

# NOTES

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## TITLE-PAGE

An imitation of the title-page of De Foe's novel :  
« The | Life | and | Strange Surprizing | Adventures |  
of | Robinson Crusoe, | of York, Mariner : | Who lived  
Eight and Twenty Years, | all alone in an un-inhabited  
Island on the | Coast of America, near the Mouth of |  
the Great River of Oroonoque; | Having been cast on  
Shore by Shipwreck, where- | in all the Men perished  
but himself. | With | An Account how he was at last  
as strangely deli- | ver'd by Pyrates. | Written by  
Himself. » The typographical arrangement of both  
titles is practically the same. — The title of Gildon's  
work does not correspond exactly to the contents of the  
pamphlet, but it was intended to excite the reader's  
curiosity.

- l. 6. — D... De F... means Daniel de Foe. Throughout the pamphlet D.n is put for Dan, and D...l for Daniel (with perhaps an intention to suggest D(evi)l as well as D(anie)l).
- l. 8. — De Foe always styled himself a « trader » and denied he had ever stood behind the counter; and, in fact, as early as 1683, he had a wholesale office in Freeman's Yard, nearly opposite the ontrance to Change Alley. He exported hosiery and cloth, and imported wines and drugs. Whenever his enemies wanted to wound his pride, they called him *hosier*, sock-seller, or civet-cat merchant.
- l. 10. — De Foe was born in 1660, so that he was 59 when Gildon wrote his pamphlet.
- l. 11. — There is some truth in saying that De Foe lived by *himself*, because his work as a governmental spy pre-

vented his having many friends, and he never mixed with « polite » or literary circles.

*North Britain.* This alludes to De Foe's frequent visits to Scotland, from 1706 to 1712. He was sent by Harley to watch events during the discussions about the Union, and later to study the consequences of the treaty.

- l. 12. — See note to p. III, l. 16.
- l. 13. — *Discoveries* : this word does not apply to any precise part of Gildon's pamphlet. It alludes probably to De Foe's plans, most of which had been explained in his *Essay upon Projects* (1697).
- l. 18. — Robinson Crusoe always calls Friday « my man Friday ».
- l. 22. — « Let him be deceived, who wants to be deceived » (Cp. Luke VIII, 8). Latin epigraphs were the rule in pamphlets. Swift, in the *Examiner*, taunted De Foe with being « illiterate », and De Foe was sufficiently concerned to answer : « I have been in my time pretty well master of five languages, and have not lost them yet, though I write no bill over my door, nor set Latin quotations in the front of the Review » (Rev. VII, 455).
- l. 23. — J. Roberts had already published two of Gildon's works : the *New Rehearsal* (1714), and *Canons, or the Vision* (1717). He always prudently refrained from publishing seditious libels.

#### THE PREFACE

P. III. — The beginning is an imitation of the Preface to *Robinson Crusoe* : « If ever the story of any private man's adventures in the world were worth making public, and were acceptable when published, the Editor of this account thinks this will be so. — The wonders of this man's life exceed all that (he thinks) is to be found extant; the life of one man being scarce capable of a greater variety. The story is told with modesty, with seriousness, and with a religious application of events... » — Then the texts differ.

- l. 14. — There is some truth in this sarcasm : in his prefaces and dedications, De Foe showed no small opinion of his own merits; and even when he wished to appear

modest and humble (as in the *Letter to Mr. How*, 1701), his humility savoured much of the Pharisee.

- l. 16. — An allusion to De Foe's political *changes*. He was a Moderate Whig, but his attachment to Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, led him to compromise with his conscience, when, in 1710, Harley became the head of a Tory ministry.
- l. 18 *etc.* — Proteus, a sea-god who is represented as having knowledge of the past, present and future; but unwilling to give away his knowledge, he assumed different shapes in order to terrify those who came to consult him. Menelaus took him by surprise during his sleep, and seized him, holding more tightly at each new shape he assumed, until at last having exhausted his tricks, the God returned to his ordinary form and gave Menelaus the information he wanted (*Odyssey*).

P. IV. — l. 7. — In reality there were about 19 cities which claimed the honour of being Homer's birthplace. But the common tradition mentions only 7 of them, viz. Chios, Smyrna, Cyme, Colophon, Pylos, Argos and Athens.

l. 10. — *Nonjurors, Papists, and Atheists.* — This is entirely false. De Foe, a staunch Dissenter, always waged an implacable war against Jacobite Priests (Nonjurors), Roman Catholics, and Atheists whom he called Men-devils (*Serious Reflections of Robinson Crusoe*). He had so zealously endeavoured to thwart the efforts of the Jacobites that he would probably have been hanged if the Pretender « had enjoyed his own again ».

l. 18. — This last sentence is an imitation of the last sentence in *Robinson Crusoe*: « all these things, with some very surprising incidents in some new adventures of my own for ten years more, I may, perhaps, give a farther account of hereafter ».

#### THE DIALOGUE

P. V. — l. 4. — De Foe hated being called Daniel *Foe*, which was his real name. In 1695, when he had become a courtier, he had assumed the aristocratic particle *De*, thus reverting to the primitive name which was prob-

ably borne by his Flemish ancestors (See our book : *Daniel De Foe et ses romans*, I, 3). Throughout the pamphlet itself, Gildon calls him Foe (see p. XIV).

- l. 8. — De Foe had been educated at *Newington Green*, in Morton's Academy, and finding the country agreeable, fixed his abode at *Newington Town* (also called Stoke Newington) in 1709. *Robinson Crusoe* was written in his large house in Church Street, which was almost a mansion, with a magnificent garden and extensive pleasure-grounds. He often went on horseback to London ( $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles), returning home in the evening. It is unlikely that De Foe ever in reality crossed the fields on foot after midnight, when he had a coach and horses, and very well knew that the environs of London were not safe.
- l. 16. — The beginning of the Augustan Period was the age of kidnappers and highwaymen : the exploits of Cartouche, Jack Sheppard, Jonathan Wild, are famous in the literature of the time. De Foe invented very successful biographies of rogues, such as *Moll Flanders*, and *Colonel Jack*. In 1728, Gay's *Beggars Opera* was received with extraordinary applause.
- P. VI. — l. 1. — *Geneva*, or gin, « a mixed water », newly imported from Holland. Its cheapness made it very popular, and in 1719 gin-shops were opening everywhere. Some retailers even exhibited placards in their windows intimating that there « people might get drunk for 1 d. and clean straw in comfortable cellars would be provided for customers ». De Foe wrote against the immoderate use of gin, and advocated good English beer in its stead. (See his articles in Applebee's and Mist's Journals, and the pamphlets he wrote under the pseudonym of Andrew Moreton).
- l. 2. — That the roads were unsafe about Stoke Newington may be seen by a reference to contemporary papers. The *Daily Post* for Feb. 6<sup>th</sup> 1720 announced : « On Wednesday last (Feb. 3<sup>rd</sup>) in the evening, the stage-coach was robb'd near the Palatine houses, going from the town to Stoke Newington, by two highwaymen who took from the company their money, a watch, and from one gentlewoman about 30 pounds' worth of

new cloaths ». But De Foe was no coward. He often sent challenges to men who threatened to cane him. « If this gentleman thinks himself capable to give me personal correction, he knows me well enough, and need never want an opportunity to be welcome » (*Letter to Mr. How*)... « I move about the world unguarded and unarmed; a little stick, not strong enough to correct a dog, supplies the place of Mr. Observator's [Tutchin] great oaken towel; a sword sometimes, perhaps, for decency, but it is all harmless, to a mere nothing, and can do no hurt anywhere but just at the tip of it, called the point: and what is that in the hands of a feeble author? » (*Review*, II, 214)... « As to defence, I have some thoughts to stay at home by night, and by day to wear a piece of armour on my back; the first, because I am persuaded these murderers will not do their work by daylight; and the second, because I firmly believe they will never attempt it fairly to my face. » (*Review*, VI, Pref.). — His enemies vainly tried to waylay him; some of them had their revenge on his brother-in-law, Samuel Tuffley, whom they mercilessly caned on one occasion (1711).

- l. 7. — *Philistines*: perhaps Gildon is sneering at De Foe's frequent references to the Bible.
- l. 9. — *Secret Hint*: De Foe believed that the sudden impulses of our mind are caused by a friendly *daimon*, the messenger of God's Providence. Instances of the curious influence of the Supernatural World on the destiny of men are innumerable in *Robinson Crusoe*. In the *Vision of the Angelic World* (3rd vol.) he dedicates whole pages to the question. He sums up his ideas in a passage of the first vol. (p. 72): « When we are in a quandary, as we call it, a doubt, or hesitation, whether to go this way or that way, a secret hint shall direct us to go this way when we intended to go another way; nay, when sense, our own inclination, and perhaps business has called to go the other way, yet a strange impression upon the mind, from we know not what springs, and by we know not what power, shall overrule us to go this way, and it shall afterwards appear that had we gone that way which we would have gone, and even to our imagination ought

to have gone, we should have been ruined and lost... »

- l. 14. — This is a mixture of Crusoe's dress as described by De Foe and the classical dress of conspirators. — The hatchet was the only weapon Crusoe would give at first to Friday.
- l. 20. — Friday is described as a good sprinter. He fled from his would-be butchers « with exceeding strength and swiftness », and Crusoe tells us « he was the swiftest fellow of his feet that I ever saw ». (p. 93).
- l. 28. — *Devils of thy own raising*. — This expression occurs in Lucan (I, 486), and later in Montaigne (*Apol.*) and Pascal (*Pensées*, Brunschvicg ed. II, 88).
- l. 31. — Poll (Crusoe's parrot), waking his master, calls aloud : « Poor Robin Crusoe ! Where are you ? Where have you been ? How came you here ? » (p. 62).

P. VII. — l. 2. — *Paradise Lost*, book II.

- l. 11. — A parody of the absurd episode of the bear in the last pages of De Foe's novel. Friday, spying a « very monstrous bear » says to his master : « O pray ! O pray no shoot ! me shoot by and then ». He entices the bear up a tree, then on to a small bough, which he shakes lustily, « making good laugh » all the while. He at last shoots the bear, and turns triumphantly to Crusoe, saying : « So we kill bear in my country. » (p. 111).
- l. 17. — Gildon here makes rather witty use of his belief that bears could not exist in Friday's tropical country (see p. 28).
- l. 19. — It is strange to hear Friday quote this name from *Reynard the Fox*, which was hardly to be known in his country « near the mouth of the great river of Oroonoque ».
- l. 22. — Perhaps this expression is intended to ridicule De Foe's solemn manner in his articles of the *Review*, — as the idea of the whole sentence may be intended to ridicule Crusoe's reflections on the helplessness of man : « I then reflected that God, who was not only righteous but omnipotent, as he had thought fit thus to punish and afflict me, so he was able to deliver me ; that if he did not think fit to do it, it was my unquestioned duty to resign myself absolutely and entirely to his

will; and, on the other hand, it was my duty also to hope in him, pray to him, and quietly to attend dictates and directions of his daily providence ». (p. 66).

- l. 30. — « Before the tribunal of Conscience ». — De Foe's adversaries taunted him with not knowing Latin, an accusation which annoyed him greatly. (See *Review* II, 149, and VIII, 429, and the *Complete English Gentleman*, p. 200). — *Free-school* and *House learning* are the vague terms by which De Foe describes his hero's learning: « My father, who was very ancient, had given me a competent share of learning as far as house education and a country free-school generally go. » Gildon criticises these terms again on pp. X and 6 (see the notes to these pages).

P. VIII. — l. 5. — « 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... » (p. 44).

- l. 8. — « ... When I got on shore first here, and found all my ship's crew drowned and myself spared, I was surprised with a kind of ecstasy and some transports of soul, which, had the grace of God assisted, might have come up to true thankfulness, but it ended where it began, in a mere common flight of joy, or as I may say, being glad I was alive, without the least reflection upon the distinguishing goodness of the hand which had preserved me...; even just the same common sort of joy which seamen generally have after they have got safe on shore from a shipwreck, which they drown all in the next bowl of punch, and forget almost as soon as it is over, and all the rest of my life was like it... » (p. 44). Crusoe came back to the worship of God only when a violent fever put him in mind of death.

- l. 11-15. — Gildon alludes to Crusoe's statement on p. 58: « falling early into seafaring company, all that little sense of religion which I had entertained was laughed out of me by my messmates ». Gildon's criticism that De Foe abused English sailors is unjust. De Foe

always considered individuals and not nations; Crusoe met with a Portuguese who was honest and kind to him, but this Portuguese was not an ordinary sailor. The English captain of the ship that rescued Crusoe from his island is described as a just and bold fellow. It is true that, in the *Further Adventures*, the English crew of Crusoe's nephew's ship consists mostly of cruel and dissolute Englishmen. But among the colony of Crusoe's island there are both « good » and « bad » Englishmen. Though De Foe's love for paradox led him to describe honest and pious Spaniards and wicked Englishmen, he did not systematically condemn the English nation. Indeed, his writings are more conspicuous for jingoism than for xenomania (cp. p. 108).

- l. 22. — « I had once a mind to have gone to the Brazils, and have settled myself there, for I was, as it were, naturalised to the place; but I had some little scruple in my mind about religion; which insensibly drew me back, of which I shall say more presently. However, it was not religion that kept me from going thither for the present; and as I had made no scruple of being openly of the religion of the country all the while I was among them, so neither did I yet; only that now and then having of late thought more of it than formerly, when I began to think of living and dying among them, I began to regret my having professed myself a Papist, and thought it might not be the best religion to die in ». (p. 108).
- l. 30. — *Popish Priests* : the Prior of the Monastery of St Augustine in Brazil, who administered Crusoe's property during his stay on the island, is a kind and honest man. In the *Further Adventures*, a French Catholic priest, who is both pious and tolerant is introduced. The Catholic Spaniards who inhabit Crusoe's island are peaceful and industrious men. Father Simon, a missionary whom Crusoe meets in China, is « courteous, easy in his manners and very agreeable company ». De Foe loved paradox, and delighted to bewilder the mind of his simple readers; indeed, to a Puritan reader of De Foe's time, a virtuous Papist was a greater wonder than a unicorn.



l. 31. — *Popish religion* : this is exaggerated. Crusoe admired some individual Catholics, but not Popery as a whole. He attacked « Romish Superstition » (p. 86), the Inquisition (p. 94), and, in the *Further Adventures*, he denounced Catholic intolerance (p. 46), Catholic errors (p. 59) and Catholic fanaticism (pp. 57, 72); he also bitterly criticised the work of Catholic missionaries (pp. 75-76).

P. IX. — l. 2. — Crusoe is 63 when he leaves England to revisit his island. He returns to London ten year after, having visited Madagascar, India, China, and having crossed Asia from Pekin to Archangel. A strenuous voyage for an old man !

l. 10. — Gildon is right : Friday's intelligence and extraordinary readiness in learning would be impossible in a Caribbee savage.

l. 12 *etc.* — « I made Friday go out upon the deck, and call out aloud to them in his language to know what they meant; which accordingly he did. Whether they understood him or not, that I know not ; but as soon as he had called to them, six of them, who were in the foremost or nighest boat to us, turned their canoes from us, and, stooping down, showed us their naked backsides... Whether this was a defiance or challenge we know not ; or whether it was done in mere contempt, or a signal to the rest, but immediately Friday cried out they were going 'o shoot; and unhappily for him (poor fellow) they let fly about 300 of their arrows, and, to my inexpressible grief, killed poor Friday, no other man being in their sight. » (*Further Adventures*, pp. 55-6).

l. 15. — But Crusoe might reasonably have hoped that Friday could have made himself understood by men of a neighbouring tribe, even if their language was not exactly the dialect spoken by his own.

l. 25. — i. e. the *French Priest* rescued by Crusoe from a burning ship, who afterwards evangelized the colony on the island ; *Will Atkins*, the pirate left on the island, who reformed and became a good Christian ; the *Priest in China* (Father Simon), Crusoe's companion in China ; the *Nephew's ship's Crew*, the gang of sail-

ors who behaved so cruelly in Madagascar, and who, annoyed by Crusoe's reproaches, abandoned him on shore in India.

- l. 30. — *Tutthill* (Tothill St.) in Westminster, — *Limehouse hole*, in the East-End.
- l. 31. — Though this is intended to ridicule De Foe's book, it is a striking acknowledgment of its extraordinary popularity in London (1 st ed. April 25 th — 4 th ed. Aug. 8 th).

P. X. — l. 2. — *The Pilgrim's Progress*, by John Bunyan, was first published in 1678. Its success was such that in 1688 the booksellers were selling the 11 th ed.

- l. 3. — *The Practicc of Piety, directing a Christian how to walk that he may please God*, by Lewis Bayly, bishop of Bangor, was first issued about 1611. In 1613 it had reached its 3 rd, in 1619 its 11 th, and in 1630 its 25 th edition. It was translated into French (Geneva, 1625), into German (Zürich 1629), into Polish (1647), into Welsh (1630), into the language of the Indians of Massachusetts (Cambridge 1665), and into Romansch (1668). Bunyan tells us his wife « had for her part the *Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven*, and the *Practice of Piety*, which her father had left her when he died ». Bayly's book had an important influence over Bunyan's mind. Many Puritans looked upon it as an authority equal to the Bible.

*The Triumphs of God's Revenge against Murther, expressed in 30 tragical histories*, by John Rainolds (or Reynolds), — one of the translators of the Bible, — was first published in 1622. It ran into many successive editions (1629, 1635, 1640, 1657, 1662, 1670, 1679, 1685, 1704, 1708, etc.). To the 1679 ed. was added *God's Revenge against Adultery*, and the 1685 ed. bore the following title: *the Glory of God's Revenge against Murther and Adultery*. — From one of Reynold's « histories » Middleton and Rowley took the plot of their tragedy, the *Changeling* (1653, 1668).

- l. 6. — *Pye Corner*, in Giltspur St. near Smithfield Market; a poor quarter.
- l. 7. — *Guy of Warwick*: the hero of a famous Anglo-Saxon legend which recounts the wonderful achievements by

which he obtained the hand of his lady, the Fair Felice, — and also the adventures he subsequently met with in a pilgrimage to the Holy land and on his return home. The first poem that deals with the legend is a Norman-French poem of the end of the 13 th century ; the oldest English version is a little later. The first popular edition of the English version was printed by John Cawood in the latter end of the 16 th century (*The Historie of Guy, earl of Warwick*; 4 to). The knight's adventures made the subject of a poem by Samuel Rowlands (1607), which suggested a *Play called the Life and Death of Guy of Warwick* by John Day and Thomas Decker ; the play is not now extant. A popular ballad on Guy of Warwick, by Humphrey Crouch, was first printed in 1665, and repeatedly reissued in the 17 th and 18 th centuries. The romance was reduced to prose by Martin Parker in 1640. A chapbook in 4 to, first issued in London in 1684, was frequently republished in all the chief cities of England. Another version in 12 mo, published in London in 1706, was still more successful. — In *Hudibras* (I, 2) Talgol, the butcher, is compared to Guy of Warwick :

« He many a Bore and huge Dun Cow  
Did, like another Guy, o'erthrow  
But Guy with him in fight compar'd  
Had like the Bore or Dun Cow far'd. »

*Bevis of Southampton* (or more correctly, of *Hampton*) accomplished marvellous exploits of which the chief was the slaying of the terrible giant Ascapart. They are related in the 2 nd book of Drayton's *Polyolbion* (1622) ; the romance was already popular at that time : Thomas East, stationer and printer, had published a ballad entitled *Syr Bevis of Southampton* in the last years of the 16 th century. Ballads and chapbooks dealing with Bevis were repeatedly reissued throughout the 17 th and 18 th centuries.

1. 8. — The *London Prentice* is the title of many romances which were spread by pedlars throughout England, in ballads and chapbooks. The outlines of these romances are the same : they recount the exploits of a London apprentice who slew giants or dragons and rescued a

beautiful princess whom he married. — Heywood's play, the *Four Prentices of London* (first played in 1601, published in 1615) was parodied and ridiculed in the *Knight of the Burning Pestle* (1611) by Beaumont and Fletcher. — Under the title *The London Prenticc*, some chapbooks of the 18th century contain simply the well-known story of Dick Whittington. — Such romances as those quoted here by Gildon were certainly in the pack of *Autolykus* (*Winter's Tale* IV, 3).

M... w... r.. — I have been unable to find with certainty what name these initials represent. Perhaps Gildon thought of John Mawer, a poor hack-writer who wrote ballads and achieved some success in 1727 by his poem *Liberty Asserted*. But we have no evidence that connects Mawer in any way with De Foe's work.

- l. 18. — De Foe himself had already suggested this idea in the preface to the *Further Adventures*: « The just application of every incident, the religious and useful inferences drawn from every part, are so many testimonies to the good design of making it public, and must legitimate all the part that may be called invention or parable in the story ». By insisting on the allegorical character of the tale, Gildon paved the way for the 3rd vol. of *Robinson Crusoe*.
- l. 23. — Before the Civil War, the city of *Kidderminster* (Worcestershire) was notorious for its ignorance and depravity. In 1640, some inhabitants sent a petition against their curate, and it was decided to appoint a free preacher in his stead. The Presbyterian minister Baxter was chosen. His preaching performed miracles, and whereas, before, the moral were to be counted on the ten fingers, ere long, the passing traveller heard the sounds of prayer in every household. Kidderminster became a model of Puritan cities, and was the stronghold of Puritanism in a county which sided with the Cavaliers. Hence the banner of Kidderminster became a symbol for the Dissenters.
- l. 26. — De Foe had had a better education at Morton's Academy in Newington Green, as good almost as the education given in the Universities.
- l. 30. — The meaning of the expression *out of my time* is

not clear. At first sight Gildon seems to mean that De Foe did not belong to his time, — was, according to the common expression, « born out of his time ». — It is more likely from the context that Gildon uses « being out of » in the sense of « issued out of », and therefore that De Foe, on the contrary, belonged to his age, when impudence was a sure road to success. On p. XII De Foe is made to say, « anything that is boldly writ will go down with either party ».

- l. 31. — De Foe was very popular as an orator in the Whig and Dissenting clubs of the City during the reign of James the Second, when he denounced the King's policy towards Non-conformists.

P. XI. — l. 5. — De Foe published his first poem in 1691 ; he was then 31. The poem, *A new discovery of an old intreague*, was a satire levelled at the Jacobites.

- l. 6. — *Authorizing*, i. e. authoring : perhaps a *lapsus linguæ* when Gildon was dictating. De Foe discussed in pamphlets or satirical poems the chief problems of the reign of King William, as the legitimacy of a standing army, the predominance of Dutch Courtiers, Reformation of manners, Occasional Conformity for Dissenters etc.

l. 9-15. — *Lime Kilns* : about 1695, De Foe became secretary to a factory of bricks and pantiles at Tilbury. His connexion with this factory could not be the cause of his bankruptcy which had happened 3 years before (1692) : at that time he had been obliged to leave his office in Freeman's Court, near the Royal-Exchange, and hide in Bristol. During his period of concealment, except on Sundays he never went into the streets for fear of bailiffs. It may be that on his way to Bristol he stopped in several towns, — which would justify Gildon's statement : « rambling from place to place ».

- l. 28. — De Foe became a professional author after his imprisonment in Newgate (1703) which ruined the brick and tile factory.

P. XII. — l. 2. — De Foe being a Dissenter by upbringing had no choice but to join the New Whigs, devoted to William III, and the Protestant Succession.

- l. 11. — *Nutcrackers* : a cant word for « pillory » (*Diction-*

ary of the canting Crew, 1700 : the Cull lookt through the Nutcrackers). De Foe was arrested on May 20 th, 1703, for writing the *Shortest Way with the Dissenters* in which by ironical suggesting extreme measures against the Dissenters, he ridiculed the intolerance of High-Churchmen against them. He was tried in July, found guilty of libel, and condemned to be exposed in the pillory on July 29 th in front of the Royal-Exchange in Cornhill, on July 30th near the Conduit in Cheapside, and on July 31 st at Temple Bar. But this punishment was a triumph, as the crowd sided with him against the government.

- l. 15. — De Foe was not bribed by the Tories : he merely followed Harley who had rescued him from Newgate, when, in 1709, Harley entered the new ministry as a moderate Tory. This obliged De Foe to change the tone of the articles in his *Review* for fear of displeasing the new friends of his patron.
- l. 20. — It is true that for some time the Whigs did not perceive the change in De Foe's *Review* and continued to pay him.
- l. 25. — This happened in February 1711, as we know from a letter to Harley in which De Foe complains for the first time of the hard usage he received from his old friends, the Whigs. The *Captain* was probably the officer of the Whig club who paid De Foe for his propaganda.
- l. 28. — In reality, these words were uttered by Samuel's ghost (1 Sam. 28). Here Gildon ridicules De Foe's fondness for Bible quotations. Even in his correspondence, De Foe constantly quoted the Bible : thus, in a letter to the Secretary of State, dated April 26 th, 1718, he called watching the Tory papers in the interest of the Whig ministry : « bowing in the House of Rimmon ».

P. XIII. — l. 2. — *Buenas Noches* : the mistake in the text was made either by the printer, or by Lloyd, Gildon's amanuensis, who was not a well-educated man and frequently spelt words wrong in the letters Gildon dictated to him. De Foe, in his novels, was fond of quoting scraps of foreign languages : here Gildon sat-

irizes this habit, and suggests De Foe's real ignorance by his humorous translation of the Spanish.

- l. 5. — *Saint-Germain*, near Paris, where James II held his court, was long the centre of Jacobite intrigues. Gildon alludes to the Jacobite tendencies of Harley's ministry ; but De Foe remained faithful to the Protestant Succession, so that Gildon's attack is unjust.
- l. 6. — *Proprietors* : i. e. Harley, Earl of Oxford, and Saint John, Viscount Bolingbroke, whose influence appears for a short period in De Foe's writings, for example in the commercial newspaper *Mercator*.
- l. 8. — In the *Further Adventures*, Crusoe's endeavour to burn an inoffensive Tartar Idol which he considered an insult to the true God brought on him and his companions the anger of the natives.
- l. 9. — In 1713 De Foe wrote anti-Jacobite pamphlets with ironical titles : *Reasons against the succession of the House of Hanover*, — *What if the Pretender should come ? or some Considerations of the advantages and real consequences of the Pretender's possessing the Crown of Great Britain*, — and *What if the Queen should die ?* — The Whigs tried hard to indict him for high treason, hoping that Harley would imprudently come to the rescue of his faithful ally, and thus reveal their relations.
- l. 11. — *Tripes*, i. e. the three-legged stool, upon which condemned men stood when they were to be hanged at Tyburn (near Paddington). — Gildon exaggerates here, for the Whigs did not hope to secure De Foe's death : they simply sought to have him imprisoned in Newgate.
- l. 12-13. — Harley helped De Foe to obtain a Royal Pardon, which was granted on Nov. 20 th, 1713 and signed by Bolingbroke. De Foe published the text of his pardon in his *Appeal to Honour and Justice*.
- l. 14. — This is inexact. Since the king's landing in England, (Sept. 18 th, 1714), De Foe had ceased corresponding with Harley ; he had deeply resented the latter's repudiation of tracts he had written in his behalf (*History of the White Staff*, etc.). His subsequent pamphlets vindicating the conduct of Harley's ministry were written not on Harley's account, but to vindicate

himself. (See *Daniel De Foe mystificateur*, in *Revue Germanique*, 1923).

- l. 18-19. — This is a slander : De Foe had a lax conscience, but there were three masters who could never have bribed him into their service : the Pope, the Pretender, and the Devil.
- l. 23. — De Foe's facility for writing bad poetry was deplorable : John Dunton, the Whig bookseller, described him as « rhyming in his sleep ». But De Foe did not write *Jure Divino* in three weeks. This long poetical poem in 12 books, which he considered his masterpiece, was begun in Newgate in the summer of 1703, and was issued by subscription on July 20 th, 1706. De Foe got very little money for his labours, as his poem was pirated by a bookseller who bribed a pressman to steal copies of the sheets as they were successively printed. — It is true, as Gildon suggests, that there is little poetry in the composition.

P. XIV. — l. 1. — Dryden got £ 200 for his translation of Virgil. But Gildon is certainly referring to Pope, who received over £ 5,000 for his translation of the *Iliad* (1715).

- l. 4. — Here Gildon enviously alludes to Prior who received from his publisher about 4,000 guineas for a complete edition of his poems (1718, folio), and on the same occasion £ 4,000 from Harley, to purchase Down Hall, an estate in Essex.
- l. 12. — In 1701, De Foe, indignant at what he thought the ingratitude of his countrymen towards their deliverer, William of Orange, — and incensed by a poem of Tutchin, the *Foreigners*, in which the King and the Dutch in general were plentifully abused, wrote a satirical poem to prove that the English nation was such a mixture of the worst of different races, that the expression *True-born Englishman* was meaningless. The success of the poem was tremendous : no less than 80,000 pirated copies were sold in the streets, and the King expressed a wish to know the author personally. — De Foe's poem has since been used by enemies of Great Britain in the last years of the 19 th century : parts of it were republished by Indian Nationalists.



- l. 16. — Vanity, not hatred of the English, was the chief motive that led De Foe to change his name (See p. V, note). *De Foe* seemed to indicate a Norman origin, while *Foe* looked like a plebeian Saxon name.
- l. 24. — The idea of prepossessing the Papists in one's favour would have been preposterous at a time when it was becoming more and more impossible that the Pretender would reign.— De Foe's love of paradox, shown in his *Truc-Born Englishman* and *Shortest Way with the Dissenters* is probably the motive that led him to introduce some sympathetic Roman Catholics in *Robinson Crusoe*.
- l. 27. — *Fox-hunters*, i. e. the country squires, many of whom, though Protestant, had remained attached to the Stuarts.
- P. XV. — l. 1. — *Old teachers* : i. e. the Dissenting ministers and Low-churchmen.
- l. 2. — *A Friendly Epistle by way of Reproof, from one of the People called Quakers to Thos. Bradbury, a Dealer in many Words* (Feb. 1715) was the first of a series of pamphlets by De Foe, all couched in the Quaker style. The Friends' way of speaking was so well imitated that, in an advertisement in the *London Gazette*, the Quakers protested that they had no hand in the pamphlet which, by that time, had reached its 5th edition. Bradbury was reprov'd by De Foe for making political addresses in the pulpit, and particularly for calling for the blood of the late ministers.
- l. 5. — i. e. the *Bishop of Bangor*. De Foe's pamphlet (1717) was entitled *A Declaration of Truth to Benjamin Hoadley, one of the High Priests of the Land, and of the Degree whom Men call Bishops. By a Ministering Friend, who writ to Thomas Bradbury, a Dealer in many Words*. Gildon had certainly not read this pamphlet, which commended Hoadley's Christian broad-mindedness. It is true that De Foe, when he found these pamphlets had an easy sale, wrote several of them on both sides of the Bangorian controversy. — He was so pleased with his talent in imitating the Quaker style that, in two novels, *Captain Singleton*

and *Roxana*, he introduced Quakers who are among his best drawn characters.

- l. 7. — Contrary to Gildon's assertion, De Foe was only 59 in 1719. — The subsequent attack against De Foe for his supposed fickleness in religion is unjust, too : De Foe always remained a staunch Dissenter.
- l. 10. — Coarse jokes of this kind were characteristic of the Augustan Period.
- l. 12. — *Mahometism*, i. e. Mahometanism : though unusual, this form of the word was not absolutely incorrect at this time.
- l. 13. — *Coryate*, a traveller who from the year 1612 till his death (1617) journeyed throughout Asia. He obtained an audience of the Great Mogul and delivered an oration in Persian. His letters, sent from the court of the mighty potentate to « several persons of quality in England », were first published in 1616; they were frequently reprinted in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.
- l. 28. — This passage may have suggested to De Foe the idea of a review of the various religions of the world, which forms one of the longest chapters in the *Serious Reflections*. Crusoe concludes that English Protestantism is by far the best religion.
- l. 30. — *to catch a Tartar* properly means to encounter some one who unexpectedly proves to be too strong an opponent. There is of course a pun in the text. De Foe used this expression in *Captain Singleton* (XVI) : « Tell him, if he should try, he may catch a Tartar ». (Hazlitt's ed. p. 79).

*A Leap into the Dark*, i. e. : if De Foe was engaged in a dangerous enterprise, whose consequences he was unable to foresee.

P. XVI. — l. 3. — *Janesaries*, i. e., Janizaries (or Janissaries), Turkish soldiers of a privileged class.

l. 5. — *You and I*. — Gildon, later (p. 23, see note) accuses De Foe of continually putting the nominative for the accusative.

l. 6. — This is not true : De Foe was attached to the Protestant Succession, if merely through self-interest; for if the Pretender had succeeded Queen Anne, De Foe

would have been sent to the gallows for his anti-jacobite pamphlets.

- l. 8. — *Monomotopa* is a negro empire in the Zambesi region (Africa), about which fabulous tales were current at the time.
- l. 19. — *Deter all others* is, of course, ironical, as the following lines show.
- l. 21. — All Crusoe's adventures did in fact turn to his profit.
- l. 30-31. — Friday's curious English was intended by De Foe to give local colour to his tale. — Here, Gildon calls *Robinson Crusoe* a lie, i. e. a romance, which is inconsistent with his general statement that the book is allegorical.

P. XVII. — l. 2. — De Foe frequently quotes the Bible for the edification of his readers : in the first volume of *Robinson Crusoe* alone, no less than 20 complete verses are quoted.

- l. 7. — i. e. the French Priest, Will Atkins, Father Simon, and the Crew of Crusoe's nephew's ship (see note to p. IX, l. 25).
- l. 13. — If De Foe had written a criticism of Gildon's pamphlet, he might have asked how every one of such a number of men could hold one of his limbs.
- l. 25. — *Bolus* (Latin : morsel, bit), i. e. a large pill. The word was usual at the time in advertisements of quack medicines.
- l. 27. — The first volume of *Robinson Crusoe* contains 364 pages of text, with Frontispiece, title-page and a preface 2 pp. long. — The text of the *Further Adventures* occupies 373 pages with map, title-page and preface of 4 pp.

P. XVIII. — l. 10-11. — *Past three a clock, etc.* : the cry of the watchmen.

- l. 12. — There is perhaps here a reminiscence of the end of the scene of the witches in *Macbeth*, which Gildon had studied for his edition of the spurious 7<sup>th</sup> vol. of *Shakespeare's Works*.
- l. 17. — This coarse joke was a favourite with contemporary pamphleteers. The author of a broadsheet entitled *A*

*Hue and Cry after Daniel De Foe for Denying the Queens hereditary right*, by Robin Hog, 1711, » directed the same piece of coarse wit against De Foe :

Now Daniel De Foe, now run for thy life,  
For Robin Hog swears by's old grunting wife,  
He'll end all your government quarr'ls and strife...  
He'll hunt you thro' all the Fanatical race,  
Throw salt in your breech lest you stink in the chase. »

- l. 21-22. — i. e. in 1691-2. If the Royal Regiment had been removed, England would have been left defenceless, and a successful Jacobite invasion would have entailed punishment for William's zealous supporters.
- l. 25. — Gildon had already criticised this sentence in the Postscript to his epistle (p. 37), and his use of it here must have seemed very witty to contemporary readers.

#### THE EPISTLE

- P. 1. — l. 5. — *Robinson Crusoe* was issued anonymously; but the author of such a « best-seller » could not remain long undiscovered. De Foe's peculiar tricks of style were well-known from the *Review* which was very popular.
- l. 8. — See the notes to pp. V (l. 4) and XIV (l. 16).
- l. 13. — De Foe was in fact over-fond of long-winded sentences with endless parentheses. He sometimes uses popular, but incorrect, forms, such as double negations, *who* instead of *whom*, etc. He has frequent repetitions : 1) of the same idea (« his family and household, a kind of appetite and lust »); 2) of the same word (p. 84 : « I catched hold of Friday : hold, said I »); and 3) of the same descriptions (his ladders, his tame goats, etc.).
- l. 14-15. — Practically, the whole of Gildon's criticism turns on the improbabilities and impossibilities of De Foe's tale.
- P. 2. — l. 5. — This charge had the power of wounding De Foe to the quick (see the Preface to the *Serious Reflections*).

- l. 9. — The last sentence of *Robinson Crusoe* (published on April 25th, 1719) [« all these things, with an account how 300 Caribbees came and invaded them, and ruined their plantations, and how they fought with that number twice, and were at first defeated and one of them killed; but at last a storm destroying their enemies' canoes, they famished and destroyed almost all the rest, and renewed the possession of their plantation, and still lived upon the island; — all these things with some very surprising incidents in some new adventures of my own for ten years more, I may perhaps give a farther account of hereafter. »] shows that De Foe expected success. The *Further Adventures*, which were written hastily, appeared on August 20th. Gildon's epistle was composed before the publication of this second volume.
- l. 21. — Anything that was *ancient* found favour with Gildon.
- l. 23. — « Inspired writers » (i. e. the authors of the Bible) was Gildon's contemptuous expression when he wrote deistical tracts. (See Gildon's life).
- l. 27. — *Useful Moral*. — This is exactly what De Foe says in his preface to *Robinson Crusoe* : « The story is told... with a religious application of events to the uses to which wise men always apply them, viz. To the instruction of others by this example, and to justify and honour the wisdom of Providence in all the variety of our circumstances, let them happen how they will. »
- P. 3. — l. 11. — When Robinson asked his mother to approach his father about his plans, she replied « that she wondered how I could think of any such thing after such a discourse as I had had with my father, and such kind and tender expressions as she knew my father used to me; but I might depend I should never have their consent to it; that for her part she would not have so much hand in my destruction ». And later, when Crusoe, alone on his island, repents of his wicked life, he particularly deplores his « falling early into the seafaring life, which of all the lives is the most destitute of the fear of God ». So that there is much apparent truth in Gildon's criticism. But *Robinson Crusoe*

roused in many English boys their dormant desire of travelling to distant lands, and so attracted them to a seafaring life.

- l. 19. — « I was born in the year 1632, in the city of York... — My father... had designed me for the Law ». (*Robinson Crusoe*, p. 17).
- l. 24. — Here Gildon points out one of the characteristics of De Foe's work. God's Providence seems to have a special regard for Crusoe; sometimes it helps him, sometimes it thwarts his designs. It plays in fact the rôle of the Nemesis of the Ancients.
- l. 25. — The first storm occurred during Crusoe's early voyage to London. The second, when his ship foundered and he was the sole survivor, flung him on his desert island.
- P. 4. — l. 3, etc. — But in the dialogue (p. XVI), Gildon, who wishes to find fault with De Foe at any price, insinuated that *Robinson Crusoe* was an immoral book because, in it, Crusoe's disobedience to his parents was not punished.
- l. 6. — The popular idea of the potency of the paternal curse is frequently expressed in De Foe's book. Crusoe's father makes a prophecy (p. 18) : « That boy might be happy if he would stay at home, but if he goes abroad, he will be the most miserable wretch that was ever born », (which, as it turns out, is not entirely true). At the end of his first voyage, Crusoe is told by the Captain of the ship he was embarked in (p. 21) : « Young man, depend upon it, if you do not go back, wherever you go, you will meet with nothing but disasters and disappointments till your father's words are fulfilled upon you ». — Lastly Crusoe, alone on the island, laments (p. 45) : « Now my dear father's words are come to pass : God's justice has overtaken me, and I have none to help or hear me ».
- l. 10-20. — In Puritan families the authority of the father was still very great. De Foe described a Puritan, and wrote for Puritan readers.
- l. 30. — Crusoe was born in 1632, and left his father's house in Sept. 1651.

- P. 5. — *l.* 3. — See note on p. VI (*l.* 9). — Gildon's argument here is cunning enough, but De Foe might have answered that, after all, Crusoe came to fortune and happiness.
- l.* 16. — « He told me it was for men of desperate fortunes on one hand, or of aspiring, superior fortunes on the other, who went abroad upon adventures, to rise by enterprise, and make themselves famous in undertakings of a nature out of the common road; that these things were all either too far above me, or too far below me; that mine was the middle state, or what might be called the upper station of low life... » (*p.* 17).
- l.* 18. — Though Crusoe's father did not speak of putting his son to a trade, we know that he had contemplated it some time or other. — Crusoe represents to his mother « that he was 18 years old, which was too late to go apprentice to a trade ». And a few lines lower, he says that « he continued obstinately deaf to all proposals of settling to business ». — Gildon's arguments concerning Crusoe's problematic trade are tedious and far-fetched: his criticism, which sometimes contradicts itself, is, in general, mere fault-finding.
- P. 6. — *l.* 19. — See the note to p. VII. De Foe meant that Crusoe's education was begun at home and finished in a free-school, at, or near, York. He could not assign to his hero a particular school or university, as the Gildons of the time might then have proved that the book was « a lie » and thus greatly diminished its sale.
- l.* 22. — De Foe does not give us definitely to understand that Robinson remained in his « country free-school » till the age of 18.
- l.* 23. — This statement, and a paragraph (*p.* X, *l.* 26) in the dialogue insinuate that De Foe was no scholar and did not know Latin.
- l.* 28. — This attack on attorneys is excusable when we remember that Gildon, when still a very young man, was cheated out of £ 400 by a dishonest lawyer (see Gildon's life, I).
- l.* 29. — « But I would be satisfied with nothing but going to sea, and my inclination to this led me so strongly against the will, nay, the commands of my father... that

there seemed to be something fatal in that propension of nature tending directly to the life of misery which was to befall me ». (p. 17). — « I told my mother that my thoughts were so ontirely bent upon seeing the world, that I should never settle to anything with resolution enough to go through with it, and my father had better give me his consent, than force me to go without it » (p. 18).

- P. 7. — l. 5. — But De Foe's intention was to represent a rash and inconsiderate boy, unable to resist the strong impulse that urged him to a seafaring life.
- l. 14. — Crusoe never used this expression of himself; but it is true he laments that in his youth he often acted against « the dictates of common sense and of his own conscience ».
- l. 15. — Crusoe, belonging to a Puritan family, would not, when very young, have dared to oppose paternal authority.
- l. 21. — Certainly De Foe does not relate conversations between Crusoe and the master of the ship, but a novelist is not obliged to tell everything.
- l. 26. — Gildon is right in pointing out this contradiction. De Foe gives us to understand that the master of the ship knew of Crusoe's presence on board at the beginning (p. 18), and he would need to have a very short memory to have forgotten it at Yarmouth.
- l. 30. — « I told him some of my story, at the end of which he burst out with a strange kind of passion. « What had I done », says he, « that such an unhappy wretch should come into my ship ! I would not set my foot in the same ship with thee again for a thousand pounds » (p. 21). — This superstitious belief in the evil eye was common among sailors (cp. *Further Adv.* pp. 64-65).
- P. 8. — l. 1. — (Jonah, I). « Perhaps this all has befallen us on your account, like Jonah in the Ship of Tarshish », the master tells Crusoe (p. 21).
- l. 6. — De Foe's habit of perpetually quoting the Bible was due to his upbringing. His father, James Foe, a well-to-do butcher of Fore-street, destined him for the minis-



try. His mother, Alice Foe, made him copy the whole Pentateuch as a task. The boy was sent to Morton's Dissenting Academy in Newington Green. He might have become a peaceful Non-conformist minister, but « his inclinations led him another way ». (*Rev.* VI, 341). — Some traces remained of his training, however; his articles in the *Review* for instance, and many of his pamphlets, almost look like sermons.

l. 7. — When Christ was tempted in the wilderness (*Matt.* IV, 6).

l. 12. — Hazlitt's ed. p. 21.

l. 17-18. — There is much truth in this criticism : De Foe's heroes have all of them some traits of the Dissenting preacher in their character.

l. 18-24. — A very awkwardly constructed sentence. Gildon's thought is as follows ; « which I should as little suspect him to be... as (I should suspect) that... »

l. 27. — But Crusoe was sea-sick and terrified, and unable to reflect calmly, so that the terrific noise of the gun seemed to him the signal of immediate death.

P. 9. — l. 2. — Crusoe's conception of Providence is unorthodox, but it is part of his character. (See note to p. 3, l. 24).

l. 17 *etc.* — Crusoe, a superstitious Puritan of the lower middle class could not be expected to reason like Gildon. — De Foe himself, though he believed in « secret hints » did not share the superstitious ideas of his hero.

P. 10. — l. 4, *etc.* — This comparison between the dangers and wickedness of life on sea and life on land is utterly futile.

l. 24. — *A creature of your own* : this idea is repeated on p. 11 (l. 7). It shows that when he wrote this epistle, — that is, before he had read the preface to the *Further Adventures*, — Gildon did not yet consider the tale allegorical. (See : Introduction).

l. 27. — Being a Puritan, Crusoe was always inclined to exaggerate his sins, and trembled all day long in fear of God's wrath.

P. 11. — l. 10. — *No ways necessary* : De Foe's art consists exactly in this choice of small details, unnecessary to

the plot, which give an appearance of truth to his tale. Many people read *Robinson Crusoe* because they believed it a true biography : a *Fable* would not have interested them. Yet De Foe, in the preface, with his customary prudence, had cleverly insinuated a doubt of the authenticity of his tale : « The Editor *believes* the thing to be a just history of fact ; neither is there any *appearance of fiction* in it ; and however thinks, because all such things are *disputed*, that the improvement of it, as well to the diversion as to the instruction of the reader, will be the same... »

l. 11. — Gildon copies many of De Foe's peculiar tricks of style. *More of this hereafter* is a favourite sentence of De Foe's. — Gildon copies other phrases from *Robinson Crusoe* : of which *by and by* (p. 15), *of which in its place*, etc.

l. 12. — *Monsieur* is used with a contemptuous meaning. Since the Restoration the word was applied to fops and rakes. Cp. Wycherley's *Gentleman Dancing-Master*, and Swift's *Salamander* :

« We say *monsieur* to an ape,  
Without offence to human shape. »

l. 15. — « We walked afterwards on foot to Yarmouth, where, as unfortunate men, we were used with great humanity, as well by the magistrates of the town, who assigned us good quarters, as by particular merchants and owners of ships ; and had money given us sufficient to carry us either to London or back to Hull as we thought fit » (p. 20).

l. 17. — Gildon exaggerates : Crusoe only says « he had money in his pocket and good clothes upon his back » (p. 21).

l. 21. — Crusoe tells us (p. 21) : « I embraced the offer ; and, entering into a strict friendship with this captain, who was an honest and plain-dealing man, I went the voyage with him, and carried a small adventure with me, which, by the disinterested honesty of my friend the captain, I increased very considerably, for I carried about 40 *l.* in such toys and trifles as the captain directed me to buy. This 40 *l.* I had mustered together by the assistance of some of my relations whom I cor-

responded with, and who, I believe, got my father, or at least my mother, to contribute so much as that to my first adventure ». It is not unlikely that a father should help a son, once he realised he was bent on keeping to the course of life he had chosen. Gildon himself, on the following page, suggests this possibility.

- P. 12. — l. 5. — But Crusoe was young and unhappy, and what would not a father, even a Puritan father, do to relieve the distress of a son, even of a disobedient son ?
- l. 11. — Here Gildon misrepresents the text. Crusoe buys « good clothes », which is but natural after the wreck, and in London falls « into good company, which does not always happen to such loose and unguided young fellows »; the chief of his new friends is the Guinea trader, « an honest and plain-dealing man. ».
- l. 15. — Crusoe was not a « young gentleman » travelling for his pleasure », but a boy who, having to earn his living, took to a seafaring life because urged to it by his « rambling thoughts ».
- l. 25. — Gildon uses on purpose an equivocal term to name the widow of the Guinea trader who was « so just » to Crusoe. On p. 105 Crusoe calls her : « my benefactor and faithful steward ».
- l. 29. — *Sallee*, i. e. Sale, a holy city on the coast of Morocco, which was, during the 18th century, the chief harbour of pirates on the Atlantic coast of Africa.
- P. 13. — l. 1. — This episode is very dramatically told in De Foe's novel.
- l. 5. — *Hazards and Adventures* : i. e. Crusoe's successive landings on the coast of Africa in order to get fresh water. He meets peaceful negroes who supply him with food, and kills several wild beasts.
- l. 13. — Here Gildon recalls a statement made by De Foe, that Crusoe « had nobody to communicate his projects of escape to, that would embark with him, no fellow slave, no Englishman, Irishman, or Scotsman, but himself ». But De Foe contradicts himself; a few lines further, Crusoe mentions « the carpenter of the ship, who also was an English slave » (p. 22). — and again on p. 24 he states : « Such English Xury spoke by convers-

ing among us slaves ». — The real inconsistency in the episode has not been perceived by Gildon.

- l. 23. — *Cape Verde*, still a Portuguese colony.  
 l. 27. — *Skins* : i. e. the skins of the wild animals he had killed on the coast of Africa.  
 l. 29. — Crusoe's chief motive for turning Papist was that he could not have stayed in the country if he had been an heretic. At his age he had no religious preference of any kind; he tells us that he « had no scruple of being openly of the religion of the country all the while he was among them » (p. 108).

P. 14. — l. 3. — See note to p. VI (l. 9). — But this has nothing to do with Popery. It is a superstition common to the followers of all religions.

l. 13. — Crusoe, like his creator, cared little about humanitarian ideals. He was too matter-of-fact to indulge in philosophical musings about the ethics of a custom that was highly advantageous for his trade. The absence of any denunciation of the slave traffic hindered the popularity of *Robinson Crusoe* in America for a long time. — In *Colonel Jack*, De Foe advocates good treatment for slaves, but not the suppression of slavery.

l. 25. — The discussion is futile. Crusoe says « twenty or thirty feet » not to give a precise number, but simply to convey a vague impression of depth.

P. 15. — l. 12. — « Also I found three very good bibles which came to me in my cargo from England, and which I had packed up among my things; some Portuguese books also, and among them two or three popish prayer-books, and several other books, all which I carefully secured » (p. 37). Crusoe does not seem to have ever opened any of those books, except the Bible. Like Gildon we wonder why, on a Portuguese ship, he needed 3 English bibles.

l. 22. — This attack is unjust. Crusoe's commentaries on the Bible are simple and full of common-sense. — It was a custom among the Puritans, when in doubt about anything, to open the Bible at random, and take the first verse they found as guidance (cp. the *Pilgrim's Progress*, *Enoch Arden*, etc.). (See note to p. 24, l. 29).

- l. 26. — See note to p. 11, l. 11.
- l. 27. — This absurdity had already been pointed out and ridiculed in the coffee-houses. The text is : « So I pulled off my clothes, for the weather was hot to extremity and took to water... I found that all the ship's provisions were dry and untouched by the water; and being very well disposed to eat, I went to the bread room and filled my pockets with biscuit, and eat it as I went about other things... » — De Foe was conscious of the contradiction and tried to mend matters in one of the next paragraphs : « While I was doing this, I found the tide began to flow, though very calm; and I had the mortification to see my coat, shirt, and waistcoat, which I had left on shore upon the sand, swim away; as for my breeches, which were only linen and open-kneed, I swam on board in them and in my stockings » (p. 32). — But the only way out of the difficulty would be to suppose that Crusoe's breeches were not part of his « clothes », which is ridiculous. — De Foe did not, as Gildon asserts, make any change in the subsequent editions of his novel. Gildon had evidently heard the contradiction discussed in conversation, and when the whole passage was read to him, he fancied that De Foe's afterthought was a modification of the text, prompted by the ridicule it had excited.
- P. 16. — l. 6. — Gildon's criticism is reasonable enough, though we do not know whether Crusoe's breeches were of the ordinary pattern of the breeches of seamen of that time.
- l. 13. — Page 77 of the 1st ed.; i. e. p. 37 in Hazlitt's ed.
- l. 16. — These inconsistencies are glaring enough. Crusoe's items in the balance of evil and good seem strange to us when we have just read of the useful tools he found in the wreck.
- l. 30. — This applies to Wycherley, or — more likely — to Pope, whom Gildon frequently accused of being ungrateful (See the *New Rehearsal*, and the *Life of Mr. Wycherley*).
- l. 31. — i. e. p. 34 in Hazlitt's ed.
- P. 17. — l. 7. — There is an inconsistency between De Foe's account in the narrative, and that in the Journal. Gil-

dou's first quotation is taken from the narrative. The second quotation is taken from the Journal under the date May 1st, and it corresponds to what had been previously said in the Journal (not in the narrative) under the date Oct. 25th : « It rained all night and all day, with some gusts of wind, during which time the ship broke in pieces, the wind blowing a little harder than before and was no more to be seen, except the wreck of her, and that only *at low water* ».

l. 14. — To the ordinary English mind, this would seem the most telling of Gildon's attacks against De Foe. The passage quoted will be found on p. 58 in Hazlitt's ed.

P. 18. — l. 4. — Here Gildon, when it suits his argument, acknowledges that De Foe praised some English sailors, — which contradicts the statement on p. VIII (see the note to l. 11).

l. 14. — But Crusoe must have frequented common sailors : 1° on the ship that took him to Guinea. — 2° on the ship that picked him up at Cape Verde. — 3° on the ship that was wrecked off the American coast, — and 4° on the ship that brought him back to England.

l. 17. — « However the storm was so violent, that I saw, what is not often seen, the master, the boatswain, and some others, more sensible than the rest, at their prayers, and expecting every moment when the ship would go to the bottom » (p. 20). But De Foe says that this conduct of the sailors was unusual : so it does not contradict his general statement about the « wickedness of a seafaring life ».

l. 22 — Crusoe never tells us definitely that this happened in 3 weeks.

l. 24. — During the first storm, which was not dangerous, but made « Crusoe sick and terrified, the sailors laughed at his fear : « Well, Bob, ... how do you do after it ? I warrant you were frighted, wa'n't you, last night when it blew but a capfull of wind ? — A capfull do you call it, said I, it was a terrible storm. — A storm, you fool you, replies he, do you call that a storm ? Why it was nothing at all ; give us but a good ship and sea-room, and we think nothing of such a squall of wind as that ; but you 're but a fresh water sailor, Bob ;

come, let us make a bowl of punch, and we'll forget all that » (p. 19).

l. 28. — But De Foe did not wish to describe a hero. Crusoe was an ordinary man, full of human weakness, who thought of God only when he was in danger.

P. 19. — l. 1. — « The Fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge : but fools despise wisdom and instruction. » (*Prov.* I, 7).

l. 3. — But the fear of danger is natural, and is found in pious men too, along with the fear of the Lord.

l. 20. — Gildon is right, according to Catholic or Anglican ideas. But Crusoe was a Puritan of the old stamp, preferring the Old Testament to the New, and believing in a vindictive Jehovah rather than in a mild and forgiving Christ. — This long and futile argument arises simply from the fundamental difference in religious point of view between Gildon and De Foe.

l. 27. — There is some truth in this statement, as selfishness was De Foe's chief defect. But what of Gildon, who « kept six whores and starved his modest wife ? »

l. 30. — *Pusillanimity* : Here Gildon's attack seems to be directed particularly against the peaceful Quakers.

P. 20. — l. 1. — Crusoe began to feel the weight of God's wrath when he became very ill of the ague : « 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 » (p. 44). Afterwards, when frightened by the earthquake, he declared that « God had appointed all this to befall him » (p. 45).

l. 2. — *Sublunary* is a favourite word with De Foe (for ex. p. 87 : in a sublunary state). The word seems to have been fashionable at the time :

« Strolling Gods, whose usual trade is...  
To pick up sublunary ladies. »

(Swift : *Apollo Outwitted*).

- l. 3 *etc.* — Gildon's reasoning is extremely confused. He probably thinks at first of the Puritans of the Commonwealth who committed « both private and public murders » because they believed God would have punished them if they did not revenge Him against unbelievers. The superstitious fear of the Lord, which prompted such crimes, is confused by Gildon with that fear of material loss which prompts dishonesty and conquest. Besides there were other causes than fear, for the cruelty of the Spaniards in Mexico : viz. greed and lust. — De Foe might have retorted to Gildon that more crimes are caused by ambition and passion than by a fanatic fear of God.
- l. 31. — *To return* is another favourite phrase of De Foe's (Hazlitt's ed. p. 47). See note to p. 11 (l. 11).
- P. 21. — l. 5. — « I first fell acquainted with the master of a ship who had been on the coast of Guinea... and who, taking a fancy to my conversation, which was not at all disagreeable at that time, ...told me... I should be his messmate and his companion ». (p. 21).
- l. 20. — *Notions* : not so settled as all that! Crusoe, it is true, had received « a good instruction of his father » ; but, as he tells us himself, he had « a certain stupidity of soul, without desire of good or conscience of evil », (p. 44) : so that when he entered on a « seafaring life » he « entertained only a little sense of religion ». (p. 58).
- l. 23. — These were not the *only times* : see note to p. 18 (l. 14).
- P. 22. — l. 9. — Gildon forgets there was a Scotchman on board the Portuguese ship which rescued Crusoe (Hazlitt's ed. p. 26).
- l. 12. — *Fifth Voyage* : the first was from Hull to Yarmouth ; the second to Guinea, the third to Guinea again, but Crusoe was captured on the way by a Turkish rover ; the fourth to Brazil.
- l. 15. — Gildon forgets that in this voyage there was fair weather for 12 days before the storm broke.
- l. 18. — Gildon's attack is beside the point. De Foe had a right to choose a wicked character for his hero ; Robinson's defects prove nothing against him.



- P. 23. — l. 18. — i. e. p. 61 in Hazlitt's ed.
- l. 21-22. — This is not perhaps logical, but the type of expression is common in English (cp. better than best).
- l. 29. — Here are a few examples of De Foe's use of *who* for *whom* : « His name was Ishmael, who they call Moley », « the boy who they called Xury » (p. 23). (Cp. in the *Complete English gentleman*, p. 100 : « a gentleman who I had long had an intimacy with »). But De Foe does not always make this mistake ; he writes : « from whom I was called Robinson » (p. 17), « some of my relations whom I corresponded with » (p. 21) (Cp. *Complete English gentleman*, p. 100 « like Solomon's fool, of whom... »).
- P. 24. — l. 1. — De Foe, in fact, does not tell us how Crusoe managed to let the goat escape (p. 63).
- l. 5-8. — This happened when Crusoe, trying to sail round the island, was carried away by the current (p. 60).
- l. 7. — But Crusoe tells us that he stored provisions in his boat before starting : « I victualled my ship for the voyage, putting in two dozen of my loaves (cakes I should rather call them) of barley bread, an earthen pot full of parched rice, a food I eat a great deal of, a little bottle of rum, half a goat, and powder with shot for killing more, and two large watch coats. » p. 60). — These provisions were easily sufficient for 5 or 6 days.
- l. 9. — Gideon's herd of goats consisted at the time of one kid !
- l. 10. — i. e. when Crusoe, in terror at the sight of the footprint, remained hidden in his castle for 3 days (p. 67).
- l. 15. — « Abundance of such things as these assisted to argue me out of all apprehensions of its being the devil ; and I presently concluded that it must be some more dangerous kind of creature, viz. that it must be some of the savages of the main land over against me ». (p. 66). — Crusoe's practical common sense led him to conclude that the immediate danger of flesh-and-blood savages was greater than the problematic danger of an hypothetic devil.
- l. 20. — Gildon is right here. De Foe was paid according to the bulk of his books, and his tendency was of course.

to make his works as long as possible. Thus Crusoe's journal simply repeats the narrative. The same moral reflections recur over and over again : for example Crusoe's ideas about the wickedness of sailors are set forth in the same terms on pp. 44 and 58.

- l. 25. — « To trifle with sacred things ». — Gildon was proud of his Latin and liked to show his superiority over De Foe in this respect.
- l. 29. — *Sortes Virgilianae* : a form of divination which consisted in taking the first passage on which the eye fell on opening a volume of Virgil as prophesying future events, or indicating a line of action to be taken. Crusoe used the Bible instead of Virgil's works : but so did all Non-conformists.
- P. 25. — l. 4. — So Gildon condemns De Foe's didactic idea of teaching biblical lessons by means of a fictitious tale, thus using Art in the service of Religion.
- l. 7. — This is *Lucilio Vanini* (1585-1619), an Italian philosopher who, like Bruno, professed sceptical views and even preached atheism. He stayed a short time in England (1614) but was imprisoned in London for 49 days on account of his doctrines. Later, he was arrested in Toulouse and condemned as an atheist to have his tongue cut out and to be strangled at the stake, — which sentence was carried out.
- l. 8. — *The Freethinker, a collection of essays on Ignorance, Superstition, Bigotry, etc. Intermixed with several pieces of Wit and Humour*; by Ambrose Phillips, Boulter, etc. — N<sup>o</sup> 1 was published on March 24 th, 1718, and n<sup>o</sup> 159 (the last) on Sept. 28 th, 1719).
- l. 15. — Crusoe, like a good middle-class Englishman, naturally enough thought first of beer. It is curious, nevertheless, that De Foe did not think of the easier possibility of making wine. But Crusoe had no casks for either, and had not succeeded in making any. (p. 70).
- l. 21. — i. e. p. 72 in Hazlitt's ed. « It came now very warmly upon my thoughts, and indeed irresistibly, that now was my time to get a servant, and perhaps a companion or assistant, and that I was called plainly by Providence to save this poor creature's life ». (p. 81). — « Let no man despise the secret hints and notices of

danger ! » (p. 96). — « Let no man slight the strong impulses of his own thoughts » (p. 109). — The same idea is repeated on pp. 49, 66, 71, 90, etc.).

l. 30. — The Daimôn of Socrates was probably some kind of internal voice, akin to De Foe's « secret hints ».

P. 26. — l. 1. — *Girolamo Cardan* (or *Cardano*) (1501-1576), famous as a mathematician published in 1543 a treatise on astrology in which he prided himself particularly on having been vouchsafed the assistance of a guardian demon.

l. 5. — This applies to all visionaries and to many Catholic saints. But their guardian angel, not their patron saint, was their guide. — In *Hudibras* (II, 1), Butler ridiculed the story of Saint Francis. In the *Serious Reflections*, De Foe himself ridiculed the legends of Popish Saints.

l. 12. — De Foe's words are : « while I was cutting down some wood here. I perceived that behind a very thick branch of low brushwood, or underwood, there was a kind of hollow place... I found it was pretty large, that is to say, sufficient for me to stand upright in it...; but I must confess to you I made more haste out than I did in : when looking further into the place, *which was perfectly dark*, I saw two broad shining eyes of some creature, whether devil or man I knew not, which twinkled like two stars, the dim light from the cave's mouth shining directly in, and making the reflection. » (p. 73). — He repeats on the same page : « The place I was in was a most delightful cavity, or grotto, of its kind, as could be expected, *though perfectly dark*. » (If the word *dark* was suppressed, the contradiction would disappear). Cox, the piratical abridger of the novel, made matters still worse. He wrote : « Peeping further into the place, and which was totally dark, I saw two glaring eyes of some creature I knew not, which twinkled like stars, the light from the cave's mouth shining directly in, and making the reflection ». (p. 154). The anonymous author of the abridgment of the three volumes of *Robinson Crusoe* (1724) paid careful heed to Gildon's criticism, and, in summing up this episode, suppressed the words *dark* and *darkness*.

- l. 22. — When Crusoe baked his bread, he told us : « Then I wanted a mill to grind it (the corn), sieves to dress it, yeast and *salt* to make it into bread. » (p. 54). — But, on p. 84, he offered salt to Friday, who « spat and sputtered at it, washing his mouth with fresh water after it. »
- l. 26. — De Foe nowhere says that the victims were bound or fettered.
- P. 27. — l. 1. — Gildon is right in pointing out this inconsistency. A few days after the first anniversary of his landing (p. 49), Crusoe says : « My ink began to fail me », — and, after the third year, (p. 58) : « My ink had been gone for some time ». But on the 28<sup>th</sup> year of his stay (p. 96), he says : « I gave him a strict charge in writing. »
- l. 15. — « I had been accustomed enough to the sea, and yet I had a strange aversion to go to England by sea at that time » (p. 109).
- l. 21. — The epithet *monstrous* is not exaggerated. De Foe evidently wanted to fill up a number of pages, and imagined this ridiculous story, which, he knew, would be a subject of wonder and admiration to many a cook and apprentice. He was a good business man, and willing to gratify the popular taste for sensational stories.
- P. 28. — l. 4. — « O ! O ! O ! says Friday three times, pointing to the bear, O master ! you give me te leave, me shakee te hand with him, me makee you good laugh. » (p. 110).
- l. 6. — « So down he sits, and gets his boots off in a moment, and puts on a pair of pumps, as we call the flat shoes they wear, and which he had in his pocket, and gives my other servant his horse, and, with his gun, away he flew, swift like the wind. » (p. 110).
- l. 8. — « Friday, who had, as we say, the heels of the bear, came up with him quickly, and takes up a great stone and throws at him, and hit him just on the head, but did him no more harm than if he had thrown it against a wall. » (p. 111). — But it was quite possible for Friday to find a stone in the snow which was not very deep.

- l. 13. — There are bears in the mountains of Venezuela and British Guiana, so that Friday might have seen some during the wanderings of his tribe. (cp. p. VII).
- l. 17. — Friday climbs up a tree, and the angry bear follows him closely : « When we came to the tree, there was Friday got out to the small of a large limb of the tree, and the bear got about half way to him. As soon as the bear got out to that part where the limb of the tree was weaker. Ha, says he to us, now you see me teachee the bear dance ; so he falls a-jumping and shaking the bough, at which the bear began to totter, but stood still, and began to look behind him to see how he should get back. » (p. 111).
- l. 25. — See note to p. IX, l. 2.
- l. 26, *etc.* — These later travels are announced in the last page of the novel, which shows that De Foe expected success and was preparing a second volume.

## THE POSTSCRIPT

- P. 29. — l. 11. — The 2<sup>nd</sup> vol of *Robinson Crusoe* (*Further Adventures*) was issued on Aug. 20<sup>th</sup>, 1719. Gildon's Postscript was written in the last days of August and the beginning of September.
- l. 21. — « Our old Portuguese pilot brought a Japan merchant to us, who began to inquire what goods we had ; and in the first place, he bought all our opium and gave us a very good price for it ». (*Further Adv.* p. 76).
- l. 24. — The second vol. is in fact much inferior to the first. It contains many tedious passages, such as the episode of Atkins's conversion, Crusoe's dealing in China etc., but it is an exaggeration to say that it everywhere « prepares you for sleep ».
- P. 30. — l. 10. — « The success the former part of this work has met with in the world, has yet been no other than is acknowledged to be due to the surprising variety of the subject and to the agreeable manner of the performance ».
- l. 15. — By the word *judicious*, Gildon means the same thing as *rational* (p. 28), i. e. any reader not belong-

ing to the vulgar class that was delighted at the time by *Guy of Warwick*.

- l. 20. — There are exactly 24 sheets in *Robinson Crusoe*.
- l. 23. — It must be acknowledged that there are many digressions, such as the description of the starving maid (p. 53), or the disparagement of Chinese greatness (p. 78), which have no connexion whatever with the narrative.
- l. 28. — *Canting* is the epithet which a severe critic might justly apply to Crusoe's religion.
- l. 30. — « By this [i. e. abridging the work by the suppression of all didactic elements] they leave the work naked of its brightest ornaments » (Pref.).
- P. 31. — l. 1-2. — There is some truth in Gildon's criticism, but De Foe was naturally long-winded, and wrote exactly as a garrulous person talks. — The price of each vol. of *Robinson Crusoe* was 5 s.
- l. 7. — Gildon is right in complaining that the first pages of the Journal are a mere repetition of the events Crusoe had already told « in plain narration ». De Foe was very careless in matters of style and composition.
- l. 15. — These repetitions are to be found chiefly in the Journal (for example : « rain all day », « very ill », etc.) ; but they are natural in the diary of a « plain honest man ».
- l. 17. — *Hudibras* II, 1st c. l. 9-12. — Quoting from memory, Gildon changed the words slightly :
- « Is't not enough to make one strange,  
That some mens fancies should ne'er change ?  
But make all people do, and say,  
The same things still the self-same way. »
- (The reading in the first authorized edition of the second line was : « That a mans fancy should ne'er change »)
- l. 23. — See the notes to p. 1 (l. 13) and p. 23 (l. 29).
- l. 20. — In fact the *Further Adventures* had a second edition before the end of the year.
- P. 32. — l. 1. — « All the endeavours of envious people to reproach it with being a romance, to search it for er-

rors in geography, inconsistency in the relation, and contradictions in the fact, have proved abortive, and as impotent as malicious ». — This shows that the success of *Robinson Crusoe* had been much discussed in coffee-houses. — The word *abortive* in the meaning of *fruitless* was not unusual in De Foe's time. Cp. Addison, *Cato*, III, 7 :

« Our first design, my friends, has prov'd abortive ».

- l. 8. — But the great Pope himself had told Spence : « The first part of *Robinson Crusoe* is very good; De Foe wrote a vast many things, and none bad, though none excellent, except this ».
- l. 18. — « If Nature refuses, Indignation makes verses ».  
Juv. *Sat.* I, 79.
- l. 26. — In spite of this assertion there was much envy in Gildon's soul when he considered the tremendous success achieved by a rival writer.

P. 33. — l. 2-3. — De Foe's statement in the Preface to the first vol. was : « The editor believes the thing to be a just history of fact ». — In the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the novel was not yet born, and a book of which « it is all a lie » could be said, was doomed to failure.

l. 11, etc. — Gildon is unjust. The book tends to prove that man is entirely in the hands of God, Who never fails to punish him for his sins.

l. 18. — See the notes to p. VI (l. 9), p. 3 (l. 24) etc.

P. 34. — l. 2. — « And this makes the abridging this work as scandalous as it is kuavish and ridiculous, seeing, while to shorten the book that they may seem to reduce the value, they strip it of all those reflections, as well religious as moral, which are not only the greatest beauties of the work, but are calculated for the infinite advantage of the reader ». (Pref.). — De Foe alludes to a piratical abridgment of the first volume, which was issued in the beginning of August by a bookseller named Cox, at the price of 2 s. Taylor, De Foe's editor, denounced this book in his advertisement of the 4<sup>th</sup> ed. of *Robinson Crusoe* : « The pretended abridgment of this book clandestinely printed for T.

Cox does not contain the third part of the work; but consists only of some scattered passages, incoherently tacked together; wherein the author's sense throughout is wholly mistaken, the matters of fact misrepresented, and the moral reflections misapplied. It's hoped the Public will not give encouragement to so base a practice, the proprietor intending to prosecute the vendors according to Law » (*Daily Courant* for Aug. 8th, 1719). — Cox's abridgment (pp. 259) is certainly very bad: for example, we are not told that Crusoe saw a footprint on the sand, so that the sequel becomes incoherent. — Taylor began a suit in Chancery for the protection of his copyright. In the *Flying Post* for October 29th, Cox replied that the book had been published by his firm without his knowledge, while he was absent in Scotland, and he threatened to disclose some secrets about De Foe. The prosecution was stopped. — Cox died a few months later. (See the Pref. to the *Serious Reflections*).

- l. 3. — But Gildon himself would have been extremely angry if a pirated edition of his *Art of Poetry* had been sold cheaper than the authorized edition, thus depriving him of part of his benefit.
- l. 6. — *Justin*: a Latin historian who lived before the 5th cent. A.D. His work, *Historiarum Philippicarum Libri XLVII* is described by himself in the preface as an abridgment of an older history written in the time of Augustus by *Trogus Pompeius*; this work, *Historiae Philippicae et totius Mundi origines et Terrae situs*, was probably ousted from public favour by Justin's shorter book. A new English version of Justin's work, by Thomas Brown, appeared in 1712, and replaced Codrington's older translation.
- l. 13. — *Darius Tibertus*, or rather *Dario Tiberti* was born at Cesena; he died in the beginning of the 16th cent. He made a Latin abridgment of Plutarch's *Lives* (*Epitome vitarum Plutarchi*, Ferrare 1501), an edition of which was issued in Paris in 1573. It was translated into French in the same year. Tiberti's work was used by David Lloyd in the abridgment of the *Lives* which he published in 1665.
- l. 17. — *Guarini*: this is evidently a mistake for Guicciar-



dini (1482-1540) whose *History of Italy* was translated into English by Fenton as early as 1579 (new editions in 1599, 1618). Abridgments of it were published in England by Dallington in 1615 (republished in 1629).

- l. 18. — This is of course *Pliny the Naturalist* (23-79), but it does not appear his works were ever abridged in Latin. The whole of the *Natural History* was translated into English by Philemon Holland (1601).
- l. 19. — *Fontenelle* (1657-1757), the great French philosopher, whose *History of Oracles* (1687) was immediately translated into English and created a sensation in the philosophical world.
- l. 21. — *Sir William Temple* (1628-99), the great statesman and essayist, professed himself an enthusiastic admirer of Fontenelle in his *Letters* (1700-03) and *Essays* (*Miscellanies*, 1705-08).
- l. 24. — *Van Dale* (1638-1708), a Dutch philosopher, whose Latin treatise *De Oraculis veterum ethnicorum* (1683) was abridged by Fontenelle in his *Histoire des Oracles*.
- l. 27. — These works were abridgments of foreign or classical authors, and not pirated abridgments of living English writers. Gildon gives no instance of the latter.

P. 35. — l. 6. — But it was not the *only fault* of the abridgment. (See note to p. 34, l. 2).

l. 8. — This clever, but sophistical, argument must have annoyed De Foe greatly.

l. 15. — The chief interest of Cox's abridgment is that it shows what, in the book, most interested contemporary readers. Cox dropped all moral reflections and briefly summed up Crusoe's early adventures: he gave most space to Crusoe's stay on the island.

l. 28. — Gildon's literary criticism is contained in these words: Rules of Art. Nothing can be beautiful, he thought, if it does not follow the rules derived from the Ancients.

P. 36 — l. 2. — The book, of course, was read to Gildon.

l. 4. — « My imagination worked up to such a height... that I actually supposed myself ostentimes upon the spot at my old castle behind the trees, saw my old Span-

iard, Friday's father, and the reprobate sailors whom I left upon the island... One time in my sleep I had the villany of the three pirate sailors so lively related to me by the first Spaniard and Friday's father, that it was surprising; they told me how they barbarously attempted to murder all the Spaniards, and that they set fire to the provisions they had laid up, on purpose to distress and starve them, things that I had never heard of, and that were yet all of them true in fact. » (p. 5).

- l. 16. — Though somewhat a casuist, Crusoe never tried to explain from what authority he derived his power. He maintained that land belongs to the first occupant, and accepted it as natural that he should be king of his island, and absolute master of the lives of the Spaniards who arrived on the island after his departure.
- l. 21. — *Madam* is used here in a contemptuous sense, like *Monsieur*, on p. 11. — Trought the *Beggar's Opera* Gay used the word with this depreciatory meaning : see for example Lucy's song in Act II, sc. 3 : « Why, how now, Madam Flirt », etc.
- l. 22. — My wife... told me very seriously one night, that she believed there was some secret powerful impulse of Providence upon me, which had determined me to go thither again. » (p. 6).
- P. 37. — l. 2. — *Further Adv.* p. 7. — We have seen already what ludicrous use Gildon made of this awkward sentence (p. XVIII). De Foe seems to mean that we have premonitions (« secret hints ») of events which come to pass later, even though we have not communicated these premonitions to any one who could be instrumental in the fulfilment of them. This shows that the secret hints are sent from an invisible supernatural world, — and from the existence of a supernatural world De Foe infers a future state.
- l. 10. — « My ancient good friend the widow... earnestly struggled with me to consider my years, my easy circumstances, and the needless hazard of a long voyage, and, above all, my young children; but it was all to no purpose; I had an irresistible desire to the voyage; and I told her I thought there was something so un-

common in the impressions I had upon my mind for the voyage, that it would be a kind of resisting Providence if I should attempt to stay at home ». (p. 8). — Crusoe's departure looks like a novelist's trick and gives a poor idea of the occupations of Providence.

- l. 13. — *En passant* was then a fashionable expression. De Foe did not use it in the homely style of *Robinson Crusoe*, but in the more elaborate style of *Captain Carleton* (p. 18).
- l. 20. — De Foe liked to paint extreme passions, and there is in all his books a display of sentimentality to please the popular taste : his heroes weep on all occasions. The description of the violent emotions of the rescued occupies a whole page in Hazlitt's edition : « There were some in tears, some raging and tearing themselves, as if they had been in the greatest agonies of sorrow ; some stark raving and downright lunatic ; some ran about the ship stamping with their feet, others wringing their hands ; some were dancing, several singing, some laughing, more crying ; many quite dumb, not able to speak a word ; others sick and vomiting, several swooning, and ready to faint ; and a few were crossing themselves and giving God thanks ». But then Crusoe carefully explains : « Perhaps also the case may have some addition to it from the particular circumstance of the nation they belonged to ; I mean the French, whose temper is allowed to be more volatile, more passionate, and more sprightly, and their spirits more fluid, than of other nations. » (p. 10).
- l. 26. — But these people were saved after many long hours of anxiety. During the night their hopes rose and fell, so that the extremity of their joy in being saved at last is quite natural.
- P. 38. — l. 3. — « I immediately ordered that five guns should be fired, one soon after another, that, if possible, we might give notice to them that there was help for them at hand ». (p. 9).
- l. 7. — « To direct them as well as I could, I caused lights to be hung out in all the parts of the ship where we could, and which we had lanterns for, and kept firing

- guns all the night long, letting them know by this that there was a ship not far off ». (p. 9).
- l. 13. — On the contrary, it is rational to believe that they were in agonies of terror in the intervals of the guns, and afraid of losing the right direction.
- l. 14. — Friday had been abnormally quick in learning English; but, like uneducated people in a foreign country, once he had arrived at the stage of making himself understood, he never got rid, or even sought to get rid, of his grammatical mistakes. When he saw the island again, he exclaimed : « Me see ! me see ! yes, yes, me see much man there, and there, and there ». (p. 11).
- l. 24. — Gildon is right. — De Foe could draw only one character; a Puritan Englishman of the middle class. The Spaniard and Crusoe are brothers : so are the French Priest and the Spaniard. Thus, on p. 20, in the Spaniard's relation of the chief events on the island after Crusoe's departure, we find this passage : « It happened one night that the Spaniard governor... found himself very uneasy in the night, and could by no means get any sleep : he was perfectly well in body, as he told me the story, only found his thoughts tumultuous; his mind ran upon men fighting, and killing one another, but was broad awake and could not by any means get any sleep. In short, he lay a great while, but growing more and more uneasy, he resolved to rise ». Then he roused one of his comrades who said : « Such things are not to be slighted », and added, as Crusoe would have done : « I am satisfied our spirits embodied have converse with, and receive intelligence from, the spirits unembodied, and inhabiting the invisible world; and this friendly notice is given for our advantage, if we know how to make use of it ». — Of course, the « secret hint » was right : there was a whole army of cannibals on the island. (Cp. the notes to pp. VI and 25).
- P. 39. — l. 2. — As Gildon maintains, the character of the Spaniard is full of inconsistencies and improbabilities. De Foe, always writing in haste, very probably forgot which of his heroes was speaking at the time.

- l. 9. — In the first vol., p. 95 : the Spaniard quotes *Exodus* XVI, 2-3. « You know the children of Israel, though they rejoiced at first of their being delivered out of Egypt, yet rebelled even against God himself, that delivered them when they came to want bread in the wilderness ». — In the *Further Adventures* he quotes the Scriptures frequently (pp. 16, 27, etc.). It pleased De Foe's paradoxical mind to shock the prejudices of his readers. Here he represents a good Spaniard (« the most gentlemanlike generous-minded man that ever I met with in my life ») — a phenomenon which must have astonished many of his readers who had so often heard of the cruelty of the Spaniards in the West Indies.
- l. 13. — *In the Night*. — We may suppose they were delayed by contrary currents. Besides, we are not told that they came for their barbarous feast (p. 20) : they might have come to attack the inhabitants of the island, of whose presence they had heard.
- l. 19. — This tedious conversation between the two men extends over 4 pages (40-43). It must have surprised De Foe's readers to find a Popish priest so familiar with the Bible. As for De Foe's representation of him as a broad-minded man, see note to p. VIII (l. 30).
- l. 26. — « You have here 4 Englishmen, who have fetched women from among the savages, and have taken them as their wives, and have had many children by them all, and yet are not married to them after any stated legal manner, as the laws of God and man require, and, therefore, are yet, in the sense of both, no less than adulterers, and living in adultery » (p. 41). De Foe must have been greatly mortified by this piece of criticism, as he hated to be reproached with « writing false English ».
- P. 40. — l. 18. — « Now, sir, — said he, — though I do not acknowledge your religion, or you mine, yet we should be all glad to see the devil's servants, and the subjects of his kingdom, taught to know the general principles of the Christian religion ; that they might at least hear of God, and of a Redeemer, and of the resurrection, and of a future state, things we all believe ; they had at

least been so much nearer coming into the bosom of the true church, than they are now in the public profession of idolatry and devil worship » (p. 42). — Cp. « It is a maxim, sir, that is, or ought to be, received among all Christians, of what church or pretended church soever, viz., that Christian knowledge ought to be propagated by all possible means, and on all possible occasions. It is on this principle that our church sends missionaries into Persia, India and China; and that our clergy, even of the superior sort, willingly engage in the most hazardous voyages, and the most dangerous residence, among murderers and barbarians, to teach them the knowledge of the true God, and to bring them over to embrace the Christian faith » (p. 42).

- l. 20. — *Complements* is of course a misprint for compliments.
- l. 25. — Gildon's criticism must have been made already by many a good Protestant. But it was for the amazement of his readers that De Foe introduced into his tale that wonder of wonders, a tolerant Popish priest. — He carefully pointed out that this priest was a very rare exception: Crusoe cunningly told the priest (p. 46): « I cannot tell how to object the least thing against that affectionate concern which you shew for turning the poor people from their Paganism to the Christian religion; but how does this comfort you, while these people are, in your account, out of the pale of the Catholic Church, without which, you believe, there is no salvation; so that you esteem these but heretics still, and, for other reasons, as effectually lost as the pagans themselves? » — To which this Phoenix of priests answered « with abundance of candour and Christian Charity » (p. 47): « I am a Catholic of the Roman Church and a priest of the order of St. Benedict... but yet, I do not look upon you, who call yourselves reformed, without some charity; I dare not say, though I know it is our opinion in general, yet I dare not say that you cannot be saved; I will by no means limit the mercy of Christ so far as to think that he cannot receive you into the bosom of his church... you will allow it to consist with me, as a Roman, to dis-

tinguish far between a Protestant and a Pagan, between him that calls on Jesus Christ, though in a way which I do not think is according to the true faith, and a savage, a barbarian, that knows no God, no Christ, no Redeemer at all... ..I would rejoice if all the savages in America were brought, like this poor woman, to pray to God, though they were to be all Protestants at first, rather than they should continue pagans and heathens ». — Crusoe replied that « he believed, had all the members of his church the like moderation, they would soon be all Protestants ». His final words are : « I thought he [the priest] had all the zeal, all the knowledge, all the sincerity of a Christian, without the errors of a Roman Catholic; and that I took him to be such a clergyman as the Roman bishops were, before the church of Rome assumed spiritual sovereignty over the consciences of men » (p. 50).

- P. 41. — l. 6. — The rapidity of Atkins's conversion is truly amazing (pp. 44-5). His long dialogue with Crusoe is highly improbable.
- l. 15. — Atkins's wife is abnormally quick in grasping abstruse theological ideas. The episode of her baptism is full of humour, but this must have passed unnoticed by « vulgar readers », whose sentimentality would have been deeply moved by the touching conversion.
- l. 16. — *Jack of all trades* is the expression used by De Foe on p. 51. He describes this ingenious fellow in the following words : « I carried two carpenters, a smith, and a very handy ingenious fellow, who was a cooper by trade, but was also a general mechanic, for he was dexterous at making wheels and hand-mills to grind corn, was a good turner, and a good pot-maker; he also made anything that was proper to be made of earth or of wood; in a word we called him our Jack of all trades » (p. 8).
- l. 19. — This is curious : Crusoe who had been at pains to instruct Friday in the Protestant religion forgets to have him baptized on his return to England; at least he does not tell us anything of it in the novel.

- P. 42. — l. 3. — i. e. p. 42 in Hazlitt's ed. See note to p. 40. l. 25.
- l. 21. — Gildon is unfair; the priest is described as a happy exception. De Foe hated Popery, and Crusoe often maintains that English Protestantism is by far the best form of religion (see note to p. VIII). Gildon, a deserter from Roman Catholicism, was more violent against Popery than De Foe who had always been a Dissenter.
- P. 43. — l. 6. — There were bishops among Catholic missionaries as well as Jesuits of high rank. It is true, though, that missionaries belonged generally to the regular clergy.
- l. 9. — Gildon does not remember that the priest is responsible for the statement on the preceding page. Crusoe himself judged very severely the work of Popish missionaries: « [we became] acquainted with three missionary Romish priests who were in the town, and who had been there some time converting the people to Christianity; but we thought they had made but poor work of it, and made them but sorry Christians when they had done... I must confess the conversion, as they call it, of the Chinese to Christianity is so far from the true conversion required to bring heathen people to the faith of Christ, that it seems to amount to little more than letting them know the name of Christ, say some prayers to the Virgin Mary and her son in a tongue which they understand not, and to cross themselves, and the like » (pp. 75-6). — De Foe admired the zeal and piety of some missionaries, but scorned their doctrine.
- l. 11. — Gildon's criticism made an impression on De Foe: in the 4<sup>th</sup> chapter of the *Serious Reflections*, he charged the Inquisition with condemning men whose riches were coveted by the clergy; « Inquisitors are scarce Christians », he concluded (p. 44).
- l. 15. — The Dominicans, who were the Jesuits' worst enemies, had denounced the trading of the latter and their over-supple principles in China before the Congregation *De Propaganda Fide* (for the propagation of faith), which had been established by Pope Gregory



XV, in 1622. — In the *Serious Reflections* (p. 84), De Foe parodied the title of this congregation by applying it to the Devil's agents on the earth.

- l. 20. — The Jesuit Ricci (1552-1610), founder of the Jesuit mission in China, had resolved to accommodate Christianity to the creeds and customs of the Chinese. After him, the Jesuits scrupulously respected all Chinese rites that were not too contrary to Christian morals, and laid aside all Catholic ceremonies that might have hurt Chinese prejudice; they admitted for instance the worship of Confucius and the cult of Ancestors. These facts were denounced by the Dominicans and condemned as early as 1645. But the Jesuits were so powerful that, though several times condemned, they continued their policy till 1742. Pope Clement XI's Bull in 1715, ordering the suppression of all Chinese ceremonies and denouncing the conduct of the Jesuits, was hailed with contemptuous joy in Protestant England. In the *Serious Reflections*, De Foe, again taking the hint from Gildon's work, condemned the Jesuits « who sung anthems to the immortal Idols of Tonquin » (p. 44).
- l. 24. — In the *Serious Reflections*, De Foe, a severe judge of China and the Chinese, speaks thus of the great philosopher : « As to their religion, it is all summed up in Confucius's Maxims, whose theology I take to be a rhapsody of moral conclusions; a foundation, or what we may call elements of polity, morality and superstition, huddled together in a rhapsody of words, without consistency, and, indeed, with very little reasoning in it » (p. 40).
- l. 29. — De Foe was no promoter of Popery, but he was not such a fanatic as to condemn systematically all Papists. As the priest in *Robinson Crusoe* preferred Protestantism to Paganism, De Foe preferred Popery to Paganism. In the *Serious Reflections*, he wrote : « I hope none will object against calling the Roman Church a Christian Church, and the professors of the Popish Church Christians » (p. 66).
- P. 44. — l. 4. — Speaking of the Tartars, Crusoe says : « I wondered how the Chinese empire could be conquered by such contemptible fellows; for they are a mere herd

or crowd of wild fellows, keeping no order, and understanding no discipline or manner of fight » (p. 82). — He is unable to find words strong enough for his indignation at the sight of the barbarous Tartar idol, « frightful as the Devil », at Nartschinsky; with a Crusader's zeal he destroys it and gets into endless trouble (pp. 86-90).

- l. 6. — i. e. *Samoyeds*.
- l. 28. — « But, sir, the essence of the sacrament of matrimony (so he called it, being a Roman) consists not only in the mutual consent of the parties to take one another as man and wife, but in the formal and legal obligation that there is in the contract, to compel the man and woman at all times, to own and acknowledge each other; obliging the man to abstain from all other women, to engage in no other contract while these subsist, and on all occasions, as ability allows, to provide honestly for them and their children; and to oblige the women to the same or like conditions, *mutatis mutandis*, on their side » (p. 41). — Gildon would probably have been at a loss to explain what he found specially Popish in this passage.
- l. 45 — l. 3. — « For my Spaniards, according to my promise, I engaged three Portugal women to go; and recommended it to them to marry them and use them kindly. I could have procured more women, but I remembered that the poor persecuted man had two daughters, and there were but five of the Spaniards that wanted; the rest had wives of their own, though in another country. — All this cargo arrived safe, and as you may easily suppose, very welcome to my old inhabitants, who were now (with this addition) between 60 and 70 people, besides little children, of which there were a great many » (p. 57). — A curious oversight for a Puritan !
- l. 8. — The episode is quite useless for the story, but, being full of grim and terrible details, it must have been very « entertaining for the canaille ».
- l. 14. — « Let no wise man flatter himself with the strength of his own judgment, as if he was able to choose any particular station of life for himself. Man is a short-

sighted creature, sees but a very little way before him; and as his passions are none of his best friends, so his particular affections are generally his worst counsellors » (p. 58). — De Foe simply states here that no man knows the future, and in the following sentence — which Gildon overlooked — he draws a moral conclusion from this : « But the secret ends of Divine Providence in thus permitting us to be hurried down the stream of our own desires, are only to be understood of those who can listen to the voice of Providence, and draw religious consequences from God's justice and their own mistakes ».

- l. 24. — i. e. p. 79 in Hazlitt's ed. — Gildon is right : there is a contradiction in the text.
- l. 26. — « His horse was a poor, lean, starved, hobbling creature, such as in England might sell for about 30 or 40 shillings; and he had two slaves followed him on foot to drive the poor creature along » (p. 79).
- P. 46. — l. 11. — This is another instance of De Foe's love for paradox. It was fashionable at the time to exalt the Chinese Empire. De Foe contends that it is inferior to the English. His arguments are poor : « 30,000 German or English foot or 10,000 French horse would fairly beat all the forces of China... There is not a fortified town in China could hold out one month against the batteries and attacks of an European army. » — He calls the Chinese « a contemptible herd and crowd of ignorant, sordid slaves ». (p. 78). — De Foe took his theories about China from the *Relation de M. Evert Isbrants, envoyé de S. M. Czarienne à l'Empereur de la Chine en 1692, 1693 et 1694 par le Sr Adam Brand* (Amsterdam 1699).
- l. 17. — Sir William Temple adopted Father Le Comte's favourable opinion of China. — In the *Serious Reflections* (pp. 40-42), De Foe, who had probably been annoyed by Gildon's criticism, renewed his attack on Chinese greatness.
- l. 26. — Though not so ridiculous as the episode of the bear in the first vol., this burning of the Idol seems to indicate that De Foe was again hard pressed to find

a new incident to fill a certain number of pages (pp. 86-89).

- l. 30. — « A cunning fellow, a Cossack, as they call them, of Jarawena, in the pay of the Moscovites, calling to the leader of the caravan, said to him : I will send all these people away to Sibeilka. This was a city 4 or 5 days' journey at least to the south, and rather behind us » (p. 89).
- P. 47. — l. 6. — How angry Gildon must have been, when the Publisher's Introduction to the *Serious Reflections* was read to him : « If the foundation has been so well laid, the structure cannot but be expected to bear a proportion; and while the parable has been so diverting, the moral must certainly be equally agreeable ».
- l. 14. — « One recognizes Hercules by the foot, and a lion by the claw ». A Greek proverb made popular by Erasmus in his *Adagia* (I, 9).
- l. 18. — This theory would tend to the suppression of all didactic tales.
- l. 23. — De Foe would be in sympathy with Gildon, here. In the *Serious Reflections* (p. 10) he ridiculed the story of St. Hilary.
- P. 48. — l. 1. — De Foe must have been very astonished and not a little troubled to find himself accused of promoting atheism; and this probably explains why he introduced in the *Serious Reflections* a long dialogue against atheists, or « men-devils ».
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