
Unveiling Daniel Defoe's Religious Identity: Robinson Crusoe Caught between Christianity, Crypto-Judaism or Judaizing, and Defoe's Nonconformity

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الكشف عن هوية دانييل ديفو الدينية: روبنسون كروزو عالق بين المسيحية
واليهودية السرية أو التهويد، في ضوء عدم الامتثال الديني عند ديفو

ملخص البحث

تبحث هذه الدراسة في الخلفية الدينية الحقيقية لدانيال ديفو متخفيا وراء أكثر الشخصيات شهرة في كتاباته، روبنسون كروزو. تحاول الدراسة إن تكتشف على وجه التحديد إمكانية اعتناق ديفو اليهودية سرا مع التظاهر باعتناق المسيحية أو كونه تطهيرا مهودا. من خلال إجراء تحليل متعمق لأعمال ديفو الأدبية، وبشكل أساسي روايته الشهيرة روبنسون كروزو مع إشاراتها الكتابية الدقيقة، ومقارنة ذلك بعدم امتثال ديفو الممارسات الدينية للكنيسة البروتستانتية، افترضت الدراسة ترجيح وجود صلة أكثر باليهودية السرية أو التهويد منه بالمسيحية المدعاة. تدقق هذه الورقة الأكاديمية في تصوير ديفو لاحتفال روبنسون كروزو المنتظم بالسبت، وإشاراته الدقيقة إلى شخصيات الكتاب المقدس العبرانية، مثل بني إسرائيل وهيكلم الملك سليمان، فضلا عن تجاهل المتعمد لأية اقتباسات مباشرة من العهد الجديد. إن اعتماد الدراسة لمنهجية البحث من منظور اليهودية السرية أو التهويد في تحقيقاتها يهدف إلى تسليط الضوء

على الجوانب الأقل استكشافاً من معتقدات ديفو الدينية، وتسليط الضوء على التقاطعات بين مرآة الأدب العاكسة، وحقيقة الهويات الدينية السرية في إنجلترا خلال القرنين السابع عشر والثامن عشر. تحاول الدراسة، من خلال النتائج التي توصلت إليها، تقديم رؤى قيمة حول تعقيدات التنوع الديني، والعلاقة بين الإصلاح، والتزمت والتهويد، والممارسات الخفية لليهودية السرية والتهويد خلال هذه الفترة التاريخية، مما يشير إلى فهم أكثر صدقاً لشخصية الكاتب العالمي دانيال ديفو وكيف انعكس هذا الميل الديني الحقيقي لديفو على أدبه.

الكلمات المفتاحية

دانيال ديفو، المنشقون عن الكنيسة، عدم الامتثال الديني، المسيحية، البروتستانتية، البيوريتانية، السبتية، التهويد، اليهودية السرية، رونسون كروزو.

Abstract

This study inspects the true religious background of Daniel Defoe in disguise behind his most celebrated character Robinson Crusoe. It specifically detects the alternative potentiality of being a crypto-Jew or a rather Puritan Judaizer. Throughout making an in-depth analysis of Defoe's literary work, principally his renowned novel Robinson Crusoe with its subtle biblical allusions, and having Daniel Defoe's religious nonconformist practices simultaneously compared, the study has suggested a more likely connection to crypto-Judaism or Judaizing, rather than a falsified, pretended Christianity. This academic paper scrutinizes Defoe's portrayal of Robinson Crusoe's regular observance of sabbath, his exact references to biblical figures in the Hebrew Scriptures, such as the Sons of Israel and King Solomon's Temple, as well as the intentional disregard of any direct quotations of the New Testament. The study's adoption of a Crypto-Jewish or Judaizing lens in its investigation is meant highlight a less-explored side of Defoe's religious beliefs, illuminating the intersections between the reflective mirror of literature, and hidden religious identities in England during the 17th and 18th-century. The study, through its findings, attempts to provide valuable insights into the complexities of religious diversity, the connection between Reformation, puritanism and Judaizing, and the secret practices of crypto-Judaism and Judaizing during this historical period, suggesting a more genuine understanding of Daniel Defoe's true religious inclination reflected on his literature.

Keywords: Daniel Defoe, Dissenters, Nonconformity, Christianity, Protestantism, Puritanism, Sabbatarianism, Judaizing, Crypto-Judaism, *Robinson Crusoe*.

I- Introduction

Daniel Defoe, the prolific writer in English literature, is best known for his permanent masterpiece of *Robinson Crusoe*. Although the novel's themes and literary merits have been extensively explored by many scholars, some intriguing aspects of Defoe's life and work have comparatively remained less trodden. One of these aspects is Defoe's possibility of being a "crypto-Jew" or a rather Puritan "Judaizer". This academic study delves into this challenging hypothesis, with an aim to shed light on Daniel Defoe's religious inclinations and explore the potential inspected presence of crypto-Jewish and Judaizing indications in his most celebrated novel, *Robinson Crusoe*.

For centuries, Daniel Defoe has been traditionally regarded as a Puritan protestant, having his religious beliefs been a subject of historical and literary analysis. However, any meticulous investigation of certain aspects of Defoe's biography compared to his ideas that permeate his literary works, could easily uncover the schizophrenic religious identity. This identity is reflected in his factual religious nonconformity, that goes beyond conventional Puritanism, and the pseudo religiosity of his literary Christian characters. *Robinson Crusoe*, particularly, offers a abundance of textual pieces of evidence that alludes more likely to Jewish nature, rituals, customs, and historical references, suggesting a hidden dimension of religious identity reflected in his narrative.

The crypto Jewish, the Marranos, the secret Jews, or the New Christians all are various names for one phenomenon. This study detects the Crypto-Jewish indications in a piece of writings of Daniel Defoe, the father of the English novel and life-long dissenter and public figure. According to Cecil Roth, "Crypto-Judaism, in one form or another, is as old as the Jew himself" (1). It also widely considered as "one of the great desiderata of Jewish literature— a [. . .] history of the Marranos or secret Jews of the [Iberian] Peninsula"(Roth, xiv)

A thorough and close reading of *Robinson Crusoe*; the references to sabbath observances, the ordeals of Sons of Israel, King Solomon's Temple, the Exodus of Sons of Israel, and many others would be easy for any discerning readers to mark and understand its significance, particularly if taken in the light of Defoe's being Presbyterian puritan life-long non-conformist. What is really intriguing about those references is the absence of

corresponding references to New Testament events or Christian beliefs. Such irregularities challenge the conventional notion of Defoe's religious affiliation and suggest an exploration into the possibility of a concealed crypto-Jewish or Judaizing identity underlying his writings.

This exploration of Daniel Defoe's crypto-Jewish or Judaizing religious identity is not simply an exercise in speculative historical fiction, but it holds significant implications for understanding the broader religious landscape in England during the 17th and 18th-century. Crypto-Judaism, practiced by individuals, families, and groups who outwardly adhered to the dominant Christian faith while privately maintaining Jewish traditions, as a response to the unsafe conditions the Jewish communities experienced in Europe during that era. Judaizing, on the other hand, is the case in which a Christian is marked by the observances of Jewish laws, rituals, and the reverence of The Old Testament. The systematic analysis of Defoe's work from this perspective, could provide deeper insights into the dynamics of religious tolerance, persecution, and religious identity during this pivotal period in English history.

This paper is basically an endeavor to examine the personal religious life of Daniel Defoe, the historical and social background in which he lived, as well as the textual evidence spotted in *Robinson Crusoe*, which supports the notion of a hidden crypto-Jewish or Judaizing identity. Drawing upon multiple scholarly works on crypto-Judaism, Judaizing, and Defoe's literary production, this paper aims to construct a nuanced and well-substantiated argument that challenges long prevailing interpretations of Defoe's religious beliefs and offers a fresh perspective on one of English literature's most iconic figures.

By doing so, this study hope to foster a deeper appreciation of the multifaceted dimensions of such a historical religious identity, and simultaneously open new avenues for more further future research and discussion within the cultural interrelated realms of literature, history, and religious studies. The study is a sincere objective attempt to authentically unveil Daniel Defoe's religious identity through a crypto-Jewish and presbyterian puritan Judaizing lens, exploring the nonconformist practices that consistently directed his personal life, and the Jewish references that subtly permeate his writings, particularly his remarkable novel, *Robinson Crusoe*.

II- Methodology of the study

This study is carried out using both the qualitative and the quantitative methodology in its analysis. To ensure the validity and reliability of its hypothesis, the study provides a systematic, detailed analysis which focus on identifying the relevant themes, patterns, and cultural context within and around Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*.

The qualitative approach is based on the thematic and case study techniques. The primary text was read thoroughly making notes on relevant passages, themes, behavioral patterns throughout the novel. This would involve paying close attention to the language, symbolism, and narrative structure of the novel, as well as any historical or cultural contexts that may be relevant.

Next, the researcher would use a variety of qualitative analysis techniques to interpret and make sense of the highlighted data. This could involve methods such as content analysis, discourse analysis, and thematic analysis, which would help to identify relevant key themes, patterns, and motifs within the text.

The study attempts to provide an interesting and thought-provoking analysis of *Robinson Crusoe*, being creatively and nuancedly interpreted to provide pieces of evidence to prove the research hypothesis.

The researcher would also consider the broader historical and cultural context in which the novel was written and published, as this would likely influence the text's meaning and its interpretation. For example, the researcher may explore how the theme of falsified religion is represented in the novel and how it could be justifiable for the social and political context of that time.

Overall, the qualitative methodology for analyzing *Robinson Crusoe* would involve a close, meticulous reading of the text, coupled with careful consideration of the historical and cultural context in which it was written. Through this approach, the researcher would aim to gain a deep understanding of the novel's themes, symbols, and meaning, and to explore its ongoing significance and relevance in the novel's modern times and contemporary societies.

III- Daniel Defoe

Born in London in 1660, Daniel Defoe was such a prolific English novelist, journalist, and pamphleteer. Defoe is best known for his novel *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), which is broadly considered an earliest example of the English novel. During his lifetime, Defoe wrote over 500 pieces of writing in different genres such as literary works, pamphlets, and articles,

which were on a wide range of themes, including politics, economics, religion, and social subjects.

In his introduction to Daniel Defoe's "Atalantis Major", (1711), John J. Perry argues that Daniel Defoe's birth and education made him a member of the mercantile middle class. He was identified to be a Dissenter, whose political and economic beliefs often aligned with the moderate Whigs. His political and economic thoughts and writings were consistently driven by some specific ideals and principles, such as strong support for a "limited" or constitutional monarchy, the weakening of France's commercial dominance, the promotion of religious freedom for Dissenters and Nonconformists, and the importance of a Protestant succession, particularly the Hanoverian succession (Perry, 9).

Defoe is a unique figure among his contemporaries due to his distinctly English perspective and approach to literature. While he had knowledge of Latin and classics, his literary vision wasn't dominated by them. Instead, he embraced the Renaissance ideals of diverse human knowledge and experiences. He read widely across various genres, from historical collections to travel books, and was open to blending unconventional forms. Unlike his peers, Defoe didn't conform to classical poetic or dramatic structures aimed at creating objects of aesthetic contemplation. The prevalent artistic standards of the 18th century, influenced by poets like Milton, Dryden, Pope, and Fielding, didn't align with Defoe's literary goals. He didn't follow the traditional literary hierarchy tied to social status and aesthetics. Instead, he aimed to address contemporary issues and bring real-life experiences into literature. The cultural norm of "Augustanism" during his time emphasized tradition, grace, and ease in writing, making Defoe's work challenging to categorize and evaluate. He diverged from the expectations of elite poets who considered themselves guardians of order and power. This distinct approach can make it difficult for modern readers to classify and appreciate Defoe's literary contributions (Bacscheider, 3-4).

Defoe's distinctive reading habits, unlike those of his literary contemporaries like Pope and Swift, set him apart. He didn't primarily read for literary experiences but rather for ideas, often choosing to quote from historical and philosophical works such as Raleigh's History of the World, Machiavelli's Discourses on Livy, and Sallust, which were considered unconventional choices. However, through closer examination, Defoe's reading is truly remarkable, much like his prolific literary output. His poetry

is filled with allusions, demonstrating his profound knowledge of various authors and thinkers. In his essays, he skillfully discusses a wide array of figures, displaying his intellectual latitude, from Taylor to Shakespeare. Defoe's unique reading preferences and the wide range of literary references he incorporated into his work establish him as one of the most extensively read writers of his era. His intellectual curiosity and diverse influences shine through in his writings, making him a remarkable figure in the literary landscape of his time (Backscheider, 6).

The writing style of Danial Defoe effectively harmonizes with famous principles of Bishop Sprat's writing, prioritizing simplicity, directness, and clarity. This style was particularly appealing to Defoe due to his mercantile background. His words' selection reflects the language used by everyday people such as craftsmen and rural inhabitants, distinguished by an extensive reliance on Anglo-Saxon vocabulary. Danial Defoe shared this common linguistic preference with John Bunyan, another prominent English writer, but it set him apart from many other recognized authors of his era (Furbank & Owens, 29).

The works of Danial Defoe deals with themes such as crime, poverty, and social mobility in other notable novels; including *Moll Flanders* (1722), *A Journal of the Plague Year* (1722), and *Roxana: The Fortunate Mistress* (1724), that are known for their realistic literary style and vivid depiction of British social life in 18th century England. Defoe's writings have been greatly influenced by his own experiences, observations, and commentaries on society. He was an astute political commentator and social critic, who manipulated his writing as a platform to champion religious and political reform, and social justice. Defoe was also an innovative writer who experimented with different genres and narrative techniques, marking his dynamic flexibility as an author.

His successful writings explained the paradoxical relationship between the increasing secular tastes of eighteenth-century readers and the persistence of religious publications. Ian Watt argues that despite the enormous sales of books in the period, it is argued that the growth of religious publications did not match that of secular literature. The readership for religious works appears to be distinct from that of secular literature, with sermons and works of piety being more popular among Methodists and Dissenters (Watt, 50).

However, it is noted that many readers, particularly those from less educated backgrounds, began with religious reading and then developed broader literary interests. Authors like Defoe and Richardson exemplify this trend as they combined both religious and secular themes in their works.

They represent a compromise between the more educated and those seeking moral and religious instruction. (50).

The establishment of publications like the *Tatler* and the *Spectator* in the early 18th century reflects this trend of bridging the gap between secular literature and religious themes. Overall, this blending of secular and religious interests is considered one of the significant trends in eighteenth-century literature (50).

Despite a successful career Defoe led as a journalist, pamphleteer, government secret agent, and novelist, he could never free himself of the stigma of sedition and imprisonment. Before he died in April 1731, Defoe had been plagued by debts, leading to his restlessly moving between several different lodgings. He is buried in Bunhill Fields, the cemetery that had been specialized for Nonconformists.

IV- Historical Background of Crypto Judaism

The concept "Crypto-Jewish" refers to individuals, families, or groups who discreetly uphold Jewish religious beliefs and rituals while publicly professing adherence to another faith or religious affiliation. Etymologically, the term "crypto" comes from the Greek word "kryptos," meaning "hidden" or "concealed." These individuals are alternatively referred to as "Marranos" (in medieval Spain) or "Anusim" (in Hebrew), both signifying "forced ones" or "compelled ones," reflecting their frequent compulsion to conceal their Jewish identity due to persecution or societal constraints.

The concept of Crypto-Judaism is closely linked to periods marked by religious intolerance and persecution, particularly seen in medieval Spain and Portugal during the Inquisition times. In those times, Jews were among those who faced persecution under Christian rule and were coerced into converting to Christianity. However, even after their forced conversion, some individuals and families covertly continued to practice Judaism. Outwardly, Crypto-Jews adhered to the rituals and customs of the dominant religion to avoid suspicion and persecution, yet in secret, they continued to observe Jewish traditions, such as lighting Sabbath candles, celebrating Jewish holidays, abstaining from eating pork, and performing male circumcisions. Such enigmatic practices were often handed down through generations, leading to the continuity of the underground communities of Crypto-Jews.

The history of Crypto Judaism began early in the Iberian Peninsula. In 1492, with the support of Tomas de Torquemada, the Inquisitor General of Spain, King Ferdinand II and Queen Isabella issued the Alhambra Decree,

which mandated that Jews must either convert to Christianity or face permanent expulsion from Spain and its territories within three months (Roth, 234).

As a result of this decree, some Jews converted to Christianity and stayed in Spain as "conversos" or crypto-Jews, but the majority chose to leave. Many migrated to the Maghreb, Italy, and the Ottoman Empire (which includes modern-day Turkey and the Balkans), where they established thriving communities. Some Spanish Jews also settled in Portugal, but in 1496, King Manuel I of Portugal issued an expulsion edict, leading some to convert and remain, while others emigrated to Italy, the Low Countries, the Middle East, and the Ottoman Empire (234).

The Jews who had converted to Christianity but later returned to their Judaism, were early settlers in various places. Before reverting to Jewish faith, they were treated as foreigners in Protestant cities like London, Amsterdam, and Hamburg. The Marranos, therefore, played a crucial role as pioneers in establishing Jewish communities in many parts of the civilized world (Roth, 234).

The identification of Spanish or Portuguese crypto-Jews was typically prompted by suspicions or inquiries made by authorities or vigilant individuals concerned about religious nonconformity. Although forced conversion is basically intended to eliminate a despised religion and enforce conformity, it always results in unsuccessful results and has unintended consequences. Instead of eradicating the targeted faith, it, on the contrary, strengthened it. Hilda Nissimi argues that those who survived the challenging situation of living a double life, outwardly conforming while secretly adhering to their original beliefs, became more resilient. After facing the Inquisition, Portuguese New Christians intensified their hidden Jewish practices and grew even more devoted to their Judaism, keeping their traditions concealed in deeper secrecy (23).

The numbers of Crypto-Jews or Judaizers in England was not as such many Jews compared to the 200,000 conversos in Spain and Portugal, or to the French Huguenots who constituted about 10 percent of the French population" (Krummel & Pugh, 24). During the 17th and 18th centuries, persecuted Judaizers fleeing from Lisbon took advantage of a commercial treaty between Britain and Portugal in 1703. This treaty exempted British ships from customs inspections in Portuguese ports, making it impossible for Inquisition agents to search British vessels. Exploiting this opportunity, the Marranos\crypto-Jews paid for passage to England, even on Royal Navy ships. Despite the Portuguese government protest, claiming that those

refugees owed money to the Royal Treasury, British tolerance and profit-motivated captains helped the crypto-Jewish influx to continue. Even destitute Judaizers could travel for free, as the Spanish and Portuguese community in London would pay substantial sums, up to three pounds, to support their journey to safety (Alpert, 98).

Cecil Roth points out how those crypto-Jews applied the stick and carrot policy using financial economics. By the power of these financial centers these New Christian greats could manipulate monarchs, officials, and top aids in many European countries like England. Roth argues:

The great Marrano mercantile and financial house of Mendes had established its Antwerp branch in 1512; its operations, carried on largely by New Christian agents, speedily spread across the North Sea; and it ultimately became the agent for the loan transactions of the English treasury. (253)

By the end of King Edward VI's reign in 1553, small Marrano communities were established not only in London but also in Bristol, a city with significant trade ties to the Iberian Peninsula. During this period, the Marranos pretended to be Calvinist refugees to avoid persecution. However, when "Bloody" Queen Mary opposed the Reformation, they had to flee the country for their safety, though a few individuals chose to stay behind (Roth, ٢٥٥).

During Queen Elizabeth's reign, the foreign mercantile colony in London grew due to English expansion. This included New Christians from the Iberian Peninsula, or Marranos, attracted by the promise of religious tolerance under Protestantism. Dr. Hector Nuñez led the thriving Marrano community of about a hundred members, enjoying trust and connections with Elizabeth's ministers. The Añes family, with Dunstan Ames, played a prominent role, serving the royal Court and trading with Spain. Though their religious practices were not well-documented, they were regarded as Jewish not only by descent but also by faith. During Queen Mary's reign, Nuñez and others supported crypto-Jews in Bristol, revealing their enduring connection to Judaism. In 1592, Jewish services were rendered at Alvaro Mendes' house, linked to the English Court, providing an opportunity for crypto-Jews in London to attain these services (Roth, 255-57).

The expansion of international trade during the seventeenth century led to the settlement of Spanish and Portuguese merchants, including many New Christians in England. This influx increased significantly with 1630's Portugal persecution which forced hundreds of them into exile. What also contributed to the increasing rations of migration is the establishment of

Jewish communities in other northern European commercial centers such as Amsterdam and Hamburg, with strong ties to London (Roth, 25[^]).

The historical presence of Jews in medieval and early modern England involved both resilience and difficulties, and it sheds light on the complex relationships between Jews and the overwhelming majority of Christian society during those times. Throughout the medieval period, Jewish settlement in England faced many challenges, including blood libels, massacres, and expulsions and finally readmission. Some significant dates that shaped this history could be summarized as follow: 1066 signifies the Jews' first arrival to British islands after the Norman Conquest, 1144, when the first blood libel story happened, 1190 witnessed York Jewish Massacre resulting in the death of many Jews, in 1290 was Edward I's expulsion of Jews, and it was not before 1659 when Jews returned to England. These dates reflect moments of inclusion, persecution, and exclusion in medieval English society (Krummel & Pugh, 1-2).

After the expulsion of 1290, some Jews more likely departed for France, while others remained hidden in Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. Those who were still visible were invited to the "Domus Conversorum", a specified location from which they found it difficult to depart to reenter or reintegrate into Christian English society. It worth mentioning that the emergence of Crypto-Judaism in England started during the historical period between 1290 and approximately 1659, Jews started reappearing in England in the shape of "conversos" which means forced ones, another common label for this type of Jews was "New Christians" (Krummel & Pugh, 5-6).

Crypto-Jews in England during the 17th and 18th centuries were sporadically discovered, even though the prevalence of crypto-Judaism in England was quite limited, if were compared to the numbers in other parts of Europe such, Spain, Portugal, and Italy. The historical records on crypto-Judaism during this period could be, to some degree, inadequate, and specific cases might not be as well-documented as other aspects of history.

To avoid detection by authorities or their neighbors, Crypto-Jews had to practice their faith secretly, leading them to devise ingenious methods to uphold their traditions while outwardly often conforming to the dominant religion. Even after the Inquisition era, these hidden Jewish communities persisted, and instances of Crypto-Judaism emerged in different regions of the world where Jews experienced persecution and had to conceal their religious affiliation.

Tudor monarchs like Henry VII, Henry VIII, and Elizabeth I welcomed a handful of those crypto-jews for their talents as musicians. The talented Crypto-Jews in the early modern England were treated as objects, passed around, and discarded similarly to the way the monarch's possessions were treated. In 1656, Oliver Cromwell supported the open return of Jews to England, defying the outcome of the Whitehall Conference, which almost objected their readmission. By the time of Cromwell's death, Jews strenuously established their initial apparent settlement in England, since living openly as a Jew in medieval Latin Christendom required significant psychic and spiritual commitment (Krummel & Pugh, 5-6).

In his important book, *Crypto-Judaism, and the Spanish Inquisition*, (2001), Michael Alpert almost equates the concept of Judaizer with the interchangeably used ones, such crypto-Jewish, secret jew, Marrano, or New Christian. He argues that the “rise of the New Christians, often Judaizers” is historically related to certain important consequences on England and Holand (216). The terms, for Alpert, are completely identical so long as the crypto Jew is still believing or practicing any of Jewish traditions (204).

Miriam Bodian, too, in her seminal book, *Dying in the law of Moses: crypto-Jewish martyrdom in the Iberian world* (2007), associates the two concepts of crypto Judaism and Judaizing, in other words between the crypto Jew\converso\Marrano and Judaizer. “All of these [crypto-Jewish] men were ‘Judaizes’—that is, baptized Christians”. Bodian says this in her reference to the crypto-Jews who persecuted or killed in the Iberian world during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (XI). Unlike most accused Judaizers, some of them, after being arrested and prosecuted in inquisition trails, chose to openly declare their beliefs, proclaiming their intention to "live and die in the Law of Moses," in defiance to the Catholic phrase, to "live and die in the Law of Christ." This declaration that brought about their death penalty “was not just a statement of belief. It was also an implicit assertion of their right to determine religious truth independently, relying on revealed Scripture” (XI).

V- Protestantism between Crypto-Judaism and Judaizing

To disentangle the possibly confusable terms, readers should notice the slight, but considerable, difference and overlap between religious terms such as Protestantism, Puritanism, Presbyterianism and Dissenters so long as the history of these terms was occasionally intermingled with Crypto-Judaism, and all of which are established religious labels for Danial Defoe. This study attempts to show how these religious approaches stigmatized by labelling some of its followers as being Judaizers. The ritual, ideas, and ceremonials

behind such stigmatization shall be detected in Defoe's seminal work *Robinson Crusoe* to prove the hypothesis of the study.

Protestantism emerged as a reform religious movement within Christianity in the 16th century, protesting the Roman Catholic Church's observance of certain teachings, rituals, and practices. Protestants developed into many denominations over time, each has its own theological and ecclesiastical practices. Presbyterianism and Puritanism are two distinct forms of Protestant Reformation legacy.

Presbyterianism is a distinguished subcategory of Protestant Christianity and a system of church governance guided by the rule of presbyters (elected elders) and its hierarchical structure. These elected leaders (whether they are ministers or pastors) ensure a system of checks and balances within the church by making decisions collectively and consultatively. Presbyterians are known for their commitment to the authority of the Bible, the sovereignty of God, and the importance of the local congregation.

Puritans were groups of English Protestants during the 16th and 17th centuries, who sought to "purify" the Church of England from what could be considered as remnants of Catholic rituals and doctrines. Many Puritans are known by their adherence to Reformed theology, resulting in the adoption of a Presbyterian form of church governance in some Puritan congregations to achieve greater autonomy and accountability. Although not all Puritans were Presbyterians, there was certain overlap between the two groups in terms of theological beliefs and the strong desire to reform the church.

Dissenters is a broader term that encompasses various divisions within English Protestantism who dissented or separated from the established Anglican Church of England. The term includes not only Presbyterians and Puritans but also other dissenting groups like Quakers, Baptists, Methodists, and Congregationalists.

Protestantism, thus, is an umbrella term that encompasses all Presbyterians, Puritans, and Dissenters. Presbyterianism has historical connections to Puritanism, sharing some theological beliefs, and at the same time both lie under the broader categorization of Dissenters, which includes various English dissenting groups who did not conform to the canons of the established Anglican church in England.

John Coffey, in his article "Puritanism and Liberty Revisited: The Case for Toleration in the English Revolution" highlights the changing perspective among historians regarding the connections between puritanism and liberty. The puritan primary emphasis on the idea of a godly society rather than a pluralistic one is the more likely reason behind making historians being,

sometimes, skeptical about tracing such connections. This idea makes historians overlook the fact that a minority of zealous Protestants advocated for the toleration of diverse beliefs, including heresy, blasphemy, Catholicism, non-Christian religions, and even atheism. During the English revolution, certain groups like the Baptists, radical Independents, and Levellers asserted that the New Testament called for a voluntary and non-coercive church within a pluralistic society governed by a "merely civil" state. This perspective represented a significant departure from the traditional magisterial Protestant assumptions of the time, although it had its own ambiguities (961).

In her seminal article, "Puritans and Judaism: From Scholarship to Sedition." Judaism without Jews: Philosemitism and Christian Polemic in Early Modern England ", Eliane Glaser asserts that the phenomenon of "Judaizing" intertwined with the strong desire of figures like John Field, Hugh Broughton, and William Fulke to reform the English church. Motivated by the writings of European authors, they integrated laws, rituals, and insights from Jewish traditions into Christianity. This publicly and officially incriminated practice was referred to as "Judaizing." Despite their focus was domestic on church affairs within England, English Puritans, like John Field, Thomas Wilcox, and Philip Sidney, participated by translating and commenting on the writings of significant continental thinkers like Jean Calvin, Theodore Beza, Philippe de Mornay, and Pierre Viret (Glaser, 42).

These writings by European authors presented numerous parallels between the Reformation movement and the experiences of ancient Israelites from the Old Testament. They also referenced teachings from the Talmud and historical events within Judaism. English Puritans utilized these continental sources to support their interest in Jewish materials, underscoring their affiliations with foreign Reformers through prefaces and dedications in their translations. Incorporating these continental texts reinforced the distinctiveness of the English Puritans' nonconformity, contributing to their being labeled as "Judaizers." Furthermore, by citing connections to reformed churches abroad, the English Puritans indirectly critiqued the shortcomings of the English church (42).

Labeling Puritans as Judaizers may be partially correlated to the puritan claim of resettlement of the Jews in England. The official return of Jews to England was advocated by radical beliefs of Puritan Protestant, foreseeing the crucial role England shall play in the coming of the Millennium. They believed that the conversion of Jews and their potential return to the Land of

Israel would precede or follow the Millennium's arrival. The Puritans aimed to convert Jews through love and kindness, emphasizing continuous contact with English Christianity. This peaceful attitude gained support in the seventeenth century, exclusively during the English Civil War. Whether the recall of Jews to England was for religious, political, economic, or mercantile gains, this idea gained support through a petition presented in Amsterdam by Puritan settlers, Johanna Cartwright and her son Ebenezer, in 1649. The proposal was well-received yet deferred, contributing to a positive atmosphere regarding Jews in England (Roth, 259-٢٦٠).

"Philosemitic" or Philosemitism was the concept historians used to refer to this sentiment, when it was proven to be only pro-Jewish in the short term, having Jewish living conditions improved. Although the apparent, underlying goal of "Philosemitism" was the eradication of Judaism through non-violent conversion, it ultimately led to Jewish resettlement, and the reestablishment of Jewish communal life in England (Karp & Sutcliff, 952).

Another piece of evidence on the close connection between Puritans and Crypto-Judaism is what confirmed by Cecil Roth who argues that there was a connection between the Puritan mystics and the most renowned rabbi in Amsterdam, Menasseh ben Israel. Menasseh was highly respected by both scholars and statesmen, and often consulted on Jewish matters. He became interested in events in England when a traveler named Antonio de Montezinos claimed to have found lost Hebrew tribes in America. Menasseh believed that the final Redemption for the Jewish people could only happen after their complete dispersion, which had not yet occurred in England. He saw an opportunity to fulfill this prophecy and bring about the Messianic Deliverance by reintroducing Jews to the British Isles (Roth, ٢٦2-٢٦3).

One of the earliest examples of the presbyterian Puritan inclination towards crypto Judaism was Thomas Cartwright. He was an English Presbyterian theologian, who used Mosaic law to justify performing heretics, pushing "John Whitgift, the future Archbishop of Canterbury, to rebuke him for Judaizing and "play[ing] the Jew" (Gow & Fradkin, 283).

In 1619 and before the Star Chamber, John Traske was officially tried on the charges of disturbing the Church's peace, criticizing its governance, and allegedly aiming to establish a Jewish faction. Traske was a notable figure among the Judaizing Puritans of the 17th century. He combined legalistic views on the Law of Moses with anti-legal beliefs about salvation. Traske taught that one couldn't determine the elect based on actions, yet he urged followers to observe the Saturday Sabbath and avoid pork (McDowell, 349 & Cottrell-Boyce, 2).

The calls of reformers, such as Martin Bucer and John Knox was provocative, arguing that “a godly Christian magistrate, as a successor to Moses, ought to strive for the reformation of Christian society based on the laws and political structures of the ancient Hebrew commonwealth” (Gow & Fradkin, 283). These puritans’ beliefs, calls, and practices brought about the enmity of not only the Catholic Church, but also the Protestant Anglican church. In 1636, Peter Heylyn, a High Church Anglican, criticized Puritans for their theological observances and practices, considering it a disguised "Jewish and rabbinical" practice rather than genuine Christian piety (Gow & Fradkin, 283).

The attack on the stigmatized Judaizing puritans was not limited on the official decrees, and the church pulpits, but goes further to Drama and theater. The character of “Zeal-of-the-Land Busy” in Ben Johnson’s *Bartholomew Fair*, archetypally portrays the persona of Judaizing puritan on the stage. He is a Puritan preacher who is vehemently against the festivities of Bartholomew Fair, representing religious extremism and hypocrisy.

The increasing controversy around the Traskite phenomenon was a side effect of a broader anxiety relating to ” the association between Judaism and Puritanism, or in ‘the McDowell’s words, “Jewish bogeyman behind the mask of Puritan sedition” (McDowell, 363). The close interrelationship between puritans and the Jews is highlighted by the emphasis of the Jewish community in Amsterdam on the singularity of the Jewish nation in the sacred observance of sabbath.

When Christopher Sands and Hamlet Jackson met with representatives of the Jewish community in Amsterdam in 1620, they [...] told them that the Sabbath was only given to the Israelites and not by nations, [...] and that it was a sign betwixt God and the children of Israel. (Cottrell-Boyce,24)

During the seventeenth century, English and Scottish Calvinist theology centered around the concept of a covenant between God and the "elect." This notion was prevalent in both regions, influencing religious thought during the English Revolution and among New England Puritans. The idea of a covenant between God and the "elect" was often compared to the relationship between Israel and God in biblical narratives of deliverance from bondage. John Winthrop, a Puritan leader, used this imagery in his famous 1630 sermon aboard the *Arbella*, portraying the Puritan migration to America as a significant endeavor by which all the world are concerned. (Gow & Fradkin, 283).

The puritan imperial and political tendencies were identical with what was mentioned in the biblical narratives about the covenant between God and the "elect". The specific details of the covenant and covenant-breaking consequences were vividly depicted in many books of the Old Testament, such as the books of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy.

This covenant between God and Israel was established as a sacred agreement, identifying the conditioned, correlative responsibilities and blessings for both parties. According to biblical narratives, Israel broke the covenant, deviating from the agreed-upon commitments by idol worshipping, disobedience to God's commandments, and turning away from the principles outlined in the covenant. As a result, the Israelites faced inescapable consequences such as hardships, conflicts, and displacement.

The Reformed belief in a "new Israel" also had its direct potential colonial aspirations. Figures like John Knox, the influential Scottish reformer, likened England, and Scotland to the biblical kingdoms of Judah and Israel, hoping for a united rule under a Davidic dynasty. This idea was enthusiastically embraced by James VI of Scotland when he became the English monarch. (Gow & Fradkin, 283).

Puritans assumes the same position of the Israelites, having their theology and sermons during the English reformation wars saturated with such enthusiastic religious sentiments.

By the seventeenth century, English and Scottish Calvinist theology was dominated by this notion of a covenant between God and the "elect." Fast sermons during the English Revolution of the 1640s were saturated with prophetic admonitions to Israel seeking deliverance from Egyptian or Babylonian bondage. New England Puritans described their migration to America in the same language. (Gow & Fradkin, 283)

This is a historical resemblance, as Georgios Plakotos argues, to what mentioned in many Marranos apologetic literature, such as Samuel Usque's *Consolation for the Tribulations of Israel*, in which he highlighted that many Jewish converts from Spain, who found refuge in England, Germany and France, resorted to Protestant beliefs in order to blame the Catholic Church (41). In his seminal article, "The Reformation in Alien Eyes: Jewish Perceptions of Christian Troubles (1983)," Jerome Friedman attributes this phenomenon to the uncomfortable feeling of compulsion to adopt another religion unwillingly.

that generation of converts has spread all over the whole realm, and though a long time has elapsed, these converts still give an indication of their non-Catholic origin by the new Lutheran beliefs which are presently found

among them, for they are not comfortable in the religion which they received so unwillingly. (31)

Over the following decades, the Diaspora from the Iberian Peninsula continued to grow as some crypto-Jews returned to Judaism and left the Iberian Peninsula, settling in places like Amsterdam, England. (Botticini et al., 49)

Even individuals who were born to those Protestant or Calvinist families from northern Europe, or Catholics who switched to Protestantism also should have approached such harsh Inquisitions for reconciliation (Plakotos, 41). The act of categorizing protestants and reformers as Jewish or adopting Judaizing practices was not confined only to the Catholic Church; "Roman Catholic spokesmen thought Lutheran preoccupation with scriptural literalism was judaistic (Friedman,128)," even the distinct major beliefs within the Protestant groups would level similar allegations against each other. Friedman argues that the "Lutheran author Hunnius described John Calvin as a judaizer much as Calvin believed Lutheran liturgy was highly judaistic" (128).

In 1538, Martin Luther wrote against "Sabbatarians," who were accused of Judaizing in Silesia and Moravia," lending legitimacy to such charges. This serious accusation continued to be leveled on the Continent by both Protestants and Catholics, particularly against anti- Trinitarians" (Gow & Fradkin, 283). In the Netherlands, orthodox Calvinist ministers insulted their Arminian opponents by calling them "rabbis." (283).

VI- Dissenters and Presbyterians

Daniel Defoe, the 18th century prolific writer, has been widely studied for his literary contributions. However, his religious dissent inclinations are aspects that have often been overlooked. Daniel Defoe's works and historical context provide compelling pieces of evidence on his religious dissent inclinations. His critique of religious institutions, his association with nonconformist figures, his promotion of dissenting themes, his strenuous defense of nonconformist values, and the broader political and religious atmosphere of the time support the notion that Defoe leaned towards specific religious affiliations. By shedding light on these aspects, a deeper understanding of Defoe's multifaceted religious personality, that should be skillfully polished for clear vision.

Defoe's writings exhibit a consistent commitment to dissenting religious tendencies. "The Shortest Way with the Dissenters" is a typical example of

Defoe's satirical criticism of the religious establishment and a mock of the Church's suppression of nonconformists.

Daniel Defoe's "The Shortest-Way with the Dissenters" (1702), has been largely regarded with either disdain or scorn among both his supporters and opponents. The satirical pamphlet, in which Defoe assumes the persona of a fervent Anglican and sarcastically proposes the eradication of dissenters, gained mixed reactions. Initially, High-ranking members of the Anglican Church praised the piece, while dissenters felt apprehensive. However, the true authorship was eventually revealed, leading to anger among Defoe's adversaries, disapproval from fellow Anglicans, and concern from the government over potential rebellion among nonconformists. Defoe's experience was deeply humiliating as he faced punishment in the pillory and was charged with sedition. Although he may have found some satisfaction in upsetting high Tories, he was disheartened by the negative response from his fellow dissenters. (Marshall, 234).

K. R. P Clark highlights the fact that Defoe was a typical spokesperson of Presbyterians and dissenters. "Defoe was a spokesman for theologically orthodox Dissent, specifically Presbyterianism" (qtd. in Prince, 62).

In this first Review essay devoted to Quakers, Defoe asserts the inclusiveness of the Dissenters, highlighting the political and religious legitimacy of the Quaker movement. This, in one way or another, would emphasize Defoe's clear sympathetic association to the Quakers and Quakerism.

I call the Dissenters, those four sorts of differing People called Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and Quakers: I call these all Protestant, and Christian Dissenters; for I am not so narrow in my Charity, what ever some People may suggest, as not to think the Quakers Christians, and many of them better Christians too, than those that pretend to condemn them.(qtd. in Prince, 54)

By examining Defoe's support for the Quakers and studying his arguments, David Prince attributes the alliance and collaboration between Defoe and William Penn to the unified aim of undermining Charles Leslie. Prince states:

I have presented evidence of an alliance between Defoe and William Penn to bring down Charles Leslie and, through analysis of Defoe's defense of the Quakers, have identified proto-deistical arguments meant to oppose Leslie's orthodox Trinitarianism as fundamentally as possible. (282)

The term "singular" was employed by John Flavel, a Presbyterian recognized minister (1630–1691) during Defoe's era. In his work

"Navigation Spiritualized" (1682), Flavel refers to Christ as "singular," highlighting his unique role as the sole Mediator. This concept of singularity has persisted as a fundamental and authentic aspect of dissenters and by nature runs counter to the doctrine of trinity (Prince, 142).

The results of 1710's General Election pushed Harley, though somewhat reluctant, to recognize the necessity of satisfying the High-Church Tories. Notably, the Scottish peers nominated by Argyll for the election held staunch Tory views, substantially bending towards Catholicism, and opposing the religious freedoms of Scottish Presbyterians, as well as English Dissenters and Nonconformists. Some of those members openly supported the Jacobite cause, posing a real threat to Marlborough's French victories, the gains of the Toleration Act of 1689, and the potential ascension of the old Pretender. These concerns, risking the achievements of the Glorious Revolution and the French war victories, prompted Defoe to find himself in Edinburgh in late 1710, serving as an agent and propagandist for the very cause responsible for electing individuals with such political beliefs. During his mission in Edinburgh, Defoe aimed to reassure Presbyterian clergy and Whig merchants, stressing the need for moderate leaders—regardless of party affiliation—who would uphold the Protestant succession and avoid extremism. He conveyed that despite appearances, the Ministry would resist the demands of the more radical Tory faction, and Queen Anne would not endorse any religious persecution (Perry, 10-11).

Daniel Defoe's wrote extensively about the Church of Scotland (the Kirk), during the period which covered the Union negotiations between England and Scotland from 1706 to 1717. Defoe's workings aimed to strike balance between his pro-British stance in the Union discussions, his personal dissenting religious beliefs, and the concerns of Scottish and English citizens about the potential impact on religion because of the incorporation of Scotland and England. Despite these challenges, Defoe's works on the Kirk consistently expressed admiration for its origins, supported its teachings and structure, defended its historical and current actions, and advocated for its protection through the Union. Defoe's writings aim to rectify the distorted perception of the Church of Scotland's development and highlight its genuine progress. He asserts that the Church of Scotland's self-directed reformation allowed it to establish a more genuine model in comparison to the flawed English ecclesiastical structure. Defoe's defense of the Church of Scotland is intricately tied to his promotion of a progressive Presbyterianism as a more authentic and refined expression of Christianity (Nelson & Alker, 1).

This perspective of Defoe on the Scotland church remained remarkably stable over a twelve-year period, which suggests that his views were not solely shaped by the political climate of the historical moment but also reflected his own personal religious beliefs. The history of religious conflict during the Civil War, Interregnum, and Restoration created lingering tensions that complicated efforts to forge a modern British nation during the Union negotiations (Nelson & Alker, 2).

The divisive legacy of this history, including religious divisions and animosities, posed challenges to recognizing and empowering a Presbyterian church in Scotland within the Union framework. Defoe worked to establish the legitimacy and value of a Presbyterian worldview, contributing to the broader discussions surrounding the Union and the future of religious harmony in a united Britain. Defoe's strategies for connecting the church's past and present to shape a positive future for the British nation. It suggests that Defoe aimed not only to defend the Church of Scotland but also to promote Presbyterianism as a more advanced form of Christianity (Nelson & Alker, 3).

Defoe's animosity for French Catholicism, and his protestant non-allegiance to Anglican Church in England aligned with his possible crypto Jewish inclinations. under the rule of moderate governments of Robert Harley, and Godolphin. Being essentially driven by mercantile interests, Defoe as well as Harley, and Godolphin were "staunch supporters of England's commercial interests, the Hanoverian Succession, liberty of conscience for Dissenters and Nonconformists, and the terms of the Revolution Settlement" (Perry, 9).

VII- Defoe's Religious Dissenting\ Non-Conformity

Daniel Defoe's religious background and affiliations with Dissenting groups had a profound impact on his life and work, shaping his personal and intellectual development, fueling his engagement with social and political issues, and impacting his perception of religious tolerance, individual liberty, and social justice. Defoe's religious identity and Dissenting affiliations help us to substantially appreciate the depth and complexity of his literary contributions and its enduring relevance within the Dissenting legacy.

In his article, "Daniel Defoe", Valentine Cunningham maintains that Daniel Defoe was recognized as the father of the English Novel, and a lifelong Dissenter, who was raised in a congregation led by Revd Samuel Annesley. His parents, along with many Presbyterian-minded clergy, refused to conform to the monarchy-aligned national church after the Restoration in 1662. Daniel Defoe's education was totally shaped by Dissenters,

conspicuously at the Dissenting Academy at Newington Green under Revd Charles Morton. He developed a strong commitment to biblical teachings, encouraged by his upbringing, by which he was intended to pursue a career in the Presbyterian ministry. However, in the early 1680s, he opted for a business career (346).

Defoe's non-conformity was firmly established by his close relation with prominent dissenting figures, such as his grandfather, James Foe who was a well-known Presbyterian minister. Danial Defoe's exposition to Dissenting ideas and the principles of religious nonconformity from his early age, and later by his active involvement in dissenting circles, shaped his inherent sympathy towards religious nonconformity, which laid down the foundation for his future engagement in political and religious arguments. Being a Dissenter, Defoe personally experienced the challenges of the religious minorities in a predominantly oppressive Anglican conformist society. Dissenting groups were often at odds with the established political and religious authorities, and their struggle for religious freedom and civil rights reverberated with Defoe's personal life and his creative production. This fueled his empathy towards those marginalized groups, enhancing the creative critique of societal norms and injustices in his writings.

His defense of Dissenters' rights was not merely theoretical; it was rooted in his personal experiences with deep conviction for religious liberty, leaving its material and psychological repercussions on his personal life. Danial Defoe's dissenting mentality has clearly shown itself in works like "The History of the Devil," "An Appeal to Honour and Justice," and "The Shortest Way with the Dissenters". In these writings and others, Defoe vehemently criticizes the established religious institutions, particularly the Anglican Church of England, challenging the oppressive systems incarnated in authority and practices of mainstream Christianity, and advocating for reform, religious liberty, and freedom of conscience.

When Danial Defoe wrote his seminal pamphlet "The Shortest Way with the Dissenters," he was apprehended and sent to Newgate Prison "after standing in the pillory on three successive days" in 1703. Robert Harley, who had influence within the government, is believed to have intervened to secure Defoe's release from prison after he had been sentenced to stand in the pillory (Roosen, 109).

Defoe's satirical pamphlet, "The Shortest Way with the Dissenters", was published in 1702. During this historical period, any writers who attempted to express religious and political dissenting views were often faced by strict

ensorship and harsh persecution. That is why Defoe evaded direct retribution by using satire as a means in his criticism of the Tories and their religious policies. "The Shortest Way with the Dissenters" was a natural reaction from a cynical writer like Defoe to the rampant theological and political conflicts in England at the time.

In his biting satire, "The Shortest Way with the Dissenters", Defoe sarcastically pretends to render a sincere and extreme argument to exterminate and persecute the dissenting religious groups in England, particularly nonconformist Protestants, known as the "Dissenters". Assuming the character of a staunch, High-Church Anglican shielded with zeal and irony, Defoe advocates for the ruthless measures against any religious dissent, including execution and enforced expulsion.

Utilizing an ambivalent, deceptive narrative technique, the pamphlet initially appears to adopt the High-Church and the Tory government's intolerant views. As the reader dives deeper, however, he discovers the true intension of the author to reveal the hypocrite and suppressive nature of those who sought to oppress the freedom of religious expression and persecute dissenters.

During the late 17th and the early 18th century, England was fiercely grappling with religious and political tensions. The Glorious British Religious Revolution of 1688 powerfully established the dominance of Protestantism and constitutional kingdom over Catholicism and absolute monarchy. However, with the establishment of the Anglican Church in England, divisions among Protestants caused by Anglicans' clashes with Dissenters, who refused to conform to the doctrine and the practices of the Church. Often seen as more aligned with Anglicanism and the High-Church, The ruling Tories were accused of curbing dissent and seeking the enforcement of religious uniformity at the time.

Anglicans have become members of the established Church of England, enjoying government support and an organized liturgy based on the Book of Common Prayer. In contrast, dissenter groups, such as Puritans, Quakers, and Baptists, had detached themselves from the High Church of England, favoring simpler personal forms of worship and congregational authority. While the Anglicans' close association with the state granted them privileges, dissenters faced many shapes of discrimination, prosecution, and legal restrictions. These differences have considerably led to a complex religious landscape, in which tensions and clashes shaped the political and social dynamics of the time.

Eventually, "The Shortest Way with the Dissenters" cunningly deceived some readers, as its inflammatory tone led High-Church supporters to believe it genuinely represents their views. However, when the true intended meaning of the satire was revealed, it caused a substantial counterattack. Defoe himself faced grave legal consequences, as he was arrested for seditious libel, fined, and publicly humiliated by pillory in 1703. With all these psychological and corporeal personal repercussions, the pamphlet achieved its intended effect, exposing the absurdity and danger of extreme intolerance and religious persecution. Defoe's daring critique played a role in raising the public awareness of the dire need for religious tolerance and freedom of conscience, affecting the evolution of religious and political thought, and shaping England's path toward greater religious freedom in the following years.

After five months imprisonment in 1703 for the publication of "The Shortest Way with Dissenters," Defoe was subsequently worked as an agent and pamphleteer for the government. At first, Defoe served Robert Harley when he was the Secretary of State during the early moderate years of the Godolphin Administration (1704-08). Later, he continued to work in the same position but now directly for Godolphin himself, where he used "Defoe's Review" to advocate the importance of national unity over partisan divisions. When Harley assumed the role of Treasurer in 1710, Defoe returned to Harley's service once again (Perry, 9).

Defoe's schizophrenic personality goes beyond religious affiliations to the political arena. "[T]hereafter working for Godolphin himself, "Defoe's Review" preached the gospel of national unity above party faction" (Perry, 9), which could be seen as a blunt contradiction to his dissenting values and non-conformity beliefs.

VIII- Danial Defoe and *Robinson Crusoe* Analyzed

Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* was published in 1719 and quickly became a classic of English literature. The novel tells the story of Robinson Crusoe, a young man who is shipwrecked on a deserted island for 28 years and must learn to survive in isolation. Throughout the novel, Crusoe's religious faith is a central aspect of his character and his journey. This study explores how pretended Christianity is used to conceal the probable crypto-Judaism of Robinson Crusoe (Danial Defoe) to cope with the general attitude towards the perception of the Jews in Britain during the time of the novel composition. It explores the different ways in which religious affiliation is

portrayed in *Robinson Crusoe*, using textual evidence to support this argument.

At the beginning, both Daniel Defoe and his protagonist, Robinson Crusoe has a striking similarity on their names, that more probably comes from either Spanish or Portuguese origin marked with “oe” suffix. This strengthens the study’s hypothesis that Danial Defoe, like Robinson Crusoe, is a descendant of Iberian Marranos or New Christians. This speculation is confirmed by the detection of their names in Jewish names dictionary. The dictionary enlists “Danial\Daneil” as Jewish name and suggests that Defoe is the deformed shape of the Jewish origin “Deiphi”.

The study proposes that two New Christian Figures, more likely, inspired Defoe with the title of his first novel and the name of its protagonist, “Robinson Crusoe”. The first one, from which Danial Defoe derives the name “Robinson”, was Antonio Montezinos, a Portuguese New Christian and explorer (also known as Aharon Levi) who had visited Menasseh ben Israel at Amsterdam in September 1644, recounting that he has recently met “Indians in the kingdom of Quito province (modern day Ecuador) who had informed him that they were Jews descended from Reuben, one of the ten lost tribes of Israel” (Hessayon, 9). It is widely recognized that names with the suffix “son” are more likely of Jewish origin. It would also be more indicative of Crusoe’s loss on a completely isolated island across the Atlantic Ocean. The second is Joeseeph Cortizos who, like Defoe, helped William of Orange’s succession to English Throne after the death of heirless Queen Ann. Both Defoe and Cortizos are politically driven by their mercantile interests. The similarity between Cortizos and Crusoe (Danial Defoe) reflects the hardships the two merchants had faced and their miraculous efforts to regain losses in their merchandise.

In his book, *The Rise of the Novel (2001)*, Ian Watt, through reflections on Defoe’s biography and his writings, introduces a fixed perception of Danial Defoe’s religious inclinations development, that ranging from enthusiastic Christianity, to secularism, and rational deism (Watt, 74). This may support this study’s suggestion of a more likely crypto-Jewish or Judaizing inclination of the presbyterian, Puritan, nonconformist Danil Defoe, reflected in his most representative character Robinson Crusoe. Ian Watt argues that the modest impact of religion in Defoe's novels should not be misconstrued as insincerity. Instead, it mirrors his profoundly secular viewpoint, which was significantly influenced by the growing trend of secularization during his time. This trend was notably prominent in the 18th century, when Europe

witnessed the emergence of the modern interpretation of the term "secular" (Watt, 81).

Ian Watt points out how Daniel Defoe was originally a Presbyterian Puritan, who was raised in a Calvinist family, and how he retained his identity as a Dissenter despite having his religious beliefs evolved over time. Watt states:

Defoe himself, of course, was born and bred a Puritan. His father was a Dissenter, perhaps a Baptist, more probably a Presbyterian, in any case a Calvinist; and he sent his son to a dissenting academy, probably intending him for the ministry. Defoe's own religious beliefs changed a good deal, and he expressed in his writings the whole gamut of doctrines, from intransigent predestinarianism to rational deism, which Puritanism held during its varied course of development; nevertheless, there is no doubt that Defoe remained and was generally considered to be a Dissenter, and that much of the outlook revealed in his novels is distinctively Puritan. (75)

This significantly proves the discrepancy between the actual life of Daniel Defoe and the assumed pious, conformist Christianity, pushing towards the credibility of the study's assumption about his crypto-Judaism.

Crusoe's potential Jewish faith is evident from the very beginning of the novel, as he reflects on the decisions that led him to embark on his ill-fated voyage. Robinson Crusoe states, "I was born in the year 1632, in the city of York, of a good family, though not of that country, my father being a foreigner of Bremen, who settled first at Hull" (Defoe, 1).

This reference to his foreign father and birthplace suggests that Crusoe sees himself as an outsider in English society, a theme that is explored throughout the novel. This feeling is identical with that of Marranos before "their reversion to their ancestral faith they had been accepted in Protestant London, Amsterdam, or Hamburg as foreigners" (Roth, 234). These Marranos played a pioneering role in various locations, particularly in Protestant London, Amsterdam, and Hamburg, where their initial acceptance as foreigners eventually paved the way for the establishment of Jewish settlements that extended to include other nationalities like Germans and Poles, despite their superficial differences. Cecil Roth says:

It was impossible to exclude them simply because they turned out to be not Papists, but Jews. Once a Jewish settlement was authorized, however, it was not possible to exclude the Germans and the Poles, less attractive though they might be superficially. (234)

The historical landscape of the late 17th and early 18th centuries reveals the intricate roles played by many crypto-jews\New Christians and their most influential families, i.e., the Curiel or Nunes da Costa family. The pragmatic philosophy of New Christians sometimes necessitates the members of the one and the same family to serve different competing countries. While Nunes da Costa served Portugal, Isaac Nunes (later, Manuel de Belmonte) served Spain. The Curiel or Nunes da Costa family played a considerable role, helping King João IV to maintain the support of New Christians for his newly independent state. Jesuit Father Antonio Vieira, too, played an important role in advocating for a more lenient stance by the Inquisition towards New Christians, encouraging their return to Portugal. Despite Portuguese parliament's opposition, in 1649 Vieira established The Companhia Geral do Brasil, that employ a fleet of 36 galleys to protect Portuguese Shipping. This trading company was completely financed by Portuguese New Christians to protect their mercantile interests. Duarte da Silva (1596–1688) was a prominent New Christian who played a key role in this venture. Despite earlier imprisonment and torture of Duarte da Silva, it eventually resulted in privileges and honors from Portuguese authorities by sending him to England in 1662 to negotiate the marriage of Princess Catherine da Braganza and Charles II (Albert, 149-50). These historical events unearth the complex dynamics surrounding the New Christians and their effective interactions with the English, Portuguese, and Spanish authorities.

Danials Defoe's presentation of Robinson Crusoe's journey to Brazil and his farming settlement to grow sugarcane and tobacco reflects the historical role played by crypto-Jews or New Christians after persecution and expulsion as a form of manipulative punishment. Those departed New Christians across Atlantic were used to thrive commercial activities. The character of Robinson Crusoe is a realistic reflection of those Crypto-Jews' experience and of Defoe's own experience as a New Christian merchant.

Cecil Roth highlights these historical facts arguing that during the 16th century, a significant number of Marranos, or crypto-Jews were forced to migrate to Brazil, that was a Portuguese colony at the time. Being convicted for heretics, they should express penitence through forcible deportation across the Atlantic as a sort of punishment. As a result, Brazil became home to many New Christians of uncertain religious beliefs. The New Christians had a notable impact on the country's economy, controlling a significant portion of its commerce. Additionally, it is believed that Portuguese Marranos were instrumental in introducing sugarcane, a crucial local

industry, into Brazil, and they continued to participate in this industry on a large scale (Roth, 6-7).

For this Michael Alpert highlights the close association between the thrive of Judaizing phenomenon in Spanish society, and the significant progress in both England and Holland, which was marked by their expansion in trade and maritime activities. Alpert states:

The rise of the New Christians, often Judaizers, in Spanish society, coincided with the age of expansion, the maritime and commercial triumph of England and Holland, and the beginning of religious and scientific scepticism. (216)

The significant role Brazil plays in the novel is undeniable. In Robinson Crusoe's life experience Brazil was crucial for gaining the wealth, that was brought about by farming settlements and mercantile activities. Trade was the profession of Danial Defoe, his father, and even of his father-in-law, echoing the same status quo as his protagonist Robinson Crusoe and featuring the life on New Christians in Brazile when it was a Portuguese colony.

The fact of the volatile doctrine of the British dissenters is bluntly expressed in the words of Ian Watt, affirming that during the time of Daniel Defoe, dissenting religious groups in England were often led by wealthy merchants who sometimes compromised their beliefs for financial gain. Defoe himself had criticized occasional conformity in his early years, but his character Robinson Crusoe displays extreme occasional conformity, even pretending to be a Catholic when it benefits him economically (Watt, 89).

Bluntly speaking, Robinson Crusoe (Danil Defoe) states how religion is not the thing that might curb his ambition to wealth. Despite conflicting feelings and ideas, he has no problem to pretend of being Papist among Brazilian Catholics.

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. However, it was not religion that kept me from going there for the present" (Defoe, *Robinson*, 458).

Later, he reflects the bitter feeling of a New Christian torn between his true belief and his justifiable falsified one. Crusoe bitterly says: "when I began to think of living and dying among them, I began to regret having professed myself a Papist, and thought it might not be the best religion to die with" (458).

Defoe was born during a period of transition after the decline of the Puritan Commonwealth and the restoration of the monarchy. *Robinson Crusoe*, written during a time of religious controversy (Salters' Hall controversy), highlights the inability of different religious groups, particularly Dissenters, to find common ground even among themselves (Watt, 81).

In *Robinson Crusoe*, the main character contemplates the decline of Christianity worldwide, observing it as a marginalized force within a predominantly pagan world. The book's serious reflections suggest that Christianity has become a fractured minority presence, and the prospect of divine intervention seems more distant than ever. This perspective resonates with the concluding sentiments of the novel, where Robinson Crusoe, based on his own experiences, arrives at this disillusioned understanding of the state of religion and its place in the world (Watt, 81).

Ian Watt points out that an objection could be made on the grounds that Defoe's "The Shortest Way with Dissenters" (1702) was a work of open irony. In this piece, he convincingly imitated the style, attitude, and fundamental approach of frustrated High Church figures who saw an opportunity during Queen Anne's reign to suppress Dissenters. However, it is worth noting that many readers interpreted the pamphlet as a sincere expression of extreme Tory church beliefs. However, with a closer examination of the work, it becomes evident that this misinterpretation was due to Defoe's skillful identification with the supposed speaker, much like his technique in *Moll Flanders*. This identification was so thorough that it obscured his original intention. Eventually, while Defoe's conscious use of irony in this instance showcased his remarkable craftsmanship, the work wasn't primarily an example of irony; rather, it highlighted his exceptional ability to adopt a different persona (126). This would likely confirm the study's hypothesis about duality in his character, showing the sincere Christian side while he hides his crypto-Jewish nature of his character. This multifaceted religious character of a cunning writer like Defoe might have been justifiable during a historical period that was characterized by religious persecution, particularly after the pillory and imprisonment punishment.

Although Defoe's writings don't align with the beliefs of a devout Calvinist, Rudolph Stamm points out that it doesn't invalidate the significance of his Dissenter background, particularly if he has been compared to subsequent novelists like Samuel Richardson, George Eliot, or D. H. Lawrence who shared the same puritan lineage (Watt,84). Though it is difficult yet is not impossible to show the dissenting insights of Robinson

Crusoe (Danial Defoe) in expressing the role of nature, not the church or ecclesiastical intercession, in guiding to God and the need for his worship. Crusoe says:

how the mere notions of nature, though they will guide reasonable creatures to the knowledge of a God, and of a worship or homage due to the supreme being of God, as the consequence of our nature (Defoe, *Robinson*, 350)

While Friday easily grasps the idea of God and His power, he struggles to understand the existence and nature of the devil. Friday questions why God does not simply destroy the devil to prevent evil on earth, but Crusoe proved to be unable to understand the Christian religious significance or more likely not convinced, passing his own emotional experience to readers.

[I]f God much stronger, much might as the wicked devil, why God no kill the devil, so make him no more do wicked?' I was strangely surprised at this question; and, after all, though I was now an old man, yet I was but a young doctor, and ill qualified for a casuist or a solver of difficulties; and at first I could not tell what to say; so I pretended not to hear him. ((Defoe, *Robinson*, 349)

According to Ian watt there is no indication that the character of Robinson Crusoe was meant to represent a Dissenter. However, his religious contemplations frequently exhibit characteristics reminiscent of Puritan beliefs. Watt mentioned how a theologian has observed the striking resemblance between Crusoe's tone of reflections and those of the Presbyterian Shorter Catechism from the Westminster Assembly of 1648 (74).

Puritan Dissenters who underscored the authority of Old Scripture and advocated the right of individual believers to interpret it, often utilizing a more literal and practical hermeneutic, were among the stigmatized protestant groups who associated with Crypto-Judaism in England during the late 17th and early 18th centuries. This historical association should be attributed to several historical, religious, and political factors. The Dissenters were considered deviant from the religious norms of the time, holding non-conforming theological and doctrinal beliefs and practices from the established Church of England. Jews were often regarded as religious outsiders due to their non-Christian beliefs during the early modern period. Dissenters' rejection of certain Anglican practices and beliefs, similarly, resulted in analogous typical perception of apartness and otherness.

Robinson Crusoe, as well as much of Defoe's writings, have depicted complicated moral dilemmas, spotting the tension between the individual conscience and societal expectations. Defoe's biblical interpretations, as featured in his fictional narratives and religious works, having his Dissenting roots and nonconformist beliefs, are not easily to be detected in these texts. Although *Robinson Crusoe* is poignant with corresponding biblical allusions and religious themes that enhanced the depth of the narrative and its character's development.

However, these notable biblical allusions found in the novel is almost attributed to the Old rather than the New Testament, The Torah rather than The Gospel, for a character which is supposed to be a follower of Christianity. Throughout Defoe's works, "The Bible appears with great regularity [...] as genetic, foundational, and thus absolute, final. He was obsessed with geneses [, referring to the book of Genesis in the Torah or The Old Testament], how and where things began, and the Bible keeps providing him with origin truths" (Cunningham, 346). "Law," for Defoe, "is [exclusively] founded in the Torah: 'the great Original of statuted Justice' is 'the Israelites Law'" (Cunningham, 346). These are the exact beliefs, practices and observances that brought about extremist Puritans being labeled as Judaizers or crypto-jews in England during the 17th and 18th century. These also are what Defoe's actions and writing have proven despite his assumed Christianity.

The shipwreck that left Robinson Crusoe stranded on the island could be seen in comparison to the biblical stories of divine judgment or punishment. In the Bible, shipwrecks are often displayed as acts of God's providence or consequences of human offences. This also may mirror the experience of the prophet "Jonah" being swallowed by a great fish because of being hastily angry with his people, and his survival in the belly of the great whale. Robinson Crusoe, on many occasions, ascribed the various maritime tribulations he encountered, such as tempestuous weather, slavery, and catastrophic shipwrecks, to the defiance of parental authority. He often contemplates on the shipwreck as the suitable retribution for such transgressions, which makes it goes hand in hand with its theological and ethical Judaical significance.

Being one of the earliest religions, Judaism highlights the theological and ethical dimensions of the contentious topic of parental disobedience. Pieces of evidence from the Jewish scriptures and rabbinic literature are provided by the study to affirm its hypothesis.

The importance of honoring one's parents is explicitly emphasized in the Jewish scriptures, specifically the Ten Commandments. In the book of Exodus, Lord states, "Honor your father and your mother, that your days may be long in the land that the Lord your God is giving you" (20:12). Everyone, according to this commandment, is urged to respect and obey one's parents. This value of honoring and respecting parents is further accentuated in the book of Leviticus, in which Lord says, "Every one of you shall revere his mother and his father" (19:3).

Honoring parents has also an ethical dimension beside its theological significance as well. The teachings of the Talmud, as the central manuscript of Judaism, stipulates that disobedience to parents is seriously offensive. In the Mishnah Kiddushin, it states, "The obligation to honor his father and mother exceeds all other commandments"(1:7). The Talmud also teaches that disobedience to parents should have severe consequences, both in this world and the world to come. The Babylonian Talmud states, "If a person's father tells him to transgress a prohibition in the Torah, he should not listen to him, but he should not disgrace him, but rather he should say, 'Father, this is what the Torah says, and this is what you have taught me'" (Kiddushin 31b).

The 28-year solitary life Crusoe had led on the island brought about a process of repentance and spiritual awakening. Crusoe's long periods of solitude and isolation on the island makes him a reminiscent of biblical figures like Moses and Elijah, who spent time in isolation during their experience of spiritual journeys.

Furthermore, Crusoe's use of the cave as a place of shelter and protection, particularly with the double-sieged fence that Crusoe made to make it a rather "castle or more likely fortification". The cave, in the novel, serves as a place of refuge and safety, like the biblical story about "The People of Cave" when they used it as a place of protection from religious persecution.

Religion plays a fundamental role in the protagonist's life, shaping his perspective on his circumstances and supporting him with strength, comfort, and a sense of purposefulness throughout the solitary life that he led on the island. At the beginning, we have Crusoe as a deeply religious man, praying and regularly reading the Bible, though his admission that he did not use to take his religious duties seriously when he was young. He considers his shipwreck on the island as a due, far punishment from God for his past sins but also as an opportunity to redeem himself through a more pious life.

Crusoe's incessant practice of journaling and writing down his experiences can be seen as a biblical allusion to the importance of recording and documenting one's spiritual journey.

For Robinson Crusoe, the concept of religion is strongly interconnected with the theme of colonialism. As a representative of Christian principles and European civilization, his responsibility is believed to inform these values to the island's indigenous people and to facilitate their conversion to Christianity.

In his article, "The Role of Religion in Daniel Defoe's Robinson Crusoe," Ghanim M. Ali Al-Shammari, highlights the connection between productive power of religion and the mechanism of capitalism, and colonialism. He demonstrates how religion can influence and shape wider social values and institutions that may not align with its original intentions (50).

The strong impact of religion may go beyond its divine principles, onto multiple areas like the creation of commercial institutions, laying down the rules for capitalism, and paving the roads for western colonialism. The master-slave dynamic between Robinson Crusoe and Friday is used as an analogy for colonization, presenting Friday as an enslaved character in connection with religion (Al-Shammari, 45).

Colonialism is a great system that forces the individual to play by its rules in order to survive as a kind of individual foundation with religious motives through the spirit of capitalism. Crusoe, from this duality, slowly becomes the lord and the governor on the deserted island. (52)

Defoe manipulated religion, in *Robinson Crusoe*, as an excuse to reach his own targets. These colonial targets were to enslave people, exploit them, and confiscate their lands under the pretext of religion. The manipulative attitude of Robinson Crusoe was clearly shown through his sheer imperial disposition as he began to think:

I fancied myself able to manage one, nay, two or three savages, if I had them, so as to make them entirely slaves to me, to do whatever I should direct them, and to prevent their being able at any time to do me any hurt. (Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, 172)

Defoe's diplomacy, despite acknowledging the manipulative aspects of religion, frequently explored the notion that political actions could have religious justifications. He apparently aligns with a strong Presbyterian stance and displayed a deep aversion to Catholicism throughout his works (Roosen, 30).

However, Ian Watt considers the hidden pragmatic sense in this dialogue between symbols of two generations in the context of the seventeenth

century. For Watt the central dispute between Robinson Crusoe and his parents has nothing to do with filial duty or religious beliefs; instead, it revolves around the pragmatic question of whether to embark on a journey or remain at home would offer the greatest material advantages, having both sides stressing the primacy of economic considerations. Watt writes:

[T]he argument between his parents and himself is a debate, not about filial duty or religion, but about whether going or staying is likely to be the most advantageous course materially: both sides accept the economic argument as primary. And, of course, Crusoe actually gains by his 'original sin', and becomes richer than his father was (Watt, 64).

For Ian Watt what is really considered as the original sin of Crusoe is his "dynamic tendency of capitalism itself, whose aim is never merely to maintain the status quo, but to transform it incessantly." Robinson Crusoe's "[l]eaving home, improving on the lot one was born to, is a vital feature of the individualist pattern of life" during the novel's historical phase (Watt, ٦٤). Defoe states:

But, alas! for me to do wrong that never did right, was no great wonder. I hail no remedy but to go on: I had got into an employment quite remote to my genius, and directly contrary to the life I delighted in, and for which I forsook my father's house, and broke through all his good advice. Nay, I was coming into the very middle station, or upper degree of low life, which my father advised me to before, and which, if I resolved to go on with, I might as well have stayed at home, and never have fatigued myself in the world as I had done; and I used often to say to myself, I could have done this as well in England, among my friends, as have gone five thousand miles off to do it among strangers and savages, in a wilderness, and at such a distance as never to hear from any part of the world that had the least knowledge of me. (Defoe, *Robinson*, 54)

Another symptom of the psychological discrepancy in Defoe's personal is the filial connections that Crusoe pays no heed for its importance, unlike the theoretical framework drawn by Daniel Defoe himself in works such as "Family Instructor". Ian Watt claims:

The fundamental tendency of economic individualism, then, prevents Crusoe from paying much heed to the ties of family, whether as a son or a husband. This is in direct contradiction to the great stress which Defoe lays on the social and religious importance of the family in his didactic works such as the *Family Instructor*; but his novels reflect not theory but practice,

and they accord these ties a very minor, and on the whole obstructive, role. (Watt, ٦٥)

Defoe's views on marriage goes hand in hand with the perception of marriage in Judaism. In the Jewish traditions, marriage is viewed as a sacred covenant between a couple, and it is not considered a sacrament in the same theological sense as Christian sacraments. Being a lifelong Dissenter, Danial Defoe is "reluctant to accept the sacramental status of marriage, but is nonetheless anxious to emphasize its importance as a divinely sanctioned contract" (Chevalier, 40)

That excessive materialism makes Crusoe feel happy with whatever people he met so long as they would be the good one to do business with. Robinson Crusoe feels "not bound to his country by sentimental ties, any more than to his family; he is satisfied by people, whatever their nationality, who are good to do business with". For him as well as for any Defoe's protagonist even it is a feminist character such as Moll Flanders, who believes "that 'with money in the pocket one is at home anywhere'" (Watt, ٦٥).

But Crusoe is not a mere footloose adventurer, and his travels, like his freedom from social ties, are merely somewhat extreme cases of tendencies that are normal in modern society as a whole, since, by making the pursuit of gain a primary motive, economic individualism has much increased the mobility of the individual. More specifically, Robinson Crusoe's career is based, as modern scholarship has shown, on some of the innumerable volumes which recounted the exploits of those voyagers who had done so much in the sixteenth century to assist the development of capitalism by providing the gold, slaves and tropical products on which trade expansion depended; and who had continued the process in the seventeenth century by developing the colonies and world markets on which the future progress of capitalism depended. (Watt, 66)

The belief in the Jewishness of Christ is not Christian but is a rather definite Jewish doctrine, that affirmed by Defoe's attribution of Jesus to what the Jews believe as Jewish Prophets such as Abraham and David. In one of his dialogues to Friday, Defoe disguised in Robinson Crusoe says:

I then explained to him as well as I could why our blessed Redeemer took not on Him the nature of angels but the seed of Abraham; and how, for that reason, the fallen angels had no share in the redemption; that He came only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, and the like. (Defoe, *Robinson*, 350).

Another quotation in which Robinson Crusoe prays for repentance saying:” I cried out aloud, ‘Jesus, thou son of David! Jesus, thou exalted Prince and Saviour! give me repentance!’ (Defoe, *Robinson*, 153).

These words sincerely embody the Jewish inclination toward attributing Jesus Christ to his original Jewish sources. It reflects specific quoted books of The New Testament; namely, the books of Hebrews and Mathew as following:

[O]ur Blessed Redeemer . . . Seed of Abraham: Jesus takes on human form, and is born a Jew, ‘For verily he took not on him the nature of angels; but he took on him the seed of Abraham’ (Hebrews 2: 16).

[O]nly to the lost Sheep of the House of Israel: the twelve disciples are appointed by Jesus to minister to the Jews, and to no other nation. ‘These twelve Jesus sent forth, and commanded them, saying, Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not: | But go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel’ (Matthew 10: 5–6).

Defoe, disguised in the garment of Robinson Crusoe, demolished the Christian doctrine of Trinity when he changed what had he one day read from its context. He demolished trinity when he attributed Jesus to Abraham and David, who were well acknowledged Jewish tradition in Judaism.

[I]n the scripture when it happened providentially, the very day, that, reading the Scripture, I came to these words: ‘He is exalted a Prince and a Saviour, to give repentance and to give remission.’ I threw down the book; and with my heart as well as my hands lifted up to heaven, in a kind of ecstasy of joy, I cried out aloud, ‘Jesus, thou son of David! Jesus, thou exalted Prince and Saviour! give me repentance!’ (Defoe, *Robinson*, 153).

Regardless the symbolic meaning of “throw[ing] down the book,” which supposed to be sacred for a true Christian, Defoe’s animosity for Orthodox Trinity and Trinitarians is highly confirmed in David Prince’s analysis of Defoe’s seemingly discrepant, pro deistic attack on Charles Leslie’s attack on blasphemous Quakers, embodied in their symbol William Penn. Prince argues:

[T]hrough [the] analysis of Defoe’s defense of the Quakers, have identified proto-deistical arguments meant to oppose Leslie’s orthodox Trinitarianism as fundamentally as possible. (Prince, 282)

In His advice to Robinson Crusoe, the Spaniard captain echoes Joseph the son of Jacob, urging Crusoe to let him with the other two men to dig for cultivation and wait for more one harvest to provide enough corn for his countrymen. Yet, he stills precautious of the possible temptation of those

countrymen as well as of the children of Israel after their Exodus. Defoe writes:

for his countrymen, when they should come [...] might be a temptation to them to disagree, or not to think themselves delivered, otherwise than [we should find ourselves] out of one difficulty into another. 'You know,' says he, 'the children of Israel, though they rejoiced at first for their being delivered out of Egypt, yet rebelled even against God Himself, that delivered them, when they came to want bread in the wilderness' (Defoe, *Robinson*, 393).

Bearing in mind that Spain is historically the land from which persecution and inquisition of secret Jews or Judaizes first started, the preferentiality of the Spaniard captain is Jewish tradition rather than Christian one, which means that he himself is more likely a New Christian or a Marrano.

Crusoe goes on likening his deliverance on the island, with its natural sources, to that of the children of Israel having the divine banquet set for them. Crusoe says: "I began to say, as the children of Israel did when they were promised flesh to eat, 'Can God spread a table in the wilderness?' so I began to say, 'Can God Himself deliver me from this place'" (Defoe, *Robinson*, 149) ?

An extremely crucial piece of evidence is frankly expressed by Crusoe (Danial Defoe) in his dialogue with the Spaniard captain. Discussing a way to escape with the Spaniard Captain, Robinson Crusoe, on behalf of Danial Defoe, expressed frankly the most horrible feeling of a crypto-Jew, for whom it would be better to be devoured alive by the cannibal savages than being caught in the claws of priests for Inquisition. "I had rather be delivered up to the savages, and be devoured alive, than fall into the merciless claws of the priests, and be carried into the Inquisition" (Defoe, *Robinson*, 391).

This possibly justifies Crusoe's attack on Spain that in America, where they destroyed millions of these people [for being different in religion] and had several bloody and barbarous rites in their customs" (Defoe, Crusoe, 274). Crusoe goes on comparison saying:

[Although] such as sacrificing human bodies to their idols, were yet, as to the Spaniards, very innocent people; and that the rooting them out of the country is spoken of with the utmost abhorrence and detestation by even the Spaniards themselves at this time, and by all other Christian nations of Europe, as a mere butchery, a bloody and unnatural piece of cruelty, unjustifiable either to God or man; and for which the very name of a Spaniard is reckoned to be frightful and terrible, to all people of humanity or of Christian compassion; as if the kingdom of Spain were particularly

eminent for the produce of a race of men who were without principles of tenderness, or the common bowels of pity to the miserable, which is reckoned to be a mark of generous temper in the mind. (274)

One of the most indicative quotations on Robinson Crusoe's (Danial Defoe's) Crypto-Judaism, is his minute and vivid description of a key Jewish religious symbolic icon, that is essential to belief in Judaism. Danial Defoe, disguised as Robinson Crusoe, precisely describes the dimensions and the measurements of Solomon's Temple. He states:

I felled a cedar-tree, and I question much whether Solomon ever had such a one for the building of the Temple of Jerusalem; it was five feet ten inches diameter at the lower part next the stump, and four feet eleven inches diameter at the end of twenty-two feet; after which it lessened for a while, and then parted into branches. (Defoe, *Robinson*, 201).

It is impossible to non-religious Jewish who believes in the indicative meaning of Solomon Temple to know for exactness these meticulous dimensions and measures and the type of wood from which it was constructed.

Danial Defoe's (Robinson Crusoe's) use of the word settlement or its derivatives 58 times, and the word fortification with its derivative 31 times to express the meaning of home dwelling is a strong indication of the Jewishness of his character. Used in this context, these expressions are historically and culturally associated with the Jewish character whether in realistic or fictional life.

Making Robinson Crusoe observe the days of Sabeth, is another strong evidence that Danial Defoe's observance of Sabeth is a crypto-Jew rather than a Christian in his affiliations. Crusoe mentioned the word Sabath 4 times while Sunday is mentioned twice. He, however, seems observing the Sabath affirming "I divided it into weeks, and set apart every seventh day for a Sabbath" (Defoe, *Robinson*, 101). Crusoe would also take precautions not to forget the Sabath days: "should even forget the Sabbath days; but to prevent this, I cut with my knife upon a large post, in capital letters - and making it into a great cross (Defoe, *Robinson*, 101). While Crusoe observes the days of Sabath, he frankly says "I soon neglected my keeping Sundays; for, omitting my mark for them on my post, I forgot which was which" (Defoe, *Robinson*, 114).

In *Daniel Defoe's Political Biography*, F. N. Furbank and W. R. Owens remark that "Defoe draws the title of his *Shortest Way* from Leslie's previous writings against the deists and the Jews" (Prince, 22). Although *The Shortest*

Way was then “feared by the dissenters and despised by Anglicans, [yet, it] delighted the deists, a fact that has never received sufficient attention” (22). “The Shortest Way to Dissenters” was a subtle reference and defence of Charles Blount, who was a target of Leslie's harsh criticism, reflecting the clash between deism and Christianity. Leslie strongly condemns Blount's disrespectful treatment of religious figures, including Jesus Christ, in his blasphemous and demise writings. Leslie vehemently attacks Blount stating:

[H]e set himself, with his whole Might, to Oppose and Ridicule the Birth, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, and all that is said of our Christ and God in the Holy Gospel, and all Reveal'd Religion. [...] I have no Apology to make, for calling this man Execrable: Nor can I Retract or Compound it. Seeing it is come to this, that either his Memory (who set himself at the head of the Deists, and after whom they now Copy) or else the Memory of Our Lord Jesus Christ, must remain for Ever Accursed! (qtd. in Prince, 42)

Leslie challenged other writers to take Blount's place, inviting any to step forward and engage in the discourse. A decade later, Defoe responds to Leslie's challenge with a literary hoax aimed at undermining Leslie's credibility, paralleling Blount's methods with his opponents, such as Bohun and L'Estrange. (Prince, 43).

“The Shortest Way to Dissenters” is Defoe's direct response to Charles Leslie's “A Short and Easy Method with the Jews”. Defoe's explicit attack on Leslie is an implicit defence of whom Leslie's work had attacked; namely, Jews disguised in Deists. How could one be a true Christian when he seeks victory of those who either denies his religion or reject and ridicule his godly symbol of Jesus Christ.

Relevant to this point is Defoe's defence on Quakers' icon, William Penn who was attacked by Charles Leslie too. According to David Prince the mutual animosity of both Defoe and Penn to Leslie is motivated by their strong desire to undermine his orthodox “trinitarianism” (Prince, 282). If this was seen in the light of the presbyterian John Flavel's principle of Jesus' “singularity”, we could see how Defoe's actions, supported by such beliefs, demolish trinity as the backbone of Christianity.

This religious choice of Defoe aligns with his later cosmopolitan fiction drawing from diverse sources, connecting rather than separating his writings and ideas. This perspective suggests the continuity between works like *Robinson Crusoe* and Defoe's earlier cosmopolitan, skeptical, and philosophical endeavors (Prince, 282).

Another piece of evidence on Danial Defoe's crypto-Jewish inclinations could be proved in his political aspirations which aligned with many crypto

Jews support for William III in England. In November, 1688 the "Glorious Revolution" starts after a political and religious crisis in England leads to William of Orange's invasion from the Netherlands. Defoe probably joins William before his arrival in London" (Rosen, 132). This emphasizes John Perry's statement that "[f]rom as early as 1694, Daniel Defoe served as a pamphleteer and propagandist for William III, advocating for the vigorous prosecution of the war with France" (9).

Defoe's political efforts in his support for William III, in maintaining peace with catholic France, and his political mission to Scotland Presbyterian Church features the typical pragmatic roles Marranos played in serving different, and may conflicting, European countries during the late 17th and early 18th centuries. According to Michael Alpert several Portuguese Marranos, including Antonio Alvarez Machado and Isaac Pereira, played crucial roles in supplying military resources to William of Orange during his campaign against James II in 1688. Remarkably, Sir Solomon de Medina (1650–1730) who became the first Jew to receive a knighthood for his services for English army. Noteworthy example is Joseph Cortissos (1656–1742), a descendant of Manuel Cortizos, who supplied goods and sustenance to English armies during the War of the Spanish Succession (1700–1714). The financial hardships befell Cortissos during his service, however, couldn't curb his persistent efforts to recover his expenditures, appreciating the religious freedom granted to him by his adopted homeland, England (Alpert, 149).

Daniel Defoe, disguised as Robinson Crusoe capsule his life philosophy and his ultimate dream of absolute freedom of consciousness that shall prevent any sort of religious compulsion or racist persecution, leading the civilian not religious statehood. Robinson Crusoe eventually states:

My island was now peopled, and I thought myself very rich in subjects; and it was a merry reflection, which I frequently made, how like a king I looked. First of all, the whole country was my own property, so that I had an undoubted right of dominion. Secondly, my people were perfectly subjected - I was absolutely lord and lawgiver - they all owed their lives to me, and were ready to lay down their lives, if there had been occasion for it, for me. It was remarkable, too, I had but three subjects, and they were of three different religions - my man Friday was a Protestant, his father was a Pagan and a

cannibal, and the Spaniard was a Papist. However, I allowed liberty of conscience throughout my dominions. (Defoe, *Robinson*, 385)

IX- Conclusion

To put it briefly, the exploration of Daniel Defoe's religious identity through the crypto-Jewish and Presbyterian Puritan Judaizing lens has displayed intriguing insights into the underlying themes and subtle proofs present in Defoe's masterpiece, *Robinson Crusoe*. By examining the evidence of religious nonconformity and the allusions to Jewish traditions, rituals, and historical events within the narrative, the study has shed light on an alternative perspective of Defoe's true religious beliefs.

The socio-historical analysis of the study has revealed Defoe's deliberate inclusion of Sabbath observances, references to the Sons of Israel, King Solomon's Temple, and the Exodus of the Israelites, while noticeably neglecting any tangible direct references to The New Testament. Taken collectively with certain biographical pieces of evidence, these elements suggest a deeper connection to Judaic rather than Christian traditions, as it was previously acknowledged in many scholarly discourses.

The implications of considering Daniel Defoe as a Judaizer or a crypto-Jew are significant since they challenge conventional interpretations of Defoe's identity as an apparent Puritan Christian. Although the public pseudo adherence to Puritanism and Christianity in the side of Defoe was well-shown, the presence of referential allusions to Judaism in *Robinson Crusoe* opens new dimensions for perceiving the complexities of religious structure of English society in the 18th century.

In its analysis, the study should acknowledge certain limitations because of the direct primary sources tackling Defoe's personal beliefs are either scarce and almost nonexistent, which requires the need for alternative interpretations driven out of critical thinking based on textual and contextual analysis. However, Daniel Defoe could have possibly integrated those Jewish references in his works for political, literary, or even allegorical reasons rather than as indications of his own religious affiliations. For this, a more comprehensive evaluation of Defoe's religious identity is urgently needed, calling upon any future studies should work hard to unearth any additional historical pieces of evidence beside contextualizing his works within a broader religious, social, and historical landscape, investigating his correspondence and interactions with different religious communities.

Despite all the above-mentioned challenges, this study highlights the complex nature of religious expressions for an ambiguous, though public, figure like Danial Defoe, and the intricate interplay between public and private beliefs in his time. The study's contribution in unveiling the potential Judaizing or crypto-Jewish elements in Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* presents a richer understanding of Defoe's literary and his religious legacy, encouraging any future research to dive deeper into the complexities of Danial Defoe's religious inclinations and rethinking any conventional evaluation of the works and socio-historical backgrounds of such prominent literary figures.

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