

PURITANISM, RAMISM, AND DEFOE'S 'ROBINSON CRUSOE'

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Daniel Defoe's education at Newington Green Academy included a study of the works of William Ames, Richard Baxter, and Stephen Charnock. Each of these men was a Puritan theologian and, like other Puritan divines, each used the Ramist system of logic for the composition of his theological discourses. Using the Ramist method, the Puritan preacher first of all "opened" a Biblical text by analysis; he then formulated a "doctrine" which he "proved" both by Ramist logic and the testimony of Scripture; he then gave illustrations or "uses" of his doctrine, usually by means of homely, everyday examples. The influence of the Puritan sermon form can be seen in Defoe's Robinson Crusoe wherein Defoe too works with text, doctrine and illustration. It is within this context that the plot, character and style of Robinson Crusoe were also examined.

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P R E F A C E

This thesis is intended as an exploration to begin with of the ideas held by seventeenth century Puritan theologians towards their method of constructing sermons. A noticeable and important feature of a Puritan sermon is that, contrary to popular belief, it was not built around a literal interpretation of the Bible. Instead, the sermon was based on a "doctrine" which the Puritans elicited from a Biblical text by the use of a system of logic known as Ramistic logic. A large number of sermons in the seventeenth century were written, delivered, and then sent to the printer for publication so that there is ample evidence of the method used by the Puritans for the construction of their sermons.

In this thesis, I also intend to explore the extent to which the Puritan sermon form could

have influenced the construction of another form of discourse namely, Defoe's Robinson Crusoe. I chose Robinson Crusoe first of all because its author was a Puritan who had been destined for the ministry at one stage in his education; secondly, Robinson Crusoe is an early example of the novel form, and I thought it might be profitable to discover to what extent it reflects Defoe's early training in divinity especially as the book is ostensibly concerned with the "life and surprising adventures" rather than with the "religious reflections" of Robinson Crusoe.

Chapter I

Introduction

Daniel Defoe's Robinson Crusoe was published in April of the year 1719 when he was almost sixty. That there is a gap of over forty years between Defoe's schooldays and the publication of Robinson Crusoe does not necessarily mean that his early formal education had **no** influence on his later prose fiction. Quite the contrary, it seems to me that the courses he received in divinity, together with the texts that he probably used, become important factors when we consider not only the religious reflections but also the form of Robinson Crusoe.

A revolt occurred in England between 1574 and 1600 against the tradition of Aristotelian logic and rhetoric. This revolt was based on the works of the Frenchman, Pierre de la Ramée, or Petrus Ramus, as he was

known by his Latin name. Ramus had worked out a system of logic to simplify what he felt were the unnecessary complexities of Aristotelian logic and rhetoric. W.S. Howell writes that "Ramus dominated English logic in the late sixteenth century and held an English following of some importance during most of the seventeenth century."¹ Although I shall be discussing Ramist logic more fully in a later chapter, I might mention here that fundamentally Ramist logic is a method of handling any art or subject by means of definition and division. Ramus said logic consisted of only two parts, invention and judgement. Whereas in Aristotelian logic, the syllogism played a major role, in Ramist logic the role of syllogism was substantially reduced, and was used only to prove a doubtful axiom.²

¹W.S. Howell, Logic and Rhetoric in England, 1500-1700 (New York: Russell and Russell, 1961), p. 7.

²Perry Miller, The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954), p. 134.

Axiom, not syllogism was the basis of any discourse for Ramus. Furthermore, axioms were revealed through the Ramist laws of invention and arranged according to that other part of Ramist logic, namely, judgement.

Although Ramist logic was first expounded at Cambridge by Lawrence Chaderton, a fellow of Christ's College between 1568 and 1577, the earliest published support of Ramist logic came from a Scot named Roland MacIlmaine of the University of St. Andrews.³ Other Ramists, besides Chaderton, who studied and taught at Christ's College, Cambridge, included William Perkins and William Ames, his pupil. Ames becomes important for this study because it was his Medulla Theologiae and Bellarminus Enervatus which must have been used, along with the texts of other Puritans, in the divinity course which Defoe

³Howell, p. 179.

studied at his school in Newington Green.⁴ After Ames, the Ramist line at Cambridge continues to William Chappell whose illustrious pupil, John Milton, in 1672 published a Latin text and an exposition in Latin of Ramus's own Dialecticae Libri Duo.⁵

In the learned world of England at the turn of the sixteenth century the issue of Ramism was often the centre of debates, and scholarly attacks or defences of Ramus were on many occasions bitter and vituperative. Gabriel Harvey, for example, whose Cambridge lectures on Ramist rhetoric were published in 1577, exchanged insults in a series of printed works with other Cantabrigians and literary figures such as Robert Greene and Thomas Nashe.⁶

⁴Lew Girdler, "Defoe's Education at Newington Green Academy," Studies in Philology, L, (1953), 574.

⁵Howell, p. 212.

⁶Howell, p. 196.

Although the teachings of Ramus prospered, they did not continue to flourish within an academic setting. Instead, the logic of Petrus Ramus played an important part within the sphere of Puritanism, so much so in fact, that, at the beginning of the seventeenth century in England, Ramism and Puritanism were almost synonymous.⁷

Not all Puritans, however, were Ramists. Dr. Charles Morton, for instance, who was headmaster of Newington Green Academy which Defoe attended between 1675 and 1680, was a strong Aristotelian reactionary. After he left Newington Green, Morton went to Massachusetts Bay in 1686, and later served as vice-president of Harvard until 1698. His teaching there of Aristotelian logic was not noticeably influential since it merely provided a counter-balance to the Ramist teachings of William Brattle, and Morton's logic

⁷Miller, p. 117.

presented nothing that was not already available to Harvard students; in fact, Morton's system was no more than a repetition of texts with which they were undoubtedly familiar, among which Morton mentions specifically the names of Adrian Heereboord and Bartholomew Keckerman.⁸

At Newington Green Academy, Defoe too had been exposed to the metaphysics and logic of Heereboord as well as to the logic and ethics of Keckermann. Both of these philosophers subsequently became known as transitional figures who never quite broke the coils of their Aristotelianism, even though Heereboord, who in 1637 became a convert to the New Science, devoted the rest of his life attempting to reconcile both Aristotelianism and Cartesianism.

Defoe also took the divinity course at Newington Green which was based to a large extent on

⁸Ibid., p. 122.

the theological texts of William Ames, Richard Baxter and Stephen Charnock.⁹ As I have mentioned above, Defoe studied Ames' Medulla Theologiae and Bellarminus Enervatus. For his exercises in practical religion Defoe probably used Baxter's Poor Man's Family Book and Reasons of the Christian Religion. Baxter's works "must have been used in the divinity course to show the relationship between religious faith and everyday conduct."¹⁰ Charnock was a Calvinist and since practically all of his works were published after Defoe had left the Academy, it is probable that Defoe could have read only the Sinfulness and Cure of Evil Thoughts which was published in 1674.¹¹

It is with William Ames and Richard Baxter that this study is particularly concerned, and with the extent to which Puritanism

⁹Girdler, p. 590.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 583.

¹¹Ibid., p. 584.

and Ramism together have contributed not only to the religious reflections of Robinson Crusoe but also to its form. This study will first of all look briefly into the lives of those two Puritans, William Ames and Richard Baxter. A closer examination will follow of the works which Defoe studied, particularly the Medulla Theologiae of William Ames which will be examined not only as an example of Puritan writing, but as an example of the application of the Ramist method to Puritan beliefs. I shall also look at some of the writings of Richard Baxter on both formal and practical religion. Turning then to Defoe's Robinson Crusoe, I shall make a close study of that work to determine to what extent the form of a Puritan theological discourse, which was based on the Ramist method, affected the composition of Robinson Crusoe. I would like to add here that I shall^{not}_^ attempt to define "Puritanism", but I hope that the brief glimpse into the lives and writings of Ames and Baxter will itself provide a Puritan theological framework and context for Defoe's Robinson Crusoe.

Chapter II

Ames, Baxter and Puritanism

William Ames (1576-1633) was a Puritan divine and casuist. He was educated at Christ's College Cambridge where he studied under William Perkins, a theologian of moderate Puritan tendencies who was also a Ramist.¹ After his tutor's death in 1602, a series of indiscretions on the part of Ames led to his suspension and he was prevented from performing any ecclesiastical functions or from taking his degrees. Ames had refused to wear the surplice in the college chapel and had preached a sermon in the university church strongly attacking the prevalent diversion of card playing which, he declared, was profane and against the rules of Christian life.²

¹Howell, p. 210.

²"Ames, William," Dictionary of National Biography, 1917, I, 356.

Ames was not allowed to preach in England, and Daniel Neal's History of the Puritans tells us that the learned Dr. Ames "fled the persecution of Archbishop Bancroft, and became minister of the English church at the Hague, from whence he was invited by the states of Friesland to the divinity chair in the University of Franeker, which he filled with universal reputation for twelve years!"³ At the end of these twelve years, during which time he wrote several excellent treatises in Latin directed against the Arminians, Ames left Franeker for reasons of health and moved to Rotterdam. There, he was employed as preacher to a congregation of his own countrymen. But again troubled with ill-health, he decided to emigrate to New England. Unhappily, "his asthma returning at the beginning of the

³Neal's History of the Puritans, ed. by Edward Parsons, 2nd ed. (2 vols.; London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown; and Robinson and Sons, Leeds, 1811), I, 471.

winter before he sailed, put an end to his life."⁴
His wife and children, however, embarked in his
stead, carrying with them his valuable library of
books and it was not long before Ames' writings
became "required reading for generations of his
fellow Puritans at Harvard and at Emmanuel."⁵

The importance of Ames for this study
perhaps lies in his application of the Ramist
method to his writings. This is not to say,
however, that as a Puritan Ames was not also
concerned with the practicality of faith. In
fact, such was his enthusiasm for practicality
that he had agreed with the Papists and the
Jesuits when they charged the Protestant academies
with neglect of practical divinity.⁶ It was on
this point that Ames engaged himself in a

⁴Ibid.

⁵George L. Mosse, The Holy Pretence
(Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1957) p. 68.

⁶Mosse, p. 69.

controversy with Bartholomaeus Keckermann - the Keckermann whose works on logic and ethics Defoe also studied at Newington Green Academy.⁷ Ames disagreed with Keckermann that theology is concerned only with the inner life and that the spirit is all-important: Ames did not believe that the ethics of the outer world could be separated from theology, and the goal of Ames' practical divinity was to establish a positive relationship between theology and daily living.⁸

Ames based his practical divinity on man's conscience which brings together both the ethical and the religious. Conscience not only apprehends truth but enables man to pass judgment on the direction of his own will; conscience, moreover, is the instrumentality of God in man.⁹

⁷Girdler, p. 590.

⁸Mosse, p. 69.

⁹Ibid., p. 70.

Ames also distinguishes between words and deeds when he asserts that it is spoken testimony, not outward act, which is an indication of the intent of man's spirit. In his Medulla Theologiae he defines a lie as that which is "properly a testimony whereby one pronounces otherwise than is in his heart."¹⁰ Unless the intent is evil, no act can be considered evil, and men are not judged by their actions but by the whole course of their lives.¹¹ What might be judged as evil in the eyes of men need not necessarily be so, as such deeds may be done in direct obedience to God's command. The problem here, however, is one that was recognized by Cardinal Bellarmine when he accused the Protestants of making God the author of evil by this means.¹² Ames' answer to this charge was

¹⁰Quoted by Mosse, p. 71.

¹¹Ibid., p. 72.

¹²Ibid., p. 73.

contained in his Bellarminus Enervatus, which became one of the texts used in the divinity course taken by Defoe at Newington Green Academy. In this work Ames claimed that sin only exists by the negative permission of God and that man, as God's instrument, cannot avoid acting justly even though, outwardly, he may appear to act otherwise; impious sinners can never be the instruments of God because their actions are not governed by any intention.¹³

Ames acknowledges, in Calvinist fashion, that all men are tainted by original sin and, for this reason often lack the power to carry out intention so that, living under this infirmity, man cannot be said to sin.¹⁴ In his Medulla Theologiae, Ames also makes a distinction between the conscious sinner to whom salvation is denied, and the sinner who sins through error or unbelief

¹³ Ibid., p. 74.

¹⁴ Ibid.

and for whom conversion and repentance are constant possibilities.¹⁵ Then again, Ames recognizes the concept of 'necessity' and its relation to sinful actions. In this context, whilst Ames condemns all sin he concedes, at the same time, that there is a hierarchy of sin and that a man may find himself in a situation whereby 'necessity' may force him to make a choice between sins.¹⁶ For example, to work on the Sabbath is not permitted since Sunday is the day set aside for the worship of God; but a man may choose to work on Sunday if his work involves care of the community and care of the sick, and Ames writes that "the precepts of God never do jar of their nature, that it is necessary to break one of them by sin: for when a less commandment is neglected that a greater may be observed, that less commandment does cease for a while to bind, so

¹⁵Ibid., p. 75.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 76.

that they who upon such an occasion neglect it are altogether blameless, that is, sin not."¹⁷

When the Synod of Dort (1618-1619) was called for the purpose of examining the views held by Jacob Arminius, Ames was appointed chief adviser to the strict anti-Arminian faction there. Arminius believed that man, through his will, may assist in the work of his salvation, and that grace in the beginning of conversion may be resisted so that man can choose to be converted by it or not.¹⁸ While opposing the Arminian doctrine of free will, Ames and other Calvinists were aware that, for purposes of a practical divinity, the original high Calvinist concept of predestination needed to be modified.¹⁹ In short,

¹⁷William Ames, Conscience with the Power and the Cases thereof, etc. (n.p., 1639), Book 3, 87, quoted by Mosse, p. 76.

¹⁸Norman Pettit, The Heart Prepared: Grace and Conversion in Puritan Spiritual Life (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1960), p. 126.

¹⁹M.M. Knappen, Tudor Puritanism, Phoenix Books (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), p. 395.

the Puritan preacher found himself in something of a dilemma when, on the one hand, he urged his flock to do good works in order that they might be saved and, on the other hand, he presented a God who, regardless of good works, could damn or elect to save anyone he arbitrarily chose. In order to mitigate the apparent arbitrariness of God's will in this matter of election, Ames' teachings laid heavy stress on Covenant theology whereby it was shown from the Bible that God had made definite bargains with mankind, notably in the promise to Abraham, which had decreed the covenant of grace under which mankind was still living.²⁰ The covenant of grace was a contract of mutual obligation wherein man was required to have faith and "sayth the Lord, this is the Covenant that I will make on my part, I will be thy God... you shall have all things in me that your hearts can desire: The Covenant againe, that I require on

²⁰ Ibid.

your part, is, that you be perfect with me."^{2 1}
Under such a covenant man can establish some
claim on God who, in turn, becomes a just and fair
God whilst man himself retains a moral
responsibility for his actions.^{2 2} Thus, in
contracting to accept grace man has also committed
himself voluntarily to struggle for holiness.^{2 3}

For Ames, then, it is not a question
of man being free to accept or reject grace in the
way which the Arminians would have it. Ames
asserts that, as the spiritual descendents of
Abraham, men are born into a covenant relationship
and therefore exist under a state of grace which
is effective long before they gain full knowledge
of Christ; furthermore, those who reject the
covenant commit a sin against the Holy Ghost.^{2 4}

^{2 1}Quoted by Perry Miller, The New
England Mind: the Seventeenth Century, p. 377.

^{2 2}Knappen, p. 395.

^{2 3}Miller, p. 387.

^{2 4}Pettit, p. 82.

Ames held that baptism was the beginning of regeneration and that it was the duty of the baptized covenanter to take the necessary steps that would lead to his complete regeneration. First, he must examine his life in the light of the Law of God as handed down at Sinai (Exod. 20); the net result of this examination should lead to a despair of salvation and, finally, to a true humility of heart.²⁵ Ames, therefore, allows for the affective aspects of man's nature in as much as man is free to examine his life or not according to the precepts of the Law. The Law is not thrust upon him: man's thirst for saving grace springs from his own self-examination under that Law.²⁶

Ames makes little use of direct divine inspiration in dealing with matters of faith; absolute knowledge of God for Ames rests solely

²⁵Ibid., p. 81.

²⁶Ibid., p. 85.

in conscience, and conscience itself is judged by Scripture.²⁷ But Scripture is open to diverse interpretations, as Ames fully realized. However, there was a way in which the will of God could be elicited from Scripture, and for this Ames turned to the method of determining truth used by Petrus Ramus in his system of logic. It is often mistakenly held that the Puritans relied upon a literal interpretation of Scripture; in actual fact, however, when Puritans like Ames used Ramist logic for their interpretation of Scripture they made "the reasoning power of man the highest authority for the interpretation of the law of God."²⁸

Ames' contemporaries may have felt that his genius was better suited to the professor's chair than the pulpit.²⁹ By contrast the main

²⁷Mosse, p. 78.

²⁸Ibid., p. 79.

²⁹DNB, p. 357.

concern of Richard Baxter (1615-1691) was always with the spiritual reformation of the people through parish pastoral work.³⁰ But this is not to say that Baxter's own output of writings was meagre. On the contrary, England has probably produced no other theological writer who wrote so copiously and so well and who, in addition, was regarded as the most influential Puritan of his time.³¹ All of which is particularly noteworthy when it is remembered that Baxter held no high ecclesiastical position, and that he received no formal university training as did Ames.

Baxter, like Ames, was plagued by ill-health and he writes in his autobiography that "being in expectation of death by a violent cough, with spitting of blood, etc., of two years' continuance, supposed to be a deep degree of consumption I was yet more awakened to be serious

³⁰A. Harold Wood, Church Unity without Uniformity (London: The Epworth Press, 1963), p. 18.

³¹Ibid., p. 17.

and solicitous about my soul's everlasting state." ³²
His heightened awareness of death and a constant questioning of his conscience led Baxter in his education to concentrate almost exclusively on divinity studies which "always had the first and chiefest place", he says. But, he goes on, "one loss I had by this method which hath proved irreparable: that I missed that part of learning which stood at the greatest distance (in my thoughts) from my ultimate end." ³³ Thus, apart from Latin and a modicum of Greek, he tells us that he had "no great skill in languages." As for mathematics he was "an utter stranger to them." He did, however, apply himself to logic and metaphysics to further his knowledge of divinity, and to "that part of physics with treateth of the

³²Richard Baxter, *Autobiography: being the Reliquae Baxterianae* abridged from the Folio (1696), ed. by J.M. Lloyd Thomas (London and Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd., New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, 1925), p. 8.

³³Ibid., p. 9.

soul." He read all the Schoolmen he could get and, as for practical divinity

no books so suited with my disposition as Aquinas, Scotus, Durandus, Ockam and their disciples; because I thought they narrowly searched after truth and brought things out of the darkness of confusion; for I could never from my first studies endure confusion... I never thought I understood any thing till I could anatomise it and see the parts distinctly, and the conjunction of the parts as they make up the whole. Distinction and method seemed to me of that necessity, that without them I could not be said to know, and the disputes which forsook them or abused them seem but as in coherent dreams. ³⁴

But Baxter's enquiring mind also took him to other practical divinity books, and he read many of the practical Puritan works of Ames' tutor, William Perkins, such as "On Repentance", "On living and dying well", and "On the Government of the tongue". ³⁵

³⁴Ibid., p. 9-10.

³⁵"Baxter, Richard," Dictionary of National Biography: 1917, I, 1350.

In ~~the~~ introduction to the abridged version of Reliquae Baxterianae, J.M. Lloyd Thomas points out that in Baxter "we seem to have all contradictions joined "³⁶, ~~and~~ goes on to say that such was Baxter's complexity that he was at one and the same time a catholic Puritan; a Royalist and a Cromwellian; a nonconformist Episcopalian who, had conscience permitted, would have conformed; an intellectual, but one who spoke in the pulpit about another world - a world which he knew, as it were, personally and had returned from in order to report on it to others.

Baxter, himself, writing of the conclusions to his "study of Conformity" tells us that he thought kneeling was lawful, as too was prayer, liturgy, and the ring in marriage.³⁷ His own Nonconformism, he says, turned on "subscription, and the cross in baptism, and the promiscuous

³⁶Baxter, Autobiography, p. xxi.

³⁷Ibid., p. 17.

giving of the Lord's Supper to all drunkards, swearers, fornicators, scorers at godliness, etc., that are not excommunicate by a bishop or chancellor that is out of their acquaintance."³⁸ Unlike Ames, who refused to wear the surplice, Baxter writes that he was more inclined to think it lawful: "and though I purposed, while I doubted, to forbear it till necessity lay upon me, yet could I not have justified the forsaking of my ministry for it (though I never wore it to this day)."³⁹ Baxter also mentions Ames specifically as he writes: "The cross in baptism I thought Dr. Ames proved unlawful; and though I was not without some doubting in the point, yet because I most inclined to judge it unlawful, never once used it to this day."⁴⁰

Baxter was never happy at the neglect of

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

discipline in the Church - discipline which was sadly lacking, he felt, because "the very frame of diocesan prelacy excluded it."⁴¹ For Baxter, it was the pastor who, logically, had the right to exercise discipline in his parish; no diocesan bishop, covering thousands of parishes, should attempt to do in all these parishes what each pastor should do in his own.⁴² It was the unwieldy diocesan system of his day which led Baxter to write: "the main reason that turneth my heart against the English Prelacy is because it did destroy Church DISCIPLINE and almost destroy the Church through want of it."⁴³

It was inevitable that a man holding such forthright and dissenting views as Baxter would

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Wood, p. 20.

⁴³Richard Baxter, Five Disputations, 1659, preface to Second Disputation, quoted by Wood, p. 22.

sooner or later find himself in trouble and indeed, throughout the reigns of both Charles II and James II, Baxter suffered much ill-treatment. It was during the time of James II when protestant dissenters were, as Neal puts it, "sacrificed over again to a bigotted [sic] clergy", that "one of the first who came into trouble was Mr. Baxter, who was committed to the King's bench, for some exceptionable passages in his paraphrase on the order of diocesan bishops, and the lawfulness of resistance in some possible cases."⁴⁴ Baxter by this time was an old and feeble man yet despite the efforts of his counsel, no time was allowed for him to gather strength to face trial. The Lord Chief Justice who issued the warrant for the arrest and imprisonment of Baxter was the notorious Judge Jefferies who raged that he would not allow Baxter a minute's time to save his life, and that if Baxter stood on the other side of

⁴⁴Neal's History of the Puritans, II, p. 602.

Oates, who was then in the pillory, he, Jefferies, would say that two of the greatest rogues in England stood there.⁴⁵ An unjust trial followed during which Jefferies refused a fair hearing to either Baxter or his counsel and instead, his face aflame with anger and brandy, Jefferies attacked Baxter in scurrilous words; then, after receiving a verdict of "Guilty" from his packed jury, Jefferies handed down an unjust and harsh sentence and urged that Baxter be fined, imprisoned and whipped through the streets.⁴⁶ Fortunately, other members of the Bench would not agree to this last punishment. However, "from June 1685 to November 1686 Baxter remained a prisoner, and would have remained in prison until his death 'had not the king taken off my fine'."⁴⁷

Baxter's Puritanism was intense and

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Baxter, Autobiography, Appendix I, p. 264.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

sincere and he deplored that Protestant ministers were neglecting their pastoral duties; no pastor, in Baxter's eyes, could afford time for recreation when thousands of souls were dying.⁴⁸ Not that the effort of saving men's souls was to be made solely by the pastor; every person in the parish must be prepared to do his part as well and must submit to the pastor's discipline.⁴⁹ In his own ministry at Kidderminster, Baxter himself set a formidable example of pastoral work. He laid great stress on personally knowing the individuals in his congregation; he also demanded an open confession of faith before receiving a communicant, plus a promise from that individual that he would abide by Baxter's discipline.⁵⁰ He visited fifteen or sixteen families a week, each family receiving a visit of approximately an hour, so

⁴⁸Wood, p. 21.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 20.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 24.

that in this way he dealt with about 800 families every year; assisting him in this task he had three other ministers, three or four deacons, and about twenty laymen who were chosen annually to act as trustees for the church.⁵¹ To each family Baxter distributed Bibles and catechisms, and on his visits he would ascertain whether or not they had been used by applying the preaching of the previous Sunday to the catechizing: in addition family prayer was insisted upon, which in its turn also became a characteristic Puritan exercise.⁵²

Among Baxter's writings on practical religion, it seems likely that works such as The Poor Man's Family Book were used in Defoe's divinity course at Newington Green Academy to stress the moral implications of religious belief.⁵³ In "A Request to the Rich" which

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Girdler, p. 583.

prefaces the work, Baxter states that "this book was intended for the use of poor families, which have neither money to buy many nor time to read them," and Baxter suggests that "if every landlord would give one to every poor tenant that he hath, once in his life, out of one year's rent, it would be no great charge in comparison of the benefit which may be hoped for and in comparison of what prodigality consumeth."⁵⁴

Baxter divides the main body of this work into three sections, the first showing how a man may become a true Christian; the second how to live as a Christian; and the third how to die as a Christian. The work finishes "with a form of exhortation to the sick; two catechisms; a profession of Christianity; forms of prayer for various uses, and some Psalms and hymns for the

⁵⁴Richard Baxter, The Poor Man's Family Book, in The Practical Works of Richard Baxter, IV (London: George Virtue, 1838), p. 165.

Lord's day."⁵⁵ This guide for Christian living is presented by Baxter as a "plain familiar conference between a teacher and a learner."⁵⁶ The conferences take place over a period of nine days and, during that time Paul, the pastor, teaches Saul, an ignorant sinner, the meaning of true Christianity so that Saul repents and experiences conversion. He is then given instructions for a holy life in terms of daily living, family relationships and "how to spend the Lord's day in Christian families, in the Church, and in secret duties."⁵⁷ On the ninth day's conference, Saul is shown how best to prepare "for a safe and comfortable death."⁵⁸ He is not, says Paul, to look on sickness and death as having no benefit since it is at such time that man may

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 238.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 246.

become reassured of God's mercy and His love:

Renew your repentance and confessions of sin, and warn all about you to learn by your experience, and to set their hopes and hearts on heaven, and to make it the work of all their lives to prepare for such a change. O tell them what deceit and mischief you have found in sin; what vanity and vexation you have found in the world; what goodness you have found in God and holiness; what comfort you have found in Christ and his promises, and the hopes of endless glory; and what a miserable case you had now been in if you had no better a portion than this world... Advise them to live as they would die, and tell them how little all the world doth signify to a dying man...call on them...to make much of their short, uncertain time, and to make sure of everlasting joys, whatever become of the flesh and the world. ⁵⁹

Baxter substantiates all of the instructions and guidelines given to Saul by numerous references to both the Old and New Testaments. Whilst Baxter admits that "there are a thousand texts of Scripture, and hard points in

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 257.

divinity, which the most learned are disagreed about," he nevertheless asserts that what a man needs to know in order to be a good Christian and to be saved "is plain and easy in itself", even though "all these are doctrines harder to be practised than understood."⁶⁰

In a note to the reader, Baxter has a word to say about the style of his work. He points out that it was patterned on Mr. Arthur Dent's book called The Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven which, says Baxter, "was so well accepted, because it was a plain, familiar dialogue."⁶¹ Accordingly, he continues, he will present the first three or four conferences in the language of the vulgar", although he will not need to go on in this vein, he writes, since "riper christians [sic] need no so loose a style, or method, as the ignorant or vulgar do: and the

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 211.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 165.

latter part of the book supposeth the reader to be got above the lowest form, though not to be a learned, accurate man."⁶²

It is in recognition of the fact that the reader will advance in learning and understanding as he makes his way through to the end of the book that Baxter gives advice on the cultivation of memory. The advice is given in the "Eighth Day's Conference" as Paul and Saul discuss the behaviour of a true Christian on the Lord's Day. Part of the day is, of course, to be spent in church listening to the sermon, and it is interesting to note that in setting down the rules for cultivation of memory in this context Baxter also provides us with an example of Puritan preaching which is obviously based on the method of Ramus rather than Aristotle.⁶³ The point here is

⁶²Ibid.

⁶³This matter, however, will be discussed more fully in the next chapter.

that a poor man does not necessarily have to remain at the level of the ignorant or the vulgar. With the help of guide literature such as Baxter's, a poor man can be enriched spiritually, ethically and intellectually.

In the seventeenth century, guide literature was the major outlet for practical divinity. Most treatises of this type combined "an exhortation for the ungodly to repent and for Christians to dedicate themselves to renewed efforts of piety" with a discussion of "the Christian's various duties during his sojourn on earth."⁶⁴ Baxter, however, often makes a distinction between guides for the unconverted and those for Christians. It was to the former that he addressed such a work such as his Call to the Unconverted, whilst for Christians he compiled a

⁶⁴J. Paul Hunter, The Reluctant Pilgrim: Defoe's Emblematic Method and Quest for Form in 'Robinson Crusoe' (Baltimore: the Johns Hopkins Press, 1966), p. 27.

Christian Directory.⁶⁵

It was probably in answer to practical questions on matters of conscience put to him by members of his congregation that Baxter wrote his Christian Directory.⁶⁶ First and foremost, for Baxter, the pastor's duty always centred on the appeal to man's conscience, and he drew a clear distinction between the secular and spiritual jurisdiction:

There is a magistrate's discipline and a pastoral discipline. Discipline by the sword is the magistrate's work; discipline by the WORD is the pastor's work. And there is a coercive excommunication, and a pastoral excommunication. To command upon pain of corporal punishment, that a heretic or impenitent, wicked man shall forbear the sacred ordinances and privileges, a magistrate may do; but to command it only upon divine and spiritual penalties, belongeth to the pastors of the church.⁶⁷

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶Richard Baxter, Chapters from a Christian Directory or A Summ of Practical Theology and Cases of Conscience, selected by Jeannette Tawney (London: G.B. & Sons Ltd., 1929), Introduction, p. ix.

⁶⁷Richard Baxter, Practical Works, I, 'Christian Politics', p. 754, quoted by Wood, p. 21.

The rules which Baxter laid down in his Directory offered practical guidance to men in all walks of life, and were grouped under four headings: Christian Ethics, Economics, Ecclesiastics and Politics. Max Weber has written that "Richard Baxter stands out above many other writers on Puritan ethics, both because of his eminently practical and realistic attitude and, at the same time, because of the universal recognition accorded to his works...His Christian Directory is the most complete compendium of Puritan ethics, and is continually adjusted to the practical experiences of his own ministerial activity."⁶⁸ Baxter himself tells us in his "Advertisements", or Introduction, that just as Ames' work The Cases of Conscience is the practical application of Ames' Medulla so, too, will the Christian

⁶⁸Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, The Scribner Library (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958), pp. 155-156.

Directory be the second and practical part to a Methodus Theologiae which Baxter has not yet published.⁶⁹

The purpose of the Directory then is to be a useful guide to practical divinity, and its form, as Baxter tells us, is the reduction of the theoretical knowledge to questions and answers, in order that cases of conscience may be resolved. Not all cases, however, need to be treated in this way since simple directions often prove "most brief and fit for Christian practice", especially as the reader "will find few Directions in the book, which may not pass for the answer of an (implied) question or case of conscience."⁷⁰

Weber has pointed out that what is striking about the Christian Directory and other similar works is the extent to which wealth and

⁶⁹Baxter, Christian Directory, p. 1.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 3.

its acquisition are discussed. In spite of their anti-mammonistic doctrines, such works reveal that no Puritan considered the rational acquisition of wealth to be sinful since in their campaign against worldly, fleshly temptations and the luxurious enjoyment of worldly goods, the Puritans were struggling not against rational acquisition but against the irrational use of wealth.⁷¹ In his Chapter entitled "Directions for the Rich", Baxter warns them of the snares and temptations that wealth holds. "Understand", he writes, "what it is to love and trust in worldly prosperity and wealth. Many here deceive themselves to their destruction. They persuade themselves that they desire and use their Riches but for necessity, but that they do not love them, nor trust in them, because they can say that Heaven is better, and Wealth will lead us to a grave? But do you not Love that Ease, that

⁷¹Weber, p. 171.

Greatness, that Domination, that Fulness, that Satisfaction of your appetite, or eye and fancy, which you cannot have without your wealth?"⁷²

The danger of wealth is that it tempts man to lead a life of idleness and luxury, "Gentlemen think that their Riches allow them to live without any profitable labour, and to gratifie their flesh, and fare deliciously every day: As if it were their priviledge [sic] to be sensual, and to be damned!"⁷³ The real moral objection, then, is that men will relax in the security of possession and will be distracted from the pursuit of a righteous life.⁷⁴ Therefore, Baxter earnestly recommends that "the Rich, if ever they will be saved, must watch more constantly, and set a more resolute guard upon the flesh, and live more in fear of sensuality than

⁷²Baxter, Christian Directory, p. 51.

⁷³Ibid., p. 54.

⁷⁴Weber, p. 157.

the poor, as they live in greater temptations and dangers.⁷⁵

Apart from the fleshly temptations, waste of time is considered by the Puritan the deadliest of all sins and, since human life exists for so short a span, loss of time spent in idle talk, over-sleeping and luxury is to be unequivocally condemned.⁷⁶ Weber points out that the dictum, "work hard in your calling", occurs over and over again in Baxter, and to the question: "But will not wealth excuse us?", Baxter answers: "It may excuse you from some sordid sort of work by making you more serviceable to another, but you are no more excused from service of work.. than the poorest man."⁷⁷ For Baxter a calling was God's way of showing an individual how to work for

⁷⁵Baxter, Christian Directory, p. 55.

⁷⁶Weber, p. 157.

⁷⁷Baxter, Christian Directory, I, pp. 108 ff, quoted by Weber, p. 265.

the divine glory, and the harder a man worked the greater were his chances for salvation.⁷⁸ The fact that he also accumulated wealth and possessions in pursuit of his calling was, as has been pointed out above, perfectly acceptable to the Puritan since what was condemned was simply the pursuit of wealth for its own sake.

The result of this "worldly ascetism" of hard-work, self-denial and accumulation of material wealth, was as Weber has pointed out to establish an ethic, wherein the spirit of modern capitalism could be nurtured, developed and influenced.⁷⁹ R.H. Tawney in his Religion and the Rise of Capitalism also agrees with Weber, but while this study is not directly concerned with their hypothesis, it should be pointed out that later scholarship has challenged both Weber and Tawney on this point. J. Paul Hunter for example,

⁷⁸Weber, p. 160.

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 166.

suggests that "their account of how the concept of the calling worked in the seventeenth century has been extremely misleading."⁸⁰ He goes on to say that the idea of a calling was not, as Weber would have it, exclusively Protestant to begin with: medieval catholicism also taught it, often in identical terms. In point of fact, the idea ultimately derives from the social stratification of the Middle Ages, and the assumption upon which the idea rests is that every man has a specific place or station and that the world, thus ordered, has a teleologically oriented theological basis.⁸¹ Aiming to preserve a stratified social order, the concept emphasizes the dangers of upsetting the order and of defying God's plan. It was in this way that the Puritans applied the concept, - at least until the time of Defoe, since their main concern was always with preserving divine order on

⁸⁰Hunter, p. 35.

⁸¹Ibid., p. 36.

earth.⁸² -

As I have said, the concern of this paper is not primarily with either the derivation of the concept of the calling or with its economic implications for the modern world. However, the spirit in which it was regarded in the seventeenth century is important, and I shall understand the concept of a calling in this paper to mean "an insistence that all men's vocations are chosen for them by God and that every man is appointed to a specific place in the socioeconomic structure of his world."⁸³

⁸²Ibid.

⁸³Ibid., p. 34.

Chapter III

Ames, Baxter and Ramism

Walter Ong has written that "Ramus' life is meaningful in terms of the philosophy, expressed or implied, which unfolds out of it and which it in turn helps to explain."¹ Therefore, before looking at the writings of Ames and Baxter in terms of Ramus' philosophy, perhaps a recapitulation of some of the events in Ramus' own life is called for at this point.

Pierre de la Ramée, who later called himself Petrus Ramus, was born in 1515 in the tiny Picard village of Cuts and met his death in Paris at the Collège de Presles in 1572. In the latter period of his life, Ramus had abandoned his Catholic religion for Protestantism and it was on this account, despite royal orders to the contrary, that he was murdered in his rooms on

¹Walter J. Ong, S.J., Ramus: Method, and the Decay of Dialogue (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), p. 17.

August 26 the third day of the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre.²

Although of noble origins, Ramus' family at the time of his birth had fallen on hard times, and his father had become a charcoal burner. Ramus' early life was a continuing struggle to obtain an education. After twice being forced to return home, he managed on the third try to get into the College of Navarre in Paris only by becoming the paid valet of a wealthy fellow student, the Sieur de la Brosse.³ It is said that as a youth Ramus was slow in learning and that he showed up badly in disputations although, in his rhetoric courses, no one could match him in either speaking or writing Latin.⁴

After obtaining his Master of Arts degree at the age of twenty-one, Ramus began his

²Ibid., p. 29.

³Ibid., p. 19.

⁴Ibid., pp. 19-21.

teaching career. Walter Ong points out that Ramus, during this period, did "what many young masters under pressure of a teaching assignment have always done - he was not re-thinking the problems so much as re-thumbing the textbooks."⁵ Furthermore, when Ramus reworked his courses on the classical authors - Plato, Aristotle, Galen, Cicero - his reworking was coloured by the contemporary anti-Aristotelianism. By 1543 Ramus had published his first attack on Aristotle and the Aristotelians, based on his course revisions, and he had established the framework for a system of logic which was eventually to exert an influence on Puritan thought as far afield as New England.⁶

Ramus himself was convinced that his logic was the key to all knowledge, and that his "methodical" or "dialectical" treatment of logic

⁵Ibid., p. 22.

⁶Miller, p. 116.

could be applied to any art or subject whether it be grammar, ethics, mathematics, medicine or theology.⁷ Ramus' own definition is that:

"Method is arrangement, by which among many things the first in respect to conspicuousness is put in the first place, the second in the second, the third in the third, and so on. This term refers to every discipline and every dispute."⁸

More specifically, "method" was the term which Ramus used for the ordered descent of any subject from general to special principles by means of definition and bipartite division. In other words, a subject may be first defined and divided into two parts; each of the two parts may then be redefined and subdivided into two further parts. This process is continued until the stage is reached wherein no further division can take place and a specific definition has been reached.

⁷Ong, pp. 30-33.

⁸Dialectique de Pierre de la Ramée
(Paris: André Wechel, 1555), p. 119, quoted by Howell, p. 152.

Ramus claimed that his logic was entirely uncontaminated by rhetoric. In fact, he thought of rhetoric only in terms of style and delivery. Statistical information reveals that in the year of his death, 1572, only thirteen editions of his Dialectic had been printed as against twenty-eight of the Rhetoric; however, in its full strength, Ramism undoubtedly emerged as a movement specializing in logic and method.⁹

The art of dialectic was equated by Ramus with the art of discoursing, and he defines logic as "ars bene disserendi" - the art of disputing well. As I have said, the method or arrangement of Ramist logic was essentially the classification of a subject by dichotomy, in a descending order of generality. Ramus asserted that his method showed simply and clearly that every discipline falls of itself into dichotomies, and that all disciplines can be diagramed in a

⁹Ibid., p. 35.

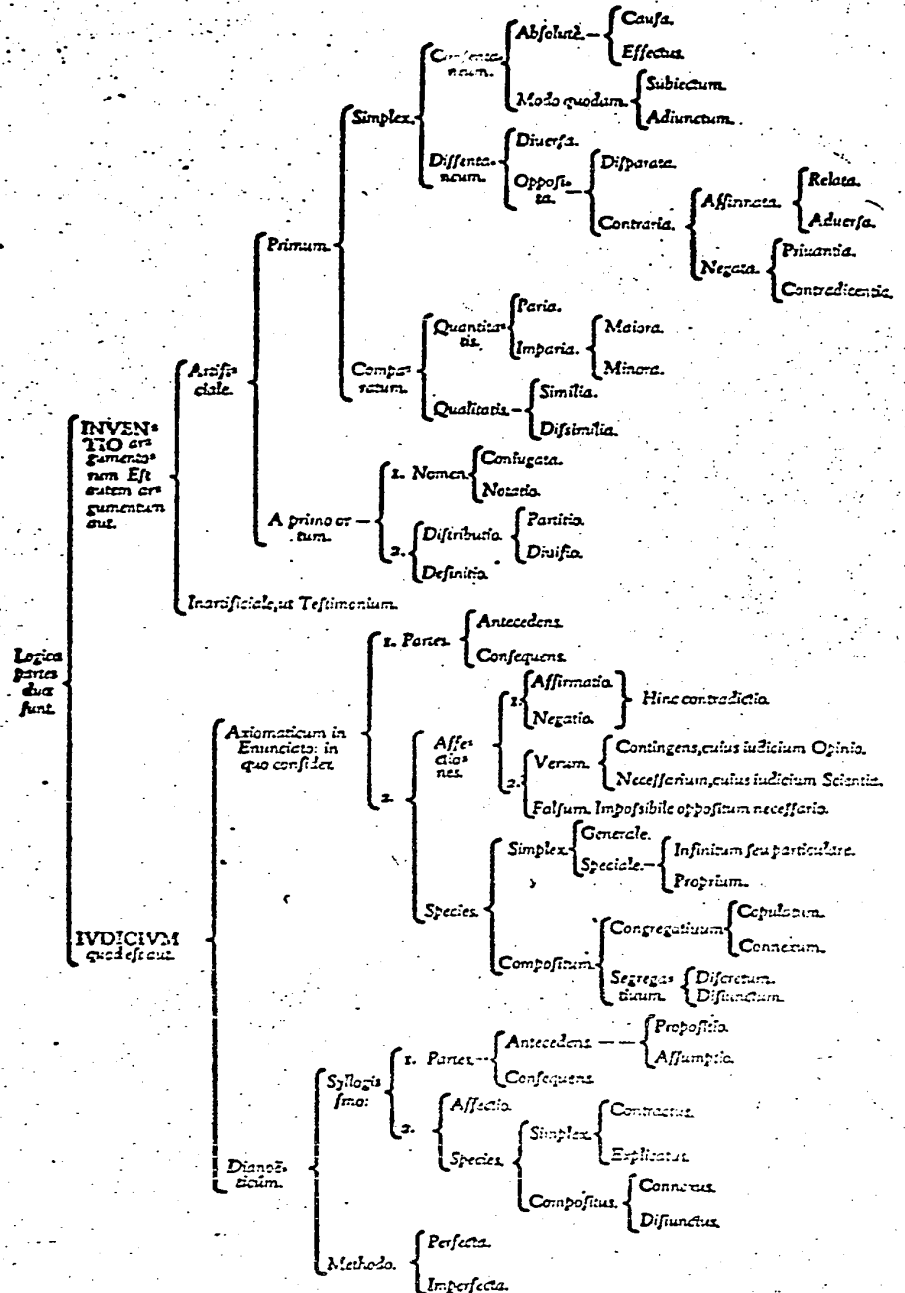
chart of successive divisions. The "Tabula Generalis" reproduced here on page 52 shows how Ramus organized his method. He began with the two parts, invention and judgement or arrangement. Invention and judgement, however, are not totally distinct from each other inasmuch as invention is devoted to the separate parts of reasoning, and judgement to the arrangement of those parts in a discourse.

After the initial dichotomy of logic into invention and judgement, the next step was the dichotomization of invention into "artificial" and "inartificial" arguments or, as they may also be translated, "artistic" and "non-artistic" arguments. Ramus defines these types of arguments as follows:

"Argument then is artistic or non-artistic, as Aristotle partitions it in the second of the Rhetoric: artistic, which creates belief by itself and by its nature, is divided into the primary and the derivative primary. Non-artistic argument is that which by itself and through its own force does not create belief, as for example the five types which Aristotle describes in the first of his

P. RAMI DIALECTICA.

TABVLA GENERALIS.



Rhetoric, laws, witnesses,
contracts, tortures, oaths. Thus
it is always that these arguments
are interchangeably called
authorities and witnesses."¹⁰

The supreme example of the non-artistic or inartificial argument was revealed theology which rested solely upon testimony and for which demonstrable proof or artistic argument was unobtainable. Thus the Ramists were able to claim a place in logic for theology. Later, the Puritans were to declare that the Bible was an inartificial argument in as much as it derived its authority from the testimony of witnesses rather than demonstrable proof, though they also added that the wisdom, justice, holiness and harmony contained in the Scriptures were truly "artificial arguments".¹¹ The term "argument" covers any word by which things are understood and represented in speech, or any concept in thinking, so that a noun like "cause" could be an argument,

¹⁰Quoted by Howell, p. 156.

¹¹Miller, p. 130.

an adjective like "similar", a figure of relationship like "opposition", an abstraction like "truth" or "virtue", a definition of a thing, or the thing itself.

The subsequent dichotomies into which Ramus organized the arguments may also be seen in his "Tabula Generalis". The first series of divisions, starting from the artificial arguments and proceeding to the simple, leads to those which agree one with another, such as cause and effect; by branching off at the primary stage we find other types of arguments based on the quantity or quality of things. Thus, in invention, which is the first part of logic, all the arguments are listed which enter into any discourse. As soon as the arguments have been classified or defined and their position in the whole scheme noted or discerned, the next task is to "dispose" the arguments into a discourse which may take the form of an eulogy, a sermon, a lecture, and so on.

Ramus writes that "the arrangement of logic has three species, the proposition, the syllogism, method."¹² The proposition as a unit of discourse may be either simple, that is, consisting of one subject and one predicate, or compound where the predicate is composite, relative, conditional or disjunctive. Syllogism orders, proves and brings to a necessary conclusion any question under examination which may be in doubt, and which cannot therefore be stated axiomatically, that is to say, as a proposition. Ramus stressed that the syllogism was to be used as sparingly as possible since, for Ramus and his followers, "the aim of an orator or a preacher is a succession of sentences, not a display of deductions."¹³ Ramus' own definition of method has already been quoted wherein he states that ideas in a discourse are to be arranged in order of their conspicuousness. In other words, the most obvious things must be stated first, and the less obvious

¹²Quoted by Howell, p. 158.

¹³Miller, p. 153.

things must be given subordinate places.

Method was regarded by the Ramists as being so important that it was often treated as the third part of Ramist logic, equal in rank to invention and judgement. In that case, judgement consisted only of axiom and syllogism. The Puritans, particularly, regarded Ramist logic in this way and "in Puritan sermons, where the ministers had to give the simplest explanations and yet wished to educate the people in the basic terminology, logic was sometimes said to consist of three parts, invention, judgement, and method."¹⁴

The procedure in Ramist logic was always the same however, no matter how the divisions were conceived. First, arguments are "found out"; then they are disposed one with another in axiomatic form; third, if something is doubtful and needs proof, the syllogism is used to get a conclusion; finally, when all the conclusions are set in order

¹⁴Ibid., p. 132.

the end result is a discourse, an oration, a poem, or a sermon. This method of "genesis" may be reversed, and a finished sermon or any other discourse may be broken down by "analysis" into axioms, and the axioms resolved into their arguments. The Puritans in the composition of their sermons used both these methods. Having chosen a text from Scripture, they resolved the text by analysis into its component arguments; then, by the method of genesis, they recombined the arguments into the doctrines of their sermons.

In his reform of Aristotelian logic, Ramus revolted against what he termed the sterility of school logic, and "he shocked university men by suggesting that students in the liberal arts be trained as were apprentices, being taught not only to learn but to do."¹⁵ Thus, in his dialectic Ramus demanded that thought be put to use. Following the Ramist logicians, Puritan

- ¹⁵Ibid., p. 142.

theologians also emphasized "use".

The teacher who, above all others, gave the sermon form to the Puritans was William Perkins (Ames' own teacher). Professor Miller writes that "the Puritan form of the sermon, which was first advanced by Perkins and then expounded in Puritan manuals, was altogether congenial to Ramist ways of thinking, and hence there is good cause to suppose that Perkins arrived at it by pondering the question of form in the light of Ramus' logic and rhetoric."¹⁶ The Ramist laws of invention taught the Puritan preacher how to extract arguments from a Biblical text or how to "open" it, and how to formulate the doctrine; the whole of Ramus' dialectic taught him how to dispose and order the doctrines; Ramus' insistence upon "use" showed him the necessity of applying the doctrine so that his hearers might receive instruction for right conduct and be aroused to an awareness of sin

¹⁶Ibid., p. 539.

and an abhorrence of evil. Ramist rhetoric, which Ramus and his disciple, Talon, restricted to style and delivery, taught the Puritan preacher that figures and tropes were "secondary to the analysis of arguments and the genesis of a method, and that they are to be added only after the theme and the demonstration are worked out."¹⁷ Over the first two parts of a Puritan sermon, the opening of the text and the formulation and proofs of the doctrine, presided the dialectic of Petrus Ramus. Rhetoric, however, was applied to the uses, for in them the preacher's intention was primarily to appeal to the emotions so as to reinforce the imprint which the doctrine and reasons had already made upon the intellect and understanding.

William Ames, whose Medulla Theologiae Defoe studied at Newington Green Academy, shows in this work the application of Ramist methodology to theology. Ames himself had learned Ramism from

¹⁷Ibid.

Perkins at Cambridge. Perkins' contribution to the cause of Ramism consisted of a treatise on preaching, originally written in Latin but published in English after his death. In The Arte of Prophecyng, Perkins divides his subject into two parts, preaching and praying, each of which is again divided into two parts which are further divided, and so on. W.S. Howell writes that "this prevailing dichotomous structure is of course Ramistic, and Perkins is the first Englishman to write of preaching in terms of that kind of structure."¹⁸

Ames follows this pattern in The Marrow of Sacred Divinity which, as the title page reads, was "Translated out of the Latine, for the benefit of such who are not acquainted with strange Tongues." The work consists of two parts; in the first book, chapter one is headed: "Of the Definition, or Nature of Divinity." The nature of divinity

¹⁸Howell, p. 206.

having been defined in terms of "Faith" and "Observance", Book I then proceeds to deal with "Faith" and Book II with "Observance", both books following the Ramist precepts of definition and division. Ames provided diagrams of the way he builds each chapter (see over), and a comparison with Ramus' chart on page 52 shows quite obviously that Ames used the Ramist structure for his own work.

On the matter of preaching and composing a sermon, Ames states what is to become the standard form for the Puritan sermon:

In declaring what truth there is in the text, first it ought to be explained, and then afterward what good doth follow from thence. That part is spent in doctrines, or documents, this in use or derivation of profit from those doctrines... All the Scripture is profitable for doctrine, for reproofe, for correction, and instruction in righteousness.¹⁹

He goes on to point out that "Doctrine is a

¹⁹Ames, The Marrow of Sacred Divinity,
p. 156.

Ch. 6.

Efficiency which is, *Substance* whereby he can do more than he wills,
 Omnipotency, *Order of their working*
 which is, *Order of their working*, whereby he doth that he wills.

Gods
 is
 by
 appears the
 manner of his

Substance
 which ap-
 pears in
 the

Co-working of the persons in all actions

The distinct man-
 ner of the persons
 in working which
 is partly in the

Order of their
 working

The Father of himselfe by the Son,
 and Spirit.
 The Son from the Father by the
 Spirit.
 The Spirit from the Father and Son
 by himselfe.

The terminati-
 on of their acti-
 ons, whence

Creation,
 Redemption,
 Sanctification

Accri-
 buted Some-
 to Spirit

Manner is } continued by Prof.
} Secretary. In the rejoined with fingers
} With closed.

Prof. Dr. J. H. ...

... ..

[Faint handwritten notes and bleed-through from the reverse side of the page are visible.]

Power,		Wisdom, courage,	Voluntary service		Doubting and
Knowledge,		Love, peace,	Resurrection with-		Disbelief.
Riches,			our friends,		Dispair.
Glories,	Desires	With a fearful	the power to de-	It flows	Contempt of
Anger and Justice,	its	impediment,	struction are not to	from	God,
And Revenge,		will	A danger to the soul		Affegency.
			without necessity.		Presumption,

Prophecy. From whom are
 Apostles. the Scriptures.
 Evangelists. Ch. 3.
 To whom God speaks. Verbo.
 And He will by Vision.
 Dream.
 Mouth to mouth.
 First Insinuating.
 Confirmation.
 Restoring the
 church.

[illegible]

Forme: 1 By Analogy: 2 Logically.
 Out: 3 Grammaticall.
 4 Rhetoricall.
 5 By interpreting what is doubtfull.
 6 Electiveall.
 7 Working by 8 Reason.
 by 9 Illustration: 10 Opposit- 11 Difference.
 12 ally by arguments 13 Comparat-
 14 Information.
 15 Judgement: 16 Reformation.
 17 Practice 18 Instruction.
 19 Correction.
 20 expressed by consolation: 21 Markes or signes
 22 perceiving.
 23 stirring by Exhortation, to 24 Means.
 25 26
 27 Remedi- 28 Remedies.
 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 254 255 256 257 258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 279 280 281 282 283 284 285 286 287 288 289 290 291 292 293 294 295 296 297 298 299 300 301 302 303 304 305 306 307 308 309 310 311 312 313 314 315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324 325 326 327 328 329 330 331 332 333 334 335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 350 351 352 353 354 355 356 357 358 359 360 361 362 363 364 365 366 367 368 369 370 371 372 373 374 375 376 377 378 379 380 381 382 383 384 385 386 387 388 389 390 391 392 393 394 395 396 397 398 399 400 401 402 403 404 405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 413 414 415 416 417 418 419 420 421 422 423 424 425 426 427 428 429 430 431 432 433 434 435 436 437 438 439 440 441 442 443 444 445 446 447 448 449 450 451 452 453 454 455 456 457 458 459 460 461 462 463 464 465 466 467 468 469 470 471 472 473 474 475 476 477 478 479 480 481 482 483 484 485 486 487 488 489 490 491 492 493 494 495 496 497 498 499 500 501 502 503 504 505 506 507 508 509 510 511 512 513 514 515 516 517 518 519 520 521 522 523 524 525 526 527 528 529 530 531 532 533 534 535 536 537 538 539 540 541 542 543 544 545 546 547 548 549 550 551 552 553 554 555 556 557 558 559 560 561 562 563 564 565 566 567 568 569 570 571 572 573 574 575 576 577 578 579 580 581 582 583 584 585 586 587 588 589 590 591 592 593 594 595 596 597 598 599 600 601 602 603 604 605 606 607 608 609 610 611 612 613 614 615 616 617 618 619 620 621 622 623 624 625 626 627 628 629 630 631 632 633 634 635 636 637 638 639 640 641 642 643 644 645 646 647 648 649 650 651 652 653 654 655 656 657 658 659 660 661 662 663 664 665 666 667 668 669 670 671 672 673 674 675 676 677 678 679 680 681 682 683 684 685 686 687 688 689 690 691 692 693 694 695 696 697 698 699 700 701 702 703 704 705 706 707 708 709 710 711 712 713 714 715 716 717 718 719 720 721 722 723 724 725 726 727 728 729 730 731 732 733 734 735 736 737 738 739 740 741 742 743 744 745 746 747 748 749 750 751 752 753 754 755 756 757 758 759 760 761 762 763 764 765 766 767 768 769 770 771 772 773 774 775 776 777 778 779 780 781 782 783 784 785 786 787 788 789 790 791 792 793 794 795 796 797 798 799 800 801 802 803 804 805 806 807 808 809 810 811 812 813 814 815 816 817 818 819 820 821 822 823 824 825 826 827 828 829 830 831 832 833 834 835 836 837 838 839 840 841 842 843 844 845 846 847 848 849 850 851 852 853 854 855 856 857 858 859 860 861 862 863 864 865 866 867 868 869 870 871 872 873 874 875 876 877 878 879 880 881 882 883 884 885 886 887 888 889 890 891 892 893 894 895 896 897 898 899 900 901 902 903 904 905 906 907 908 909 910 911 912 913 914 915 916 917 918 919 920 921 922 923 924 925 926 927 928 929 930 931 932 933 934 935 936 937 938 939 940 941 942 943 944 945 946 947 948 949 950 951 952 953 954 955 956 957 958 959 960 961 962 963 964 965 966 967 968 969 970 971 972 973 974 975 976 977 978 979 980 981 982 983 984 985 986 987 988 989 990 991 992 993 994 995 996 997 998 999 1000 1001 1002 1003 1004 1005 1006 1007 1008

Building
 a new
 foundation
 in the
 Church

To be in
 God's hand
 to be in
 the
 Kingdom
 of God

To be in
 the
 Kingdom
 of God

Theologicall Axiom, either consisting in the expresse word of Scripture, or flowing from them by immediate consequence."²⁰ After a doctrine is first "found out... by Logick Analysis, unto which Reticke also and Grammar serveth", it is then "handled" and handling "doth partly consist in proving... and partly in illustration of the thing sufficiently proved."²¹ The main purpose of a Puritan sermon, namely "the edification of the hearers", is strongly emphasized by Ames who goes on to say that "they faile therefore who stick to a naked finding out and explication of the truth and neglecting use and practice, in which Religion and so blessednesse doth consist, doe little or nothing [to] edifie the conscience."²²

In my previous chapter I pointed out that Baxter was familiar with the works of both Perkins

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Ibid., p. 157.

²²Ibid.

and Ames. In Baxter's own works there is evidence that he, too, used the Ramist method for the composition of his sermons. In "The Poor Man's Family Book", which Defoe also studied at Newington Green Academy, Baxter gives advice on the best way of remembering what is preached in the Sunday sermons. The "helps for memory" that Baxter suggests are: "1. A thorough understanding 2. And a deep affection: we easily remember that which we well understand, and are much affected with. 3. Method is a great help to memory; therefore observe the preacher's method, at least the doctrine, or subject, and somewhat of the explication, proof, and use."^{2 3}

Baxter's own sermons demonstrate "the preacher's method" as is shown by the table of contents (see page 64) for his fourth discourse on The Unreasonableness of Infidelity which he

^{2 3}Baxter, "The Poor Man's Family Book," The Practical Works, vol. IV (4 vols.; London, 1838), p. 240.

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THE FOURTH PART.

THE ARROGANCY OF REASON AGAINST DIVINE
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entitles "The Arrogancy of Reason against Divine Revelation, Repressed."²⁴ For this discourse he chooses as his text the ninth verse of John, III: "Nicodemus answered, and said unto him; How can these things be?" After he has opened the text, Baxter formulates his doctrines as follows: "the corrupt nature of man is more prone to question the truth of God's word, than to see and confess their own ignorance and incapacity; and ready to doubt whether the things that Christ revealeth are true, when they themselves do not know the nature, cause, and reason of them."²⁵

Baxter continues to demonstrate the methodology, as advocated by Ames, of the Puritan sermon form. Having formulated his doctrine he then "proves" it, as Ames suggests, by "reasons" or arguments according to Ramist logic as well as by "the more cleere [sic] testimonies of Scripture."²⁶

²⁴Baxter, The Practical Works, vol. XX (23 vols.; London: James Duncan: 1830), p. viii.

²⁵Ibid., p. 401.

²⁶Ames, The Marrow of Sacred Divinity, p. 157.

- Baxter composes the use or application of his doctrine according to the "use of confutation". That is to say, if he so wished, the Puritan preacher at this point in his sermon could raise and answer a possible "objection". The confutation was still to be handled by the method of dialectic, with rhetoric applied cautiously and only where needed. Novice preachers were often warned by those more experienced to be careful concerning such uses in case their hearers remembered only the objections and not the refutation. For a preacher like Baxter, however, this risk was very slight and, as his table of contents shows, for this sermon he applied the "use of confutation".

 Whilst he was at Newington Green Academy, Defoe also studied some of the writings of Stephen Charnock although, as I pointed out in my first chapter, it is possible that Defoe might only have read the Sinfulness and Cure of Evil Thoughts by Charnock. I would like to add here that, although this particular work was not available

to me for study, most of Charnock's other works were. An examination of Charnock's writings revealed that he, too, followed the Puritan methodology for the sermon form. For example, his discourse on "The Necessity of Regeneration" begins with verses 3 and 5 from John III: "Jesus answered and said unto him, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God. Jesus answered, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born of water, and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." The doctrine which Charnock arrives at, after he has opened his text, is: "Regeneration of the soul is of absolute necessity to a gospel and glorious state."²⁷ Continuing with the Puritan sermon form Charnock then follows the proofs of the doctrine with the uses or application.

²⁷Stephen Charnock, The Complete Works, vol. III (Edinburgh: James Nichol; London: James Nisbet and Co.; Dublin: G. Herbert, 1865), p. 15.

This pattern of the Puritan sermon form as it was used by Charnock and also by Ames and Baxter, was obviously studied by Defoe at Newington Green Academy. For this reason, the Puritan sermon form must have been imprinted on Defoe's mind very much more deeply than if, as a devout Puritan, he simply listened attentively to the preaching of Puritan sermons and merely noted, as Baxter suggested, "the preacher's method". In the following chapter, I shall show that the pattern of the Puritan sermon emerges very strongly in the structure of Robinson Crusoe, thus demonstrating the influence of Defoe's early formal education on his later prose fiction.

- Chapter IV

The Form of Robinson Crusoe

In the preface to Robinson Crusoe Defoe writes that his purpose is to report Crusoe's life story "with a religious application of events to the uses which wise men always apply them viz. to the instruction of others by this example". The three words I have underlined, "application", "uses" and "example", were familiar words to the Ramist and to the Puritan preacher, as my last chapter has shown. When composing his sermon the Puritan preacher had first of all to open his text and formulate the doctrines. He then gave proofs or reasons for the doctrines. Thus far, each of these steps was carried out in accordance with the laws of Ramist dialectic so that the Puritan sermon, at this point, might be said to be merely an exercise in logic for the purpose of revealing the truth of Scripture. For Ramus and his followers, however, the importance of logic lay

not in abstract speculation but in usage or application. Accordingly all Ramist logicians emphasized "use", as did the Puritan theologians also since they realized the obvious advantages of a logical method which enabled them both to reveal the truth of Scripture and to affirm the validity of this truth by its application to everyday life.

Whereas the first two parts of a Puritan sermon were controlled by Ramist logic, the third part depended on rhetoric. That is, in the use or application of doctrine the Puritan preacher was free to persuade his listener to follow the teachings of Scripture by appealing to the emotions, and the preacher called upon rhetoric to aid him in his appeal. However, no use of rhetoric could be made until the preacher had first "reasoned" his sermon according to the Ramist method of logic, since the Puritan preacher could not "devise applications first and foremost as 'persuabilia' but only as logical deductions from his

doctrine."¹ In other words, such was the form of the Puritan sermon based on the Ramist method that, until the text was opened and the doctrines formulated, no use or application could be made.

Before coming back to Defoe's stated purpose in his preface, I should like to recapitulate one further point with respect to the Puritan use of rhetoric. After carefully composing his sermon according to the rules of Ramist logical analysis, no Puritan preacher wanted to obscure the truth of text and doctrine with too ornate an eloquence. Consequently a marked feature of the Puritan sermon style is the cautious use of similes, metaphors, illustrations and examples. The Puritans felt that "by facing their doctrines with comparisons, by announcing flatly that this truth is comparable to this fact or to such and such an experience, they could achieve the ends of rhetoric, appeal to the

¹Miller, p. 347.

sensible soul by a sensory image, and yet the doctrines would not be submerged in the rhetoric."²

Returning now to Defoe's preface, I suggest that if the three words I underlined, "application", "uses" and "example", are read with a seventeenth-century understanding of their significance for Puritans then certain assumptions are justified with respect to Defoe's Robinson Crusoe, especially when we also remember Defoe's studies in divinity at Newington Green Academy. First, we know that Defoe was familiar with the works of Ames and Baxter, and Baxter's Practical Works reveal that he used the Ramist method for their composition. We know as well that Ames was a Ramist, and that he had used the Ramist method to construct his own Medulla Theologiae. In this work Ames had shown how a sermon could be composed using the Ramist method. Ames had also pointed out that, after the reasons or proofs had been

²Ibid., p. 356.

established for the doctrine, "application ought to follow, which hath so great agreement with derivation of uses, that it may often be mingled with it", and that for a Puritan preacher "to apply a doctrine to his use, is so to whet and put on some general truth with special accomodation, as it may pierce into the minds of such as are present, with a moving of godly affections."³

Familiar as he was, then, with the works of both Ames and Baxter, and as a Puritan himself, Defoe was undoubtedly aware of the Puritan method of composing a sermon by the opening of Scriptural texts, the formulation of the doctrines and, finally, by the uses or application of the doctrine. When Defoe states in his preface that he is going to use Crusoe's life as an example to others, and that the "religious application of events" will be for the "instruction of others", I think it can be justifiably assumed not only that Defoe was

³Ames, The Marrow of Sacred Divinity,
p. 159.

aware of the Puritan sermon form but that he also intended to make use of this form in the composition of Robinson Crusoe. That is to say, Defoe is going to do what any Puritan preacher in his sermon would do. He is going to demonstrate the truth of religious doctrine with illustrations or examples drawn from the events in a man's life and, like the Puritan sermon, Defoe's own discourse will be edifying and didactic. Evidence for this assumption can be based not only on the points I have just raised in the foregoing discussion, but on others which I will now discuss.

In Robinson Crusoe itself, Defoe quotes six texts from Scripture. The first one, "Call on me in the day of trouble, and I will deliver, and thou shalt glorify me",⁴ Defoe in fact uses twice. The other five texts are as follows: "Can God spread a table in the wilderness?"⁵ "He is exalted

⁴Robinson Crusoe, p. 95, p. 155.

⁵Ibid.

a Prince and a Saviour, to give repentance, and to give remission";⁶ "I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee";⁷ "Between me and thee is a great gulf fixed";⁸ "Wait on the Lord, and be of good cheer, and He shall strengthen thy heart; wait, I say, on the Lord."⁹ It is hard to imagine that Defoe would casually toss into his work six texts from Scripture for no other reason than that, coincidentally, they happened to spring to his mind when he reached certain episodes in the plot of Robinson Crusoe. It is hard to imagine because first and foremost Defoe was a Puritan and, as such, was fully alive to the possibilities of building a discourse around Scriptural texts: Secondly, Defoe had already spent many years of his life as a writer of one sort or another - as a

⁶Ibid., p. 97.

⁷Ibid., p. 114.

⁸Ibid., p. 128.

⁹Ibid., p. 156.

journalist, a pamphleteer, a satirist and a poet. Therefore, if Defoe as both a Puritan and a writer intended to make use of Scripture and to include it in his work, it would seem that he would use it more constructively than simply as ornamentation or emphasis. In fact, I would suggest that Defoe's use of the first text, "Call on me in the day of trouble, and I will deliver, and thou shalt glorify me", reflects the pattern of the Puritan sermon form.

Before continuing the discussion along these lines I should like to suggest at this point that Defoe greatly enlarged the scope of the Puritan sermon form by introducing another element. In having Crusoe tell his own story, Defoe brings into his discourse the dimension of time because Crusoe must report his life experiences as a chronological sequence of events. The time dimension therefore controls the arrangement of Robinson Crusoe. The arrangement of a Puritan

sermon, on the other hand, was controlled by the Ramist method, which was simply a logical tool. When I suggest, therefore, that Robinson Crusoe reflects the pattern of the Puritan sermon form, I am not saying that Defoe followed the traditional arrangement of the form. Obviously, if Defoe wished to present Crusoe's story as a true history, time and not logic would have to be the controlling factor in arrangement.

If the first text which Defoe quotes is taken as the starting point for Robinson Crusoe, there might be no reason to suppose that in his initial handling of it Defoe would not use the method with which he was most familiar. That is to say, Defoe would first open the text and then formulate the doctrines before making the "religious applications of events" which he says in his preface is his purpose. But if Defoe were to explicitly open the text, formulate the doctrines and apply them, he would simply be following the logical arrangement of the Puritan sermon. As I

have pointed out above, the arrangement of Robinson Crusoe is not based on logic but on time, or on the chronological sequence of events in Crusoe's life. Defoe, therefore, cannot begin with the opening of a Scriptural text, he must begin with the early years of Crusoe's life. In point of fact, he starts with his birth. The question which then faces Defoe concerns the selection of events which are to follow the birth of Crusoe. This dilemma obviously can only be solved in two ways. Defoe can either present a detailed day-by-day description of all the events in Crusoe's life or he must reject some of the events in favour of others. To choose the first would result in a random, purposeless and undirected discourse wherein each event assumes equal importance with every other event. By choosing the second alternative, Defoe is making a statement of a different kind.

Defoe has already stated in his preface that he is writing Robinson Crusoe as an example

to others. Now, as Crusoe's life history unfolds, the events themselves will have to demonstrate Defoe's stated aim. The events of Crusoe's life must coincide with the didactic purpose of the book. But the question which now looms is: what is the lesson or, what are the lessons which the book will teach? The answer, I think, brings us back again to the text since it must be remembered that it was to Scripture that a Puritan turned when he wanted a guide for right conduct. In other words, a Puritan would not at first look to the lives of other men to provide him with the truth. For the Puritan, truth resides only in Scripture, and it is only when the truth of Scripture has been revealed that men may see examples of this truth in the lives of other men. The example of Crusoe's life, then cannot be said to contain the lesson since Crusoe's life itself is but an illustration of those lessons which are taught by Scripture. Thus, Scripture cannot be tacked onto events in Crusoe's life, but instead Scripture must be the

starting point for Defoe before he can select the events in Crusoe's life in order to make up his story.

Since Defoe could not begin Robinson Crusoe with the opening of the text, and since he could not logically include this step after he had begun the application, it might seem that there was only one other choice left to him. He could open the text and formulate the doctrines before beginning Crusoe's life story. By this means, the way would be cleared for Defoe to begin his story. In short, the plot or story-line of Robinson Crusoe could then be constructed so as to "fit" the doctrines. However, to assume that Defoe opened the texts and prepared the doctrines before beginning his story is also to assume that Robinson Crusoe is simply that section of a Puritan sermon known as the application which follows the logically analysed texts and doctrines. Robinson Crusoe, however, is not simply part of a Puritan sermon. It is itself a complete and whole

unit but, in order to achieve this, Defoe had to find a means whereby he could reveal the truth of Scripture and simultaneously present an application of this truth. Crusoe's life story told in retrospect provided Defoe with the method he needed.

The sequence of events, or plot, in Robinson Crusoe is arranged chronologically. Since Crusoe tells his story in retrospect, however, this arrangement does not necessarily entail too great a rigidity of form. When Crusoe goes back in time in order to tell his story, he takes with him the advantages of hindsight. What this means is that Crusoe can bring his present knowledge and awareness to bear on the past. In concrete terms this means as well that Crusoe is able to "anticipate" or "foreshadow" future events and, with the advantages of hindsight, he is also able to pass judgement on his actions as he narrates his story. He says, for example, at the end of the first chapter, after relating his misadventures on first running away to sea: "Had I

now had the sense to have gone back to Hull, and have gone home, I had been happy ... But my ill fate pushed me on ... towards unavoidable misery."¹⁰ Of his capture and enslavement by the Moor, he writes: "But alas! This was but a taste of the misery I was to go through, as will appear in the sequel of the story."¹¹ During his good times, Crusoe's foreshadowings still cast a foreboding air so that even after he regains his freedom and is making a prosperous living as a Brazilian planter he says of himself: "I lived just like a man cast away upon some desolate island that had nobody there but himself."¹²

Crusoe's story, told in retrospect by Crusoe himself, enabled Defoe to establish two things. First, he gained a dramatic tension for his story-line in terms of the foreshadowing of

¹⁰Ibid., p. 18.

¹¹Ibid., p. 23.

¹²Ibid., p. 39.

future events and, secondly, he gained an additional frame of reference to which Crusoe's story could be related. That is to say, Crusoe's story told as a chronologically arranged sequence of events was dramatically enhanced when certain of those events were foreshadowed from the vantage point of hindsight. Nevertheless, anticipation of this kind is still contained within time. However, Crusoe not only anticipates events in time, he also passes judgement based on hindsight on the attitudes and actions of his earlier self. By means of this technique of double time, Defoe has provided himself with a vehicle to carry the spiritual implications of Crusoe's situation which will be made clear as the story unfolds. He attaches to his story an observer and a commentator. Crusoe, the observer-commentator, is also a participator in the events and so, as the story progresses in time, the gap becomes narrower between the earlier, unperceptive Crusoe and the Crusoe who will become the commentator and judge.

- The point in the story at which Crusoe's transition begins to take place is during the time he spends alone on the island, particularly during the early years. It is in this part of Robinson Crusoe that Defoe's six quotations from Scripture occur, and they follow one another within a section of less than sixty pages, but I will say more about this later. It is also in this section that Crusoe presents, in journal form, an account of his first year on the island after the shipwreck. The journal account, however, is a repetition in condensed form of the preceding pages wherein Crusoe had already described his efforts to make himself comfortable on his desert island. In fact, he admits that he will be repeating himself: "having settled my household stuff and habitation, made me a table and a chair, and all as handsome about me as I could, I began to keep my journal, of which I shall here give you the copy (though in it will be told all these

particulars over again)".¹³

There was no particular advantage, at least from an aesthetic point of view, for Defoe to repeat in another form what he had already written, especially as he could not expect to continue with the journal. Obviously, it would be difficult on practical grounds to have Crusoe supplied on a desert island with sufficient paper and ink to write a daily journal for eight-and-twenty years, two months and nineteen days. There may have been other motives, economic ones perhaps, for Defoe to include as many pages as he could in Robinson Crusoe, which might also account for the prolongation of the story beyond the point where its form dictates it should end. This, however, will be discussed later. What I am concerned with at the moment is the uneven structure of the book occasioned by the journal entries which repeat what has already been said. In point of fact,

¹³Ibid., p. 72.

however, interspersed among the journal entries for the first year there are some events which have not been mentioned before. These concern Crusoe's spiritual experiences.

For any man in Defoe's time to have kept a journal and not to have stressed the spiritual significance of his experience would have been most unusual. Journal or diary-keeping was regarded by the age in which Defoe lived as most important. In fact, "the object of a diary - to regard and weigh spiritually every episode in one's life - presented itself as a duty, not an option."¹⁴ The possible spiritual implications of shipwreck and of a man living as a castaway on a desert island would obviously not be lost on Defoe or his contemporaries. It is quite likely, therefore, that Defoe might have begun Robinson Crusoe in journal form. However that may be, he makes clear

¹⁴G.A. Starr, Defoe and Spiritual Autobiography (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 7.

in Robinson Crusoe the difficulties he would have encountered had he continued with this form.

The journal form cannot successfully contain both the fact of experience which is recorded chronologically, and interpretation of that experience in terms of its spiritual significance. By its very nature as a record of the experience of daily living, the form seems to encourage an elaboration of circumstantial detail. Event follows event in a chronological and an apparent cause and effect sequence which is hard to break. G.A. Starr points out that a most characteristic element of the diaries written in Defoe's time is that their writers seemed to "betray from time to time an unseemly relish for sheer narration."¹⁵ He goes on to point out that a further characteristic of the diaries is the abruptness with which a spiritual interpretation of

¹⁵Ibid., p. 27.

the factual experience is often inserted, as if the author had suddenly recalled the main purpose of diary-keeping, namely as a religious exercise. I would suggest, however, that this seemingly abrupt transition from the factual to the spiritual may be partially due to the limitations of the form.

Defoe's problem in the journal section of Robinson Crusoe also centred on the movement between narration and interpretation. Since Defoe intended to retain the emphasis on the spiritual implications of Crusoe's situation, the problem emerged as the reverse of that which troubled the diarists. Each time, after he branches off into the area of his main interest, namely, the spiritual, Defoe is faced with the problem of how to return to the recording of further journal entries. The only way he can do this is to have Crusoe say: "But to return to my journal." This clumsy device (used by Defoe to retain control over the form) suggests to me that Defoe was very much aware that

if the journal was used basically as a medium for recording factual experience, any other discourse contained within it would be unwittingly a digression. Thus, Crusoe must always remind himself to "return to my journal."

Crusoe's journal, however, was not to be continued, and instead Defoe constructed Robinson Crusoe in its present form. The first text, "Call on me in the day of trouble, and I will deliver, and thou shalt glorify me", and the other five texts, are contained within a relatively small section of Robinson Crusoe. That is to say, if one is measuring proportionately in terms of the number of pages, the section of Robinson Crusoe which contains the texts is approximately only a quarter the length of the whole work. This section, however, also contains the core of the story, beginning with Crusoe castaway on an uninhabited island up to the time he discovers the footprint of another human being. In addition, this section

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was written in journal form to start with but, as I mentioned above, Defoe encountered difficulties with this form and it was not continued.

Since Scriptural texts were not used by Defoe throughout the whole of Robinson Crusoe, it seems to me that there must be more than a coincidental reason which explains their concentration in only one quarter of the book. A possible explanation is that, at this point of writing, Defoe's guide was the Puritan sermon form but that later in expanding the form he also necessarily changed it.

If Defoe were to follow the Puritan sermon form he would begin by analysing the text. Therefore, when Crusoe first reads the words, "Call on me in the day of trouble, and I will deliver, and thou shalt glorify me", his initial reaction is to question whether deliverance is, in fact, possible. He writes:

The thing was so remote, so impossible in my apprehension of things, that I began to say, as the

children of Israel did, when they were promised flesh to eat, "Can God spread a table in the wilderness?"; so I began to say, 'Can God Himself deliver me from this place?'¹⁶

However, this question has in a sense already been answered by Crusoe himself in his musings on the nature of God. He had concluded then that God was indeed omnipotent in as much as He was the efficient cause of all things: "if God has made all these things, He guides and governs them all, and all things that concern them; for the Power that could make all things must certainly have power to guide and direct them."¹⁷

In a Puritan sermon, the explication of a text and the formulation of the doctrine arising from it was handled, as advised by Ames, in Ramist fashion using the tools of "Logick Analysis, unto which Reticke also and Grammar serveth." In

¹⁶Defoe, Robinson Crusoe p. 95.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 94.

Robinson Crusoe, however, the analysis of the text must be left in Crusoe's hands, and Crusoe ostensibly interprets its meaning not in terms of logical abstractions but in terms of the concrete events of his life. Thus, he interprets deliverance to mean rescue from physical danger, sickness, or isolation. The possibility of another meaning only occurs to him after he recalls the words of a dream he had, "All these things have not brought thee to repentance", and he begins to realize the wickedness of his past life so that he begs God to enable him to repent. His prayer is answered when, as he says, providentially in his reading of Scripture he comes to the words "He is exalted a Prince and a Saviour, to give repentance, and to give remission."

Crusoe then begins to realize the deeper implications of the text and he writes:

Now I began to construe the words mentioned above, "Call on me, and I will deliver you," in a different sense from what I had ever done before; for then I had no notion of

- anything being called deliverance but my being delivered from the captivity I was in, for though I was indeed at large in the place, yet the island was certainly a prison to me, and that in the worst sense in the world; but now I learned to take it in another sense. Now I looked back upon my past life with such horror, and my sins appeared so dreadful, that my soul sought nothing of God but deliverance from the load of guilt that bore down all my comfort. As for my solitary life, it was nothing; I did not so much as pray to be delivered from it or think of it.¹⁸

Having finally "opened the text", as it were, Crusoe then goes on to formulate a doctrine that "deliverance from sin is a much greater blessing than deliverance from affliction."¹⁹ This is the doctrine which Defoe will seek to "prove" in Robinson Crusoe by example and illustration and, in this way plot, style and character will each be controlled by the Puritan Sermon form.

Before we go on to discuss this, however,

¹⁸Ibid., p. 98.

¹⁹Ibid.

there is one further matter regarding the "proving" of the doctrines in a Puritan sermon. Ames had instructed that "proving ought to be taken out of the more cleere [sic] testimonies of Scripture, reasons also being added where the nature of the thing will suffer."²⁰ The proof of the doctrine, and the reassurance that Crusoe needs to sustain him on the island are both supplied by the words of Scripture as Crusoe reads his Bible one morning: "I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee." Crusoe then realizes once again the truth of the doctrine that "deliverance from sin is a much greater blessing than deliverance from affliction", and he admits to himself that "if God does not forsake me, of what ill consequence can it be, or what matter it, though the world should all forsake me; seeing on the other hand, if I had all the world and should lose the favour and blessing of God, there would be no comparison in the loss."²¹ He goes on to say that although he could not

²⁰ Ames, The Marrow of Sacred Divinity, p. 157.

²¹ Defoe, Robinson Crusoe, p. 114.

honestly give thanks to God for being castaway on the island, "yet I sincerely gave thanks to God for opening my eyes, by whatever afflicting providences, to see the former condition of my life, and to mourn for my wickedness, and repent."²²

The same proof and comfort for Crusoe is given by the final text, "Wait on the Lord, and be of good cheer, and He shall strengthen thy heart; wait I say, on the Lord." Just before Crusoe discovers these words in the Bible, he himself reminds us of the words of the first text he had encountered in Scripture by again quoting: "Call on me in the day of trouble, and I will deliver, and thou shalt glorify me." Together, these two texts remind Crusoe that he may indeed consider himself blessed in terms of his soul's salvation if not in terms of a physical deliverance. There is, however, a cautionary warning supplied

²²Ibid.

by Crusoe in the last text but one as he also reminds his readers that, although deliverance from the sins of his former life is a great blessing, all the while he remains on the island he can have no means of testing the real permanence or sincerity of his penitent state. He compares himself to Abraham in terms of the purity and other-worldliness of his situation on the island when Abraham says to the sinful Dives, "Between me and thee is a great gulf fixed." In other words, Crusoe's situation is a somewhat artificial one because, as he says:

In the first place, I was removed from all the wickedness of the world here. I had neither lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, or the pride of life. I had nothing to covet; for I had all that I was now capable of enjoying.²³

No texts other than the six I have discussed above were used by Defoe and, as I have already pointed out, these texts were concentrated

²³Ibid., p. 128.

in the core of the book. This section of Robinson Crusoe seems to follow the pattern of the Puritan sermon form quite closely and quite deliberately. In my discussion above of the journal form entries of Robinson Crusoe, I suggested that Defoe might have originally intended to start his story at the point where Crusoe is actually cast away on the island since this is the point at which Crusoe's journal entries begin. The fact that the main text around which Robinson Crusoe is built also occurs at this point among the journal entries strengthens my conviction that this was at one stage the beginning of Crusoe's story. Defoe, however, expanded the Puritan sermon form by including more of Crusoe's life story, to be told in retrospect by Crusoe himself. Having formulated his doctrine from the main text, Defoe could then choose those early events in Crusoe's life which would eventually reinforce the truth of that doctrine which Crusoe himself would arrive at

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later in the story through Scripture. My next chapter, then, deals with the plot, character, and style of Robinson Crusoe as determined, in essence, by the Puritan sermon form and, in fact, by the doctrine that "deliverance from sin is a much greater blessing than deliverance from affliction."

Chapter V

"Deliverance from sin is a much greater blessing than deliverance from affliction"

The title of this chapter is the doctrine which Defoe had formulated from the Scriptural text: "Call on me in the day of trouble, and I will deliver, and thou shalt glorify me." The plot of Robinson Crusoe and the character of Crusoe, himself, both seem to reflect this doctrine. Furthermore, the style of Robinson Crusoe also shows the influence of the Puritan sermon form.

The story of Crusoe's adventures, prior to the time of his shipwreck on the island, centres on Crusoe's "deliverance" from one predicament, or what he would call affliction, after another. In the very first chapter, for example, after disobeying his father and running

away to sea, Crusoe encounters two terrible storms. During the first storm Crusoe is terrified and acknowledges that his own wilfulness was the cause of his misery:

I began now seriously to reflect upon what I had done, and how justly I was overtaken by the judgment 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 flesh into my mind, and my conscience, which was not yet come to the pitch of hardness to which it has been since, reproached me with the contempt of advice and the breach of my duty to God and my father.¹

After the storm abates, however, he writes:

I had had in five or six days got as complete a victory over conscience as any young fellow that resolved not to be troubled with it could desire. But I was to have another trial for it still; and Providence, as in such cases generally it does, resolved to leave me entirely without excuse. For if I would not take this for a deliverance, the next was to be such a one as the worst and most

¹Defoe, Robinson Crusoe, p. 12.

hardened wretch among us would confess both the danger and the mercy.²

In the second storm, then, he is not to fare so well as, this time, the ship begins to take on water. Eventually everyone on board must take to the life-boats and the ship sinks, although Crusoe and the crew finally reach shore safely.

As the story progresses, it becomes clear that each unhappy incident from which Crusoe is delivered is a foreshadowing and a forewarning of further disasters that will befall him. Still continuing in his wilful disregard of his proper duty, Crusoe does not return home after the two storms and instead embarks on another journey, this time "bound to the coast of Africa, or, as our sailors vulgarly call it, a voyage to Guinea."³ On his way back from Africa he is captured by pirates, and is made a slave. Crusoe

²Ibid., p. 14.

³Ibid., p. 21.

once again acknowledges that he is entirely to blame for the sad condition he is in, and that for him there can be no redemption:

At this surprising change of my circumstances from a merchant to a miserable slave, I was perfectly overwhelmed; and now I looked back upon my father's prophetic discourse to me, that I should be miserable and have none to relieve me, which I thought was now so effectually brought to pass that I could not be worse; that now the hand of Heaven had overtaken me, and I was undone without redemption. But alas! this was but a taste of the misery I was to go through, as will appear in the sequel of this story.⁴

Before he goes through further misery, however, Crusoe's deliverance is effected yet once again, and he writes: "It was an inexpressible joy to me...that I was thus delivered, as I esteemed it, from such a miserable and almost hopeless condition."⁵

⁴Ibid., p. 23.

⁵Ibid., p. 37.

The next misery that Crusoe encounters casts him away as the lone survivor on an uninhabited island. Thus far in Crusoe's story, all the events have demonstrated that "deliverance from affliction" is constantly possible. It has also been shown that, although Crusoe experiences "inexpressible joy" each time at being "thus delivered" from affliction, his deliverance is to little purpose because sooner or later Crusoe will find himself "afflicted" again, although always acknowledging that the fault is his, as he does when he foreshadows his shipwreck on the island: "I was still to be the wilful agent of all my own miseries; and particularly to increase my fault and double the reflections upon myself which in my future sorrows I should have leisure to make."⁶

The plot so far, then, shows not only that "deliverance from affliction" is possible but also that for someone like Crusoe deliverance has

⁶Ibid., p. 42.

little or no significance after the event. Crusoe is concerned merely with his physical and material well-being and only when those are threatened does he give a thought to matters concerning other values.

Since Defoe's purpose in Robinson Crusoe is to show that "deliverance from sin is a greater blessing than deliverance from affliction", he continues Crusoe's story now along different lines. Following Crusoe's shipwreck on the island there will be no deliverance this time, at least not in the sense that Crusoe first understands the word to mean. In this respect the action at this point in the story is slowed down. Instead, there is movement of a different kind as Crusoe gradually awakens to an awareness of what deliverance really means.

Before tracing the pattern of Crusoe's "interior" awakening, I should like first of all to note the two different accounts that Crusoe

gives of himself after the shipwreck. To begin with he writes: "I was now landed and safe on shore, and began to look up and thank God that my life was saved in a case wherein there was some minutes before scarce any room to hope."⁷ Later on, after he has settled himself on the island, Crusoe tells us that intends to keep a journal. He also mentions that, had he been able to keep a daily record from the very first day he had landed on the island, his first entry would have read thus:

September the 30th. After I got to shore, and had escaped drowning, instead of being thankful to God for my deliverance, having first vomited with the great quantity of salt water which was gotten into my stomach, and recovering myself a little, I ran about the shore, wringing my hands and beating my head and face, exclaiming at my misery and crying out I was undone, undone, till, tired and faint, I was forced to lie down on the ground to repose, but durst not sleep, for fear of being devoured.⁸

⁷Ibid., p. 50.

⁸Ibid., p. 71.

This situation is obviously the reverse of that described by Crusoe in his first account wherein he went on to say that he had given much thought to his deliverance: "I walked about on the shore, lifting up my hands, and my whole being, as I may say, wrapped up in the contemplation of my deliverance, reflecting upon all my comrades that were drowned and that there should not be one soul saved by myself."⁹ Whether Crusoe was or was not thankful for his deliverance at this point in the plot is not really significant since he has yet to encounter other misfortunes before he begins to reflect deeply on this question of deliverance.

In an effort, he says, to master his despondency, Crusoe sets down on paper "like debtor and creditor, the comforts I enjoyed, against the miseries I suffered."¹⁰ He also says: "I drew up the state of my affairs in writing, not

⁹Ibid., p. 50.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 68.

so much to leave them to any that were to come after me, for I was like to have but few heirs, as to deliver my thoughts from daily poring upon them, and afflicting my mind."¹¹ In his "ledger" Crusoe has two headings "Evil" and "Good", and one entry under the heading "Good" reads:

But I am singled out too from all the ship's crew to be spared from death; and He that miraculously saved me from death can deliver me from this condition.¹²

There can be little doubt that the greatest blessing Crusoe can conceive of is "deliverance from affliction" and, equally, there can be little doubt that Defoe has demonstrated quite clearly by means of his plot that "deliverance from affliction" is indeed a great blessing. His doctrine demands, however, that he now demonstrate that "deliverance from sin is a much greater blessing than deliverance from

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid., p. 69.

affliction." In order for Defoe to do this, Crusoe must be brought to an awareness of sin and of man's relationship to God in terms of deliverance from sin.

Defoe begins Crusoe's "awakening" with the apparent miracle of barley growing from seed Crusoe had thrown away, and Crusoe writes:

It is impossible to express the astonishment and confusion of my thoughts on this occasion; I had hitherto acted upon no religious foundation at all; indeed I had very few notions of religion in my head, nor had entertained any sense of anything that had befallen me, otherwise than as a chance, or, as we lightly say, what pleases God; without so much as inquiring into the end of Providence in these things, or His order in governing events in the world.^{1 3}

But events of this kind, like the deliverances, do not affect Crusoe very deeply or for very long. After he has thought out a reasonable explanation for the sudden appearance of the corn coming up out of the ground, he confesses that: "my

- ^{1 3}Ibid., p. 80.

religious thankfulness to God's Providence began to abate too upon the discovering that all this was nothing but what was common."¹⁴

Still so little concerned with religion was Crusoe that even when badly frightened by an earthquake he says: "I had not the least serious religious thought, nothing but the common, 'Lord have mercy upon me!' and when it was over, that went away too."¹⁵ It is during his illness, however, that Crusoe takes the first step that will lead him to the belief that "deliverance from sin is a much greater blessing than deliverance from affliction." In his delirium he prays to God, When he becomes more clearheaded he tries again to pray to God but, he writes, "I was so ignorant that I knew not what to say; only I lay and cried, 'Lord look upon me! Lord pity me! Lord have mercy upon me!'"

¹⁴Ibid., p. 81.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 83.

It is after this, when he goes to sleep, that Crusoe has a dream in which a terrible voice accuses him thus: "Seeing all these things have not brought thee to repentance now thou shalt die."¹⁶ Using the dream as the beginning of Crusoe's revelation, Defoe, in the true Puritan tradition, will complete the process through Scripture which, as the Word of God, revealed the only sure way to knowledge of God and salvation. In fact, later in the book Crusoe himself is to write that "the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, I mean, the Word of God and the Spirit of God ... are the absolutely necessary instructors of the souls of men, in the saving knowledge of God, and the means of salvation."¹⁷

In order that Crusoe might be instructed in this way, Defoe had already arranged that Crusoe would have a Bible to hand when the time

¹⁶Ibid., p. 89.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 215.

came for the revelation. Some time previously Crusoe had listed "three very good Bibles" among the articles that he was able to salvage from the wrecked ship which, as Crusoe had written, had floated providentially "from the place where she first struck, and was driven so near to the shore that I had time to get all these things out of her."¹⁸

A nice touch is used by Defoe when he sends Crusoe to the chest ostensibly to look for the tobacco which Crusoe hoped would cure his fever. When he opens the chest, Crusoe discovers the Bibles, one of which he takes out as he also takes out the tobacco. I say this is a nice touch because it was in order to procure slaves for his tobacco plantation that Crusoe first embarked on the journey during which he was shipwrecked and cast alone onto the island. In a sense, therefore, there is an irony in Crusoe's

¹⁸Ibid., p. 66.

discovery of the Bible in the chest while he was searching for the tobacco.

Immediately after the dream and before Crusoe's revelation through the Bible takes places, Defoe arranges that Crusoe recapitulates all that has happened so far and Crusoe goes on:

In the relating what is already past of my story, this will be the more easily believed, when I shall add, that through all the variety of miseries that had to this day befallen me, I never had so much as one thought of it being the hand of God, or that it was a just punishment for my sin, my rebellious behaviour against my father, or my present sins, which were great; or so much as a punishment for the general course of my wicked life.¹⁹

Of course, it is not strictly correct that Crusoe had "never had so much as one thought of it [i.e. his misery] being the hand of God." At other times of affliction, he had indeed had such thoughts (see above p.100), although it is true

¹⁹Ibid., p. 90.

that these thoughts did not stay very long in his mind. Now, however, with knowledge of his sins and his wicked life, and with the words of his dream ringing in his ears, Crusoe opens the Bible and the first words he sees when he does so are: "Call on me in the day of trouble, and I will deliver, and thou shalt glorify me." Crusoe then performs an act which, as he says, "I never had done in all my life: I kneeled down and prayed to God to fulfill the promise to me, that if I called upon Him, in the day of trouble, He would deliver me."²⁰

Although Crusoe has been moved to prayer, his prayers still centre on a "deliverance from affliction" and not a "deliverance from sin". It is only later, when he again thinks of the words of his dream: "All these things have not brought thee to repentance" that he begins to beg God for repentance. Then he

²⁰Ibid., p. 96.

comes across these words in the Bible: "He is exalted a Prince and a Saviour, to give repentance and to give remission." At this point, Crusoe realizes the true burden of his sins at the same time as he also realizes that there will always be the possibility of deliverance from those sins.

Thus he writes:

This was the first time that I could say, in the true sense of the words, that I prayed in all my life; for now I prayed with a sense of my condition, and with a true Scripture view of hope founded on the encouragement of the Word of God; and from this time, may I say, I began to have hope that God would hear me.²¹

For the first time, then, Crusoe truly begins to understand the meaning of deliverance, and he goes on to say:

Now I looked back upon my past life with such horror, and my sins appeared so dreadful, that my soul sought nothing of God but deliverance from the load of guilt that bore down all my comfort. As for my solitary life, it was nothing

²¹Ibid., p. 98.

I did not so much as pray to be delivered from it or think of it; it was all of no comparison to this.²²

Crusoe finishes by pointing out to the reader that whenever they, like him, "come to a true sense of things, they will find deliverance from sin a much greater blessing than deliverance from affliction."²³

In order to further prove this doctrine, Defoe keeps Crusoe on the island for over twenty-eight years before he is delivered. Through his readings of Scripture, however, Crusoe is able to bear this affliction since Scripture has taught him to recognize the greater blessing of deliverance from sin. In addition, Scripture reminds him that God is always present so that one morning, although feeling very sad, Crusoe finds comfort in the Bible when he reads the words: "I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee."

²²Ibid.

²³Ibid.

One of the difficulties that Defoe is faced with now, in terms of the plot, is that since the climax of his book has shown that Crusoe's deliverance from sin is of greater importance than his deliverance from affliction, whatever comes after must also support this doctrine. As I have said, Defoe can and does support the doctrine by not arranging for Crusoe's deliverance from the island for almost another thirty years. Apart from this, however, very little else happens with respect to the plot that demonstrates Defoe's doctrine. Crusoe catalogues his attempts at bread-making, pottery-making, canoe-making, and so on. He tells us of his further explorations of the island and of his encounter, at a distance, with the cannibals after which, he says, he "gave God thanks that had cast my first lot in a part of the world were I was distinguished from such dreadful creatures as these."²⁴ Crusoe then goes on to say that

²⁴Ibid., p. 163.

although his present condition was certainly not all that he desired, nevertheless "I had, even in this miserable condition, been comforted with the knowledge of Himself and the hope of His blessing, which was a felicity more than sufficiently equivalent to all the misery which I had or could suffer."²⁵

Aside from Crusoe's reiteration of this blessing there is little else in the remainder of the book that demonstrates the doctrine in terms of the plot. It seems to me, therefore, that Defoe over-extended Crusoe's length of stay on the island beyond the time demanded by the limits of the form he had used. That is to say, Defoe's plot in Robinson Crusoe was controlled by a doctrine, formulated as in Puritan sermon out of a Biblical text; the plot should, therefore, have been concluded when the doctrine had been fully demonstrated by the events of the story. Instead,

²⁵Ibid.

Defoe continued the story, although the subsequent events Crusoe related had little or no relation to the doctrine, unlike the events in the first part of the book which as, I have shown, were organized around the theme of the doctrine.

The final episodes in the plot make somewhat tedious reading, although they serve their purpose for getting Crusoe off the island and back to England. However, the control that Defoe exercised at the beginning of his book is missing here, due, I suggest, to the fact that he has already said in terms of the plot all that needed to be said with respect to the doctrine. Crusoe's encounter with the cannibals, with Friday, and with the mutineers is simply narration, although with Friday there is an attempt to repeat what has already happened to Crusoe namely, as Crusoe himself puts it, "to lay a foundation of religious knowledge in his mind."²⁶ But the subtlety of

²⁶Ibid., p.-212.

construction is not present and the story flags. Furthermore, there is no real connection between Crusoe and Friday on this score. That "deliverance from sin is a much greater blessing than deliverance from evil" was the lesson Crusoe had to learn and as Defoe says in his preface, he hopes that Crusoe's story will be "to the instruction of others by this example."

Just as the plot was subject to control by the doctrine so, too, was Crusoe's characterization. Many objections have been raised with regard to Crusoe as a "real" character. Ian Watt, for example, states that none of Crusoe's achievements, especially those on the island, are credible or wholly convincing. The reason, he says, is that "Defoe disregarded two important facts: the social nature of all human economies, and the actual psychological

effects of solitude."²⁷ J. Paul Hunter writes that "Robinson Crusoe's lack of sexual involvement has often been remarked ... During his twenty-eight years on the island, Crusoe is not only physically separated from women, but he seems unconscious about his sexual isolation and fails even to mention the implications of his forced celibacy. Finally, back in England, he does marry and father three children, but he recounts the matter only briefly, in the final pages of the book."²⁸

I would agree that, measured by the standards of what we might call "normality", Crusoe can be labelled both a sexual and a psychological freak. But Crusoe's story was told as an illustration of a doctrine and, as a character, Crusoe was entirely determined by that doctrine.

²⁷Ian Watt, The Rise of the Novel. (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1963), p. 90.

²⁸Hunter, The Reluctant Pilgrim, p. 205.

Crusoe had to be established as a character afflicted by misfortune, whether it was of his own making or not. Initially, then, he is presented as a rebellious, undutiful son whose misfortunes arise from the fact that he disobeys his father and runs away to sea instead of doing his duty and following his calling. As I pointed out in Chapter II, for the Puritan the meaning of the calling was that man's place in the scheme of things had been chosen for him by God, and it was a man's duty to work hard within the confines of his chosen place.

Crusoe's father reminds him of his calling, as does the captain of the sunken vessel of Crusoe's first sea journey when he tries to persuade Crusoe to return home.

"Why, sir," said I, "will you go to sea no more?" "That is another case," said he; "it is my calling and therefore my duty."²⁹

Crusoe, however, does not obey his calling and runs off to sea again.

²⁹Ibid., p. 19.

The sins of Crusoe's early life include not only rebellion and disobedience, but also drunkenness and a stifling of his conscience. I have also mentioned above (See Chapter II) that Ames had argued that man's knowledge of God rests in conscience and that conscience is judged by the truth of Scripture. Crusoe, on the island, comes to a knowledge of God as his conscience awakens and begins to move him to an awareness of his early wickedness. Of his early life and sinfulness, Crusoe writes:

I had, alas! no divine knowledge; what I had received by the good instruction of my father was then worn out by an uninterrupted series, for eight years, of seafaring wickedness, and a constant conversation with nothing but such as were like myself, wicked and profane to the last degree. I do not remember that I had in all that time one thought that so much as tended either to looking upwards towards God or inwards towards a reflection upon my own ways. But a certain stupidity of soul, without desire of good, or conscience of evil, had entirely overwhelmed me, and I was all that the most hardened, unthinking, wicked creature among our common sailors

can be supposed to be, not having the least sense, either of the fear of God in danger or of thankfulness to God in deliverances.³⁰

Although in the first two storms Crusoe is shown as being completely terrified and incapacitated, as his story unfolds and he is called upon to face further misfortunes, Crusoe does display qualities of resourcefulness and courage. The ultimate test of these qualities will come after he is shipwrecked and alone on the island. But of course, Crusoe is also to be sustained throughout his period of affliction on the island by his newly found knowledge of God and his daily reading of the Scriptures, the Word of God.

As a character, whose qualities were pre-determined by the doctrine Defoe had formulated, Crusoe nevertheless "grows" within the limits that he is allowed to, by that doctrine. Casting aside

³⁰ Ibid., p. 90.

the irresponsible attitude of his earlier life, he becomes aware of his duties, particularly as a Christian, as his conversion of Friday shows. He also displays patience, courage, ingenuity and, not least, a growing spiritual awareness, this latter quality, of course, being most particularly called for by the doctrine.

It is well-known that the Puritans in their sermons favoured the "plain style". In fact Puritan sermon manuals all begin with the assertion that style was "to be kept wholly subordinate to the Bible, to be nothing but a transparent glass through which the light of revelation might shine, to have no character of its own, to be unrelievedly plain."³¹ It is true that Puritan sermons displayed a wide range of thinking as to what actually constitutes "plain". However, the principle that all Puritan sermons rested upon

³¹Miller, p. 349.

was that "content was more important than form, that the essence of any composition was the doctrinal handling of the text, and that style was a secondary concern."³²

This, of course, followed the procedure advocated by Ramus. In separating the laws of invention and disposition from rhetoric, Ramus had restricted the role of rhetoric simply to style and delivery. Ramus and his disciple, Talon, had divided elocution into tropes and figures. The Puritans, however, were extremely cautious in their use of figures preferring to speak in simple indicative sentences, using those tropes which could be worked into the discourse after the abstract proposition had been stated: similes, metaphors, illustrations, and examples.³³

Following the structure of the Puritan sermon in his handling of text and doctrine,

³² Ibid., p. 354.

³³ Ibid., p. 356.

Defoe also uses the Puritan sermon style of writing for Robinson Crusoe. His sentence structure, in the main, is simple and direct as any sample taken at random shows:

But all I could make use of was all that was valuable. I had enough to eat, and to supply my wants, and what was all the rest to me? If I killed more flesh than I could eat, the dog must eat it, or the vermin. If I sowed more corn than I could eat, it must be spoiled.³⁴

Defoe's use of "ornamentation" is also restrained as, for example, when he wishes to illustrate the point that "all the good things of this world are no farther good to us than they are for our use."³⁵ He writes:

The most covetous griping miser in the world would have been cured of the vice of covetousness, if he had been in my case; for I possessed infinitely more than I knew what to do with.³⁶

³⁴Defoe, Robinson Crusoe, p. 129.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Ibid.

Again, to illustrate Crusoe's isolation on the island from the rest of the world with all its temptations and wickedness, Defoe uses a Biblical allusion and compares Crusoe to Abraham who reminds Dives that "Between me and thee is a great gulf fixed." The comparison is not extended, and instead Crusoe spells out very simply what he means by this:

In the first place, I was removed from all the wickedness of the world here. I had neither the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, or the pride of life. I had nothing to covet; for I had all that I was now capable of enjoying.³⁷

Speaking of the style of the Puritan sermon, Ames writes that the Puritan preacher must refrain from using obscure or learned references "unless very seldome [sic] ... when urgent necessitie or certaine hope of fruit doth seeme to require such a thing, much lesse words or sentences of Latine, Greeke, or Hebrew, which the

³⁷Ibid., p. 128.

people do not understand."³⁸ Defoe, in Robinson Crusoe, is careful to translate the very few non-English words he uses, even though it may be perfectly obvious what they mean, so that when the captain of the Portuguese ship calls Crusoe "Seignior Inglese", Defoe immediately translates "Mr. English".³⁹ With other words which would probably be unfamiliar to his readers, Defoe also provides the translation. For example, he speaks of a "proviedore", or steward of the monastery",⁴⁰ and an ingenio which, he says, the Portuguese "called the sugar-house".⁴¹ Ames also cautions against "far fetched Proems",⁴² which he glosses in a table at the end of his work as "beginnings". There is no extravagant or far-fetched beginning to Robinson Crusoe. It starts quite simply with

³⁸Ames, The Marrow of Sacred Divinity, p. 160.

³⁹Defoe, Robinson Crusoe, p. 37.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 274.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 275.

⁴²Ames, The Marrow of Sacred Divinity, p. 161.

the facts of Crusoe's birth and the details of his family.

The "plain style" of the Puritan sermon is reflected in the style of Robinson Crusoe; the pattern of the Puritan sermon form emerges in the plot, and Crusoe's characterization conforms to the doctrine which Defoe formulated from the text, "Call on me in the day of trouble, and I will deliver, and thou shalt glorify me." The form of a Puritan sermon, and the way in which rhetoric was applied to the form were based on the laws of Ramist logic. Defoe was exposed to Ramist method of handling texts and doctrines at Newington Green Academy where he studied the works of Ames, Baxter and Charnock whose own writings displayed this technique. Since Defoe was not writing a Puritan sermon in Robinson Crusoe we cannot look for the traditional arrangement of the Puritan sermon form in that work. Defoe does, however, work with the basic tools of text, doctrine and illustration, although he

expands the Puritan sermon form, which was based on logic, by introducing the element of time. Thus he constructs Robinson Crusoe; a didactic tale as he says in his preface, told by Crusoe himself and based on the truth of Scripture that "deliverance from sin is a much greater blessing than deliverance from affliction."

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