according to the prescriptions of an ideology, and, thus, people, who do not belong to the ruling class, are unconsciously involved in the practices of a particular ideology. The problem with ideology, for Marx, is that they are conscious productions of a society with a class system. Hence, he concludes that ideology is a "false consciousness," because "the content of ideologies includes "defective truth-claims due to socially caused miscognition, and evaluative priorities that result from defective models of social reality." (Torrance, 1990, p.197) The social reality is the priorities of privileged classes, and since the ideologies confirm, elaborate, and reinforce the interest of these classes, they are just "illusionary beliefs." Engels reinforces Marx's claim and says:

Ideology is a process accomplished by the so-called thinkers consciously; it is true, but with a false consciousness. The real motive forces impelling him remain unknown to him; otherwise it simply would not be an ideological process. Hence he imagines false or seeming motive forces. (Engels in Mills, 1990, p.231)

The explanation clarifies that ideologies constitute an important part of the ruling system which functions as an "end-prescribing" theory in the capitalist base, but the process of individuals' adaptation to an ideology is totally unconscious. Once the doctrines are embraced by the privileged classes, they consciously impose an ideology on lower classes to exploit them. In this case, it is the mode of production that determines the individual, and these individuals form their behavioral patterns in order to get the maximum benefits.

Crusoe's behavioral patterns are influenced by the capitalist base. At the beginning of the novel he starts unconsciously adapting himself to the ideology of capitalism which can be summarized as "asking for more." He defines this unconscious process as a "fatal propension." (Defoe, 2000, p.1) He cannot define his shifting needs which emerge as the results of capitalist ideology. During his battle for survival on the island, however, he totally agrees with the ideology imposed upon him by the capitalist structure. After such transformation, he becomes the conscious one, and he starts using the new ideology to manipulate the "lower class" people consisting in the story of the Spanish, the Portuguese, Ismael, Xury, Friday, and the cargo of goods of women he brought to the island at the end. His material relations determine his attitudes towards his

companions, and most of the time he is indifferent to them as he only sees them in the framework of exchange relations:

. . . whatever other individual distinction there may be does not concern them; they are indifferent to all their other individual peculiarities . . . individuals relate to one another no longer merely as exchangers or as buyers and sellers, but in specific relations, no longer all of the same character . . . in the money relation, in the developed system of exchange . . . the ties of personal dependence, of distinction of blood, education, etc. are in fact exploded, ripped up. (Marx in Molina, 1990, pp.40-42)

Within the capitalist base, he isolates the personal characteristics of his interlocutors. There is no importance of the social relations for him. His connection to people is their material value. He only focuses on the benefits they will bring to him, and ignores all the other etiquettes. They are no more individuals for Crusoe, but sources for profits. He keeps the people with him as commodities or as tools until he takes the maximum benefit from them. If interpreted from this perspective of economic relations, Crusoe has certainly been influenced more by these capitalist relations which create opportunities for him to gain more.

Motivated by the hunger for more, and without consulting his parents "on the first of September, 1651, [he goes] on board a ship bound for London." (Defoe, 2000, p.4) This first voyage is an offer by Crusoe's friend, so the opportunity to go to sea without any charges impels him to finally leave home. Since he was not on a ship before, this is a kind of exploratory voyage for him to be acquainted with the ways of navigation. The voyage enables him to observe the necessary routines on a ship. At first, his lack of knowledge makes him misinterpret a regular wind as a

storm, and his friend makes fun of him. However, when their ship sinks on this voyage, he thinks he is being punished by God, as he went on board without taking his father's consent:

.... I was overtaken by the judgement of heaven for my wicked leaving my father's house, and abandoning my duty; all the good counsel of my parents, my father's tears and my mother's entreaties, came now fresh into my mind, and my conscience, which was not yet come to the pitch of hardness which it has been since, reproached me with the contempt of advice, and the breach of my duty to God and my father. (Defoe, 2000, p.4-5)

The storm frightens Crusoe, and he accuses himself for the disaster. The remnants of his traditional background make him associate the danger with God's punishment for he refused to listen to his father's advice. He is, however, so willing to go on board again that he easily overcomes the idea of punishment, a fluctuation in his personality that is observed from the beginning to the end of the story.

Crusoe's determination to continue his series of voyages shows the influence of economic individualism⁶ of the 17th century on his personality. The empiricist philosophy of John Locke, who claims in *Essay concerning Human Understanding* that "all materials of Reason and Knowledge are ultimately provided by experience" (Chappell, 1994, p.36) can be found in all the enterprises of Crusoe. The character, like Locke's empiricist man, tries to *learn* by experience. Having no innate knowledge and moral obligation, through "sensation and reflection" (Chappell, 1994, p.36)

⁶ For Watt, individualism "posits a whole society mainly governed by the idea of every individual's intrinsic independence both from other individuals and from that multifarious allegiance to past

modes of thought and action denoted by the word 'tradition'- a force that is always social, not individual." (60)

Crusoe finds his own way in this world. He rejects the doctrinal teaching, and assumes the empiricist philosophy to build "civilization" on the island.

Such a rejection did not only affect Locke's century but also the following centuries causing the emergence of Industrial Revolution and its economic system: there emerged an interaction between capitalism and empiricism in terms of their emphasis on the importance of "the material intercourse of man" (Eagleton in Watson and Ducharme, 1990, p.148) with life. This "material intercourse" means "experience" in the empiricist sense, and the product of this relation constitutes what Marx calls the "reality." For this reason, the basic motives of capitalism and the philosophy of Locke are in accordance with concrete terms rather than abstract perceptions. The essence of reality lies in solidity and practicality. The functionality of such a core helps Crusoe to build his "civilization" which reflects the *modern* world. Hence, Crusoe's motivation for the material comes from his empiricist culture, and his capitalist base is thus formed.

This empiricist culture provides Crusoe with the information he needs for navigating his own ship since he can only learn through experience. By continuing his seafaring adventures, he finally gains the necessary practical knowledge, and the amount of money he has been looking for. He says,

I got a competent knowledge of the mathematics and the rules of navigation, learned how to keep an account of the ship's course, take an observation, and, in short, to understand some things that were needful to be understood by a sailor . . . this voyage made me both a sailor and a merchant; for I brought home five pounds nine ounces of gold dust for my adventure . . . (Defoe, 2000, p.12)

From this account, it is understood that the results of the voyages satisfy him both technically and financially. In addition to improving his knowledge of navigation, he manages to gain some wealth which stimulates his hunger for more.

Although there is the promise of success, there are risks, too. In his second voyage, the warnings of the captain of the ship, however, confuse his mind. He encounters with the dilemma of either going to sea again or going back home. He thinks that if he goes back home, he would be "laughed at among the neighbors," (Defoe, 2000, p.10) and his failure will be acknowledged by everybody. The idea of failure disturbs him and the possibility of social humiliation deters him from returning home. To be recognized as "successful," he has to come back with a fortune because the only criterion for success in his society is wealth.

In the 17th and 18th centuries in Britain, where capitalism was blooming, "individual success" was measured by the amount of money a person had, and by the ability to speculate.

Unlike the class of feudal lords, the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie rose by business success. Bourgeoisie has been cast in a purely economic mold: its foundations, beams, and beacons are all made of economic material . . . Prizes and penalties are measured in pecuniary terms. Going up and down means making and losing money . . . wherever the bourgeois way of life asserts itself sufficiently to dim the beacons of other social worlds, these promises are strong enough to attract the majority of supernormal brains and to identify success with business success. (Schumpeter, 1962, p.72)

The social code of success in this period referred to making profit by business investment. Every aspect of reward or punishment depended on the amount of money the individual lost or gained. The ones who lost money lost prestige at the same time. On the contrary, wealth immediately brought prestige, respect, and power because money had many other connotations along with success. Hence, wealth simply meant "social prestige and thus a whole range of guarantees, privileges, connections, patronages . . . [and] the freedom to obtain even more [money]- since only the rich could borrow large sums of money. (Braudel, 1985, p.384) In this respect, gaining wealth will provide privileges and new opportunities for Crusoe: he will not only be rich, but he will also have the power to control people and his environment for his own ends, for he says "how [he] should be laughed at among the neighbors." (Defoe, 10)

Since Crusoe is surrounded by these socio-economic criteria, going back home without attaining any of these advantages is not desirable for him. As he belongs more to the patriarchal, male-dominated, competitive society, his fortune will also prove his strength as a potent man. Since the potent man is the one who takes risks, he desires to be involved in risky alternatives. As his capitalist culture does not tolerate financial failures in the blooming, competitive markets, and as "the *nouveaux riches*, the newly privileged slide into the seats of the old," (Braudel, 1985, p.474) Crusoe gets more determined to continue his voyages for the purpose of making an upwards movement in the social ladder. This basic motivation or the "evil influence," as Crusoe defines, affects his decision making process:

The evil influence which carried me first away from my father's house, that hurried me into the wild and indigested notion of rising my fortune, and that impressed those conceits so forcibly upon me as to make me deaf to all good advice, and to the entreaties and

even command of my father – I say the same influence, whatever it was, presented the most unfortunate of all enterprises to my view; and I went on board a vessel bound to the coast of Africa, or, as our sailors vulgarly call it, a voyage to Guinea. (Defoe, 2000, p.11)

For Crusoe, his constant tendency to leave his current place is an "evil influence" because it is this desire that drives him from one place to another. When interpreted from his father's traditional worldview, the path he takes in life is "evil" because such a path is not the one described in his father's advice. He even pretends to be unaware of his father's influence by naming this "evil influence" as "whatever it was." However, he is well aware that he is doing something against the will of his father, and crossing his cultural boundaries. Hence, under the influence of conservative view, he feels guilty. His sense of guilt, surprisingly, gives its place to the joy of capitalism in the latter phases of his story, which shows that it is his deliberate choice. Such a shift manages to break the restrictions of morals, and religion which have a place mostly in his moments of despair, and his individual tendencies replace his creed.

Although there is not an explicit reference to Crusoe's creed and to the sect he belongs to, his familial background and his work ethics have common points with Protestantism. First of all, his father comes from Germany, Bremen, and Crusoe's second name used to be Kreutznaer, which is also a German name. Since his roots are in Germany, he can be associated with Protestantism because Germany is the country where Martin Luther⁷ has disseminated his reformist ideas about religion. These

⁷ The stand that Luther took . . . marked the beginning of the period of religious, political, and social upheaval known as Reformation. As a result of Luther's attack on . . . Catholicism . . . Christendom would find itself divided . . . A new, non-catholic form of Christianity would be erected upon the

ideas, in turn, formed the new work ethics known as the Protestant ethics, which "regards the secular and the religious aspects of life, not as successive stages within a larger unity, but as parallel and independent provinces, governed by different laws, judged by different standards, and amenable to different authorities." (Tawney, 1926, p.279) As a result of such ethics, which shows a dualism in its core, the conflict between religious doctrines and economic aspirations are sorted out. Unlike the secure lives of the traditionalist Catholics, Crusoe is addicted to taking risks, which makes him come closer to the "modern" secular order. He justifies his worldly desires through his Protestant beliefs which are far from the ideals of Catholicism.

The difference between the ideals of Catholicism and Protestantism lies in the development process of Protestantism. "In the 16th century many rich towns [in Germany] with abundant organic reserves joined Protestantism," (Weber, 1976, p.36) and this integration played a crucial role on the development of Protestantism. The material well-being of these people with material wealth freed them from "economic traditionalism . . . which would greatly strengthen the tendency to doubt the sanctity of the religious tradition, as of all traditional authorities." (Weber, 1976, p.36) The liberation of people from religiously sanctified concepts led to the emergence of a more independent ethics as people needed a discipline to rationalize their practices. In contrast to the holy ideals of Catholic

foundations that Luther had laid, a form of Christianity whose very name would reflect its dissenting nature- Protestantism. (Stepanek, 1986, p.27)

doctrines, worldly Protestant ethics made every effort possible for the wellbeing of individuals. As Weber observes,

On superficial analysis . . . one might be tempted to express the difference by saying that the greater other-worldliness of Catholicism . . . must have brought up its adherents to a greater indifference toward the good things of this world . . . One recent writer [Martin Offenbacher (1901) *Konfession und soziale Schichtung*, p.58] has attempted to formulate the difference . . . The Catholic . . . prefers a life of the greatest possible security, even with a smaller income, to a life of risk and excitement, even though it may bring the chance of gaining honour and riches. The proverb says jokingly, 'either eat well or sleep well'. In the present case the Protestant prefers to eat well, the Catholic to sleep undisturbed. (Weber, 1976, pp.40-41)

The Protestant understanding of God and His will in the world let people be involved in profit making processes whatever the conditions are. The inclination towards consumption in the core of Protestantism, which is emphasized by the "eat well" motto, has encouraged people like Crusoe, and other Protestants to work hard in order to achieve worldly success. In this case, Protestants prefer "eating well" instead of "sleeping undisturbed."

As a Protestant, Crusoe also prefers "eating well," and makes investments in this world, and for this world. Although he refers to the Bible many times during his stay on the island, his devotion to God is a sketchy one rather than a total dedication. He seeks God's mercy in case of emergencies. When he is caught by a storm, he tries to please God with his prayers, and asks Him to "spare [his] life this one voyage, if ever [he] got once [his] foot upon dry land again." (Defoe, 2000, p.5) As a castaway on the island, he pleads God to save his life during an earthquake saying, "Lord, have mercy upon me." (Defoe, 2000, p.61) In order to satisfy God,

he prays cunningly because he knows that this time his individual capabilities will not help him to improve his condition. He needs a power to protect him, and only when such a need arises, he remembers God.

The doctrines of Protestantism explain Crusoe's involvement into more profitable adventures. As he is able to experience and survive under difficult circumstances, and as he is able to change everything into profit, he can be labeled as *homo-economicus*, meaning that he behaves "in a rational, self-interested way, regardless of [his] residence, social background, historical period, or cultural context." (Carruthers, 1999, p.10) His self-centered manners prevent him from building any intimate relationship with the others because his insincere relations enable him to use people for his own ends. While the empiricist philosophy of his capitalist culture shapes him as *homo-economicus*, his spirit is controlled by Protestantism whose work ethics is associated with progress due to its individualistic motives. Hence, on the cultural pedestal of his empiricist worldview, Protestantism and capitalism merge in his personality.

This materialist personality saves Crusoe's life under difficult circumstances and makes him "successful" in this world. He is not a fatalist as he fights for his freedom when enslaved by Turks on his way to Guinea. Although he has "nobody to communicate," (Defoe, 2000, p.13) he does not want any companions other than the British people. He is not so willing to see Spanish or Portuguese sailors as he labels them the "men-of-war." (Defoe, 2000, p.13) He particularly despises the Spanish, and accuses them for their cruel acts which he calls a "mere butchery, a

bloody and unnatural piece of cruelty, unjustifiable either to God or man." (Defoe, 2000, p.132) In contrast to Crusoe's acceptance of the capitalist system, the Spaniards in the 17th century were still determined to "amass a fortune in bullion." (Burns, 1980, p.565) In this respect, Spanish sailors are representatives of the old system, and for this reason, he despises them. His perception of being a European, therefore, does not mean coming from the continent of Europe, but, it rather means being adapted to the "civilized" ways of life, all of which exist in Crusoe's capitalist British culture. This signifies his cultural chauvinism. Since every culture is the result of a prevailing economic system, Crusoe's capitalist culture despises those cultures that do not accord with the new production – consumption mechanism. For this reason, he considers his practices as the best and the most rational ones, and when he is taken as a captive, he benefits from the empiricist core of his culture.

Crusoe behaves as an empiricist during his captivity. For two years he has "mediated nothing but escape." (Defoe, 2000, p.13) Upon observing the routines of his master, he makes a plan to escape from slavery. Like a scientist, he follows the steps of an experiment. He systematically makes observations, analyzes them, and finally applies his conclusions to his plan. His observations do not mislead him, and like other days, on the day of his escape, he shares the boat with two other slaves. He does not tell his plans to the boys, and he fools the boys as if they were going fishing for their masters. Since Crusoe catches nothing on purpose, he suggests sailing further to fish more, and he successfully

realizes his plan. On the way to his freedom, however, he sacrifices his "companions" for whom he has no sense of pity or affection. Since he never takes the other as his equal, naturally, Crusoe is unable to express any humane feelings concerning the other slave boys.

What people mean for Crusoe is their market value, and he always finds the most profitable bargain for himself. For this reason, the people with him are not his friends, but they are his commodities to make profit when he feels the need. He is in favor of just one relationship: exploitation. "Other relationships only counting so far as he can subsume them under this relationship . . . The material expression of this exploitation is money, which represents the value of all objects, men and social relations." (Marx, 1964, p.387) Profit is the core of all his relationships; hence, he does not hesitate to get rid of his "friends" like a cargo of goods.

The first slave he leaves is the Moorish boy for whose identity he has no respect. "His name [is] Ismael, who they call Muly." (Defoe, 2000, p.15) Although he knows the boy's name, he insists on calling him with the name he has given to him. He even speaks of the boy as "the Moor," (Defoe, 2000, p.16) and his insistence on ignoring the boy's name is a total rejection of Ismael's existence. Since Crusoe does not have any affection for the boy, Ismael just becomes a tool in Crusoe's plan for liberty as he says: "I took him by surprise with my arm under his twist, and tossed him clear overboard into the sea. He rose immediately, for he swam like a cork, and called to me, begged to be taken in, told me he would go all the world over with me . . . but there was no venturing to trust him. (Defoe,

2000, p.16) Comparing him to a "cork," Crusoe throws him away as he is a cargo to get rid of. He ignores the boy's entreaties because trusting someone is a kind of adventure for him. However, Ismael "thinking no harm" trusts him immediately, and lets Crusoe take control of the ship. Crusoe, however, does not want to take any risks by trusting someone, when his liberty is in jeopardy. He does not give the boy a chance, and abandons him in the middle of the sea.

As Crusoe's all relationships are based on his individual benefits, his relationship with Xury, who stays on board with him after leaving Ismael behind, again depends on Crusoe's interests. As his creed "concentrates the attention upon the self, even at times to the extent of avoiding too intimate friendships as a worship of, or reliance upon, the creature," (Fullerton, 1973, p.17) he has no sense of friendship. For this reason, his companionship with Xury comes to an end, when they encounter a ship. As he turns everything into money, he never hesitates to sell Xury to the captain with the boat. He sees Xury as no different from the boat. When it comes to making profits by selling him, he forgets all the favors Xury has done to himself. Crusoe comforts his conscience with the deal he has made with the captain. The only condition for Xury's freedom is his conversion into Christianity, which shows his intolerance for other races, other religions. Therefore, Crusoe is a racist.

Since Crusoe sees the other as the one to be exploited, the boys' total submission to Crusoe is a reflection of Crusoe's desire to see an eastern man worshipping a western man. As the two boys are of Moorish

origin and Crusoe is of British nationality, the difference of their manners can be labeled as the distinction between eastern and western paradigms. The depiction of the boys' submissive attitude is the eastern world that Crusoe, and by extension Defoe, wants to see. The tendency of western culture to despise eastern world is the "result of cultural hegemony . . . a collective notion identifying . . . Europeans as against all those non-Europeans." (Said, 1978, p.7) Crusoe takes his strength from this cultural hegemony to dominate his "subjects," and he is blinded by such a sense of supremacy. As he is biased against the non-Europeans, he cannot picture the boys fighting against him as if his equals. His descriptions depend on "a battery of desires, repressions, investments, and projections." (Said, 1978, p.8) For this reason, he defines himself as the wise man having the power to manipulate others. What empowers this western supremacy myth is the "ontological and epistemological distinction made between the Orient and Occident." (Said, 1978, p.2) The contrast between the two ends can be explained by the characteristics of each side.

The different characteristics of Ismael, Xury, *and* Crusoe stem from the enacting influence of their cultures, namely, of the eastern and western paradigms which, actually, depend upon the distinction between the eastern and western modes of production. As Marx says, in the eastern mode of production "there is no private property . . . [And the Orient] lacks the critical mechanism for radical change, namely, the struggle between classes for the control of property." (Turner, 1984, p.50) The "base" of the

Orient is not similar to that of the Occident. Since private property marks the western mode of production, individual profit is the main focus of the western culture. As a result, utilitarian individualism comes out of the occidental culture. The culture of the East, however, does not rely on individual "achievement motivation [and] innovation." (Turner, 1984, p.69) It relies more on "oriental despotism." The despot's relationship with his subjects is "like that of a master's power over his slaves, but . . . like the patriarchal authority of the head of the family, [he is] accepted by family members as legitimate." (O'Leary, 1989, p.43) Since the mode of production forms a social hierarchy and class distinction, Xury, and Ismael immediately agree to accept Crusoe's dominion, when he gets control of the ship. The boys do not show any resistance because they come from a classless culture in which a despot, as the head of the family, is the ruler. As if Crusoe were the "head of the family," or the "despot," they comply with his orders, and such receptiveness paves the way to western exploitation. Since they are "fatalistic and quiescent," (Turner, 1984, p.69) they form a collective body, and while collectivism defines the eastern culture, individualism marks the western world.

After leaving Xury, Crusoe heads for Brazil where he sees "how well the planters lived, and how they grew rich suddenly." (Defoe, 2000, p.25) The opportunity of being rich through a plantation immediately fills Crusoe's mind with new plans. He buys plantations there, and in two years time he manages to increase his estates and his "land [begins] to come into order." (Defoe, 2000, p.25) Only at this point he feels Xury's absence

because he needs manpower to work on his plantation, and he confesses that he "had done wrong in parting with [his] boy Xury." (Defoe, 2000, p.25-26) His regret for selling his "companion" is not because of his humane emotions, but because of Xury's market value. "The economic and spiritual self-determinism of Crusoe, defined here by its reduction of all relationships to a system of value, turns all of Crusoe's contacts into materialistic terms." (Probyn, 1987, p.32) For this reason, he defines the natives of Brazil as "strangers, and savages in a wilderness." (Defoe, 2000, p.26)

Although Crusoe's position and wealth increase in Brazil, he is not satisfied with his situation. As he is "coming into the very middle station, or upper degree of low life, which [his] father advised [him] before," (Defoe, 2000, p.26) he now thinks that he could have achieved this position by staying at home, and "never have fatigued [himself]." (Defoe, 2000, p.26) His dissatisfaction with the status-quo impels him to work more, thus, to earn more, but what helps him during this process is a cargo from England which includes "all sorts of tools, ironwork, and utensils necessary for [his] plantation. (Defoe, 2000, p.27) Once again Crusoe benefits from his own resources, which means that he is not satisfied with the country, and the people there. Eventually, his "desire of rising faster" (Defoe, 2000, p.28) leads him to commit an illegal slave trade.

As Crusoe gets richer, his ambition to have more rises, and this slave trade will enable him to make more profit as he will not pay anything for man power. However, his plans are shattered by a storm, when he is

on his way to Guiena. Crusoe's ship is hit by a sudden tempest from south-east, and the men on board "let it carry [them] wherever fate and the fury of the winds directed." (Defoe, 2000, p.30) When they see the land, the ship suddenly strikes "upon sand, and in a moment, her motion being so stopped, the sea breaks over her." (Defoe, 2000, p.31) The sea, then, begins to abate, and the ship does not sink. However, as the crew "made nearer and nearer the shore, the land looked more frightful than the sea," (Defoe, 2000, p.33) and before reaching the land, a "mountainlike" (Defoe, 2000, p.33) wave oversets the boat. The waves take Crusoe, and bury him "in its own body." (Defoe, 2000, p.34) At the end of this fight with the waves, he manages to reach at the shore. After securing himself with a short stick, he falls asleep. His lack of information about the island makes him feel insecure. As he has no experience with the island or its dwellers, the island is totally unknown to him. He is cautious enough to spend the night on a tree because security is among his basic needs.

Basic human needs are defined by Maslow as the biological needs whose "deprivation produce disease or illness." (Maslow, 1971, p.23) According to him, "food, shelter and safety" are among the principal biological needs to be satisfied, and, inevitably, Crusoe's initial concern is based on these needs. Otherwise, "the loss of the basic-need satisfactions of safety and protection [leads to] neuroses and psychoses," (Maslow, 1971, p.22) the concepts which will be examined in the following chapter. In such a "hierarchy of needs," biological demands are "at the base of the hierarchy and the spiritual needs at the top." (Maslow, 1971, p.194) For

this reason, Crusoe's initial action is to focus on biological needs. He, then, focuses on spiritual needs. Following the contentment of his priorities, he sees the wreckage of the ship, and decides to take benefit of it.

The next day, Crusoe starts plundering the wreckage of the ship because he needs the tools of the "modern" world. The wreckage contains every basic utensil that will help him to create a "civilization." As the island seems to be uninhabited, these materials are also encouraging for him. By the help of these tools, he recreates his world. His progress reflects the natural emergence and growth of base structure which later forms the superstructure. Like the first man on the earth, he experiences the whole phases of development such as the shift from a prey to predator. In this respect, he spends his first days for supplying his most basic needs, and, as he does not know anything about the island, his position is that of a prey. After satisfying his needs, his passive situation changes, and he becomes the predator. Since civilization is a "process . . . [referring] to something which is constantly in motion, constantly moving 'forward," (Durant, 1963, p.6) Crusoe's deeds comply with this definition of the term. Such a transformation is also necessary for him to reconstruct the capitalist system on the island. For accelerating this process, he needs to plunder the wreckage of the ship, and as a result, he finds what he looks for.

Along with edible food and two pistols, Crusoe finds a carpenter's chest which he describes as a "very useful prize . . . much more valuable

than a ship-loading of gold would have been at that time." (Defoe, 2000, p.37) Due to the change of the circumstances, he does not focus on money he finds in the ship since it means nothing on a one man island. When he finds it, he says: "Thou art not worth to me, no not the taking off of the ground; one of those knives is worth all this heap. I have no manner of use for thee; even remain where thou art, and go to the bottom as a creature whose life is not worth saving." (Defoe, 2000, p.43) Although he decides to take the money later, his basic needs for survival, such as food and shelter, influence the ranking of his priorities now. Since money is the means of exchange in a long lasting civilization, finding it at the beginning stage surprises him as it means nothing before the satisfaction of his basic needs. However, as he expects to turn back to the "civilized" world, he keeps the money for a later use.

After collecting the necessary tools from the wreckage, he looks for a "proper place for [his] habitation, and where to stow [his] goods to secure them from whatever might happen." (Defoe, 2000, p.39) For providing himself with these basic needs, he has to go to the wreckage by a raft, and he manages to collect some nails, spikes, a screw-jack, a grindstone, bullets, and even some clothes. He now speculates what he would do "without a gun, without ammunition, without any tools to make anything or to work with, without clothes, bedding, a tent, or any manner of covering." (Defoe, 2000, p.47) He uses these tools for building up his imitative capitalist civilization on the island, which indicates that Crusoe's

survival on this desolate island depends on his tools he brought from the "modern" world. He has to rediscover and reconstruct the "civilized" world.

Crusoe does not invent a civilization, but just imitates the civilization of his country to create a little Britain on the island. He follows the example of the British system from class structure to the mode of production. As a representative of the bourgeois class, he behaves in accordance with his social stratum. In this respect, his imitation of industrial and industrious Britain can be explained through Marx's notion of bourgeoisie that this class "creates a world after its own image." (Marx and Engels, 2002, p.224) The capitalist culture of his homeland directs Crusoe to create this little Britain wherever he goes, and on the island, by plundering the remains of his "modern" civilization, he builds up his small "civilized" island. Although it takes him nearly twenty five years to construct the system of his country on the island, it is still a very short time for he borrowed the tools of his "modern" civilization. He immediately starts working in order to transform the foreign island into a familiar land.

The island is foreign to Crusoe at the beginning because it lacks all of the material and conceptual components that have formed his modern civilization. Such a sense of foreignness disturbs Crusoe, and he cannot help feeling in danger. He looks for traces to see if the island has ever been visited, and he gradually increases his security measures. Since civilization "begins where chaos and insecurity end," (Durant, 1963, p.1) he devotes himself to secure himself "against either savages . . . or wild beasts." (Defoe, 2000, p.43) To isolate himself from the "wild" world, he

makes a large tent, and makes use of a cave which serves him "like a cellar to [his] house." (Defoe, 2000, p.45) His progress in creating little Britain makes him feel secure as he converts the alien looking island to a familiar looking place by harvesting crops, raising animals, milking goats, making pots, furniture, even an umbrella and a cap to protect himself. These are among the "few comforts" (Defoe, 2000, p.51) in his life because only in this way can he feel at "home." For this reason, his desire for improving his lot is endless until he creates Britain on the island. Hence, when he takes the island under control, his fear of the unknown evolves into joy.

Crusoe explores the island every day, and transforms the island to the concept of the island in his mind. Thus, he gradually gets rid of his fears about the island. The encouragement of getting to know the island is the result of his empiricist outlook. It even helps him hunt the goats. After observing the goats, he comes to the conclusion that "by the position of their optics, their sight was so directed downward, that they did not really see objects that were above them." (Defoe, 2000, p.46) This discovery comes as a result of his observation. He climbs on high rocks, and hunts the goats this way. This discovery gives fruitful results. Although his empiricist viewpoint explains the cause-effect relationship in this world, he is, however, still confused about the plans of the creator. He wonders whether his solitary existence on the island is a reward or punishment, whether he is the chosen one or not.

According to the doctrine of election "only a small proportion of men. . . chosen for eternal grace, can have any meaning only as means to the glory and majesty of God." (Weber, 1976, p.102) What is suggested by the word "election" is that only a small part of humanity deserves to be saved, and the rest has already been damned by the creator. As Crusoe belongs to this reformed belief, the everlasting question in his mind is whether he is among these chosen or not. If he belonged to the Roman Catholic Church, it would be easier for him to guarantee his salvation through the church because "the church could mediate to the believer this assurance through the sacraments, especially the sacrament of penance." (Fullerton, 1973, p.20) However, his creed abolishes all the mediators, and emphasizes the loneliness of the soul. In this case, it is difficult for Crusoe to understand if he is favored by the creator. At first he says that "it could be rational to be thankful for such a life." (Defoe, 2000, p.47) However, he thinks that he is being punished by surviving the accident, and he comments saying: "well, you are in a desolate condition it is true, but pray remember, where are the rest of you . . . why were you singled out?" (Defoe, 2000, p.47) As a result of this monologue, he concludes that he is being rewarded, and hence, he is the chosen one.

To arrive at this conclusion, Crusoe evaluates religion through empiricism. By analyzing the negative and positive sides of his situation, he tries to interpret the creator's plans for him. In this way, he rationalizes religion, and accepts the belief only after clarifying its implications by his reasoning. Since his empiricist outlook and his creed depend upon the

worldly existence, he devotes himself to the rational framework. For this reason, to reconcile with his solitary existence on the island, he decides to "comfort [himself] as well as [he] could, and to set the good against the evil ... [he] stated it very impartially, like debtor and creditor, the comforts [he] enjoyed against the miseries [he] suffered." (Defoe, 2000, p.49) As a product of the empiricist culture, he keeps a list of the outcomes of living on the island. However, he keeps this list as that of an accountant, as "creditor" and "debtor." Like an accountant, he keeps an inventory of the island, and as an empiricist, he records the conclusions of his "experiments" there. During this time, his logic governs him, and he has no place for anything that cannot be explained through material terms.

As Crusoe gets accustomed to living on the island after ten months, he regards the island as his own possession, and takes "a secret kind of pleasure" from this idea. He says,

I descended a little on the side of that delicious vale, surveying it with a secret kind of pleasure, though mixed with my other afflicting thoughts, to think that this was all my own; that I was king and lord of all this country indefeasibly, and had a right of possession; and, if I could convey it, I might have it in inheritance as completely as any lord of a manor in England. I saw here abundance of cocoa trees, orange, and lemon, and citron trees. (Defoe, 2000, p.76)

In this way, he asserts his absolute authority on the island, and enjoys this power. He is the only controller of his environment. Although he is alone, he regards his pets as his subjects, and says: "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." (Defoe, 2000, p.113) He

enjoys this ultimate power until he sees the footprint of a man on the island.

The footprint, however, shakes Crusoe, causing a turning point in his life. He walks "terrified to the last degree, looking behind [him] at every two or three steps, mistaking every bush and tree, and fancying every stump at a distance to be a man." (Defoe, 2000, p.118) This foreign trace is a threat to his sovereignty and security. To eliminate such a threat, he tries to find possible causes for the footprint. At first, he thinks the footmark belongs to the devil, and then he associates it with "more dangerous creatures . . . the savages," (Defoe, 2000, p.119) which puts his need for safety into jeopardy. For a while, he loses his sense of reasoning and acts in an impulsive way. In this desperate situation, he uses his empiricism to regain his serenity. He looks at the print "to measure the mark with [his] own foot, [he finds his] foot not so large by a great deal." (Defoe, 2000, p.121) Based upon such reasoning, like a man of science, he decides what measures to take for his security. As a result of his observations, he manages to behave with his reason again. He overcomes his fears by thickening his walls and by planting his guns into different places so that he can "fire all the seven guns in two minutes" time." (Defoe, 2000, p.123) These cautions reflect his distress in case of an encounter with the unknown. Since he has already made his environment familiar, now he is unwilling to see any newcomer or beast that may disturb his peaceful and familiar environment. Later on, however, Crusoe discovers that the island is being visited by savages occasionally.

These savages "feast on human bodies," (Defoe, 2000, p.172) and they bring their captives to kill them there. It is upon such an occasion that he helps one of these captives, and converts him to a "civilized" man.

Crusoe's relationship with the savage depends on Crusoe's unquestionable superiority. When he sees the savage running away from his executioners, he thinks that now is the "time to get [himself] a servant, and perhaps a companion or assistant." (Defoe, 2000, p.155) Crusoe's reason to save the savage is not for the purpose of giving him his liberty, but for taking him under his control. However, the savage is alien to him, and thus, he is a possible threat to Crusoe's security. In order to maintain his safety, he has to transform this man's alien culture to his own. For this reason, Crusoe starts by giving the savage a familiar name: "Friday," as it was "the day [he] saved his life." (Defoe, 2000, p.158) In this way, Crusoe dominates the unknown savage, and converts him to familiar Friday. When he establishes the materialistic relationship with Friday, his sustainable peace is, thus, formed, and again his fear of the unknown gives its place to the joy of ruling.

With the coming of Friday, Crusoe immediately establishes the class system of capitalist order. In this case, Crusoe represents the bourgeoisie, whereas Friday belongs to the proletariat, and Marx stresses the superior manners of the bourgeoisie by saying that: "the bourgeoisie sees in the proletarian not a human being, but a force capable of creating wealth, a force moreover he can then compare with other productive forces- an animal, a machine . . ." (Marx in Lovell, 1988, p.102) As the

master of this capitalist relationship, Crusoe regards Friday a "machine" to contribute to the well being of his island. He isolates Friday from himself by carrying him "not to [his] castle, but quite away to [his] cave, on the farther part of the island." (Defoe, 2000, p.157) Hence, he degrades Friday into an inhuman situation, and puts himself into the place of the wise, rational bourgeois character, as he says he taught everything to Friday "to make him useful, handy, and helpful," (Defoe, 161) just like a tool.

After twenty five years of loneliness, Crusoe is happy to hear a "man's voice," but he has "no time for such reflections." (Defoe, 2000, p.156) Since he is in favor of the rule of logic, he avoids any emotional ties with Man Friday. However, he cannot help describing Friday as possessing some European physical features to make the savage look familiar:

He had a very good countenance, not a fierce and surly aspect, but seemed to have something very manly in his face; and yet he had all the sweetness and softness of a European in his countenance too, especially when he smiled . . . the color of his skin was not quite black, but very tawny; and yet not of an ugly, yellow, nauseous tawny, as the Brazilians and Virginians, and other natives of America are, but of a bright kind of dun olive color . . . his nose was small, not flat like the negroes . . . (Defoe, 2000, pp.157-158)

In this way, Crusoe neutralizes the possible threats to his civilization that might be caused by Friday. By focusing on the features which do not comply with a stereotypical, black "savage" man, he tries to restore the security of his lot. To pacify him, Crusoe even goes to the extent of imposing upon Friday his own language, rather than trying to understand Friday's native tongue. As Friday's speaking skills increase, their conversation assumes a different direction. When Friday tells Crusoe

about his God "Benamuckee," (Defoe, 2000, p.166) Crusoe immediately rejects this concept of a creator, and claims it to be an "evil spirit." (Defoe, 2000, p.167) However, Friday is surprised by the Western notion of the devil, since in his culture there is no such figure. He asks "if God much strong, much might as the devil, why God no kill the devil?" (Defoe, 2000, p.167) Crusoe cannot answer the question thoroughly, and he "diverts the discourse." (Defoe, 2000, p.168) Through this conversation, Crusoe, however, recognizes his own lack of knowledge about his religion, and he devotes himself to religious instruction "in many things that either [he] did not know, or had not fully considered before." (Defoe, 2000, p.169) His basic motivation to improve his knowledge is not his desire to understand his God thoroughly, but to convert Friday into Christianity. In this way, he can also redefine himself, and prove his actions as rightful. In this sense, he interprets religion in accordance with his capitalist desires. Friday's conversion means capturing him, and, therefore, Crusoe justifies his actions. His efforts are not in vain, and Friday becomes "a good Christian, a much better than [himself]." (Defoe, 2000, p.169) Although Friday's attempt to adapt himself to Crusoe's culture is satisfactory for Crusoe, still he cannot trust Friday totally because his self-centered manners prevent him from relying on a "savage." If Friday belonged to British culture, Crusoe would not trust him anyway because he does not have any emotional affection for anyone. As the product of capitalist culture, he cannot help seeing Friday's culture as an alien one. Hence, what provides security to Crusoe is a new kind of imperialism which includes imposing

the language, culture, and religion of the dominant side upon the receptive end, making the alien more "friendly."

Since Crusoe constitutes the powerful, dominant side in this relationship, he takes Friday under control by the power of his muskets whose sound make Friday frightened. Till Friday came to the island, Crusoe, as the sole owner of the place, was a godlike figure. However, after Friday's arrival, one of them must be the master and the other the servant because this is what capitalist culture has imposed upon Crusoe. Therefore, he teaches his name to Friday as the master with muskets. He teaches him to submit to his power. Meanwhile, Friday is unaware of Crusoe's everlasting quest for power because he lacks the zeal of capitalism. As Friday belongs to the oriental culture, he is accustomed to the rule of a "despot" as the head of a family. For this reason, as Crusoe says, Friday was "without passions, sullenness, or designs, perfectly obliged and engaged; his very affections were tied to [him], like those of a child to a father." (Defoe, 2000, p.160) This receptiveness urges Crusoe to "teach him everything that was proper to make him useful, handy, and helpful." (Defoe, 2000, p.161) Since Friday becomes more "useful" as he learns more of Crusoe's culture. Crusoe's conversation with him shifts into a direct imposition of religion.

As Crusoe's western culture is for "dominating, restructuring, and having power over the Orient," (Said, 1978, p.3) he cannot tolerate any mention of Friday's culture. When Crusoe recognizes Friday's joy for

speaking of his native country, he doubts about Friday's longings. He thinks that

if Friday could get back to his own nation again, he would not only forget all his religion, but all his obligation to [him]; and would be forward enough to give his countrymen an account of [him], and come back perhaps with a hundred or two of them, and make a feast upon [him], at which he might be as merry as he used to be with those of his enemies, when they were taken in war. (Defoe, 2000, p.172)

The foundation of Crusoe's supremacy depends upon cultural differences, and he once more remembers Friday's alien roots upon his mention of his nation. In order to emphasize the cultural difference between himself and Friday, Crusoe addresses to his cannibalism. This reminder gives Crusoe a moral superiority, and dehumanizes Friday again. In this way, he reflects his bias for any other alternative civilization. For this reason, he wants to send Friday back to his country to cooperate with "white men" there who are "no doubt Spaniards or Portuguese." (Defoe, 2000, p.173) However, Friday does not want to turn back home alone. Crusoe's account of Friday's refusal reflects the weakness of the stereotypical eastern man in his mind:

What you send Friday away for? Take kill Friday, no send Friday away. This he spoke so earnestly, that I saw tears stand in his eyes . . . I told him then, and often after, that I would never send him away from him if he was willing to stay with me . . . I found all the foundation of his desire to go to his own country was laid in his ardent affection to the people, and his hopes of my doing them good. (Defoe, 2000, p.174)

Crusoe portrays Friday as a willing and obedient savage, and, by doing so, he justifies keeping Friday as a converted slave. Friday's commitment to Crusoe puts him into a godlike figure for Friday, and Crusoe enjoys this power. He makes sure of his security, and he keeps Friday with him to help with making a boat for leaving the island together. However, his plans are postponed, when the island is visited again by savages in his twenty-seventh year on the island.

When Friday informs Crusoe about the "savages," he wants to be sure of Friday's support in case of any battle with the savages. Friday states his loyalty and says "Me die when you bid die, master." (Defoe, 2000, p.177) Depending upon Friday's power too, Crusoe starts making plans for fighting with these "savages" who are twenty one in number. However, he is not so willing to encounter with them. He tries to find reasonable causes for avoiding a battle:

I do not mean that I entertained any fear of their number; for as they were naked, unarmed wretches, 'tis certain I was superior to them; nay though I had been alone. But it occurred to my thoughts what call, what occasion, much less what necessity, I was in to go and dip my hands in blood, to attack people who had neither done or intended me any wrong; who, as to me, were innocent, and whose barbarous customs were their own disaster; being in them a token indeed of God's having left them, with the other nations of that part of the world, to such stupidity, and to such inhuman courses; but did not call me to take upon me to be a judge of their actions . . . (Defoe, 2000, p.178)

Crusoe tries to find a just cause for attacking the natives. He hesitates whether to attack or keep away. He wants to use Friday as a tool for the first attack, and then, he decides not to attack. However, when he sees a "white man, who lay upon the beach of the sea, with his hands and his feet tied with flags," (Defoe, 2000, p.179) he changes his mind. The "European" (Defoe, 2000, p.179) captive urges Crusoe to battle against the savages, and he orders Friday to follow his commands. With the help

of Crusoe's guns, they win the battle. The guns bring them a godlike capacity against the savages. The natives "were so dreadfully frightened with the manner of their being attacked, the noise, and the fire, that . . . they would tell their people they were all killed by thunder and lightening, not by the hand of man." (Defoe, 2000, p.186)

The power of the guns gives absolute superiority to their possessors, and Crusoe's power reflects the western supremacy which is also founded upon the firearms. Technologically developing West has an advantage over the nature bounded East. For this reason, Crusoe's muskets are miraculous for Friday's countrymen who are fighting with their hand-made wooden spears. Crusoe is well aware of his advantage, and he reflects this for Friday too saying: "if I would let him, he would have worshipped me and my gun." (Defoe, 2000, p.162) Owing to the superiority of these guns, Crusoe and Friday save a Spaniard, and a "poor creature" (Defoe, 2000, p.182) who turns out to be Friday's father.

These newcomers please Crusoe, and he is satisfied with this increasing number of servants. By stressing his authority, he expresses his joy and says:

My island was now peopled, and I thought myself very rich in subjects; and it was a merry reflection, which I frequently made, how like a king I looked. First of all, the whole country was my own mere property, so that I had an undoubted right of dominion. Secondly, my people were perfectly subjected. I was absolute lord and lawgiver; they all owed their lives to me, and were ready to lay down their lives, if there had been occasion of it, for me. It was remarkable too, we had but three subjects, and they were of three different religions. My man Friday was a Protestant, his father was a Pagan and a cannibal, and the Spaniard was a Papist. However, I allowed liberty of conscience throughout my dominions. (Defoe, 2000, p.185)

Crusoe thinks that his "people" owe their lives to him, and they will be subjected to him forever. However, he did not feel in this way, when he sold Xury. He did not have any sense of obligation for Xury who helped him with his escape, and offered him his service. In this respect, Crusoe is free of any obligations, but he never forgets the favors he has done to other people because these people constitute the "proletariat" for the bourgeois Crusoe. He is "linked with other men only by ties of private interest." (Marx in Lovell, 1988, p.121) By not sharing his privileged status, he, thus, reinforces his authority as the sole owner of the island.

However, being the absolute ruler of the island does not satisfy him, and he speaks with the Spaniard to make a plan for leaving the island. Upon this, the Spaniard informs Crusoe that there are "sixteen more of his countrymen and Portuguese, who have been cast-away" on Friday's land (Defoe, 2000, p.187). This information moves Crusoe because he recognizes the possibility of getting free manpower. As his capitalist mode of production is always in need of labor, he does not want to miss the chance of having more servants. However, Crusoe is cautious, and he confesses his distrust for these people saying:

I feared mostly their treachery and ill usage of me if I put my life in their hands; 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 . . . it would be very hard that I should be the instrument of their deliverance, and that they should afterwards make me their prisoner in New Spain . . . I had rather be delivered up to the savages, and be devoured alive, than fall into the merciless claws of priests, and be carried into the Inquisition. (Defoe, 2000, p.188)

Since Crusoe excludes those who are not adapted to his culture, he reflects his scorn for the Catholic and mercantilist Spaniards again. Although they are no different from the savages for Crusoe, for the sake of leaving the island, and bringing free slaves to the island, he decides to cooperate with his Spanish "subject" upon his assurances. When the Spanish man and Friday's father leave the island as they planned, Friday and Crusoe are surprised by the visit of an English boat.

When Crusoe saves the captain of this ship, he learns that his crew has mutinied him. The captain expresses his gratitude to Crusoe by saying "Am I talking to God, or man? Is it a real man, or an angel?" (Defoe, 2000, p.196) The captain's reflections once more give Crusoe a godlike superiority. His sense of supremacy is, again, a reflection of the western mentality that tries to govern the world. As the stronger "civilization," the western people think that they "have to give laws to weak people or inferior- occasionally even considered degenerate-races . . . [they] perceive themselves as lawgivers to the universe." (Latouche, 1996, p.11) In this respect, Crusoe appoints himself as the "lawgiver" in every circumstance and, by doing so; he establishes a cultural hegemony over the other nations. Such dominance reinforces his power in every occasion, too.

With the coming of a ship to the island Crusoe gets the chance of going back to his country. There is, however, no excitement in his tone, when he talks about his plans for the voyage back home. He is just interested in the production mechanism on the island. As he has now

enough manpower to sustain the production mechanism on the island, he decides to teach his way of living to the new inhabitants. Before leaving the island, he leaves them his firearms, and teaches them to manage "the goats, and [gives] directions to milk and fatten them, and to make both butter and cheese." (Defoe, 2000, p.213) In this way, he makes sure of the prosperity of his island, and decides to set off for England.

While leaving the island, Crusoe does not forget to take the money which he found in his first days on the island and labeled as less valuable than a carpenter's chest. As he is heading his British "civilization," where money has an importance as it has already completed its natural development process, he again focuses on money. To collect more money, he checks his plantation in Brazil, and learns that he is rich. Although his interests show him that it is profitable for him to go to Brazil, he does not want to go there because he has

some little scruple in [his] mind about religion . . . there was no going to Brazils for [him] . . . unless [he] resolved to embrace Roman Catholic religion without any reserve; unless on the other hand [he] resolved to be a sacrifice to [his] principles, be a martyr for religion, and die in the Inquisition. (Defoe, 2000, pp.220-233)

What deters Crusoe from living in Brazil is the rule of Catholicism there. Since he can only bear the rule of logic in his religious and social practices, living in Catholic Brazil sounds painful to him. He is even afraid of the existence of inquisition there. As he wants to turn back to his native country, he sells his plantation in Brazil, and moves to England.

However, Crusoe notices that being in England will not satisfy him either. He comments on his discontent saying:

I was inured to a wandering life, had no family, not many relations . . . I could not keep the country out of my head . . . I could not resist the strong inclination I had to see my island, and to know if the poor Spaniards were in being there, and how the rogues I left there had used them. (Defoe, 2000, p.234)

As Crusoe sees the island as his private property, he is worried about the condition of it, and he wants to turn back to the island. He can only resist this inclination for seven years, and, in the mean time, he gets married, and has three children. Surprisingly, however, Crusoe does not have any account of his wife and children. Although it requires a long time to have three children, there is no mention of this process. He refers to his marriage in between the lines, and then, quickly skips into "his inclination to go abroad." (Defoe, 2000, p.234) His lack of sensation is still valid even for his wife and children, which shows that he belongs to the patriarchal culture.

Finally, he leaves England with the death of his wife. This death does not affect him, either, and thus, he finishes his record of his family. When he turns back to his island, he sees that the population has increased. To increase the population and the prosperity of the island, he sends "seven women, being such as [he] found proper for service . . . with a good cargo of necessaries." (Defoe, 2000, p.235) By "sending" women, Crusoe treats women as his property. He sees women no different from a cargo of goods. For this reason, as well as a racist, Crusoe is a sexist. His capitalist culture sees women as properties, and it, also, limits women's access to the means of production. In this culture women exist just for the sake of "service."

As Crusoe is the product of British culture, in which Protestantism and empiricism go hand in hand, he reflects the concerns of the capitalist system and capitalist individual. Due to his self-centered possessive manners, he is destined to isolation. However, this isolation brings him more wealth during his adventures in Brazil and on the desolate island. He

follows the call of the wide open places, discovers an island that is desert only because it is barren of owners or competitors, and there builds [his] personal Empire with the help of a Man Friday who needs no wages and makes it much easier to support [his] burden. (Watt, 2007, p.87)

His way of managing the island and his relationship with Friday brings about a new kind of imperialism which requires the exposure of dominant side's culture. Through such an authority, he regards his practices as the best and the most rational ones because his capitalist culture is for those who are strong, rational, and white. The rest is unknown to him, and he has to impose his own culture on this unknown in order to make it familiar.

Crusoe's desire to exploit, and destroy the existence of the other is a reflection of the attitude of the Western world to the East. For this reason, Crusoe depicts every non-British as the "other." What creates the concept of "other" is the mode of production. The distinction between the West and the East lies in the mode of production upon which the Eastern culture is founded. In this respect, it is Crusoe's Western culture that creates profits and "acts dynamically along with brute political, economic . . . rationales to make the Orient the varied and complicated place." (Said, 1978, p.12) In order to bring "civilization" into the Orient, Crusoe makes use of every opportunity; however, he is hardly satisfied.

This dissatisfaction and the constant desire to gain more are the phenomena that need to be explained. Since Crusoe's contradictive and obsessive manners are the results of his perverse psychology, any reference to Freud, and Jung will help to clarify the adverse effects of the capitalist system on individuals. In the following chapter, Freudian and Jungian approaches will be merged in order to reveal the psychological impact of these conflicts and archetypes in the character's psyche.

CHAPTER III

THE MINDSET OF CAPITALIST CULTURE AND THE CREATION OF THE NEUROTIC INDIVIUAL

In *Robinson Crusoe*, Defoe's depiction of Crusoe suggests that Crusoe is between the mercantilist and capitalist systems. Capitalism, being the successive of mercantilist system, has affected his psychology and caused an inner conflict in Crusoe: His troublesome state, on account of the dilemma between the old and the new orders, brings about contradictive manners and attitudes to his personality. Although Crusoe seems to be a simple minded, straightforward adventurer, he suffers from the clash of opposing drives in his psyche. These incompatible urges do not only reveal Crusoe's subconscious mind, but they also reveal, in accordance with the character's troubled psychology, the perverse nature of the capitalist economic order itself. He is neither a traditionalist as his mercantilist minded father, nor can he totally comply with the new capitalist spirit. He is, therefore, a man in between the two moods, two psychologies.

Despite his mercantilist background, Crusoe cannot remain indifferent to the socio-economic changes at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, and his attitudes also interact with the dynamic economic environment of his age. As the new order brings about a greedy spirit with itself, a strong desire to prosper penetrates into the souls of individuals. Due to the desire for having more, the new individual enjoys the bliss of "possess[ing] . . . the delight of owning much gold, no matter in what form." (Sombart, 1967, p.26) Having worldly riches turns into the lust for possessing even more fortune, and this insatiable psychology pushes the economy of Crusoe's time. As the capitalist individual is imbued by the capitalist urges, Crusoe's personality is split between the conservative mercantilist culture, and the entrepreneurial passions. The urges of his passions (or his id) exert a great pressure on his traditional side, and Crusoe develops anxieties in his psyche: "realistic anxiety regarding the external world, moral anxiety regarding the super-ego and neurotic anxiety regarding the strength of the passions in the id." (Freud in Watson and Ducharme, 1990, p.220) While the "realistic anxiety" is about the real world and the threats in it, Crusoe's father and the rules he represents form the basis of his "moral anxiety." His "neurotic anxiety" stems from his inner conflicts as reflected through his dreams on the island. Therefore, it can be said that the new system creates only conflicts in individuals, namely man against man, man against environment, and man against himself. (Crusoe versus Friday, Crusoe versus the Island, plantation, Crusoe versus himself which is revealed through his dreams.)

Although Defoe was not after a psychological examination of the character he created, from the conflicts his character suffers, it can be deduced that the economic system itself is responsible for the split in individual's psyche. Despite Defoe's efforts to praise his character, Crusoe gradually assumes the personality of an immoral individual ruined by the economic system. To be able to understand the psychology of this character, the social dynamics that have affected him need to be clarified. If these dynamics are analyzed, Crusoe's actions can be associated with the common worldly concerns and psychological shifts of a capitalist mind. Since he is the product of the industrial society, Crusoe's psychological state represents the distressed minds of those living under capitalist order. Thus, Defoe's character stands as the epitome of the capitalist psychology of capitalist individual.

As a prototype of the capitalist individual, Crusoe's dilemmas begin in his early youth. He is torn between "his desires" and his father's directions. Although these desires are constructed by the new cultural values, beliefs, and perceptions of the capitalist superstructure, he insists on following "his" choices. His desire to go overseas is, therefore, formed by the epochal opportunities of expansion. Such kind of implanted drives push him to leave home, and run after adventures. Although his father sharply warns him not to do so, he sets off for London, and he labels this leaving as his "original sin." (Defoe, 2000, p.149) He questions himself, and remembers his "breach of duty to God and [his] father" (Defoe, 2000, p.5) in his every failure. Since his personality is shaped under the effect of

such a sense of guilt, he holds himself responsible for every unexpected event. Although his wealth and progress bring him to the "upper part of mankind," (Defoe, 2000, p.2) there is, however, a psychological lacuna he fails to overcome. This lacuna, in fact, forms the psychological core of the novel, showing that the system creates guilt-stricken individuals.

Since obedience is appreciated and disobedience is condemned by the 18th century public, Crusoe labels his rebellion as "original sin." Through his disobedience he "sins" against one of the norms of society: respect for the traditional figure, and in Crusoe's case, the father, who represents the established order. In this sense, his disobedience to his father is also a rejection of the society's long-established traditions. While taking his own path in life, he suffers from an inner conflict as a result of this "original sin," and it also leads him to break his ties with his family. Therefore, he rejects the "best state in the world" (Defoe, 2000, p.2) foreseen for him by his father, and he chooses a life in which he can experience grief and joy simultaneously. In this new life, his "original sin" means both pleasure and pain. Due to this duality, he suffers from neurosis, and eventually he develops a schizoid personality. A schizoid person refers to an individual the totality of whose experience is split in two main ways: in the first place, there is a rent in his relation with his world, and in the second, there is a disruption of his relation with himself . . . he experiences himself in despairing aloneness and isolation." (Laing, 1990, p.17) This split is a threat to the individual's completeness, and as a schizoid case, Crusoe suffers from these symptoms. Such a psychological disorder affects Crusoe's attitudes towards other people, and puts him in isolation.

As Crusoe takes pride in being a white Anglo-Saxon and Protestant, he never takes the black and the Catholic as individuals: he treats them as his inferiors. His attitude towards women is culturally oriented for he takes women as his own property, as just "a cargo of goods." Depersonalization becomes a part of his schizoid psyche, and "petrifying" becomes a defense mechanism for him to avoid any intimate relationship with the other race, other religion, and other gender. He turns the disturbing other into non-existence by ignoring them. He ignores their feelings, and therefore, he kills the life in them. His manner of ignoring other people's individual rights can be seen in his relation with Xury and Friday. He violates Xury's basic right by selling him, and ignores Friday's fundamental right of freedom, too. Since capitalism creates such an intruding psychology, reification forms the core of his behavior. The system itself, thus, gives way to schizophrenia in people like Crusoe.

As a multifaceted concept, conscience has different interpretations in religions, cultures, and in the collective unconscious of peoples. In a cultural context, "conscience loading" is a process by which "a conscience is shaped by the morality of the collective, the stereotypes, and other idealizations and taboos." (Henry in Amato, 1982, p.11) While the superstructure forms a collective identity, the individual becomes able to "define the rational and irrational, his courts and prisons define the right and wrong" (Amato, 1982, p.11) under the guidance of this constructed

social conscience which is also "a myriad of collective notions, impulses, and ideals." (Amato, 1982, p.11) In a religious sense, conscience is formed "by creating within us a sense that God is looking at us. The shimmer of our awareness is excited by the feeling of being watched by an omniscient being who scrutinizes us to our very depths." (Amato, 1982, p.51) This sense makes individuals feel "shamefully, guiltily, abashedly naked before [God's] all-seeing eye." (Amato, 1982, p.51) However, instead of staying in this frame of conscience, Crusoe tries to make deals with God because, like the people of his age, he is "extremely prone to self-flattering and self-exculpating." (Wood, 2008, p.191) For this reason, an illusion occurs to him as if he has judged his act in the frame of his conscience. However, he hypocritically evaluates his deed for the sake of relieving the pressure of this moral concept. By this sanctimonious approach, he feels morally virtuous, and therefore, conscience becomes an artificial notion, not a natural inner aspect, but something constructed. Crusoe's inner conflicts stem from the hypocrisy in his culture, and this hypocrisy, in fact, forms his psychology, his individual conscience.

For Erich Fromm, there are two different meanings of "conscience." The first one is the "authoritarian conscience which is the internalized voice of an authority whom we are eager to please and afraid of displeasing." (Fromm, 1974, p.4) Overlapping with Freud's concept of the super-ego as a moral authority, "authoritarian conscience" represents "the internalized commands and prohibitions of father, accepted by the son out of fear." (Fromm, 1974, p.4) The "authoritarian conscience" is, therefore,

based upon the father's teachings, and the child internalizes these practices as the "right" ones. Hence, such a conscience is not inborn, but a learnt one. Such internalization also shapes Crusoe's behaviors, and when he goes beyond the limits of this moral sense, he feels guilty as he has disobeyed the "authoritarian conscience."

The other meaning of conscience is "humanistic conscience" which is associated with humane emotions. It differs from "authoritarian conscience" in terms of its innateness. It is defined as "the voice present in every human being and independent from external sanctions and rewards . . . This conscience serves our functioning as human beings. It is the voice which calls us back to ourselves, to our humanity." (Fromm, 1974, p.4) In this sense, "humanistic conscience" includes feelings such as mercy, guilt, and belonging which are the notions that Crusoe completely lacks in his life. Although the two meanings differ from each other, they both reflect the need to confirm with the collective values as separateness is "the source of intense anxiety. Beyond that, it arouses shame and the feeling of guilt." (Fromm, 1974, p.7) Thus, in order to relieve his conscience, Crusoe tries to get a parental approval.

As Crusoe's father withdraws his support upon his disobedience, he turns to his mother to take the father's consent. He sees his mother only as a mediator between himself and his father. Her consent, in fact, is not important for him. Moreover, Crusoe does not regard women as influencing individuals. he can only see them as goods just to serve for his profits. For this reason, he asks the mother to speak to the father.

However, his suggestion is also turned down by his mother and Crusoe narrates his mother's reaction as follows:

She told me, she knew it would be no purpose to speak to my father upon any such subject; that he knew too well what was my interest to give his consent to anything so much for my hurt, and that she wondered how I could think of any such thing after such a discourse as I had has with my father had used to me; and that, in short, if I would ruin myself there was no help for me; but I might depend I should never have their consent to it . . . (Defoe, 2000, p.4)

Amidst the argument between Crusoe and his father, his mother is unwilling to be involved in the discussion, and she rejects delivering this speech to the father. Hence, Crusoe loses his mother's support as well as his father's. However, he finds this support in his capitalist culture which has no place in it for the weak or the traditionalist. Furthermore, from this culture Crusoe also acquires the necessary moral courage to go against the dictates of his father, and thereby, validate his "sinful" deeds. He, thus, replaces his conservative father with the new capitalist culture: he rejects the conditions of the traditional father to welcome the conditions of his liberal culture.

As father's love is conditional, by disobeying his father, Crusoe violates his father's conditions, and turns to capitalism to find the support he has lost. Fatherly love, in fact, depends upon principles such as "I love you because you fulfill my expectations, because you do your duty, because you are like me." (Fromm, 1974, p.43) For this reason, obedience forms the base of father's love, and therefore, "disobedience [becomes] the main sin and its punishment the withdrawal of fatherly love." (Fromm, 1974, p.43) In Crusoe's case, the withdrawal of his father's love shatters

his life because the father is also "the world of thought, of man-made things, of law and order, of discipline . . . father is the one who teaches the child, who shows him the road into the world." (Fromm, 1974, p.42) By denying his father, who is supposed to give the necessary guidance, Crusoe embraces capitalism as his new father. For this reason, he follows the teachings of this new culture to please his step -father. However, as he loses his parents' love and guidance, he falls into a state of neurosis. To be a mature individual, he needs their support because the eventual synthesis of motherly and fatherly loves forms the "basis for mental health and the achievement of maturity. In the failure of this development lies the basic cause for neurosis." (Fromm, 1974, p.37) With the loss of his mother's support as well, Crusoe fails to maintain such a balance. As the new base has no place for mother, or motherly associations, he does not look for any motherly support.

Although "mother is the home [everybody] come[s] from," (Fromm, 1974, p.35) Defoe does not give any place to Crusoe's mother and to women in general in his novel. As the mother figure represents a stable home, her absence makes Crusoe motherless and homeless. Since "motherly love by its very nature is unconditional," (Fromm, 1974, p.35) and generous, the mother's dim figure also shows that the new age has discarded all motherly values. Since Crusoe does not have a dominant mother figure, he fails to understand the simple nature of love. He is, therefore, merciless, without conscience, and he lacks the ability to love,

the deficiency of which leads him to isolation. Hence, Crusoe relies more on the inhuman capitalist culture of his country.

Since the novel reflects the panorama of the early 18th century, Crusoe's psychological deficiencies exist in the patriarchal order of this capitalist society. The inability to maintain a balanced mature state creates a new type of individual: "he is without empathy. He has neither charity, sympathy, nor pity. His spirit is not extended to others. His horizons exclude others both by habit and by will. He recognizes only his own worth, security, needs, and desires." (Amato, 1982, p.25) Hence, capitalism does not only change the habits of societies, but it also destroys the psychological development of individuals by turning them into neurotics. Their dilemmas do not let them free even in their dreams as exemplified with Crusoe's "terrible dream." (Defoe, 2000, p.66)

As dreams are "invariably more or less determined by the individual personality of the dreamer, by his age, sex, class, standard of education and habitual way of living, and by the events and experiences of his whole previous life," (Maury in Freud, 1955, p.42) Crusoe's terrible dream is suggestive of his disobedience. He sees in his dream "a man descend from a black cloud," (Defoe, 2000, p.66) and this man threatens him with death and destruction, saying "seeing all these things have not brought thee to repentance, now thou shalt die." (Defoe, 2000, p.67) Since he has disguised his crimes, this unexpected encounter with the apparition of his guilty conscience puzzles him and makes him question his "original sin."

culmination of his crimes, a mask covering his immorality and hypocrisy. He fails to confess his crimes even to himself, and his rebellion against the father becomes the cover of misdeeds. As he repressed the guilt of his crimes, while following his id-centered passions, his guilty conscience appears from this reservoir in his dream in the form of a devilish man. His immoral acts have remained unconscious until he was ill, and his defense gets weaker. In such a state, his unconscious mind wells up to reveal his conflict which gives way to his neurotic state. As "there is a definite correlation between ego strength and quality of dreams," (Conigliaro, 1997, p.72) he cannot escape from this dream because people "with a very depleted ego may have horrible but mercifully brief dreams from which they awaken brusquely and abruptly . . . Others with an even weaker ego [suffer from] endless dreams of horror-filled visions provoking intense anxiety, guilt, shame, and disgust." (Conigliaro, 1997, p.72) In this weak state, the super-ego takes over the powerless ego, and tortures it by generating anxiety, guilt, and shame. Surrounded by these unpleasant subconscious urges, Crusoe understands that he has done something wrong. However, he fails to understand the nature of his mistake. His repressed sense of guilt can "express itself only symbolically." (Jung, 1974, p.29) For this reason, his subdued super-ego comes into being as a devil figure with a "spear or weapon" (Defoe, 2000, p.67) in his hand. Crusoe's interpretation of this dream, however, shows that he again prefers escaping from himself as he ignores his "sinful" deeds by finding the excuse of "disobedience."

Associating his "seafaring wickedness" (Defoe, 2000, p.67) with his dream, Crusoe tries to find a reason for the appearance of this devilish figure in his dream. When he reflects upon his previous deeds, he complains about the lack of the "good instruction" (Defoe, 2000, p.67) of his father, as well as the deficiency of the "divine knowledge." (Defoe, 2000, p.67) He labels himself as "the most hardened, unthinking, wicked creature" (Defoe, 2000, p.67) among his crew, and eventually, he regards the dream as a punishment for his "rebellious behavior against [his] father, or [his] present sins." (Defoe, 2000, p.67) As Crusoe fails to name his disturbance in the materialist sense, he turns to God, and he explains the psychological shift as follows:

My spirits began to sink under the burthen of a strong distemper . . . conscience, that had slept so long, began to awake, and I began to reproach myself with my past life, in which I had so evidently, by uncommon wickedness, provoked the justice of God to lay me under uncommon strokes, and to deal with me in so vindictive manner. These reflections oppressed me for the second or third day of my distemper . . . the dreadful reproaches of my conscience, extorted some words from me, like praying to God, though I cannot say they were either a prayer attended with desires or with hopes; it was rather the voice of mere fright and distress. (Defoe, 2000, p.69)

Since he has repressed the unpleasant feelings of guilt and shame, which are generated in the super-ego, the super-ego takes over his id-oriented ego. This "super-ego governance involves conflicts," (Bond, 1997, p.120) and in order to reduce the pressure of the super-ego he "develops a history of compromises and consequences." (Bond, 1997, p.120) While confessing that his prays are the reflection of his wish to survive, he tries to be forgiven by God through this self-assessment. For this reason, he sees his past life as full of sins. Thus, he uses religion as the greatest

mask. His spiritual shelter becomes stronger, when he hears a voice which he relates to a blasphemy. He records the speech of the illusionary voice as follows:

Wretch! Dost thou ask what thou hast done? Look back upon a dreadful misspent life, and ask thyself what thou hast not done? Ask, why is it that thou wert not long ago destroyed? Why wert thou not drowned in Yarmouth Roads; killed in the fight when the ship was taken by the Salleeman-of war; devoured by the wild beasts on the coasts of Africa; or drowned here; when all crew perished but thyself? Dost thou ask, what have I done? (Defoe, 2000, p.71)

What Crusoe hears is the voice of his super-ego. In fact, he is in between the id and super-ego without the balancing power of ego, and he fails to interpret the message of his super-ego. Such a polarized mental structure gives way to a "hallucinatory paranoia [in which] the dreamer too hears his thoughts pronounced by extraneous voices." (Freud, 1955, p.123) These superstitious sounds and images, thus, reflect Crusoe's schizophrenic state of mind.

Although Crusoe's sufferings can be explained in such a psychological structure, Defoe's intention was not to show the deficiencies of his character. As the "foremost political pamphleteer of [his age], steeped in the knowledge of his country and his time," (Shiels in Schonhorn, 1991, p.141) Defoe creates in his novel the typical individual of his century. In his preface to the story, he says "the story is told with modesty, with seriousness." (Defoe, 2000, p.1) For the early 18th century reader, Defoe's message is clear: If one wants to succeed in life, one has to have the experience of "disobedience – punishment – repentance." (Richetti, 1987, p.55) The audience was not able to see Crusoe's

underlying passions. However, Defoe was familiar with the psychology of his age: He was aware of a "devilish spirit" which included desires and which formed "hell within [people] . . . and transform[ed] [them] into devils." (Defoe, 2000, p.164) Through his awareness of the human cravings, he created the character Crusoe, the man who also runs after his desires. Instead of creating an easy life for his character, he chooses to trouble him with his conscience, as he thinks "conscience makes ghosts walk, and departed souls appear, when the souls themselves know nothing of it." (Defoe in Richetti, 1987, p.38) Although the 18th century reading public was hardly aware of the psychological conflicts Crusoe suffers in his life, Defoe was able to see the psychology of the new individual who had a desire for wealth, and who, therefore, rejected the traditional perspective.

Defoe was aware of human cravings, yet, he was not aware that behind this psychology there stood the new capitalist order. As he hardly made any comments about the social structure, or the economic system, he failed to understand the urges behind these passions. His approach to man and his society was, therefore, a naïve one, rather than a conscious criticism. Despite the happy-ending of the novel, his character is still restless, and he has no explanation for this restlessness. As worldly success was essential for the new age, Defoe simply wrote the new Bible of the capitalist age, showing Robinson Crusoe as the inspired figure to be imitated by the new individual.

CONCLUSION

During the Age of Enlightenment, Britain experienced many changes from religious creed to economic system which all contributed to the formation of the capitalist system. Written in the early 18th century, Defoe's novel coincides with the socio-economic shift from mercantilist to capitalist order which is the period of instability in Britain. As a cast-away who transforms a barren island into a profitable private property, Crusoe's novel becomes the fairy tale for those who also try to climb up the social ladder like the character himself. However, a closer reading of the novel has already revealed the hypocrisy and the personality disorder of Crusoe, the causes of which can be found in the turbulent period itself.

In Robinson Crusoe, Defoe draws the picture of a "homo-economicus," or an early capitalist with his commercial values. As the perpetual seeker of profit, Crusoe does not hesitate to exploit people and the established norms and institutions for his own ends. Rejecting the little gains of mercantilist order, he desires for more. Since the mode of production determines the values and the attitudes of individuals, the new order has already created its own consciousness in individuals as the mentality which sees everywhere an opportunity for making profit. Not yet fully formed by the new system, Crusoe is a between mercantilist and

capitalist systems, but influenced more by the capitalist order whose core has been devised by the philosophical and religious movements of Empiricism and Protestantism. The truth of experience and the Protestant work ethics forming the capitalist base of Crusoe's society, the character's insistence on going for a preliminary cruise becomes more conceivable. In contrast to the indifference of Cartesian worldview of getting experienced in this world, the Protestant approach to material world requires a commitment to working for more material wealth. As Protestantism emphasizes the importance of worldly gains, its work ethics frees Crusoe and his peers from the unearthly, spiritual life. Thus, it may be concluded that by imposing positivist self-centeredness on individuals, Protestantism and empiricism have, in fact, formed the core of capitalist order.

As Crusoe vacillates between mercantilism and capitalism, he cannot help remembering his disobedience to his father in times of failure. However, these moments do not lead him to a total repentance or confession, but they rather reflect his egotism in the face of taking the responsibility of his crimes. His desire for expansion converts him to a senseless, isolated man, and he becomes the representative of the new independent, and irresponsible individual. His problematic relations with his family make him turn his back on his parents, and start a new life the principles of which are against the conservative mercantilist culture of the father. His breaking up with his father leads him to compensate the loss of fatherly love in the patriarchal capitalist culture. Hence, he adopts the

profit-oriented norms of the capitalist base in which he can find masks for his hypocrisy and immorality.

To appeal to the newly emerging middle classes of 18th century, Defoe depicts the ambitious mentality of this stratum through the character of Robinson Crusoe. As the reading public of the time was influenced by the epochal changes, Crusoe became their model hero with his wish to rise in the social strata. His isolation, distrust, and pride are, in fact, the characteristics of Defoe and his contemporaries. In this sense, Defoe draws a line between the Occident and the Orient in his novel. He tries to justify the exploitation of the Orient by the rationalist, capitalist, Occidental mind, and also highlights the idea of Anglo-Saxon western supremacy over the Catholic world and the Eastern worlds. However, Defoe is not aware that this white Anglo-Saxon man is a neurotic personality. He cannot see that the insatiable urges that the system implant into individuals lead to a split in human psyche, causing also immorality and corruption. These drives, thus, lead Crusoe and those, who live under the capitalist order, to a brutal competition which creates a system with psychologically perverted individuals.

Crusoe, being a schizoid case on account of the impact of capitalist system on his personality, has already developed paranoid reactions. When he replaces his father with the capitalist culture, there emerges an inner conflict in the character which shows itself through his nightmares in the form of a devilish figure threatening his existence. As the drives of the id oriented capitalism and the super-ego oriented moral codes of

mercantilism cannot come to terms with each other, Crusoe's ego loses its balancing power. Although he cannot interpret these illusions as the expression of his guilty-conscience mind, he recognizes that he did something wrong. As he fails to face up to his crimes such as slave trade and manipulation of the other people for his interest, he uses his disobedience as a mask to cover these misdeeds. To avoid the confession of his sins, he tries to find the relief in religion which becomes another mask for him.

Although Defoe was not after a psychological analysis of his character, the restless life his character pursues is an example of a neurotic personality. Despite Defoe's efforts to create a repentant character, Crusoe, in fact, never repents for his misdeeds. He is in a state of conflict and to overcome this, he uses religion as a cover. Despite Defoe's awareness of the human passions and the strength of their driving force, he cannot explain the relationship between these urges and their formation process. His purpose is not to reveal the good and the evil sides of the capitalist system. However, when his character is analyzed within the frame of universal ethics, and through Marxist and psychological approaches, there emerges an enigmatic character torn between the two cultures, two worldviews. Although Defoe tries to praise the new system, he is ignorant of the fact that Crusoe's story, in fact, shows the defects of this system. Hence, what Defoe fortuitously describes is the hypocrisy and immorality of an economic system which has come to destroy the

unity of human psyche, by replacing the mercantilist order which is considered as more humane than the capitalist order.

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APPENDIX

CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name: Saltoğlu, Nurcan

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EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MA	Çankaya Univ. English Literature and Cultural Studies	2010
ВА	Karadeniz Technical Univ. English Language and Literature	2007
High School	Tevfik Serdar Anatolian High School	2002

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2009- Present	Gazi University	Instructor
2007 July	Trabzon Municipality	Interpreter
2006 March	Kanuni Anatolian High School	Intern English Teacher
2005 July	TEOL Language School	English Teacher

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English, elementary German.

AREAS OF INTEREST

Literature, European history, 3D video games, movies.