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COLONIALISM AND CAPITALIST IDEOLOGY IN *ROBINSON CRUSOE*[2]

This paper will aim to analyse the ways in which *Robinson Crusoe* corresponds with the ideology of early colonial capitalism which was burgeoning in Defoe's time, and of which he was a great proponent. Arguably, the novel presents the worldview of the flourishing capitalist class to which Defoe belonged, especially concerning the matters of trade, entrepreneurship, and colonial rule. This is particularly present in Crusoe's actions upon becoming shipwrecked, which embody the Protestant ethics of hard work, and also in the way he observes the island as his colonial dominion and Friday as his natural servant. The paper will seek to describe how the novel illustrates the economic background which leads to colonialism, and how the two give rise to a particular ideology which was present not just in Defoe's time, but in various shapes survives until today. For that purpose, the paper will rely on the way in which Terry Eagleton views and defines ideology, in the hope of giving an insight into the interplay of material conditions and ideology in the novel.

Key words: ideology, colonialism, capitalism, Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*

1. Introduction

Robinson Crusoe has been one of the defining novels of English literature, as it has captured the imagination of generations of readers since its first publication in 1719, and it has spawned a myriad of imitations and translations, while creating a genre of its own – the Robinsonade. The success of the novel may lie in the fact that it embodies and epitomises the general worldview of the time, especially in the British context, marked by ever-growing colonial expansionism, which in turn strengthened the ideas of British racial superiority and the belief in Britain's need to expand its colonial dominion. This attitude

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was succinctly put by Cecil Rhodes in his claims that 'We are the first race in the world' and 'The more of the world we inhabit, the better it is for the human race' (qtd in BOEHMER 2005: 42), and this attitude is, as the discussion will show, embodied by Crusoe himself, even though he preceded Rhodes by more than a century. Essentially, *Robinson Crusoe* embodies the dominant ideology of the time (and even of the current time), as defined by Terry Eagleton: 'Ideology... signifies the way men live out their roles in class society, the values, ideas and images which tie them to their social functions and so prevent them from a true knowledge of society as a whole' (EAGLETON 2006: 8)

Defoe, who 'represents the commercial spirit, expansive progressivism and fascination with technology' (ROBERTS 2000: xiii), disseminated and propagated such ideas through his fruitful non-fiction writing as much as through his fiction, of which *Robinson Crusoe* stands out as the most successful example, as it represents the dominant colonialist, entrepreneurial spirit in the most distilled way, despite the fact it is not the best piece of writing one can find. The novel is almost didactic in its emphasis on colonial expansion and the value of hard work, which 'was a paramount ethical obligation' (WATT 1951: 105) in the Protestant worldview, as it shows the capitalist ideal of a (preferably white) man who by his wit and strength conquers new territories, accumulates wealth, and brings civilisation and culture to savages and barbarians. Conquering territories and accumulating wealth were just natural parts of the workings of capitalism, while bringing civilisation and culture was merely an ideological excuse for colonialism. The drive for accumulating wealth is the most important factor in Crusoe's mind, just like in the minds of early capitalists such as Defoe, out of which stems colonialism as a natural extension of expansionism created by the drive for accumulating wealth, and the narrative of civilising savages appears merely as an ideological explanation for atrocities and subjugation.

However, as much as *Robinson Crusoe* serves as a didactic explanation of the tenets of Defoe's (and his time's) ideology, it cannot help but point to internal contradictions of such a worldview, that is, the differences between Crusoe's Christian, colonialist, entrepreneurial narrative, and his actual actions. The following discussion will focus on the ways in which the novel corresponds to the ideology of its time, while at the same time examining the ways in which that ideology relates to its material base, and how all that influences colonial domains, not only in the novel, but also in general.

2. Discussion

The novel begins with Crusoe's recounting his father's words with which he tried to persuade Crusoe to stay home instead of going on a voyage, and with which he expostulates his petty bourgeois idealism, by arguing that

the middle station, that is, the bourgeois class which was on the rise at the time, was the best and the most comfortable station for life. He says

> '… that mine was the middle state, or what might be called the upper station of low life, which he had found by long experience was the best state in the world, the most suited to human happiness, not exposed to the miseries and hardships, the labour and sufferings, of the mechanic part of making, and embarrasses with the pride, luxury, ambition, and envy of the upper part of mankind. He told me I might judge of the happiness of this state by this one thing, viz., that this was the state of life which all other people envied; that kings have frequently lamented the miserable consequences of being born to great things, and wished they had been placed in the middle of the two extremes, between the mean and the great; that the wise man gave his testimony to this as the just standard of true felicity, when he prayed to have neither poverty or riches' (DEFOE 2000: 2).

This passage describes the differing worldviews of the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy on the one hand, and on the other, the differences between the conservative outlook of Crusoe's father and the more progressive outlook of Crusoe himself, who expands the bourgeois drive for accumulating capital and wealth to another level, and seeks to amass his riches beyond the level of his father's, and the bourgeoisie of his generation. It is precisely this that sets him on his voyage and turns him into a coloniser eventually, and what has sent real-life colonisers on their voyages: the drive for profit. This excerpt also shows a glimpse of how the drive for profit precedes the creation of colonial attitudes and ideology, and consequently how the two are merely attempts to justify the actions of colonialists.

Furthermore, this excerpt may also mirror Defoe's own life, which was marked by his belonging to Protestant dissenters. Dissenters were 'a persecuted and disenfranchised minority, excluded to a large extent from public life' and they 'tended to work in commerce in the emerging new financial order that was to transform Britain' (RICHETTI 2005: 4). Like his father before him, Defoe had little choice but to become a merchant, and he 'embarked as a young man on a commercial career such as was open to dissenters, on a much more ambitious scale than his father' (RICHETTI 2005: 4). Therefore, it is quite possible to assume that there are hints of Defoe's own life in the novel. Moreover, it is important to notice that the 'early years of his [Defoe's] commercial career took place in what historians have called "the financial revolution" of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century in which modern financial practices began to emerge and when Great Britain began to take shape as an essentially commercial rather than agricultural nation' (RICHETTI 2005: 9). This coincides with 'the emergence within Britain of a powerful "fiscal-military state" from about 1680' (DAUNTON, HALPERN 1999: 4-5). Essentially, Defoe is

writing in a period of an expansion of British capitalism, and as a member of a class which had a lot to gain from that expansion. The form of the realist novel appears here as the most suitable means of narrating the colonialist experience and spreading the ideology that goes with it.

Crusoe, thus working according to his instinct for accumulation, set out to sea, 'without asking God's blessing, or my [his] father's, without any consideration of circumstances or consequences, and in an ill hour' (DEFOE 2000: 4). However, at the first inconvenience at sea, he starts to repent and regrets not listening to his father's advice, stating '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' (DEFOE 2000: 4-5). He has a personal struggle between his own aspirations and his father's conservatism, but his personal aspirations eventually win as soon as the sea calms down, and his entrepreneurial spirit is victorious over his father's conservative one. From then on, he is relentless in his path, and not even slavery under Moors prevents him from his determination. In this manner, he is turned into a romanticised version of a rugged individualistic explorer whose determination and skill can conquer all obstacles and help him prevail in the end.

The passages which describe his and Xury's voyage off the coast of Africa after escaping from slavery provide a window into the paranoid racism which was a staple of the dominant ideology and consequently of every colonial undertaking, and as such was a necessary part of not only Crusoe's worldview, but Defoe's worldview as well. Africans are described in animalistic terms which serve to effectively dehumanise them, but which also uncover colonialists' fear of them. One of his first contemplations of Africa refers to it as a 'truly barbarian coast' where 'whole nations of negroes were sure to surround us with their canoes, and destroy us; where we could ne'er once go on shore but we should be devoured by savage beasts, or more merciless savages of the human kind' (DEFOE 2000: 17). Later on, he comments that to 'have fallen into the hands of any of the savages, had been as base as to have fallen into the hands of lions and tigers' (DEFOE 2000: 18). Crusoe clearly links Africans to animals and perceives them just as dangerous as wild animals, thus perpetuating the racist narrative which describes non-Europeans as sub-humans which are to be either wiped out or subjugated.

This, however, is a tamer version of Defoe's own personal views, which were far more brutal and violent. He wrote:

> 'Barbarian kingdoms of Africa stood in the way of European commerce, why sho'd not the trading world... root those Barbarians off from the face of the Earth, to restore the Commerce of that Country from the rest of the trading World' (quoted in MACKINTOSH 2011: 29) (sic!).

This passage clearly shows the underlying motive for colonialism, and thus for the ideology to which Defoe subscribed; it is the drive for profit and for the accumulation of capital, and not the noble yearning to civilise the 'savages', who are obviously liable to extermination if they stand in the way of 'European commerce'.

Even when confronted with nothing but helpfulness and solidarity from African natives, Crusoe cannot help but retain his sense and air of superiority and even in such cases he acts as if they were his servants and subordinates. When, for instance, he kills a leopard in front of some Africans, he was 'willing to let them have it [the leopard's flesh] as a favour from' (DEFOE 2000: 22) him, as if he were the one to allocate African resources. Further on, he keeps the skin of the leopard, which he later sells for a good profit, and gets an abundance of food and water from the natives, while providing very little in return, which is one of the many instances in which he shows that 'he will help others only if it costs him nothing and if he can get something out of it' (NORDLUND 2011: 390), which is a typical behaviour stemming from his Puritan ideology of accumulation – he is inclined to offer as little as possible while taking as much as possible. Furthermore, this sheds some more light on Defoe's view of racial relations. The white Englishman is there to take and to profit, while black Africans are there to serve him, and not only do they serve him, it seems that they are only too happy to do so, which elucidates the racial hierarchy and stereotypes of the time. Indeed, this racial dynamic is so emphasised and exaggerated that it seems almost parodic. The same can be said of Crusoe's relationships with other people. They always seem to be rushing to help him and to share their supplies with him, while he does almost nothing in return. For example, the Portuguese captain essentially throws money at Crusoe for no discernible reason, after rescuing him, while he gets nothing in return, except Xury, for whom he also pays money. This also shows Crusoe's blatant disregard for non-Europeans; he uses Xury while he is useful, but is quick to sell him as an indentured servant to the captain. Thus, Crusoe epitomises a successful merchant and the drive for the accumulation of capital, while also serving as a display of racial and ethnic relations which stem from that drive for accumulation.

Owing to the captain's generous help, Crusoe manages to set up a successful plantation in Brazil, and after a few years, he is invited to a slave-trading venture to the coast of Africa, as someone who had previously sailed those waters, and of course, he has to invest nothing, he is just supposed to be there and guide them, which is another instance of that almost parodic logic of the novel, in which everyone just can seem to desist from doing everything in their power to help Crusoe. It is also interesting to note how his attitude towards slavery does not change despite having been a slave himself for a while, which goes to

show how deeply the belief in that institution is ingrained in his mentality. This very journey is the one which lands him on his island and in which he plays out what can be seen as the ultimate colonial fantasy; he gets a huge plot of uninhabited land where he can accumulate wealth by the sweat of his brow on the one hand, and on the other, set up another dominion of the empire. In this sense, the setting of the island can almost be seen as utopian, as it presents an idealised situation in which this colonial fantasy can be fulfilled.

After landing on the island, he shows very little, if any, regret for the lost lives of his fellow crew members and after briefly thanking God for saving his life, he focuses on what he can salvage from the ship. In other words, he focuses not on the lost lives, but rather on the possessions which he can get from the ship. On the one hand, this shows a great deal of idealised practicality and rugged individualism; instead of mourning, he sets off to create a new life and to, essentially, establish a colony. On the other hand, it is another instance of that drive for accumulation, which is looming everywhere in the novel, he is primarily interested in what he can procure from the situation to amass his wealth. Something similar can be seen later in the novel, when a ship is wrecked off the coast of his island, and a body of a sailor boy is washed on the shore. Again, Crusoe shows not a lot of emotion or empathy, but proceeds to quickly inspect the boy's pockets in order to get as much as possible out of the situation, as 'feeling is replaced by an inventory of the boy's possessions' (NORDLUND 2011: 386). This can be said for Crusoe in general, possession of things, humans and colonial domains is much more valuable than any actual human feelings. As Watt explains, Crusoe embodies 'the process of alienation by which capitalism tends to convert man's relationships with his fellows, and even to his own personality, into commodities to be manipulated' (WATT 1951: 112), and he 'treats his personal relationships in terms of their commodity value' (WATT 1951: 113).

After managing to get whatever he could from the wreck of the ship, Crusoe sets himself to work with typical Protestant zeal, and by using resources from what can effectively be called his colonial possession, setting an example of what a colonialist is supposed to be like. He praises hard labour, idealistically stating that 'by stating and squaring everything by reason, and by making the most rational judgment of things, every man may be in time master of every mechanic art' (DEFOE 2000: 51). However, such statements point to a contradiction in his worldview, in the sense that, as much as he praises labour and reiterates the myth of its dignity, what he essentially wants 'were unearned increments from the labour of others' (WATT 1951: 109). This can be seen, on the one hand, in the fact that he grew tired of being a plantation master in Brazil, and set out to procure slaves for himself, which is what got him on the island, and on the other, that he automatically sees Friday as a potential slave,

that is free workforce, and that he is more than happy to employ the labour of even the white people he rescues, thus further accumulating his possessions, while having more leisure time. More succinctly, Crusoe, in the manner of all capitalists, praises hard work ideologically, and does it personally if he is forced to, but in reality, he strives to acquire the hard work of other people, preferably slaves in colonial domains, who toil hardest, but are seemingly not dignified by their labour. After escaping from the island, he continues with the business which he had started 28 years earlier, which is based on the labour of slaves in Brazil, and not his own personal toiling. In Webber's terms, he prefers the 'adventurous capitalism' (qtd in WATT 1951: 109) which was the norm in his time, and which is presented like the most natural order possible, and not a single thought is given to the injustices of colonialism.

It is also interesting to note how his religious feelings become stronger as he acquires wealth and his station in life becomes more secure. As mentioned above, he turns to God when he is in trouble at sea, but as soon as the sea calms down, he becomes more secular and focuses on business, mentioning God only occasionally. He turns more seriously to religion in the middle of the novel, after his existence and livelihood are relatively secure, and he turns his thanks to God, stating '[God] has not only punished me less than my iniquity had deserved, but had so plentifully provided for me; this gave me great hopes that my repentance was accepted and that God had yet mercy in store for me' (DEFOE 2000: 101). Curiously, his thanks are not directed towards the actual people who had helped him, since he only seeks to take from them and give little or nothing in return, while God 'has no use for worldly things and is thus a perfect receiver of the gratuity' (NORDLUND 2011: 392-393), and stands as an 'extension of his secular desires' (ibid). This allows Crusoe to have a justification for and recognition of his colonial efforts, while also giving him further incentive for his work.

His religious feelings falter again after he comes across the footprint in the sand, which causes immense fear, and he states: 'All that former confidence in God, which was founded upon such wonderful experience as I had had of His goodness, now vanished, as if He that had fed me by miracle hitherto could not preserve, by His power, the provision which He had made for me by His goodness' (DEFOE 2000: 119). Such a small thing scares him so much that he loses his faith in God and barricades himself up in his cave, afraid to go out, thinking that it might have even been the devil trying to scare him. This scene accidentally shatters the myth of the rugged, brave, colonial adventurer, on which Crusoe is based, as he feels his colonial possession is under attack; that 'they [the natives] would find [his] enclosure, destroy all my corn, carry away all my flock of tame goats, and that I should perish at last for mere want' (ibid). In essence, he is terribly afraid of his private property being in danger, that he

automatically perceives the hypothetical presence of other humans as a threat, despite yearning for other people's company beforehand. Furthermore, the assumption that the footprint had been made by the savages from the mainland, and that they will do nothing but try to destroy his property further points to his racist attitudes and the way he sees non-Europeans – as dangerous, destructive, and barbarous, unable of providing company and comfort. Thus, the rugged colonialist is turned into a frightened man simply due to the fear that the racial other will try to damage his property.

The extent of his xenophobic attitudes can be seen in his remark that the footprint must have come from something else than the devil, as he concludes that it 'must be some more dangerous creature, viz., that it must be some of the savages of the mainland' (ibid). Here, again worldly matters prevail over the religious ones, but not in a way that leads to his better understanding of the world; they rather give way to racial prejudice and fear, as he deems the natives even worse than the devil himself, which puts them in the position of something which is more evil and vile, but at the same time more worthy of fear. Again, the idea of the rugged, fearless colonialist is shattered, and the underlying fear, uncertainty and insecurity of colonialism is revealed. This kind of attitude was far from uncommon in the 18th century. For example, James Wolfe, a British army officer commented on Native Americans by saying 'As an Englishman, I cannot see these things without the utmost horror and concern' (quoted in WAY 1999: 128). Another British officer, John Forbes, stated 'Our Indians I have at length brought to reason by treating them as they always ought to be, with the greatest signs of scorning indifference and disdain, that I could decently employ' (Ibid), which is similar to how Crusoe approaches Friday most of the time.

Moreover, it is also very telling that Defoe's imagination automatically imagines the natives as cannibals, as was the custom of Europeans in general at his time. While ritualistic cannibalism most certainly existed in some parts of the world, the reports of cannibalism were mostly greatly exaggerated[3], which was fuelled by colonial racism. This also fit very well into the colonialist narrative of savages vs. civilised Europeans, and served to further fuel it while justifying colonial expansion into new territories, in order to civilise those territories, that is, to extract their resources and subjugate the 'savages', whether they are really cannibals or not. It is no wonder then, that this narrative is included in the quintessential colonialist novel, and occupies a great portion of the main character's musings and contemplations. His initial plans, however, are not peaceful in the slightest; he is disgusted and plans to eviscerate them, rather than to try to bring civilisation and European customs to them, stating

3 See: Arens, William. *The Man-Eating Myth : Anthropology and Anthropophagy*. Oxford University Press, 1976.

'I could think of nothing but how I might destroy some of these monsters in their cruel, bloody entertainment, and, if possible, save the victim they should bring hither to destroy' (DEFOE 2000: 129). While his contemplations include possibly saving someone, his preparations resemble war preparations more than anything, and it is clear that his intentions are murderous. His attitude changes after some time, when his religious feelings take over and he realises that it is essentially God's will for them to be cannibals, and that he cannot interfere in God's will. He furthermore concludes that they are innocent to him, and even goes so far to compare their ritual cannibalism to Christians' killing prisoners of war 'though they threw down their arms and submitted' (DEFOE 2000: 131). Even though this approach might seem humane at first, what underlines it is the simple fact that he cannot gain anything from attacking them and slaughtering them; they were not putting his property in danger and were causing no harm to him apart from injuring his civilised European feelings. His decision to not obliterate the natives thus stems more from pure practicality than from compassion.

Practicality changes his attitude once again, when he decides that the only way to successfully escape was to enslave one of the natives, preferably a victim of the ritual. He still has ethical problems with that, and comments that his 'heart trembled at the thoughts of shedding so much blood' (DEFOE 2000: 153), but nevertheless, practical needs overpower the ethical concern, and he goes about his plan. Here, again, it can be seen how a coloniser's vision of the world, that is, his ideology, is shaped by the actual necessities of his rule and his intentions; he can quickly change sides and go from genocidal tendencies to peaceful ones, and then back to genocide, based on what his needs and plans dictate. He furthermore goes so far as to fantasise about getting even two or three slaves, and to make them completely obedient, which is a polar opposite of his previous humanistic musings, while showing how religion quickly becomes irrelevant in the face of necessity.

With these deliberations, he comes into the possession of Friday, after finally acting out on his fantasies, and secures himself a loyal colonial subject, who is probably the most famous of such literary characters. Of course, like all the other characters in the novel, Friday is more than happy and willing to serve Crusoe, kneeling in front of him and placing Crusoe's foot on his head, which Crusoe perceives as a 'token of swearing to be my slave for ever' (DEFOE 2000: 156). His views of Friday are rather ambivalent, as he always perceives him as a lesser human than himself, while occasionally allowing him some qualities which could be attributed to the civilised, that is, to the Europeans, when he, for example, says that 'he had all the sweetness and softness of an European in his countenance too, especially when he smiled' (DEFOE 2000: 157). Such positive comments about Native Americans were not so uncom-

mon, especially during their first contacts with Europeans. One traveller remarked that the natives were 'very handsome and goodly people, and in their behaviour as mannerly and civil as any of Europe' (quoted in BROWN 1999: 89). Even Columbus himself remarked that 'the whole [native] population is well-made' (Ibid). However, these occasional outbursts of accepting Friday's dignity and humanity, nevertheless, do not prevent Crusoe from keeping him in bondage and using him as a slave. It is also interesting to note how much his standpoint differs from Defoe's personal one, described in one of the passages above, which might point to Defoe's deliberate attempt to tone down the actual reasons behind colonialism and its consequences to create the image of the British Empire as a positive force in the world. Crusoe's contemplation of Spanish brutality, which he describes as 'a mere butchery' (DEFOE 2000: 131-132), also points to this; it is as though Defoe is trying to paint one empire as better than the other one, asserting Britain's superiority.

Asserting this superiority continues with his attempt to turn Friday into a slave by teaching him British customs and asserting the class and racial hierarchy which stems from colonialism, that is, the property-owning white man stands at the top of the hierarchy, and the dispossessed native at the bottom. This process begins by giving him an English name, thus symbolically erasing his real identity, and, afterwards, by teaching him to call him 'master', presenting it as his own name (DEFOE 2000: 158). By naming people according to the social structure of colonialism, and in British terms, he asserts his dominance over Friday, and teaches him to be a subservient servant who is to be taught proper manners and civilised customs. As Boehmer notes, 'Crusoe, we remember, made a servant out of Friday by attempting to convert him into a copy of himself. Crucially, colonialist constructions of the other as in need of civilisation were used to justify the dispossession of natives' (BOEHMER 2005: 99). In other words, what Crusoe seeks to achieve is not civilising Friday as much as instructing him to be a good labourer in order to amass possessions and wealth[4], as is only logical in his bourgeois mind. In other words, he is establishing the roots of capitalism on the island.

Eventually, Crusoe comes to admire Friday as a labourer, and makes comments about him praising his capabilities and his loyalty. He begins his commentary stating that 'never man had a more faithful, loving, sincere servant than Friday was to me; without passions, sullenness, or designs, perfectly obliged and engaged… and I dare say he would have sacrificed his life for the saving mine, upon any occasion whatsoever' (DEFOE 2000: 160), and then goes on to comment on the general nature of the natives and even compares them positively to Europeans:

4 Obviously, since there is no money and no use for money on the island, wealth can only be seen simply as a mass of possessions Crusoe can accumulate, which can have only use value, and no market value.

> 'This frequently gave me occasion to observe, and that with wonder, that however it had pleased God, in His providence, and in the government of the works of His hands, to take from so great a part of the world of His creatures the best uses to which their faculties and the powers of their souls are adapted, yet that He has bestowed upon them the same powers, the same reason, the same affections, the same sentiments of kindness and obligation, the same passions and resentments of wrongs, the same sense of gratitude, sincerity, fidelity, and all the capacities of doing good, and receiving good, that He has given to us; and that when He pleases to offer to them occasions of exerting these, they are as ready, nay, more ready, to apply them to the right uses for which they were bestowed than we are' (DEFOE 2000: 160).

Even though this might seem as a positive step forward from a typical colonialist representation of natives, and it surely is less conservative than Defoe's personal views, this passage still perceives the natives through a colonialist lens and worldview, and essentially praises them for their usefulness to the colonial master rather for their inherent human value. Obviously, the chances God can bestow upon them to display the virtues Crusoe describes can only be bestowed under colonial rule, and what Crusoe essentially does here is praising them as workforce, as a means to amass wealth, maintaining their position on the bottom of the class/race hierarchy, while keeping the Europeans on top, as the ones who reap the products of the natives' labour.

However, his faith in Friday is not absolute, as he later doubts his loyalty, and tries to test him, which also uncovers the extent to which he actually cares about spreading civilisation; he prefers to accumulate wealth, and preferably to run away. He offers Friday to make him a boat to sail back to his people, after Friday expressed a wish for that. This part heavily projects colonial ideology on Friday, as he first refuses to go there without Crusoe, and after Crusoe declines to do so, Friday sees that as a punishment, and offers a hatchet to Crusoe to kill him, saying 'Take kill Friday, no send Friday away' (DEFOE 2000: 174), seemingly unable to live without his beloved colonial master. Before that, Friday tried to convince Crusoe to go back with him to instruct his people, that is to 'teach wild mans to be good, sober, tame mans; you [Crusoe] tell them know God, pray God, and live new life' (ibid), apparently completely convinced in the rightfulness of colonialist ideology. This Crusoe describes as 'a thing which, as I had no notion of myself, so I had not the least thought or intention or desire of undertaking it' (Ibid), clearly showing how little he cares about the efforts to civilize the 'savages', and shows that his main interest is furthering his own position. In this instance, Friday is shown as someone who has completely internalised colonialist ideology and sees his own culture as inferior, and begs for the white man to civilise him, while being unable to see life without the master, as he is so tied to him. This makes him an idealised

version of a colonial servant, and an embodiment of how colonialist ideology sees the native – as unable to exist without the strong guidance of the civilised.

The extent to which he prefers European life to the native one can further be seen in his action to rescue the Spaniard from the cannibals, where at first he contemplates not engaging in fighting with them, as he thinks 'what call, what occasion, much less what necessity, I was in to go and dip my hands in blood, to attack people who had neither done or intended me any wrong; who, as to me, were innocent' (DEFOE 2000: 178), while being well aware that they are going to ritually eat another human being, and decides to leave the judgment to God. His attitude towards cannibals changes again after he is informed that the victim is a European, which makes him 'indeed enraged to the highest degree' (DEFOE 2000: 179), and he decides to attack the cannibals to save the European, and successfully does so in the end. However, even this is not completely stripped of self-interest, as he does not even regard the Spaniard as an equal, but rather as a subject of his dominion, just like he does with the English captain and his crew later in the story, and he states 'I thought myself very rich in subjects' (DEFOE: 2000: 185). This just mirrors the class division among Europeans themselves; Crusoe, as the one owning private property, has the upper hand, and those who are dispossessed depend on him to survive, not matter if they are natives or Europeans.

3. Conclusion

Robinson Crusoe thus stands as a monument of the time of great colonial expansion, as well as a celebration of the ideological tenets of the time, such as spreading civilisation and Christianity, the dignity of labour, the rugged individual, the supremacy of the British (and Europeans in general), and the righteousness of the conquerors. However, it unwittingly shows contradictions, hypocrisy and inconsistencies inherent in that ideology, and it points to the striking differences between the material, economic base of colonialism, and the ideology, that is, what the colonisers liked to think about themselves. In that sense, the novel stands as a great example of what Eagleton calls the principle of contradiction, that is, the 'distinction between a work's subjective intention and objective meaning' (EAGLETON 2006: 23). In other words, while setting out to create a didactic celebration of colonialism and bourgeois values, it uncovers the brutal and hypocritical nature of the two, and serves as a great insight into the logic of colonialism and early capitalism.

It uncovers the insatiable thirst for accumulation and profit which still stands to this time, and which is exemplified in Crusoe's relations with all other people, whether they are European or native. Of course, he is obviously biased against natives, as he deems European lives more valuable and European culture far superior, while trying to turn the natives into an image of

Europeans, but he will use Europeans as well whenever it suits the purpose of his narrow interests, just like when he made a deal with the Spaniards to escape together only to turn his back on them and escape with the English captain. The essence of his adventures lies primarily in the desire to gain wealth, and even when he is trapped alone on the island, seemingly with no use for wealth, he will continue to act according to bourgeois logic and try to accumulate as much wealth as possible, while preaching the essentials of his ideology. When he comes across other people, his true intentions are shown, and the logic behind this ideology unveils itself.

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KOLONIJALIZAM I KAPITALISTIČKA IDEOLOGIJA U ROMANU *ROBINZON KRUSO*

Cilj ovog rada je da analizira načine na koje se *Robinzon Kruso* poklapa sa ideologijom ranog kolonijalnog kapitalizma koji je bio u zamahu u Defoovo vreme i čiji je Defo bio veliki zagovornik. Može se smatrati da ovaj proman predstavlja svetonazor cvetajuće kapitalističke klase kojoj je i Defo pripadao, posebno kada je u pitanju trgovina, preduzetništvo i kolonijalna vladavina. Ovo je posebno prisutno u Krusoovim delima nakon brodoloma, koja oličavaju protestantsku etiku rada, kao i u tome što posmatra ostrvo kao svoj kolonijalni posed, a Petka kao prirodnog slugu. Ovaj rad će pokušati da opiše načine na koje ovaj roman ilustruje ekonomsku pozadinu iz koje proizlazi kolonijalizam i kako iz toga nastaje specifična ideologija, koja nije bila prisutna samo u Defoovo vreme, već u različitim oblicima preživljava do danas. Za tu svrhu, rad će se oslanjati na način na koji Teri Iglton posmatra i definiše ideologiju, u nadi da će pružiti uvid u međuodnos materijalnih uslova i ideologije u ovom romanu.

Ključne reči: ideologija, kolonijalizam, kapitalizam, Defo, *Robinzon Kruso*